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BARRIERS TO GOVERNMENT*

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1. Introduction:

The purpose of this paper is to offer a simple but explanatory theory of "barriers to government". I will propose that barrierhood of maximal phrases is determined solely by the features percolated up from their head.

This paper is structured as follows. First, taking the theory of clausal complementation proposed by Stowell (1982) as a starting point, I will attempt to show why the notion "barrier" is necessary in a theory of syntax.

In the second part, I will propose: (i) a subclassification of control infinitivals in English into two different types, (ii) a new feature system for the category INFL, and (iii) a definition of barriers in terms of head-feature percolation.

In the final part, I will demonstrate that the proposals are empirically motivated.

2. Why "Barriers"?

2.1. Stowell on Complementation:

Stowell (1982) makes two important proposals, among others, concerning clausal complements in English. First, as summarized in (1) below, infinitivals with control and a *for*-complementizer are grouped together and analyzed as tensed infinitivals. Infinitivals involving exceptional Case marking and Raising, on the other hand, are analyzed as tenseless infinitivals.

- (1) [+Tns] Infinitivals: Control/ *for*-COMP
 [-Tns] Infinitivals: ECM/ Raising

This classification is motivated by the distinct tense interpretation of the two types of infinitivals as summarized in (2) below:

- (2) [+Tns]: fixed to understood future
 [-Tns]: flexible (matrix-dependent)

Thus, for Stowell, as illustrated by the examples in (3) and (4) below, the tense of control and *for*-complementizer infinitivals, for example, is always unrealized with respect to the tense of the matrix verb.

(3) Control:

- a. Jim tried [PRO to lock the car] (future)
 b. Sally persuaded her son [PRO to buy the camera] (future)

(4) *for*-COMP:

- a. I would prefer [for you to remain here] (future)
 b. [For him to take the leadership] sounds promising (future)

The examples in (5) and (6) below illustrate, on the other hand, that the tense of the exceptional Case marking and Raising infinitivals is realized as future, present or past, depending on the semantics of the matrix predicate.

(5) Exceptional Case Marking (ECM):

- a. Bill considers [himself to be the smartest] (pres)
- b. I expect [him to arrive soon] (future)
- c. I remember [him to be the smartest in our class]
(past)

(6) Raising:

- a. John_i appears [t_i to like poker] (present)
- b. He_i is likely [t_i to win] (future)

Thus, the important distinction for Stowell is that tensed infinitivals **always** involve future interpretation, whereas tenseless infinitivals involve such an interpretation **only when higher predicates require it**.

The second important proposal of Stowell's is that tensed clauses, now including tensed infinitivals as well as finite clauses, contain a COMP position, while tenseless clauses, including tenseless infinitivals and gerunds, lack a COMP position. It is claimed, in short, that a tensed clause is analyzed as S' while a tenseless clause is analyzed as S.

This categorial distinction is motivated in at least two different ways. First, they provide a basis for the tensed versus tenseless interpretation of infinitivals, given the assumption that the feature [+Tns] (but not [-Tns]) requires the presence of COMP so that it can move into this position at LF and take scope over its clause.

Second, this analysis predicts that PRO may appear in a tensed infinitival but not in a tenseless infinitival on the assumption that S' but not S blocks government by a higher verb.

Finally, it accounts for the lack of overt complementizers and Wh-movement in gerunds. Thus, Stowell's proposals can be summarized as in (7) below:

(7)	Clausal types	Category	Tns	Interpretation
[+Tns]:	Finite Control/ <i>for</i> -Inf	S'		matrix-independent
[-Tns]:	Gerund ECM/Rais-Inf	S		matrix-dependent

2.2. Problems with the Categorical Distinction:

While we agree with Stowell and adopt the first half of his proposal that infinitivals are subclassified into tensed and tenseless, there are problems if we try to link this dichotomy to the distinction between syntactic categories S' and S.

First of all, the categorial distinction S' versus S does not necessarily correspond to the distinction between obligatory future and flexible tense interpretation of infinitivals. For example, as Barbara Partee (p.c.) pointed out to me, infinitivals with a *for*-complementizer as in (8) below may actually involve a tense interpretation other than possible future.

- (8) a. I can't bear for them not to be friends
(present)
- b. I always prefer for a wine glass to be next
to a butter knife on the table (present)
- c. It's ridiculous for there to be so much
fuss about that matter (present/past)
- d. For teenagers to worry about their
appearance is quite natural (present)

At least some S-bars, in other words, must be tenseless rather than tensed clauses even in Stowell's system.

Moreover, some control infinitivals, as in (9) below, may involve a non-future interpretation.

- (9) a. I hate [PRO to talk on the phone]
(present)
- b. I can't bear [PRO not to be friends
with you] any longer (present/past)
- c. Children in general prefer [PRO to watch
TV] rather than [PRO to read] (present)

In Stowell's system, then, at least some control infinitivals would have to be analyzed as S rather than S', involving tenseless interpretation.

Another problem arises when we put Stowell's analysis together with some observations made in Kitagawa (1985).

First, without going into details, we can note simply that in tensed clauses in general, proper government of the subject position requires a legitimate antecedent trace in COMP, while proper government of the object position is done lexically, with no trace necessary in COMP. (cf. Chomsky (1981); Lasnik and Saito (1984))

In parasitic gap environments and certain other environments, on the other hand, the trace in COMP, for some reason (cf. Stowell (1985)), is never possible. Hence a subject-object asymmetry arises even when no overt complementizer like *that* is present, as illustrated in (10) below. This asymmetry was originally noted by Engdahl (1981) and Taraldsen (1981), and has been discussed recently by Cinque (1984), Pesetsky (1982a; 1984), Obenauer (to appear), among others.

(10) Finite S: (cf. Engdahl (1981), Taraldsen (1981))

- a. ?John is someone who people that believe
[Bill likes *e*] admire *t*
- b. *John is someone who people that believe
[*e* is nice] admire *t*

Now, the traditional account of proper government in the exceptional Case marking constructions has the higher verb properly governing the embedded subject, with **no COMP present or necessary** because of S'-deletion. In such constructions, in other words, the traditional account, and in fact Stowell's S-analysis also, predicts the absence of the subject-object asymmetry in parasitic gaps. However, such an asymmetry is observed not only in finite clauses but also in all clausal complements including small clauses, as illustrated in (11) through (13) below:

(11) Infinitival: (cf. Pesetsky (1984))

- a. ?John is someone who people that believe
[Bill to like *e*] admire *t*
- b. *John is someone who people that believe
[*e* to be nice] admire *t*

(12) Gerund: (cf. Kitagawa (1985))

- a. ?John is someone who people that favor
[Susie('s) marrying e] admire t
- b. *John is someone who people that favor
[e marrying her] admire t

(13) Small Clause: (cf. Kitagawa (Ibid.))

- a. ?John is someone who people that consider
[Mary angry at e] hate t
- b. *John is someone who people that consider
[e angry at Mary] hate t

There is good reason, in other words, to assume that a trace is required in the COMP of all the b-examples in (10) through (13), making these sentences ungrammatical.

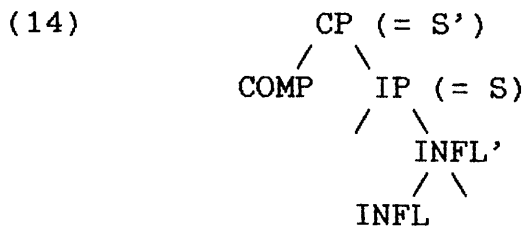
Whether one makes an appeal to the Empty Category Principle (ECP) or adopts the path theory as modified by Pesetsky (1984), the presence of a COMP node is essential to the account of this phenomenon, providing a position for an offending trace in the former, and an INFL'-CP path in the latter.¹ There is good reason, in other words, to analyze all clausal complements including small clauses as **S-bars** containing a COMP position. Note also that this analysis makes a theory of complementation extremely simple --- all complements receiving a clausal θ -role are now uniformly analyzed as S-bars.

In short, it is highly unlikely that we can rely on the existence or non-existence of an S' node to account for the various properties of infinitival constructions like tense interpretation, distribution of PRO and possibility of exceptional Case marking.²

3. Proposals:

If we cannot rely on the distinction S versus S', what can we rely on? I suggest that the answer is an independent notion of "barrier". Suppose, in particular, that we adopt a growing tradition of analyzing S' and S as a maximal projection of COMP and INFL, respectively, as in (14) below: (Stowell (1981), Pesetsky (1982a), Chomsky (1985), etc.)

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It becomes even clearer that we are forced to develop a theory of barriers to government, since an embedded subject now must sometimes be governable across two maximal projections, CP and IP, as the phenomenon of exceptional Case marking suggests, while it should not be governable in other cases, as the possibility of PRO in some complements suggests.

Let us now turn to our proposals. First, following Stowell, we continue to recognize tensed and tenseless infinitivals in English as two distinct types of clausal complements. However, based upon the observation we have presented concerning tense interpretation, we subclassify these two types of infinitivals in a way quite distinct from Stowell's classification, as summarized in (15) below:

(15) [-Tns] Infinitivals:

- a. ECM
- b. Raising
- c. *for*-complementizer
- d. Control with flexible tense (*prefer*-class)

[+Tns] Infinitivals:

- e. Control with obligatory future tense (*try*-class)

Since Infinitivals with exceptional Case marking, Raising, and a *for*-complementizer all exhibit flexible tense interpretation, we have classified them into tenseless infinitivals ((15a-c)). We have also labelled those control infinitivals which exhibit flexible tense interpretation as tenseless ((15d)) and those which are restricted to future interpretation as tensed ((15e)).

Tense interpretation, however, is not the only basis for this subclassification of control infinitivals.

On totally independent grounds, Kitagawa and Lebeaux (1983) subclassify English control infinitivals into a *prefer*-class and a *try*-class,

which correspond to our tensless and tensed infinitivals, respectively.

Some of the bases for their subclassification are: first, the *try*-class complements can undergo discourse deletion, whereas the *prefer*-class complements resist it, as illustrated by the contrast in (16) below:

- (16) a. John tried to leave early, and Bill
tried \emptyset also
- b. *John would prefer to leave early, and Bill
would prefer \emptyset also

Second, as illustrated in (17) below, the *prefer*-class complements can be passivized, while the *try*-class complements cannot:

- (17) a. (?)To leave early would be preferred (by
everybody)
- b. *To leave early was tried (by everybody)

The subclassification of control infinitivals as in (15) above, in other words, has substantial content.

Kitagawa and Lebeaux further observe that those predicates selecting the *prefer*-class complements always have an option of taking a *for*-complementizer as well, whereas the predicates selecting the *try*-class complements do not have such an option, as illustrated in (18) below:

- (18) a. John preferred (for Bill) to leave
- b. John tried (*for Bill) to leave

In order to capture this generalization, let us propose that the *prefer*-class control infinitivals but not the *try*-class infinitivals contain a prepositional null complementizer, which we will express as \emptyset_{-} as in (19b) below, distinguishing it from a *for*-complementizer ((19a)). The *prefer*-class predicates, in other words, are claimed to select a prepositional complementizer ([+COMP, -N, -V]), which may either be morphologically filled as in the case of a *for*-complementizer ((19a)) or morphologically empty as in the case of a prepositional null complementizer ((19b)): (See Kayne (1981a) for a similar but not identical idea.)

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- (19) a. *for* = Prepositional Non-null Complementizer
 ([+COMP, -N, -V])
- b. \emptyset_P = Prepositional Null Complementizer
 ([+COMP, -N, -V])

The prepositional null complementizer also contrasts with a non-prepositional null complementizer, expressed as \emptyset_C as in (20) below, which appears in *try*-class control infinitivals and exceptional Case marking constructions.

- (20) \emptyset_C = Non-prepositional Null Complementizer
 ([+COMP])

The two null complementizers must be clearly distinguished since \emptyset_C , unlike \emptyset_P , does not alternate with a prepositional complementizer *for*, as illustrated in (21) below:

- (21) I believe (**for*) him to be honest.

Thus, the three types of infinitival complements selected by the verb *prefer*, for example, will be analyzed as in (22a-c) below, where *for* and \emptyset_P , but crucially not \emptyset_C , are specified with the features [-N] and [-V].

- (22) a. I would prefer [_{CP} *for* [_{IP} you to remain here]]
- b. I would prefer [_{CP} \emptyset_P [_{IP} PRO to remain here]]
- c. I would prefer [_{CP} \emptyset_C [_{IP} you to remain here]]

To sum up, and at the same time proceed to make further proposals, we have divided clausal complements into two groups, as illustrated in column (i) of (23) below, depending on whether the [Tense] feature of their INFL is specified positive or negative.

(23)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
	Tense	Inflection	Aspect
Finite	+	+	+
[+Tns] Inf	+	-	+
[-Tns] Inf	-	-	+
Gerund	-	+	+
Small Clause	-	-	-

Let us further propose that the two types of tensed clauses, namely, finite clauses and tensed infinitivals, are distinguished with respect to the possible presence versus absence of morphological inflection, as described in column (ii). Notice here that the INFL of gerunds is also specified as [+Inflection], since it exhibits an inflectional ending *-ing*. It is, however, distinguished from the INFL of finite clauses in terms of the feature [Tense].

Finally, based upon the observation that all types of sentences except small clauses may contain an overt aspect, we will offer a feature specification as in column (iii). We will turn to additional motivations for this feature system shortly.

Let us now turn to the core part of our proposals. First, we define the notion of government as in (24) below:

(24) Government:

X^{m_1} governs Y^{m_2} , if X^{m_2} (= the maximal projection of X^{m_1}) dominates Y^{m_2} and no barrier intervenes between the two.

The definition of government here will work very similarly to that proposed by Aoun and Sportiche (1983), except that it is interpreted strictly as a structural notion, any lexical category being a possible governor.

Next, we define "barrier" as in (25) below:

(25) Barrier:

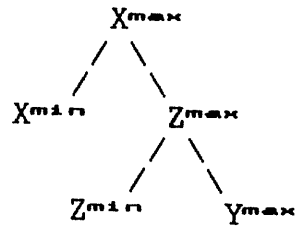
A maximal projection is a barrier to government iff it is headed by a feature drawn from the universal set P , which contains: [+WH], [+/-N] and [+/-V].

Here I am assuming that any maximal projection is a potential barrier, and a potential barrier becomes an actual barrier when it receives any one of the universally-designated features percolated up from its head. Take, for instance, a schematic example in (26) below:

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(26)



Here, whether X^{\min} governs Y^{\max} or not totally depends on the barrierhood of Z^{\max} , which in turn is determined by the features of the head Z^{\min} . Given the definition of barriers in (25), we may roughly say that interrogative complements and the maximal projections of lexical categories always block government.

Note, incidentally, that nothing prevents a barrier itself from being governed by some lexical category, when no other barrier intervenes between the two.

Considering the rarity of exceptional Case marking in languages of the world, it seems plausible to assume that, in the unmarked case, the set P also contains the categorial feature [+INFL], as in (27) below:

(27) $P: \{[+WH], [+INFL], [+/-N], [+/-V]\}$

We assume, however, that the grammars of particular languages may adopt a marked option of replacing [+INFL] for some other subfeature of the category INFL proposed in (23), and redefine the set P as the set P' . We propose, for example, that the set P' in the grammar of English contains the feature [+Tns] instead of [+INFL], as in (28) below:

(28) $P'(\text{English}): \{[+WH], [+Tns], [+/-N], [+/-V]\}$

We will shortly turn to the motivations for this particular decision for English as well as the motivations for introducing a theory of markedness along this line. Whether such an option should be captured as a value of a parameter or be derived from something more general is not clear at this moment.

4. Motivations:

Let us now present empirical motivations for the proposals. First, perhaps universally, no exceptional Case marking is possible in indirect questions.

The point is clearly illustrated in the Japanese examples in (29) below:

- (29) a. kanozyo wa [sono otoko ga/o sagisi da to CP]
siranakatta

(she TOP [that guy NOM/ACC swindler PRES
COMPL-WH CP] didn't=know)

'She didn't know that that guy was a
swindler.'

- b. kanozyo wa [dono otoko ga/*o sagisi da ka CP]
siranakatta

(she TOP [which guy NOM/*ACC swindler PRES
COMPL+WH CP] didn't=know)

'She didn't know which guy was a
swindler.'

- c. kanozyo wa [sono otoko ga/*o sagisi (da)
kadooka] siranakatta

she TOP [that guy NOM/*ACC swindler (PRES)
whether] didn't=know

'She didn't know whether that guy was
a swindler or not.'

In (29a), the complementizer *to* is [-WH] and accusative marking of the embedded subject is allowed, whereas in (29b), the complementizer *ka* is [+WH] and such Case marking is disallowed. The complementizer *kadooka* 'whether' also blocks exceptional Case marking, as in (29c). If the feature [+WH] makes CP a barrier to government, as we have proposed, this is a natural consequence. ^{3. 4}

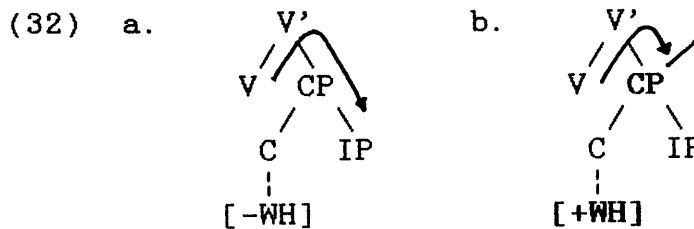
Second, Stowell (1981), reports but leaves partly unexplained some puzzling selectional constraints on clausal complementation in English. As illustrated in (30) below, when a verb subcategorizes for a [-WH] COMP, it may further specify what type of IP it selects:

- (30) a. He pointed out [CP that we should leave
early] [-WH]
b. *He pointed out [CP for us/ PRO to leave
early] [-WH]

When even the same verb subcategorizes for a [+WH] COMP, on the other hand, such specification becomes impossible, as in (31) below:

- (31) a. He pointed out [COMP where we should go] [+WH]
 b. He pointed out [COMP where to go] [+WH]

This asymmetry is exactly what the proposed theory predicts. First, as illustrated in (32a) below, the CP headed by [-WH] is not a barrier, therefore it allows the higher verb to directly govern the IP. The CP headed by [+WH] as in (32b), on the other hand, blocks the higher verb's access to the embedded IP due to its barrierhood. Thus, the otherwise mysterious selectional constraints can be explained in quite a simple way under the proposed theory. ▯



Third, the proposed theory, combined with the PRO Theorem (Chomsky (1981)), also correctly predicts the distribution of PRO and its complementarity with a non-empty NP. The PRO Theorem, which is claimed to derive from principles A and B of the Binding Theory, is stated in (33) below:

- (33) The PRO Theorem:

PRO cannot be governed.

It should be noted, however, that the notion of government used in the PRO Theorem is more restrictive than the government we have defined in (24) above, in that only a lexical head and INFL with agreement features, rather than all structural heads, count as governors. The governors here, in other words, are limited to the head categories with certain morphological content. Then, to distinguish the two types of government, let us label such morphologically-filled governors as "M-governors", and restate the PRO Theorem as in (34) below:

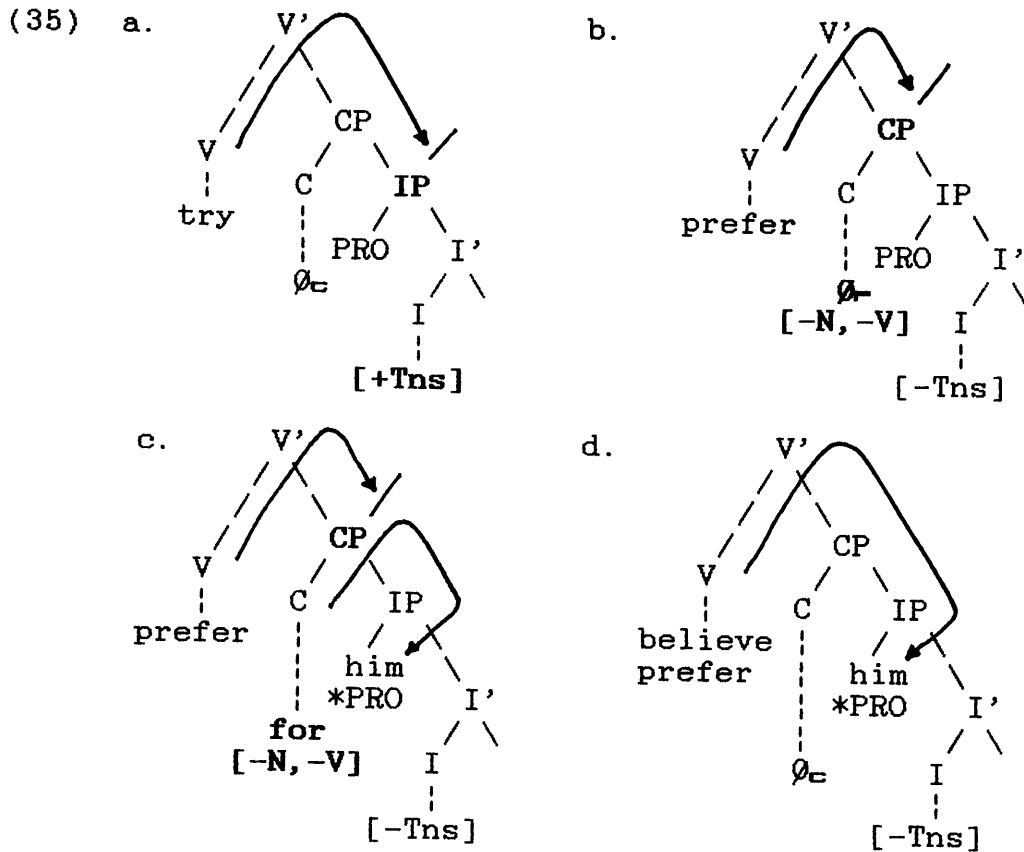
- (34) The PRO Theorem (restated):

PRO cannot be M-governed.

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With the proposed theory of barriers and the PRO Theorem, we now examine four different types of infinitival constructions.

First, in a tensed infinitival as in (35a) below, the head feature [+Tns] turns the IP into a barrier and blocks the M-government of the subject PRO by the higher verb. Thus, it is correctly predicted that PRO is permitted (in fact obligatory) in this position: (cf. Williams' (1980) Obligatory Control.)



Second, in a tenseless infinitival with a prepositional null complementizer as in (35b), this complementizer turns the CP into a barrier with its features [-N, -V]. Thus, the CP blocks the M-government of the subject PRO by the higher verb. Although the IP is still transparent, being headed by [-Tns], the PRO subject remains un-M-governed since the prepositional null complementizer cannot be an M-governer, lacking morphological content.

Third, in a tenseless infinitival with a *for*-complementizer as in (35c), the CP again is a barrier due to the features [-N, -V] of the *for*-complementizer. In this construction, however,

the IP is not a barrier, being headed by [-Tns], and the *for*-complementizer, unlike $\emptyset_{\bar{r}}$, can M-govern (and also assign Case to) the embedded subject across the transparent IP. As a result, a non-empty NP, but not PRO, may appear in this position.

Fourth, in infinitivals with exceptional Case marking as in (35d), neither CP nor IP are barriers, headed by $\emptyset_{\bar{c}}$ and [-Tns], respectively. The higher verb, thus, can M-govern (and also assign Case to) the embedded subject across the CP and IP, allowing a non-empty NP but not PRO in this position. Thus, the proposed theory together with the PRO Theorem correctly predicts the distribution of PRO and its complementarity with a non-empty NP.

Finally, cross-linguistic examination of exceptional Case marking phenomena supports our proposals concerning the barrierhood of IPs.

To begin with, as illustrated in (36) below, English allows exceptional Case marking in tenseless clauses (i.e., in [-Tns] infinitivals, gerunds and small clauses) but not in tensed clauses (i.e., in finite clauses and tensed infinitivals).

- (36) a. [-Tns]: I expect him to arrive soon
 b. [-Tns]: I would favor him marrying Sue
 c. [-Tns]: I consider him a genius
 d. [+Tns]: *I believe (that) him is honest
 e. [+Tns]: *I tried him to leave early

Unlike in English, however, exceptional Case marking in Russian is possible in small clauses ([-Aspect]), but disallowed in infinitivals ([+Aspect]) (Schein (1982)), as illustrated in (37) below:

- (37) a. [-Asp]: ja ščitaju [ego čestnym]
 'I consider him honest.'
 b. [+Asp]: *ja ščitaju [ego byt' čestnym]
 'I consider him to be honest.'

We find a similar distinction also in French (Kayne (1981a)), as illustrated in (38) below:

- (38) a. [-Asp]: Je crois [Jean intelligent]
'I believe Jean intelligent.'
- b. [+Asp]: *Je crois [Jean être intelligent]
'I believe Jean to be intelligent.'

Making the situation even more complicated, such a boundary in Japanese seems to be drawn between finite present ([-Past]) and finite past ([+Past]), as illustrated in (39) below: ⁶

- (39) a. [-Past]:
kanozjo wa [sono otoko ga/o sagisi da IP]
to sitteiru
(she TOP [that guy NOM/ACC swindler PRES IP]
COMP know)
'She knows that the guy is a swindler.'
- b. [+Past]:
kanozjo wa [sono otoko ga/*o katute wa
sagisi datta IP] to sitteiru
(she TOP [that guy NOM/*ACC once TOP
swindler PAST IP] COMP knows)
'She knows that the guy used to be a
swindler.'

Note that such a variety of facts can be captured as a continuum of identical phenomena if the barrierhood of IPs is determined along the line we have suggested. Specifically, we can assume that the sets P' in each of these languages differ only minimally from each other, as in (40) below:

- (40) a. P' (English): {[+WH], [+Tns], [+/-N], [+/-V]}
b. P' (Russ/Fr): {[+WH], [+Asp], [+/-N], [+/-V]}
c. P' (Japanese): {[+WH], [+Past], [+/-N], [+/-V]}

Since [+Inflectional] IP can be further analyzed into [+Past] or [-Past] IP, we are, in short, drawing the boundaries of barrier-creating properties based upon our feature system for INFL as in (41) below:

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(41)	(i) Tense	(ii) Past	(iii) Inflection	(iv) Aspect
Finite Past	+	+	+	+ Jpn
Finite Present	+	-	+	+
[+Tns] Inf	+	∅	-	+ Eng
[-Tns] Inf	-	∅	-	+
Gerund	-	∅	+	+ Rus/Fr
Small Clause	-	∅	-	-

If this approach is on the right track, we have, in effect, shown that barrierhood of IPs in each language is by no means determined by an arbitrary choice of features but by picking out a natural class definable with a particular set of features which we have motivated independently for the explanation of tense interpretation, distribution of PRO, and so on. Moreover, the analysis we have offered provides us with an interesting generalization, as follows: when a specific feature is chosen by a particular grammar to determine the barrierhood of IPs, it always seems to be the case that this feature creates barrierhood only when its value specification provides more morphological substance than the opposite value specification. ⁷ For example, it is [+Tns] rather than [-Tns] which creates barrierhood of IPs in English. A more definitive evaluation of this cross-linguistic prediction, however, must await further research.

5. Summary and Conclusion:

To sum up, we first emphasized the need for the notion 'barrier' in syntactic theory. We then proposed that barrierhood of maximal projections is determined solely by the features percolated up from the head. It was shown in the latter half of the paper that the proposed theory allows us to account for a variety of facts which would otherwise remain mysterious.

Although we have limited our investigation strictly to the local government, extension of our approach to other aspects of grammar like the theories of bounding and binding, as has been pursued in Chomsky (1985), does not seem to be too unrealistic. For example, the intuition captured by the "WH-island Condition" seems to be worth re-examining, considering the relevance of the features [+WH] in the determination of barriers. The pursuit of this topic, however, must be left to future research.

NOTES:

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1. This analysis certainly implies that an exceptional Case marking construction is not an exceptional lexical government construction. This implication is well in accordance with Jaeggli's (1982) and Stowell's (1981) approach to ECP, in which lexical government is identified as coindexation of θ -grid and the subcategorized empty category. (Note that the exceptional Case marker does not θ -mark the subject in the embedded clause.)

The same environment, on the other hand, clearly permits antecedent government, as illustrated by the well-formed status of (i) below:

(i) John_i is believed [t_i to be intelligent]

2. Contrary to Stowell's observation, some gerunds may possibly be analyzed to have an overt complementizer.

An argument comes from the following observations made by Kayne (1981b). First, there is clear contrast between the gerundive complement of a verb and that of a preposition with respect to the extractability of its subject NP, as illustrated in (i) below:

- (i)
- a. John is the one who I would [_{VP} favor [t marrying her]]
- b. *John is the one who I'm angry [_{PP} at [t marrying her]]

Given the analyses in (i a-b), this contrast is unexpected, since *favor* and *at* do not seem to exhibit any difference relevant to the subject, for example, in their ability to assign Case, as can be seen in (ii) below:

- (ii) a. I would favor *him* marrying her
 b. I'm angry at *him* marrying her

Such a contrast, on the other hand, will completely disappear when the object rather than the subject of the gerund is extracted, as illustrated in (iii) below:

- (iii) a. Mary is the one who I would favor [him
marrying t]
- b. Mary is the one who I'm angry at [him
marrying t]

A quite mysterious asymmetry exists, in other words, not only between verbs and prepositions ((ia) vs. (ib)), but also between subjects and objects ((ib) vs. (iiib)).

Note, however, once we depart from the familiar analysis as in (ib), and regard the preposition *at* in this sentence as a prepositional complementizer of the gerund as in (iv) below, we can completely assimilate the problems here to other complementizer-trace phenomena (cf. Pesetsky (1982b)).

(iv)

*John is the one who I'm angry [~~at~~ at [t marrying her]]

It seems possible, therefore, to assume that some gerunds contain an overt complementizer.

3. Since an overt complementizer is present in (29a) as well as (29b) and (29c), these examples suggest that we cannot ascribe the lack of exceptional Case marking in indirect questions, for example in English, to the mere presence of phonetically non-null items like a moved *Wh*-phrase or a complementizer *whether* in COMP.

4. Some additional remarks concerning exceptional Case marking in Japanese are in order here.

First, it is permitted with adjectival and nominal present tense (*i* and *da*) but not with verbal present tense (*ru*) in a lower clause. (cf. Kuno (1976))

Second, as indicated in (29a), *o* (ACC) and *ga* (NOM) may alternate. This alternation is due, presumably, to the availability of both exceptional Case marking by a matrix predicate (ACC) and

contextual Case marking within the embedded clause (NOM). See Saito (1985) for the justification of the latter mechanism in Japanese.

5. At the annual meeting of the LSA (Seattle:1985), Susan Fischer brought the examples in (i) below into my attention:

- (i) a. *He pointed out [_{CP} *whether* we should go]
 b. *He pointed out [_{CP} *whether* to go]

While these examples indicate that complement selection in some cases involves further complications (cf. Hendrick and Rochemont (1982)), they do not affect our proposal, which predicts that the higher predicate cannot select an IP across a CP headed by a [+WH] COMP.

6. Japanese has a quasi exceptional Case marking construction as exemplified in (i) below, which has some bearing on the real exceptional Case marking construction:

- (i) boku wa Yamada-san no koto o hontoono hannin da to sitteita

(I TOP Yamada-san POS matter ACC real culprit PRES COMP knew)

'I knew about Yamada-san being the real culprit.'

As has been pointed out by Saito (1983), the Accusative-marked *koto*-phrase here cannot be the subject of the embedded clause, since a pronoun bound by this phrase may appear in the embedded subject position, as illustrated in (ii) below:

- (ii) boku wa Yamada-san_i no koto o [kare_i ga hontoono hannin da to] sitteita

(I TOP Yamada-san_i POSS matter ACC [he_i NOM real culprit PRES COMP] knew)

'I knew about Yamada-san that he was the real culprit.'

Since a *koto o* phrase is compatible with a [+WH] COMP in the embedded clause, it seems reasonable to conclude that this phrase is located outside the embedded CP, possibly functioning something like a topic phrase, as illustrated in (iii) below: (Note also that the *Wh-koto o* phrase can take only a matrix scope.)

(iii) *kimi wa [dare no koto o [CP dono ziken no hannin da ka]] sitteiru no*

(you TOP [who POSS matter ACC [CP which case POSS culprit PRES COMP[+WH]]] know Q)

'About whom do you know which case he is the culprit of?'
but not

'Do you know who is the culprit of which case?'

Compare (iii) above with the real exceptional Case marking construction as in (iv) below, which is incompatible with a [+WH] COMP: (cf. (29))

(iv) **kimi wa [CP dare o dono ziken no hannin da ka] sitteiru no*

(you TOP [CP who ACC which case POSS culprit PRES COMP[+WH]] know Q)

'Who do you know is the culprit of which case?'
or

'Do you know who is the culprit of which case?'

The above analysis of the quasi exceptional Case marking construction in Japanese is reminiscent of the left-dislocation structure proposed for a similar construction in Berber (Shlonsky and Sigler (1985)), as in (v) below: (Compare (iii) and (v) also with an English example in (vi).)

(v) *ssn-x [tarbatt [is t-ssers pro mucc x-tebbla]]*

(know-1s girl that 3fs-put she cat on-table)

'I know [as for] the girl, that she put the cat on the table.'

(vi) I believe of John that he is honest

Possibly by analogy, this left-dislocation structure seems to be available to some predicates in Japanese even without *koto*, as in (vii) below, thus, providing an apparent counterexample to our proposal: (Note that the Accusative marking is possible in (vii) despite the presence of *datta* ([+Past]) in the embedded clause.)

(vii) keisatu wa [Sigeko o [_{CP} [_{IP} Yamada no kyoochansya *datta*] to]] danteisita

(police TOP [Sigeko ACC [_{CP} [_{IP} Yamada POSS accomplice PAST] COMP]] concluded)

'The police concluded about Sigeko that she was Yamada's accomplice.'

The apparent status of this counterexample can be shown by the possibility of an embedded pronominal subject as in (viii) below:

(viii) keisatu wa [Sigeko_i o [kanozuyo_i ga Yamada no kyoochansya *datta* to]] danteisita

(police TOP [Shigeko_i ACC [she_i NOM Yamada's accomplice PAST COMP]] concluded)

'The police concluded about Shigeko that she was Yamada's accomplice.'

Compare (viii) with a real exceptional Case marking construction as in (ix) below:

(ix) *Shigeko wa [Yamada_i o kare_i ga sagisi da to] siranakatta

(Shigeko TOP [Yamada_i ACC he_i NOM swindler PRES COMP] know=NEG=PAST)

'Shigeko didn't know that Yamada was a swindler.'

7. If the theory of "underspecification" proposed in phonology (Kiparsky (1982)) can be extended to syntax, we might even be able to capture this generalization in terms of presence versus absence of features, assuming that the morphologically less substantial feature specification is carried out by default rules at a later stage of the derivation.

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