KANSAI GAIDAI UNIVERSITY

Subjunctives and Subject Obviation (Part II)

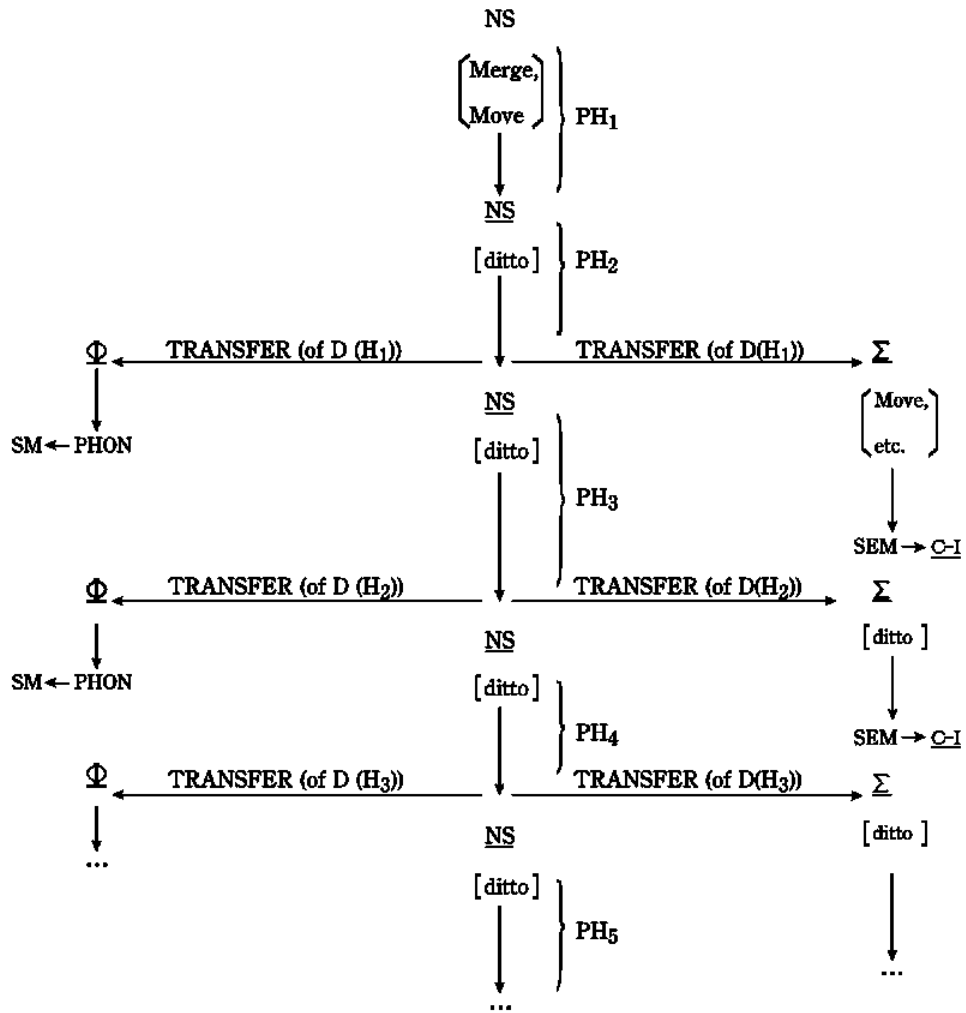# Subjunctives and Subject Obviation

(Part II)

Shin Oshima

4 . 2 . Binding theory, and Romance and Russian subjunctives

Let us see how we can account for subject obviation in Romance and Russian subjunctives in terms of binding theory, Condition B in particular. Following in spirit Chomsky (1993, 1995), and Fox (2000), I assume that Binding Conditions A, B, C apply in an interface component outside of narrow syntax and Σ. We are proposing that a strong phase (PH) with a subject constitutes the binding domain for Condition B (and perhaps Condition A), assuming that A-binding is the relevant notion of binding as standardly assumed.[13]
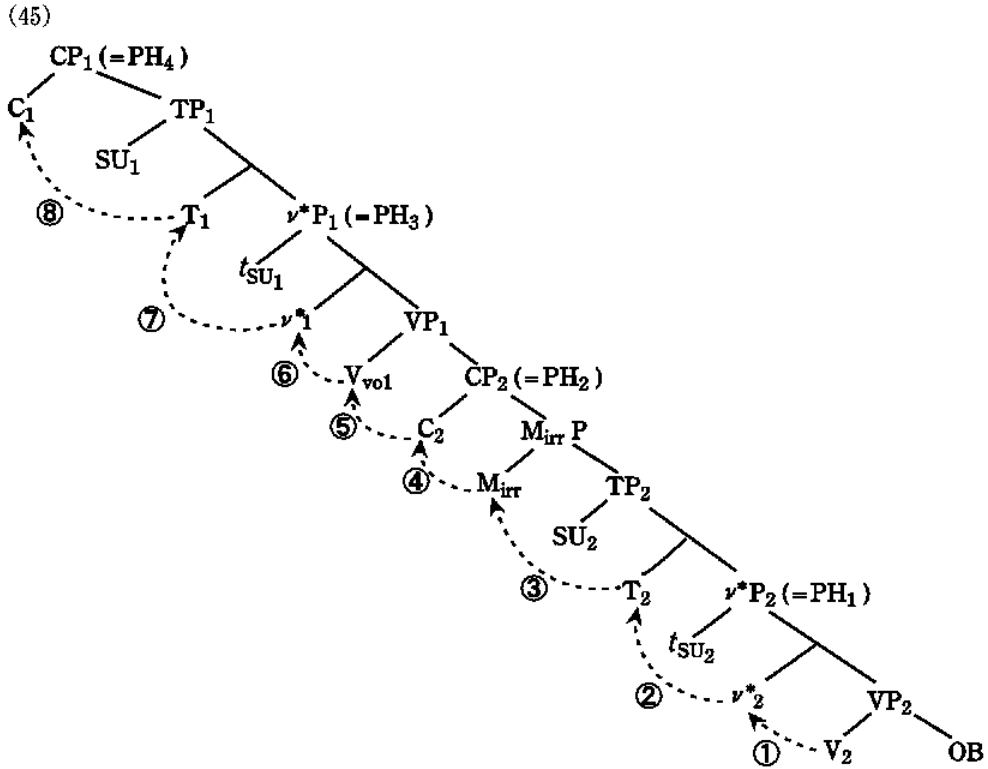
Before we go through derivation of subjunctive constructions, let us consider how derivation by phase proceeds, drawing on Chomsky's (2000, 2001a, 2001b) theory. The following chart (44) gives a rough idea of the flow of derivation, where 'NS' stands for narrow syntax, 'D (H)' for the domain of H(the head of a strong phase (PH)), 'SM' for sensorimotor (systems), and C-I for conceptual-intentional (systems).

(44) The flow char for derivation

NS

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Merge,} \\ \text{Move} \end{bmatrix}$ PH$_1$

↓

NS

[ditto] PH$_2$

Φ ← TRANSFER (of D (H$_1$)) ── TRANSFER (of D(H$_1$)) ── Σ

↓

SM ← PHON

NS

[ditto]

PH$_3$

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Move,} \\ \text{etc.} \end{bmatrix}$

↓

SEM → C-I

Φ ← TRANSFER (of D (H$_2$)) ── TRANSFER (of D(H$_2$)) ── Σ

↓

SM ← PHON

NS

[ditto]

PH$_4$

[ditto]

↓

SEM → C-I

Φ ← TRANSFER (of D (H$_3$)) ── TRANSFER (of D(H$_3$)) ── Σ

↓

...

NS

[ditto]

[ditto]

PH$_5$

↓

...

...

Valuation of uninterpretable features and evaluation/interpretation of the preceding PH is carried out as part of TRANSFER.

Next, let us turn to the derivation of subjunctives with the structure (45), built from the bottom up. I further assume without discussion that the head movement at issue is driven by the nature of the raising head as an overt or covert affix.

(45)

$CP_1 (=PH_4)$

C_1 TP_1

SU_1

⑧ · · · · · · T_1 $\nu^*P_1 (=PH_3)$

t_{SU_1}

⑦ · · · · · · ν^*_1 VP_1

⑥ · · · V_{vol} $CP_2 (=PH_2)$

⑤ · · · C_2 $M_{irr} P$

④ · · M_{irr} TP_2

SU_2

③ · · · · · T_2 $\nu^*P_2 (=PH_1)$

t_{SU_2}

② · · · · ν^*_2 VP_2

① · · · V_2 OB

Recall that we have shown that (partly) covert head raising in subjunctives as illustrated in (45) is motivated by semantic interpretation of the subjunctive tense on the basis of a higher indicative tense, much as covert raising of a quantifier for scope interpretation in QR. This (partly) covert head raising is paralleled by overt head raising elsewhere in language in general, as we have demonstrated at great length. By universality such overt head raising lends credence to the covert head raising.

Returning to (45), at the lowest strong phase (PH_1) level, ① takes place, raising V_2 to ν^*_2 overtly (perhaps universally). Next, ②, ③ and ④ take place in this order at the PH_2 level, as shown in (45). These cases of raising, like other head raisings in (45), are either over or covert depending on languages (ultimately hinging on the overt or covert nature of the affixhood of the head involved in each language). For instance, ② is overt for French but covert for Present-day English (through overt for Early English, with the subj. V-*not* order). We are assuming that the affixhood of the head drives raising to a higher head. Covert raising takes place in Σ, not in NS.

The raising ② triggers "phase collapse" and cancels PH_1. I argued for the mechanism of "phase collapse" in Oshima (2001, 2002) and defined it as follows:

(46) In structure (47), where $X°$, the head of a strong phase (PH), has incorporated to $H°$, a head, the trace t of $X°$ may lose the property of projecting to a strong phase.

(47)

```
                    HP
          H°-max              XP
      X°        H°       ...      
                              t_{X°}    ...
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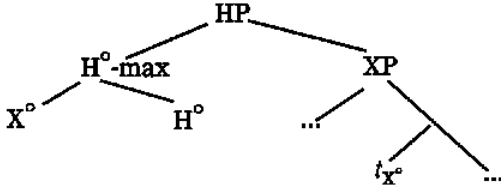
Thus, XP may no longer be a strong phase if (46) applies. $H°$ itself may or may not have the property of projecting to a strong phase. It will not acquire such a property through incorporating a PH-creating head $X°$ into it, for an incorporee (i.e., $X°$ in (47)) fails to project, as Chomsky (1995, Ch.4) has established. Suppose the trace of v^* and C always loses the PH-creating property in a particular language, say in French.

Returning to the derivation in (45), ③, raising of T_2-v^*_2-V_2 to M_{irr}, is overt in a language like Japanese, and ④ is overt in Russian (and Japanese, etc.) and covert in (some cases) in Balkan languages (e.g. Romanian; see (9), for instance). When PH_2 (CP_2) is completed the phonological material of VP_3, the domain of v^*_2, is transferred to Φ, and the non-phonological material of VP_2 is transferred to Σ. Σ operates on the input, yielding a semantic representation SEM, which is handed over to the interface component (IC), i.e. C-I. SEM should retain hierarchical structure needed for further semantic interpretation like binding theory.

At the PH_3, ⑤ overtly or covertly raises to matrix V the C that *crucially* contains M_{irr} (among other heads), triggering phase collapse and annulling PH_2 in NS or in Σ. ⑤ may be overt (e.g., perhaps in Vata and Haitian (cf. § 4.1.)) or covert (in most other languages). If C does not contain M_{irr}, as in indicatives, C cannot raise into the higher clause, at least for the purposes of subjunctive tense interpretation (though it may for focusing as in Vata (see (42)), Haitian (see (43)), etc.). Thus, there will be no phase collapse and hence no subject obviation, in indicatives.

Perhaps, ⑥ is crosslinguistically overt as noted above. With the completion of PH_3, $M_{irr}P$ (the domain of C_2) is transferred to Φ and Σ. Σ operates on the transferred material of $M_{irr}P$, yielding a semantic representation SEM, which in turn is sent to the interface component, where the SEM is grafted onto the already delivered SEM. Condition B for example applies here, imposing interpretation regarding referential dependency. At the next PH_4, T_1 attracts the complex of v^*_1-V_{vol} (with C_2) overtly (e.g. in French) or covertly (e.g. in English) in step

⑦, canceling PH₃, in NS or in Σ respectively. At the completion of PH₄, VP₁ gets transferred to Φ and Σ, the latter of which operates on the non-phonological features of VP₁ and its output goes to the interface component for further interpretation.

The question arises how CP₁ is transferred to Φ and Σ. One approach is to adopt Ross' (1970) Performative Analysis of generating an abstract matrix clause with the speaker as subject and the addressee as indirect object plus the abstract verb SAY, which selects the overt sentence in (45), as Chomsky suggests. On this approach, CP₁ is transferred to Φ and Σ when the abstract clause is completed. Another approach is to say that when the matrix clause (CP₁) is completed, the entire remaining structure, not the domain of the matrix v^*_1 (VP₁) alone, is transferred.

Either way, at the stage where CP₁ has undergone operations in Σ, its output is sent to the IC and grafted onto the so far constructed semantic structure in it. Now Condition B applies to the matrix and the embedded subject in the hierarchical semantic structure, now both within one and the same strong phase, imposing subject obviation interpretation on the latter, say in (19), (20a), (21a), and (22a) in Romance, and in (24b) in Russian.

It is important to repeat that raising of the subjunctive T to higher indicative T is required for tense/event interpretation in these languages. Otherwise the subjunctive T (T₂) would be separated from the higher indicative T (T₁) by two phase boundaries, PH₂ and PH₃. Hence T₂ could not be interpreted on the basis of T₁ in Σ, because $M_{irr}P$ has been transferred to the IC via Σ by the time the CP₁ structure containing T₁ is transferred to Σ, where T₁ becomes available to interpretation for tense/event structure in Σ. This means that Condition B applies not in Σ but in the IC.

In the IC, unless phase collapse has applied to (45) by virtue of head raising as discussed above, the PIC prevents Condition B from applying to the matrix and the embedded subject in the reconstituted semantic structure in the IC. So for this theory-internal reason head raising into the higher clause is required for an account of subject obviation on the *DVP* theory.

Suppose the structure in (45) is embedded below another volitional verb that selects for a subjunctive complement. CP₁ then must contain subjunctive C(e.g. *ca*, not indicative *că*, in Romanian), so C₁ selects for M_{irr} as in CP₂ (and unlike in CP₁) in (45). Even with this change in (45) plus the additional superordinate clause, we get only a single PH at the end of derivation instead of six PHs we started out with, due to phase collapse.

Such a structure is illustrated by (48):

(48) Jean$_i$ vent qu'il$_{j/*i}$ desire qu'il$_j$ aime Marie. (Fr)

　　　Jean wants that-he wishes-SUBJ that-he loves-SUBJ Marie

　　　(Progovac 1993:45)

Notice that SU$_2$ (i.e. il_i) is disjoint in reference from SU$_1$ (i.e. $il_{j/*i}$), which in turn is referential-ly disjoint from the matrix subject, call it SU$_0$, (i.e. $Jean_i$), while SU$_2$ corefers with SU$_0$.

　　　Now, if the entire sentence ultimately forms a single PH, as our analysis predicts, we ex-pect SU$_2$ to be obviative relative to SU$_0$, contrary to fact. In order to account for this fact, I sug-gest that the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) intervenes to block the disjoint reference interpre-tation of SU$_2$ relative to SU$_0$: SU$_1$ blocks Condition B from applying to the pair of SU$_0$ and SU$_2$, while being subject to the condition with regard to SU$_0$.

　　　This implies that universal principles like the MLC apply in the component where Condi-tion B holds, an interface component, as well as in NS and perhaps in the semantic component Σ. This view of linguistic principles is clearly a null hypothesis, since they are taken to apply anywhere in derivation without any restrictions. Our claim about the MLC is supported by the fact that it provides a natural solution to a long-standing problem in obviation in Romance lan-guages. Obviation affects only the subject of the subjunctive clause, not the object.

　　　Consider (49).

(49) Jean$_i$ veut [qu'il$_{j/*i}$　le$_{i/k}$　　montre] (Fr)

　　　Jean$_i$ wants that-he$_{j/*i}$ it/him$_{j/k}$ shows

　　　(Tsoulas 1996:300)

If phase collapse applies to (49) as I claim, then not only the subject but the object of the sub-junctive clause should be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject; the same comment ap-plies to (5) in Catalan. But the MLC prevents Condition B from applying to the pair of the matrix subject and the embedded object, since the embedded subject intervenes, c-commanding the object.

　　　Notice that we have succeeded in accounting for subject obviation in Romance and Russian without resort to the dubious claim of Avrutin & Babyonyshev's (1997) that what undergoes Condition B is Agr, not arguments like pronominals. The claim is implausible since Agr does not have reference nor serve as an antecedent for an anaphor. After all, binding theory deals with referential dependency.

4. 3. Binding theory, and Balkan and English subjunctives

Our account poses the question why it is apparently possible for subject obviation to be absent in Balkan and English volitional subjunctives. Let us first consider Balkan languages in the light of our discussion above. In all Balkan languages a subjunctive particle (our M_{irr} element) and the following verb are always adjacent (Krapova 2001, note 7), which points to overt raising of V to M_{irr}, resulting in cliticization. In Romanian, *să* an M_{irr} element cannot raise overtly to *ca* in C but may do so to a null C, which occurs only when no lexical material intervenes between C and M_{irr}. That is, when a lexical element overtly appears between C and M_{irr}, *ca* must occur, not a null C. *Ca* does not overtly attract *să*, only covertly, I claim. Let us say then that in general, M_{irr} raises to C either overtly or covertly in Balkan languages.

As observed in § 3, Romanian and other Balkan languages apparently fail to manifest subject obviation. Terzi (1992) argues that Modern Greek does in fact show subject obviation, claiming that at S-structure (50) is structurally ambiguous between (51a) and (51b) (see Krapova 2001 also).

(50) O Yiannis theli   na   fai   to   rizogalo.
     Joan wants PRT[SUBJ] eats the rice pudding
     'Joan wants (him/her) to eat the rice pudding.'

(51) a. O Yiannis theli $[_{CP}[_C$ na fai$_i][_{MP}$ pro $[_{M'}$ t $_i$ to rizogalo$]]]$
     b. O Yiannis theli $[_{CP}[_C$ O$][_{MP}$ PRO $[_{M'}$ na fai to rizogalo$]]]$[14]
     (Terzi 1992:85)

Modern Greek is a null subject language (NSL), as are other Balkan languages. If they pattern with Romance, pro in (51a) should be obviative with respect to the matrix subject under phase collapse in our account. In contrast, the structure in (51b) yields control interpretation for (50), thus giving rise to the apparent absence of subject obviation in (50). Terzi motivates the distinction in structure between (51a) and (51b) in terms of government possibilities: pro appears in a governed position, while PRO occurs in an ungoverned position in Modern Greek on grounds of their differential distribution. See Terzi (1992, § 3.2.3) for details. However, this account does not seem to extend to all of the rest of the Balkan languages. Besides, the notion of government is abandoned in the Minimalist framework, so we can no longer appeal to any analysis in terms of government.

On the other hand, Dobrovie-Sorin (2001) claims that in Balkan languages, control structures involve pro, which is underspecified for its status as pronominal or anaphoric, on the assumption that pro in these languages is contextually determined either as pronominal ("obviative" pro) or as an anaphor ("controlled pro"), much as first and second person pronouns in Romance languages and Early English (see Oshima, to appear).

This analysis is plausible, since Japanese behaves much the same way with regard to control, involving pro.

(52) a. John-ga [Mary-ga   ku-ru   -yoo-nito] sizisi-ta.
        John-NOM Mary-NOM come-PRES -M$_{irr}$-that instruct-PAST
        'John ordered that Mary come.'
    b. John-ga   Mary-ni [pro ku-ru   -yoo-nito] sizisi-ta.
        John-NOM Mary-DAT come-PRES-M$_{irr}$-that   instruct-PAST
        'John instructed Mary to come.'

In (52b) the subject pro in the embedded tensed clause is controlled by the matrix object.

Let us adopt then this approach for Balkan languages in general, for it easily extends to Balkan languages other than Modern Greek since they are all NSLs. Both (51a) and (51b) should be something like (53):

(53) O Yiannis theli [$_{CP}$ pro na fai to rizogalo]

For this account to go through in our terms, we need to assume that subjunctive T in Balkan languages may optionally have some property that correlates with the affixhood of the containing C. If subjunctive T (i.e. the T incorporated into M$_{irr}$) has this property, then the C must be an affix and (covertly) raises to the matrix V, triggering phase collapse and yielding subject obviation. If not, the mechanism of control applies so that pro comes to be controlled by the matrix subject in (53), one possible analysis of control. See Dobrovie-Sorin (2001:52-54) for such an analysis. For another possible approach, see Landau (2000) for an account of control in terms of an operation Agree, which might be adapted to control of pro. We will return to this property below.

English is also apparently exempt from subject obviation, but it is not amenable to the above analysis of the apparent absence of obviation, since it is not an NSL and its complement

to the control verb is not finite as in Balkan languages.

There is another difference between English and Balkan: in the former the verb in the subjunctive complement is uninflected for tense, while in the latter it is always in the present tense. In this connection, it is worth while noting that in Russian, subjunctive verbs are always in the preterit, accompanied by the subjunctive maker *by*. The preterit tense in Russian and the present tense in Balkan languages seem to indicate that the feature [+Tense] in the subjunctive in these languages is further specified foe [+Past] and [−Past] respectively, which must receive a proper tense/event interpretation, as noted in § 4.1, on the basis of a higher indicative T. The subjunctive tense, preterit or present, does not denote preterit or present; rather it always denotes a future-oriented tense relative to a higher indicative tense, so it must be related to the latter.

English subjunctive verbs lack morphology, apparently not possessing tense or agreement. Since the subject bears a nominative feature [NOM] in the subjunctive complement, however, the clause must contain [+Tense, +Finite] T and hence Agr (i.e. Φ-features), if one adopts Chomsky's (2001a. b) theory of Agree and Case "assignment", as we do here. Furthermore, Old English possessed overt subjunctive morphology, which suggests, given Uniformity, that modern English also does, only failing to overtly realize it. So it means that the Φ-features on subjunctive T are vacuously realized in modern English, perhaps because T is not associated with the feature [+/−Past].

I suggest the following feature make-up for the English mood-tense system: finite T in indicatives consist of features [+Finite], [+Tense], [+/−Past], and a full Φ-set, nonfinite T in control infinitivals [−Finite], [+Tense], and a full Φ-set, raising/ECM T [−Finite], [−Tense], and [person] (on Chomsky's approach).[16] Indicative T "assigns" NOM, so does subjunctive T, perhaps by virtue of the fact that they both possess a set of features [+Finite], [+Tense], and a *full Φ-set*. Control T assigns Null Case by a set of the features [−Finite], [+Tense], and a *full Φ-set*.

As for Balkan languages, finite indicative T is identical to English finite indicative T in its featural make-up, and assigns NOM. Subjunctive T carries [+Finite], [+Tense], [−Past], and a *full Φ-set*, and assigns NOM by virtue of the combination of features [+Finite], [+Tense], and a *full Φ-set*, as expected. Similarly, Russian subjunctive T with [+Finite], [+Tense], and a *full Φ-set* (plus [+Past]) assigns NOM.

Romance finite indicative T is identical to its counterpart in feature composition in English and Balkan languages. Romance subjunctive T assigns NOM with [+Finite], [+Tense], and a

full Φ-set in the same manner; however, it is distinct from its counterpart in English in that it has tense specification. That is, it is specifiable for either [+Past] or [-Past]. This tense specification with regard to [Past] may be tied to the affixhood of C, which drives C-to-V raising. In Russian, subjunctive T is always specified for [+Past] and always drives such raising, as in Romance.

Suppose that in Balkan subjunctives, T contains an unvalued feature [Past], which receives a default value [-Past], and optionally bestows an affixal nature on C. When C acquires affixhood, it raises into the higher clause, triggering phase collapse and yielding subject obviation. If C does not become an affix, it remains in situ, thus voiding the obviation effect. Control comes into play instead. Hence we get the apparent lack of subject obviation in Balkan subjunctives. The default [-Past] of subjunctive T receives the interpretation of "being future-oriented", much as English control infinitival T does, in the IC on the semantic side. (We will reevaluate the close resemblance of subjunctive T to control infinitive T in §5.1).

In contrast, English subjunctive T completely lacks specification for [+/-Past] or even an unvalued feature [Past]. Thus, the C that selects subjunctive T is never an affix, and hence never raises into a higher clause, failing to trigger phase collapse. This may be taken to explain why subject obviation does not hold in English subjunctives. We will revisit this issue in §5.3.

This analysis calls for a separate mechanism for interpreting subjunctive T in English. It might in effect say that subjunctive T with [+Tense] (but without [Past]) and a full Φ-set is interpreted to be "future-oriented/unrealized." This mechanism may be motivated on grounds that this mechanism is independently needed for interpretation of control infinitival T in English as "future-oriented/unrealized" (in Stowell's (1982) view), for control T also bears features [+Tense] and a full Φ-set, but not [Past].

This account leaves the case of the Japanese volitional subjunctive unexplained, however, for it apparently possesses the present tense like Balkan languages and yet it lacks subject obviation like English. We will return to the problem in §5.3.

5. Some Potential Problems

5.1. Infinitival clauses in Japanese

An anonymous referee cites the following Japanese sentence (54), which contains a nonfinite complement, and points out that no subject obviation obtains in the sentence, which in his view constitutes "counterevidence" to our analysis in the preceding section.

(54) Taroo$_i$-ga [kare$_i$-ga/PRO$_i$ hikiuke-yoo-to]   teiansi-ta.

Taroo-Nom he-Nom/PRO accept.task-M$_{irr}$-for (COMP) propose-Past

'Taroo offered to do it.'

On close examination this example proves to provide further evidence in support of our analysis, not counterevidence at all, as we will see. We will take up the issue of the absence of obviation in § 5.3. The referee has simply confused subjunctives with infinitivals. A sentence like (54) is not considered in this article, since it contains an infinitival, not a (finite) subjunctive, complement.

This sentence however raises an interesting question why an infinitival clause also apparently contains the V-*yoo*-C complex, just as in volitional subjunctives, in Japanese. In my view this fact seems to be another indication of close similarities between volitional subjunctives and control infinitivals.

As pointed out in § 3, Romance languages and Russian employ the infinitival control constructions to express the coreference between matrix subject and embedded subject, avoiding the subjunctive complement because of subject obviation (e.g. (20b) vs. (20a), (21b) vs. (21a), (22b) vs. (22a); (25) vs. (24b)). By contrast, Balkan languages, which largely or entirely lack infinitival clauses, exploit the subjunctive complement for both proximate and obviative constructions (e.g. (23a)-(23d)). Interestingly, the M$_{irr}$ element *by* in Russian subjunctives also occurs in infinitivals, an observation due to Progovac (1993:45), as noted in § 4.1. See (30), repeated below:

(30) Ja xotjél *by* s vámi pogovorîtj.

I want M$_{irr}$ with you to-speak

'I would like to speak with you.'

This is a clear indication that Russian control infinitives contain the M$_{irr}$ head.

Furthermore, "rationale clauses" (see Faraci 1974) in Russian are (finite) subjunctive clauses introduced by *čtoby* when the embedded subject is distinct from the matrix subject, while they are infinitival, also introduced by *čtoby*, when both subjects are indentical, i.e. control infinitivals. That is, the infinitival rationale clause in Russian contains *čtoby*, a combination of C and M$_{irr}$, which confirms our position that control infinitivals contain M$_{irr}$ in Russian. See (55).

(55) a. My zašli   k sosedke *čtoby*   ona ne obidelas.

　　We dropped-in on neighbor in-order-that she not got-upset

　　'We dropped in on the neighbor in order that she might not get upset.'

　b. My zašli   k sosedke   *čtoby*   otdat ej ključi.

　　We dropped-in on neighbor in-order-that to-give her key

　　'We dropped in on the neighbor in order to give her the key.'

The examples in (30) and (55b) show that control infinitives in Russian come in two varieties: infinitival complements, which are *actually* introduced by a null C, as in (30) (a correction of our observation based on Progovac's view; see our discussion of (30)), and infinitival adjuncts (i.e. rationale clauses), which are introduced by the regular complementizer *čto*, as in (55b).

English also displays such similarities. As noted at the end of § 2, even auxiliaries like *be*, which can otherwise raise to T, may not raise to T across sentential negation *not* as in (15) nor across VP-peripheral sentence adverbs as in (16) in volitional subjunctives, to be repeated below:

(15) a. I demand/insist/request that my name not *be* mentioned.

　　b. They required that he not *have* to resign.

(16) The doctor proposed that the patient probably *be* examined a second time.

See the discussion there for more evidence that all types of verbs fail to raise to T in volitional subjunctives.

Control infinitivals pattern with volitional subjunctives in this regard. All kinds of verb including auxiliaries may not raise across sentential negation and VP-peripheral sentential adverbs. Observe (56), where (a) and (b) are consistently far better than (a') and (b') respectively, according to my native informant.

(56) a. The queen wants you to not be inattentive.

　　a'. ?*The queen wants you to be not inattentive. (on a "sentential negation" reading, i.e., on the reading of "The queen desires that it not be the case that you are inattentive; NOT on the "constituent negation" reading of "not inattentive=attentive")

　　b. ?During his lectures, we want to absolutely be paying attention to his every word.

　　b'. ?*During his lectures, we want to be absolutely paying attention to his every word.

Consider next (57) and (57') with *do*-support.

(57) a. the neighbors asked that we not party so loudly.

　　b. Contrary to what the polls say, we suggest that Jimmy run for re-election.

(57') a. *The neighbors asked that we *don*'t party so loudly.

　　b. ?*Contrary to what the polls say, we suggest that Jimmy *do* run for re-election.

　　(Potsdam 1998:138, 141, 142)

While the sentences in (57) are fine, those in (57') are bad, much degraded in status. The sentences in (57') indicate that subjunctives do not allow *do*-support in negatives (57'a) or in emphatics (57'b).

　　Control infinitives analogously disallow *do*-support.

(58) a. *The neighbors asked us to *don*'t party so loudly.

　　b. ?*Contrary to what the polls say, we urge Jimmy to *do* run for re-election.

Since control infinitives do possess the same subjunctive markers as volitional subjunctives in Russian (see (30)), (55b) with *by* and in Japanese (see (54) with *yoo*), we might entertain the view that these infinitivals also contain the subjunctive head M_{irr}.

　　The similarities pointed out above lead us to conjecture that control infinitivals indeed possess the M_{irr} head like volitional subjunctives in Russian, Romance languages, English, and crucially in Japanese for the issue at hand. If this is correct, the Japanese control infinitival in (54) will, just like the Russian one in (30) and (55b), contain M_{irr} plus [+Tense] T (but without [past]), v^*, and V as well as C, much as volitional subjunctives do. The M_{irr} head is represented by *yoo* and C by *to* in control infinitives in Japanese (cf. *ni*(*to*) in C in volitional subjunctives). In (54) then, V-v^* raises to (null) tensed T, which raises to M_{irr}, which in turn raises to C, al overtly, much as in subjunctives, yielding the V-v^*-*yoo*-*to* complex.

　　This account of control infinitivals strengthens the case for our analysis of Japanese subjunctives in terms of overt movement of V-to-v^*-to-T-to- M_{irr}-to-C plus its further covert raising to higher T: the account captures the fact that control infinitivals share some significant syntactic and semantic properties with volitional subjunctives.

　　As for T in control (non-subject) infinitivals, the idea that this T is tensed is now more or less the standard view (advocated by Pesetsky 1991; Martin 1996, 2001; Bošković 1997; Wurm-

brand 1998; Landau 2000, among others), which originates in Stowell (1982). He notes that unlike gerunds, control infinitives contain the tense that is "understood as being unrealized" at the moment denoted by the tense of the matrix. Nichols (1999:149) observes that 'the "unrealized" or "irrealis" interpretation of infinitives with respect to a main clause is a temporal dependency that not only correlates with but arguably is produced by movement of the tense head T to the head of the infinitive CP projection.' Her observation supports our conjecture as regards clause-internal head raising in control infinitivals.

Thus, it is clear from the above discussion that the sentence (54) is not a counterexample to our analysis. On the contrary, it provides a striking confirmation of the analysis instead, once we examine this example in depth.

5. 2. Condition A

Another problem that comes to mind concerns an implication of our account for Condition A. If Condition A shares the binding domain with Condition B (i.e. a strong phase with a subject), which is however not obvious, then the empirical prediction under our analysis is that an anaphor in the subject position of the subjunctive clause should be bound by an antecedent in the immediately higher clause in languages like Romance languages, which allow raising of the subjunctive T to a higher T, thus triggering phase collapse. In contrast, it should not be so bound in languages like English, which do not allow such raising.

The latter prediction is borne out by English facts, as in (59a):

(59) a. *I insisted (that) myself be allowed to speak. (Subjunctive)
   (Culicover 1997:396)

   b. *Mary believes that herself is intelligent. (indicative)

It is difficult to put the former prediction to an empirical test, however, because Romance languages and Russian avoid the subjunctive clause as complement to a verb of volition in favor of the infinitival control construction, when the embedded subject is referentially dependent on the matrix subject.

Modern Greek presents a special problem for our account as well as for standard accounts. Notice that the finite indicative complement clause constitutes the binding domain for Condition B, as is clearly demonstrated in (60a), but a reflexive pronoun *o eautós tou* 'the-NOM self-NOM of his' or '(*lit*) hisself' can occur in the embedded subject position of the complement to a verb

like *pisteúi*, 'thinks', which selects for an indicative clause, as in (60b).

(60) a. O Giánnis$_i$ pisteúi [óti [autós$_{i/j}$ eínai phílos mou]]

The John$_i$ thinks that he$_{i/j}$ is friend my

'John thinks that he is my friend.'

b. O Giánnis$_i$ pisteúi [óti [o eautós tou$_i$ eínai phílós mou]]

The John thinks that the-NOM self-NOM of-his is friend of-mine

(*Lit*) 'John thinks that hisself is my friend.'

(Rivero 1988:415)

Therefore, we must first determine the binding domain for Condition A in Modern Greek, which may be distinct from that for Condition B. Alternatively, *eautós tou* 'his self' could be a logophor and hence it is not subject to binding. We leave this issue unresolved here.

5. 3. A crosslinguistic contrast in subject obviation

A more serious problem has to do with our account of a contrast between English and Romance, etc. in subject obviation. The conclusion which we reached in § 4.3 was that the comparatively rich subjunctive morphology (as in Romance, Russian, etc.) triggers the relevant head raising, hence phase collapse, while the bare subjunctive morphology does not (as in English).

This seems to be plausible enough as far as the data covered here and in the preceding literature in general are concerned. However, Old French data cast doubt on this conclusion. The fact is that subject obviation did not hold in Old French with rich subjunctive inflection, as is demonstrated in (61):

(61) a. *Roland* 3476. E li Franceis n'unt talent que s'en algent;

Franks not-have desire that (they) leave-SUB

'The Franks do not desire to leave;'

b. *Chrétien* 1920-1921. ...or ai grant envie que je seüsse vostre non;

now (I) have grand desire that I knew-SUB your name

'Now I wish I had known your name then;'

c. *Griseldis* 135. Je vueil que je soye batu,

I want that I be-SUB beaten

'I want to be beaten.'

[All the above glosses are mine, with the help of Professor Yorio Otaka.]

La chanson de Roland dates from 1100 A.D., *Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes* from the late 12th century, and *L'estoire de Griseldis* from the late 14th century.

Similarly, volitional subjunctives in Old English do not display subject obviation despite the fact that old English had full-blown subjunctive morphology. Consider (62).

(62) a. *ChronA* 167. Her   Eleutherius on Rome onfeng   bisc dom,   &   þone

                    in this year Eleutherius in Rome received Episcopal see and the

                    wuldor fæstlice   .xv.   winter geheold; To þam Lucius$_i$ Breten

                    glory steadfastly fifteen winter held   to him Lucius$_i$ Britain

                    kyning sende stafas, bæd þæt he$_i$ wære   Cristen gedon & ...

                    king   sent letters, asked that he$_i$ were-SUB Christian made and ...

                           'In this year Eleutherius received the episcopal see in Rome, and held the glory steadfastly for fifteen years; Lucius$_i$, king of Britain, sent letters to him and asked that he$_i$ might be made a Christian, and ...'

  b. *ChronA* 874. ... þy ilcan geare hie   sealdon anum unwisum cyninges þegne Miercna

                    the same year they gave   a   foolish   king's   thane of-Mercia

                    rice   to haldanne, & he$_i$ him aþas swor &   gislas   salde,

                    kingdom to hold   and he$_i$ them oaths swore and hostages gave

                    þæt he$_i$ him gearo wære   swa hwelce dæge swa hie hit habban

                    that he$_i$ them ready were-SUB as   which day as   they it to-have

                    wolden, ...

                    desired, ...

                         '... the same year they gave a foolish king's thane the kingdom of Mercia to hold, and he$_i$ swore them oaths and gave hostages that he$_i$ would be ready for them whenever they desired to have it, ...'

                       [The glosses are mine.]

Thus, it may be necessary to rethink a crosslinguistic contrast in phase collapse in volitional subjunctives. The question to ask should be the following: Is it really in terms of rich versus impoverished subjunctive morphology?

Further, as noted at the end of § 3, Japanese does not exhibit subject obviation in volitional subjunctives, as in (63).

(63) Hanako$_i$-wa [$_{CP}$ kanozyo$_{i/j}$-ga seikoosu-ru-yoo-nito] inot-ta.
      Hanako-Top   she-Nom   succeed-Pres-M$_{irr}$-C   pray-Past
      'Hanako prayed that she succeed.'

The subjunctive tense in Japanese is restricted to present just like in Balkan languages, yet Japanese volitional subjunctives do not display subject obviation, apparently unlike Balkan languages. This may suggest that they also lack subject obviation after all, like Japanese. We will return to this in a moment.

An obvious alternative analysis needed then would be an approach adopted in Oshima (2002). Namely, we might say that the subjunctive tense (i.e. M$_{irr}$-T) obligatorily raises to a higher indicative tense (T) in all of these languages, so we no longer require a separate mechanism for interpreting subjunctive T in a language like English, a step in the right direction. Let us propose that when a phase-creating head raises to a higher head, the property of phase-creation associated with the raised head may or may not be retained by the 'trace' copy left behind, as suggested in Oshima (2002). The raised head, adjoined to a higher head, cannot project its properties, as shown by Chomsky (1995, Ch. 4), so that if the trace does not project the phase-creating property, phase collapse takes place. If the trace copy retains the property, phase collapse will not occur. Thus, it seems then that in effect, a parameter with respect to the retention of the phase-creating capability accounts for the crosslinguistic distinction in subject obviation, not morphological richness.

In Present-day English, Old English, Old French, and Japanese, the trace of a raised C retains the property of phase creation, among the languages under consideration. Hence phase collapse does not occur despite the raising of C in these languages. I suggest then that the volitional subjunctive T (i.e. M$_{irr}$-T) is linked to the C that raises to a higher indicative T for the purposes of interpretation, in all the languages considered here, and perhaps universally.

This alternative analysis opens up the possibility of treating Balkan languages on a par with Old English, Old French, present-day English, and Japanese. It is predicted then that Balkan languages exhibit no subject obviation in volitional subjunctives. This account obviates the necessity to posit a control rule for volitional subjunctives with a proximate subject in these languages.

Further work is clearly required for reaching any firm conclusion on this issue. But this alternateive analysis seems more promising than the earlier one.

Notes

13. As briefly mentioned earlier, I assume that the binding domain (BD) is a strong phase with a subject, which need not be distinct from the pronominal/anaphor in question. I argue for this new definition of the local domain in Oshima (to appear).

14. Balkan languages lack infinitival clauses largely or entirely and employ finite clauses as control complementation. See Terzi (1992), Krapova (2001), Dobrovie-Sorin (1994, 2001), and Barbosa (1995), among others.

15. Alternatively, the feature [+/−Finite] might be associated with an independent head Fin(ite), which sits below Force and above T, in a split CP structure like the one proposed by Rizzi (1997).

Appendix

Old French Works used:

Chrétien: *Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes,*] III: *Le chevalier de la charrete* 1920-1921, publié par M. Roques, Paris, Champion, 1958.

Griseldis: *L'estoire de Griseldis*, edited by B.M. Craig, University of Kansas Press, 1954.

Roland: *La chanson de Roland,* texte original et traduction, par G. Moignet, Paris, Bordas, 1989.

Old English Work used

ChronA: The Parker Chronicle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles,* edited by C. Plummer, Oxford University Press, 1972.

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