

Review

Reviewed Work(s): Subjects in Japanese and English by Yoshihisa Kitagawa

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mentary paper ('Do acoustic landmarks constrain the coordination of articulatory events?', 259–63) offers evidence that acoustic landmarks are not the only constraints, showing how other aspects, such as syllable position, can have an effect.

The somewhat disparate section labeled 'Phonetic output' treats variation, speech synthesis, and Gesture Theory. In the Labovian framework, MALCAH YAEGER-DROR ('Phonetic evidence for sound change in Quebec French', 267–92) uses the phonetics lab to assess sound change in Quebec French vowels. JOHN COLEMAN describes one aspect of the YorkTalk speech synthesis system ('Polysyllabic words in the YorkTalk synthesis system', 293–324), namely, the way it handles lexical processes such as flapping. KEITH JOHNSON'S comments ('Phonetic arbitrariness and the input problem', 325–30), although praising the model for its explicitness, indicate areas in which it might have been theoretically better motivated, raising issues around the relationship between phonetics and phonology. CATHERINE P. BROWMAN ('Lip aperture and consonant releases', 331–53) uses x-ray data and other evidence to decompose lip movement into both a consonantal and vocalic component. JOHN KINGSTON ('Change and stability in the contrasts conveyed by consonant releases', 354–61) suggests that there may be other explanations for the open vocal tract than representing the gesture for the vowel. [G. TUCKER CHILDS, *University of Toronto.*]

Subjects in Japanese and English. By YOSHIHISA KITAGAWA. (Outstanding dissertations in linguistics.) New York & London: Garland, 1994. Pp. 404.

This University of Massachusetts Amherst dissertation dates from 1986 and contains many arguments and theoretical suggestions that have stimulated much discussion in the literature in the intervening years. It is reproduced here in its original state, modulo the addition of a few footnotes. The central focus of the thesis is one of the earliest articulations of the influential VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis (ISH) although in a somewhat different form than the straightforward D-structure-as-theta-structure version argued for elsewhere.

After a discussion of the basic assumptions of the adopted framework (Government and

Binding), the thesis opens with a discussion of the problematic nature of complex verbal forms in Japanese (Ch. 2, 'Complex predicates in Japanese,' 17–204). Kitagawa provides extensive evidence that affixal verbal forms (passive, causative, past tense, etc.) undergo word-level phonological processes as a unit with the root verb—that is, the [V + affix] combination is assigned stress, undergoes voicing spread, and obeys the OCP as a word, rather than as a phrase. K argues that these forms must thus be derived in the lexicon and subsequently inserted into the syntax as single words.

K then turns to the syntax of these types of verbal complexes, reiterating three of the well-known arguments for syntactic complementation. Given the position that the complex verbal form is a single word at D-structure, his solution to the paradox of their apparent biclausal nature is an Excorporation analysis. According to the 'affix-raising' hypothesis he advances, the individual morphemes raise at LF to adjoin to I, which is reanalyzed as a V to create a VP-shell-type structure, expressing the complementation effects. On K's analysis, the subject (and indeed the object) in Japanese is generated in Spec-IP at D-structure. After the reanalysis produced by affix-raising, the subject is governed by the verb at LF. This is the crucial relation that defines K's version of the ISH. An interesting aspect of the affix-raising analysis is that not all such affix-raising will be string-vacuous—in reciprocal, negated or honorific forms the honorific/reciprocal/negative morpheme is left behind with the verbal root, while the (morphologically more embedded) complement-taking causative or passive morpheme excorporates. K argues that the narrow scope of the stranded morpheme cannot be accounted for on a verb-raising approach to the affixation process.

In Ch. 3 ('Deriving subjects', 220–66), K presents his analysis of English as an underlyingly VOS language, with the subject base-generated inside the VP at D-structure (in contrast to Japanese) and subsequently raising to the specifier of IP. At LF, the trace of the raised subject will be governed by the verb, and hence satisfies K's LF condition on the position of subjects. The presence of this trace is argued to account for properties of adverbial and modal scope. K extends the approach to inversion in Romance languages, arguing that the presence of the governed trace of the subject inside the VP allows a natural account of such constructions.

The final chapter ('Binding theory', 273–366)

is an attempt to develop a theory of binding that defines binding domains in terms of case-assignment—'lexical' case (e.g. English nominative) creates a binding domain, while nonlexical case (e.g. genitive, Japanese *-ga*) does not. K presents an interesting argument against an agreement-based theory of binding (Agr as SUBJECT) using data from Portuguese gerundive infinitivals, and goes on to discuss binding in English and Japanese.

This thesis contains the seeds of many later developments, including a suggestion that the role of D-structure should be questioned, as K maintains that the crucial relation between a verb and its subject is established at LF. Some of the hypotheses advanced here are *prima facie* somewhat unusual, but are based on solid empirical results and have influenced much recent research. It certainly makes for an interesting and informative read. [HEIDI HARLEY, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*.]

A grammar of Berbice Dutch Creole.

By SILVIA KOUWENBERG. (Mouton grammar library 12.) Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994. Pp. xviii, 693. Library binding \$212.00.

Berbice Dutch (BD), spoken in the interior of Guyana on the Berbice River, is the only uncontroversial Dutch-based Creole language still spoken today. It is rapidly dying out, with only four or five speakers remaining in early 1993.

The title of the book is very modest. In addition to a comprehensive description of the syntax, morphology, and phonology of BD, the book contains a number of texts and a dictionary. It is structured as follows. The first part is an introduction to basic aspects of the grammar of BD (Chs. 1–9, 9–305). The second part contains a discussion of specific constructions like serial verb constructions, complement clauses, and passivization (Chs. 10–15, 306–480). This is followed by a documentary part with oral narrative texts (481–528) and a discussion of the basic vocabulary (529–46). Part 4 is a veritable dictionary (547–677), in which Kouwenberg (K) lists all items that surfaced during her fieldwork, providing information on the source language, stress pattern, and grammatical category of each word, as well as a gloss, an example, and a free translation. References and a somewhat short index are included at the end.

The book is an admirable piece of work. It is

by far the best available grammar of any Creole language to date and an invaluable rich data source for further studies by creolists, typologists, or syntacticians. Furthermore, the book represents a thorough documentation of the language, just before its foreseeable extinction.

K's treatment of her data is remarkable in many respects. First, she gives ample evidence for her analyses and interpretations. Thus, the book contains about 1800 sample sentences (with glosses and translations into English). Second, she is very careful in the interpretation of problematic structures, avoiding hasty conclusions, and frankly admitting certain shortcomings of her corpus material. Almost every point K makes is well argued on the basis of her data, and she does not hesitate to present the reader with problematic and unresolved cases. Elicited examples and grammaticality judgments are only used exceptionally and are treated with due caution.

The grammar is written in the framework of Government Binding theory but is easily accessible to nonformalists because it really is 'as free as possible of theory-specific jargon' (4). Although the book is intended as a contribution to grammatical theory (4), its focus is certainly not on theory but on the accurate description of BD facts. However, the data are often discussed with reference to current issues in the fields of language contact, language change, Creole studies, and syntactic theory, which makes it profitable reading also for those who happen not to be specialists in BD or related Creole languages. K's investigations of complementation, serial verb constructions, and passivization constitute significant contributions to ongoing debates in the above-mentioned fields.

The only serious drawback of the book is its price, which will hopefully not keep too many potentially interested linguists and institutions from buying it. [INGO PLAG, *Philippis-Universität, Marburg*.]

Grammatical categories and cognition:

A case study of the linguistic relativity hypothesis. By JOHN A. LUCY. (Studies in the social and cultural foundations of language 13.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Pp. xv, 211.

This is the second volume of L's reexamination of empirical research on the linguistic rela-