

- b. Teeburu-ni-wa ringo-no taruto-ga oka-re-teita
 table-LOC-TOP apple-R tarte-NOM put-PASS-R-STAT
 ‘On the table was placed a tarte Tatin.’

The word order in this construction can be schematized as follows:

- (4) [PP NP -ni -wa] [NP NP-ga] [V V-te-iru]
 LOC TOP NOM (Nakajima (2001:53))

It is not clear whether or not inversion is involved in Japanese locative sentences such as those in (3). However, it is widely acknowledged that English LICs and their Japanese counterparts share the following grammatical, semantic, functional properties (cf. Yamamoto (1997), Nakajima (2001), Ono (2005), among others):

- (5) a. Being interpreted as expressing the resultant state of the subject NP.
 b. Locative phrases are arguments, not adjuncts.
 c. Verbs typically used or preferred are unaccusative verbs (specifically, verbs of existence and appearance).
 d. Locative phrases function as topics.
 e. Functioning as Presentational Sentences.

Hereafter, following Nakajima (2001), I will refer to Japanese counterparts to LICs simply as the Japanese locative construction (LC), because I am neutral as to the question of whether or not the operation of inversion is involved in the derivation.

1.2. *The Rhetorical Effect of the LIC*

As is well known, the English LIC is a variation of what Emonds (1976) calls *Stylistic Inversions*. As can be inferred from the terminology, the use of the LIC in English is motivated stylistically or rhetorically. Put differently, the use of LICs in English is regarded as a stylistic strategy to evoke a certain rhetorical effect.

For example, Fukuchi (1985) points out that LICs have the following rhetorical effects:

- (6) a. The LIC describes the scene more vividly than a non-inversion sentence.
 b. The LIC makes the reader feel as if s/he saw the described scene on the spot.³

³ A similar comment is made by Bolinger (1977).

In addition, Kuno and Takami (2007) refer to the following rhetorical effects of the LIC:

- (7) a. The use of the LIC is similar to the opening of a movie or drama.
b. The LIC sounds emotional.

To summarize the above comments, the LIC evokes *the sense of presence*. The LIC is more suitable than a non-inversion sentence to give the sense of presence, which is corroborated by the fact that the LIC tends to be used in the following discourse contexts (cf. Kai (2005), Kuno and Takami (2007), Weblhuth (2011), among others):

- (8) a. Retrospective eye witness reports
b. Play-by-play broadcasts of sport events
c. Apartment descriptions
d. Route directions
e. Sightseeing guides
f. Scenic narrative situations

(Weblhuth (2011:99))

Now, let us turn our attention to the Japanese LC. Observe the following pair:

- (9) a. Rikku-wa oozara-o mitume-ta. *sono tyuusin-ni-wa katai*
Rick-TOP platter-ACC stare-PAST the center-LOC-TOP hard
tiizu-no ookina katamari-ga at-ta
cheese-R large chunk-NOM exist-PAST
'Rick stared at the platter. In the center was a large chunk of hard cheese.'
- b. Rikku-wa oozara-o mitume-ta. *katai tiizu-no ookina*
Rick-TOP platter-ACC stare-PAST hard cheese-R large
katamari-ga sono tyuusin-ni at-ta
chunk-NOM the center-LOC exist-PAST
'Rick stared at the platter. A large chunk of hard cheese was in the center.'

Instinctively, the italicized sentences in (9) are not quite different from each other in that they both describe the scene through the protagonist's (Rick) perspective.⁴ In both cases,

⁴ From the viewpoint of information structure, (9a) is better than (9b) in that the former follows the

the italicized sentences can be seen as the description of what Rick saw; that is, the reader identifies with Rick and conceptually aligns his/her perspective with him in both cases. In this sense, the interpretation or rhetorical effect of Japanese LC, unlike that of the English LIC, is not susceptible to the word order.

On the basis of the above discussion, I pose the following questions:

- (10) a. Why does the LIC in English produce the rhetorical effect (i.e. the sense of presence), which a non-inversion sentence does not produce.
- b. Why can the LC in Japanese produce the same effect as that of the LIC in English without using special constructions or word order?

Ultimately, these questions imply the question why English requires non-canonical or marked constructions for special rhetorical effects, while Japanese does not.⁵

The rest of the article is organized as follows. Section 2 investigates the LIC in English in terms of Langacker's (1990) subjectivity and points out that the LIC is a linguistic means by which English comes close to Japanese. Section 3 considers the LIC in English and the LC in Japanese from the viewpoint of joint attention. Section 4 introduces Hirose's (2011) *three-tier model of language use*, and propose hypotheses concerning the relationship between the degree of addressee-orientedness, or communicativity, and the choice of constructions. Section 5 provides concluding remarks.

2. The Degree of Subjectivity of the LIC in English

In this section, I will show that the LIC in English is a marked expression in the sense that the construction is similar to or close to Japanese in terms of *subjectivity* in the sense of Langacker (1990).

2.1. Subjectivity

Before going into a detailed discussion, I refer to the notion of subjectivity, following Langacker (1990, 2008). Langacker's definition of subjectivity can be understood in terms of yet another notion of subject: not in the grammatical sense of the subject in a sentence but in the philosophical sense of the subject of conceptualization, i.e. the subject of viewing, perceiving, and understanding something. In viewing arrangements, there are *conceptualizers*, primarily the speaker, secondarily the hearer, and

principle of *old to new information*. In addition, beginning sentences with adverbs is neither unusual nor marked in Japanese.

⁵ This statement does not claim that Japanese has no special construction for a special rhetorical effect.

other individuals whose perspective the interlocutors adopt. The perspective of these conceptualizers is *subjective* in that it is the perspective of the subjects of the act of perceiving. The objects of conception are a perceived entity or entities (including relations as well as things). If these perceived entities are construed as being detached from the observer, i.e. conceptualizer, they are construed *objectively* (cf. Langacker (1990:9), Radden and Dirven (2007:25)). To put it in another way, the viewing subject is construed with maximal subjectivity when the asymmetry in viewing role is maximized; on the other hand, the viewed object is construed with maximal objectivity at the same time. For a better understanding of this explanation, compare the following statements:

- (11) a. The president is determined to fight a war on terrorism.
 b. I will hunt down the terrorists.
 c. There may still be weapons of mass destruction.

(Radden and Dirven (2007:25))

Assume that sentence (11a) is used by the President himself. In so doing he gives an objectified view of himself as the institutionalized representative of the country. In this sense, (11a) is the most, or maximally, objective statement. The use of *I* in sentence (11b) indicates that the speaker includes himself as a participant of the scene described. This sentence, compared with sentence (11a), is more subjective in that the speaker is involved in the scene described. At the same time, however, sentence (11b) is objective in that the speaker describes his role like that of any other participant in the scene. Like the case of (11a), the speaker as the subject of perception is placed “on stage,” thus objectively construed as part of the object of description. Sentence (11c) involves a maximally subjective perspective of the scene: as the modal verb *may* suggests, the speaker gives his subjective view of the situation described without overtly referring to himself (for more details about subjectivity, see Langacker (1990, 2008) and Sawada (ed.) (2011)).

2.2. *The LIC in English from the Viewpoint of Subjectivity*

Now consider the LIC in English from the viewpoint of subjectivity in the above sense. I refer to an important grammatical constraint on the LIC in English. Observe the following pair:

- (12) a. I lay in the middle of the kitchen floor.
 b.?* In the middle of the kitchen floor lay I.

(Langacker (2008:81))

Note here that the occurrence of *I* as the subject is allowed in non-inversion sentence (12a), while it is banned in LIC (12b).⁶ This should be attributed to the high subjectivity of the LIC.⁷ The reason that the pronoun *I* cannot occur as the subject in (12b) is that the LIC is used to describe what the protagonist/narrator/speaker observes or perceives (cf. McCawley (1977), Webelhuth (2011), among others). In this sense, the narrator's role as a viewer (or subject of perception) is maximized, which means that the viewer cannot be construed as being detached from him/herself. In principle, the narrator conceptually puts him/herself in the situation or scene described and observes the situation.

This does not say that first-person pronouns *never* occur in the LIC. The occurrence of first person pronouns is allowed in the case where the viewer functions as a reference point or a landmark:

- (13) *In front of me* stood two people, a man and a woman, in lab coats.

It is true that sentence (13) is less subjective in the sense that the subject of conceptualization is construed to be detached from him/herself. However, note that the focal object of the observation in (13) is not *me* but *two people*. One can be an observer and landmark at the same time; while one cannot be an observer and observee at the same time, except in special cases such as where s/he is looking at a picture of her/himself. At the very least, the fact that the conceptualizer (i.e. speaker) him/herself cannot be the focal object of observation means that the LIC is a relatively highly subjective expression, compared with non-inverted counterparts.⁸

⁶ It is widely known that the LIC, in principle, does not allow the postverbal NP to be a pronoun:

- (i) * Rose?_i Among the guests of honor was sitting she/_iher_i.

Accordingly, it may be argued that the non-occurrence of first-person pronouns is insufficient as a diagnosis of high subjectivity. However, as shown below, if the pronoun in (i) is used deictically, the sentence becomes acceptable (for more details, see Bresnan (1994)):

- (ii) Rose?_i Among the guests of honor was sitting **her**_i [pointing]

Furthermore, as Webelhuth (2011) points out, some speakers accept the anaphoric pronoun especially when it is contrastively focused. It is not impossible for pronouns to be the subject of the LIC.

In contrast, first-person pronouns (i.e. *I*, *we*, *me*, and *us*) are never accepted even if it is contrastively focused (cf. Takami (1995:200)):

- (iii) * In the bed to his right lay {**I/we/me/us**}, not Jane.

⁷ Langacker attributes the unacceptability of (12b) to information structure. In his view, sentence (12b) is infelicitous because the subject refers to the speaker, who is always taken as given information, which is contradictory to the presentational function of the LIC.

⁸ One may argue that the non-occurrence of first-person pronouns is insufficient as a diagnosis of high subjectivity, because the second-person pronoun *you* cannot occur as the logical subject of the LIC in English, either:

2.3. *The Meaning of High-Subjectivity*

The problem which should be considered next is the meaning of high-degree of subjectivity. It is widely acknowledged that Japanese is relatively highly subjective by nature, while English is relatively highly objective by nature (cf. Mori (1998), Ikegami (2011), among others), though I leave out a detailed discussion here. In this regard, Mori (1998) investigates the phenomenon of subjectification from the perspective of the (non-)use of first-person pronouns. In his view, subjectification means that the speaker is subjectively involved, or immersed, in the situation s/he describes. In such a situation, the speaker is not visible to him/herself, which leads to the non-use or omission of first-person pronouns. Thus, subjectification is a marked phenomenon in English, which does not in principle permit the omission of first-person pronouns. In Japanese, on the other hand, subjectification is an unmarked phenomenon, because the non-use or omission of first-person pronouns is not uncommon. On this basis, Mori characterizes the unmarked mode of expression in English and Japanese. His characterization can be summarized as follows:⁹

- (14) a. In English, the objective description of the subject is unmarked, while the subjective description of the subject is marked.
 b. In Japanese, the subjective description of the subject is unmarked, while the objective description of the subject is marked.

As mentioned above, the LIC is a comparatively subjective expression in that the subject (in the philosophical sense) is not linguistically realized as the focal object of observation. In this sense, the LIC can be regarded as a marked expression in English. From the viewpoint of subjectification, the LIC is a linguistic means by which English, whose unmarked mode of expression is objective description, comes close to Japanese, whose unmarked mode of expression is subjective description.

- (i) * On the top of the mountain stood you. (Takami (1995:200))

However, the anomalousness of sentence (i) also has to do with high subjectivity. As discussed later, the use of LICs means that the reader/hearer (*you*) identifies with the narrator/speaker (*I*), and the former aligns his/her perspective with the latter. That is, as in the case of (12b), the role of *you* as a viewer or subject of perception is maximized, and thus *you* cannot be an observer and observee at the same time (thanks to an anonymous reviewer for bringing this point to my attention).

Furthermore, sentence (i) is also problematic in terms of the territory of information in the sense of Kamio (1990). As mentioned above, the LIC describes what a contextually identified observer sees, which means that the information described in the LIC belongs to the observer's territory. That is, *you*, which belongs to the territory of the hearer, cannot occur in the subject position of the LIC.

⁹ In (14), the term *subject* refers to the subject in the philosophical sense mentioned above.

3. Why does English Need to Come Close to Japanese?

3.1. *The Immersion of a Hearer/Reader in the Situation Described*

What should be considered in this section is the reason why English comes close to Japanese when the LIC is used. To answer this question, let us first consider the characteristics of Japanese, to which English comes close.

According to Ikegami (2011), the high degree of subjectivity (in the sense that the speaker is subjectively immersed in the situation s/he describes) is relevant not only to the description but also to the interpretation of the situation. Put differently, not only a speaker/writer but also a hearer/reader is immersed in the situation described. Observe the example below:

- (15) Umi-wa hiroi-na, ookii-na. Tuki-ga noboru-si, hi-ga
 sea-TOP vast-PART large-PART moon-NOM rise-and sun-NOM
 sizumu.
 set
 ‘The sea is vast and large; the moon rises and sets in it.’

The sentences in (15) are part of a famous song in Japan. Ikegami (2011:58) points out that native speakers of Japanese are inspired or emotionally moved while singing this song.¹⁰ He claims that native speakers of Japanese read or interpret this song as an expression based on “subjective construal”; that is, they sing this song, imagining an utterer who is moved by the scene described in the song. This means, as Ikegami states, that native speakers of Japanese immediately identify with the utterer and conceptually align their perspective with him/her; that is, the reader/hearer him/herself becomes another viewer moved by the scene.¹¹

Now consider the LIC in English from the viewpoint of the reader’s identification with the viewer:

- (16) In search of diversion, I **glanced** at the two mural tablets on the wall beside me. The words “Monkshill-park” at once caught **my eye**. The first tablet recorded the death of the Honorable Amelia, daughter of the first Lord Vauden and wife of Henry Parker, Esquire, of Monkshill-park, in 1763. Beneath this was another tablet commemorating the manifold virtues of the Parker’s daughter, Emily

¹⁰ Probably, the sentence-ending particle *na* fulfills the function of getting the hearer involved or immersed in the situation described.

¹¹ According to Ikegami, foreign students of Japanese interpret the song in (15) as an objective description and are not emotionally moved at all.

Mary, who had died in 1775.

(A. Taylor, *The American Boy* [cited from Weibelhuth (2011: 86)])

The LIC in (16) describes a situation from the narrator's (= viewer's) point of view. As can be inferred from the use of *glanced* and *my eye*, the first two sentences set the stage that allows the reader to identify with the narrator and to conceptually align their perspective with him/her. The reader conceptually puts him/herself in the same situation where the narrator puts him/herself. In so doing, the reader feels as if s/he was observing the same things as the narrator. As is the case with the Japanese song in (15), the reader is subjectively immersed in the situation described. This means that the English LIC and its context get the reader involved in the protagonist's observation, coming close to Japanese in terms of subjectivity.

Here arises a question: what does it mean that the narrator gets the reader involved in the situation described? As stated above, by getting involved, the reader may feel as if s/he was observing the same things as the protagonist/narrator. To put it in another way, the reader and the narrator share and coordinate attention with each other in relation to the event or object in the context in which the LIC is used. This means that *joint attention* is established between the protagonist/narrator and the reader in that context. In the next subsection, I will investigate the effect of joint attention in language use in more detail.

3.2. *Joint Attention and Empathy*

Originally, *joint attention* is a term used in the field of developmental psychology. Technically speaking, joint attention simply means the simultaneous engagement of two or more individuals in mental focus on one and the same external thing (Baldwin (1995:132)). This can be illustrated as follows:

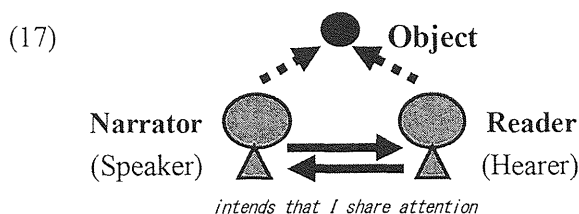


Figure (17) shows that the two participants, i.e. a narrator/speaker and a reader/hearer, are drawing attention to the same object. To be exact, the fortuitous or accidental sharing of attention cannot be called joint attention: it is necessary for each participant to know that they are attending to something in common (cf. Tomasello (1995:106)), which is indicated by the italicized words under the figure.

According to Oyabu (2004), there are two types of joint attention: the *following* and

directive joint attention. The former is established when one pays attention to what others pay attention to (e.g. following others' gaze). The latter is established when one draws or direct the other participants' attention to what s/he focuses on (e.g. pointing at something). In either case, joint attention serves two functions: one is establishing the link between the subject and the object of attention through other participants, and the other is establishing the link between the subject and the other participants through the object of attention. Therefore, joint attention helps the participants to share the meaning and construal of things they draw attention to, which leads to the sharing of intention and emotion, i.e. *empathy* (cf. Honda (2011)).

Here, I illustrate the empathy created by joint attention, following Honda's (2011:137-138) analysis of "empathetic" *that*:

- (18) a. How is **that** throat? b. How is **your** throat?

The examples in (18) are semantically similar to each other. But there is a difference in empathy: when a nurse asks a patient with a sore throat how his/her throat is, sentence (18a) sounds more empathetic than sentence (18b) (cf. Lakoff (1974)). Honda points out that this difference has to do with joint attention. The explanation goes as follows. As in (18b), when the speaker uses *your throat* to refer to the hearer's throat, the same throat is *my throat* to the hearer. There arises a conflict between *your* and *my*, which implies that the speaker and hearer see the same throat differently. The use of *that*, on the other hand, means that the speaker and hearer see the same throat in the same way. The word *that* refers to an object which is equidistant from both the speaker and hearer in the sense that it is far from both of them. That is, *that throat* is *that throat* to both the speaker and hearer. This can be regarded as a linguistic realization of joint attention effect: seeing the same thing in the same way produces empathy between the speaker and hearer.¹²

3.3. *From the Viewpoint of Joint Attention*

Now reconsider the identification of the narrator's and reader's perspectives from the viewpoint of joint attention. In English, the primary purpose of using the LIC is to introduce new, less familiar or important information (cf. Bolinger (1977), Birner (1994), Takami (1995), among others); that is, the LIC is used in order to draw or direct hearer's attention to the postposed subject NP. In this sense, the LIC can be regarded as a linguistic realization of the directive joint attention.

On the other hand, in Japanese, which is a highly subjective language by nature, the reader him/herself follows the narrator's gaze (i.e. observation) not only in the case of LC,

¹² Furthermore, the contrast between (18a) and (18b) supports the claim in (30a): sentence (18a) is marked in that the speaker uses *that* instead of *your* to refer to the hearer's throat.

but also in other unmarked constructions. This means that joint attention is presupposed in Japanese (cf. Kumagai (2011)). In any case, the point is that joint attention seems to be crucially relevant to the degree of subjectivity.

Here, taking joint attention into consideration, I propose the following hypothesis:

- (19) The rhetorical effect of the LIC in English is the effect of empathy created by joint attention established between the narrator and the reader.¹³

Linking the identification of the narrator's and reader's perspectives, which is based on the high degree of subjectivity, and joint attention sheds some light on the questions in (10):

- (10) a. Why does the LIC in English produce the rhetorical effect (i.e. the sense of presence), which a non-inversion sentence does not produce.
 b. Why can Japanese produce the same effect as that of the LIC in English without using special constructions or word order?

The answers to questions (10a) and (10b) can be summarized as follows.

- (20) In English,
 a. the LIC is more subjective than the non-inverted counterpart;
 b. the high subjectivity of the LIC establishes joint attention between the narrator and reader, which in turn creates empathy between them.
- (21) In Japanese,
 a. high subjectivity is not peculiar to the LC (i.e. the Japanese counterpart to the LIC);
 b. the high subjectivity of the language establishes joint attention between the narrator and reader, which in turn creates empathy between them.

(20) and (21) are the answers to questions (10a) and (10b), respectively. As shown, the LIC in English and its counterpart in Japanese (or Japanese in general) are alike in that the rhetorical effect of the *sense of presence* is based on the high degree of subjectivity and joint attention.

4. The Reason for the (Non-)Use of Inversion: A Proposal from the Perspective of the Three-Tier Model of Language Use

Let us turn to the reason for the (non-)use of inversion: why does English have to

¹³ This hypothesis implies that the rhetorical effect of the LIC is a matter of degree. That is, it depends on the reader's empathetic ability to what extent the LIC is construed as dynamic or emotional.

use marked constructions like the LIC to establish the high degree of subjectivity, while Japanese does not? The answer can be provided by *the three-tier model of language use*, which is proposed by Hirose (2011). I claim that the answer to the question lies in the difference in the strength of communicativity between English and Japanese, which is based on the difference in self-centeredness.

4.1. *The Three-Tier Model of Language Use*

To make the above claim convincing, I refer to gist of the three-tier model of language use, following Hirose (this volume). The model can be summarized in the following four points:

- (22) (i) The speaker, who construes a situation and encodes it linguistically, can be deconstructed into the “public self” as the subject of communicating and the “private self” as the subject of thinking or consciousness. English is a public-self centered language, whereas Japanese is a private-self centered language.
- (ii) Language use consists of three tiers: one is the “situation construal” tier, in which the speaker as private self construes a situation, forming a thought about it; another is the “situation report” tier, in which the speaker as public self reports or communicates his construed situation to the addressee; and the third is the “interpersonal relationship” tier, in which the speaker as public self construes and considers his interpersonal relationship with the addressee. Languages differ as to how the three tiers are combined, according to whether their basic “egocentricity” lies in the public self or the private self.
- (iii) In English, a public-self centered language, the situation construal tier is normally unified with the situation report tier, to which is added the interpersonal relationship tier (see Figure 1 below). The unification of situation construal and situation report means that one gives priority to the outside perspective from which to report a situation and linguistically encodes as much as is necessary to report about the situation. Thus, even when the speaker himself is involved in a situation as a participant, the reporter’s perspective places his self as a participant on a par with the other participants. On the other hand, the fact that situation report is not unified with interpersonal relationship means that one can assume an unmarked (or neutral) level of communication which does not depend on any particular relationship between speaker and addressee, a level where the speaker and the addressee are linguistically equal, being in a

symmetrical relationship. This default level of communication can be modified, though, by taking into account additional factors concerning the interpersonal relationship between speaker and addressee, such as politeness, deference, and intimacy.

- (iv) In Japanese, a private-self centered language, the situation construal tier is normally independent of the situation report tier and the interpersonal relationship tier (see Figure 2 below). Thus, in construing a situation, the speaker can freely place himself in the situation and view it from the inside; also, he does not need to linguistically encode what is already given in his consciousness. On the other hand, situation report is unified with interpersonal relationship, which means that in reporting a situation to someone, the speaker must always construe and consider his interpersonal relationship with the addressee, defining himself and the addressee in terms of that relationship. Thus, in situation report, interpersonal relationship is linguistically encoded as much as possible, and there is no unmarked level of communication neutral to interpersonal relationship.

(Hirose (this volume:4-6))

The three-tier model is diagrammatically represented in Figures 1 and 2, wherein S stands for “speaker or self”, O for “situation as object of construal”, and H for “hearer or addressee”; the single arrow (\rightarrow) denotes the process of “construing”, and the double arrow (\Rightarrow) that of “reporting or communicating (to someone)”; and the circle (\circ) indicates where the unmarked deictic center is located.¹⁴

(23) The Three-Tier Model of Language Use

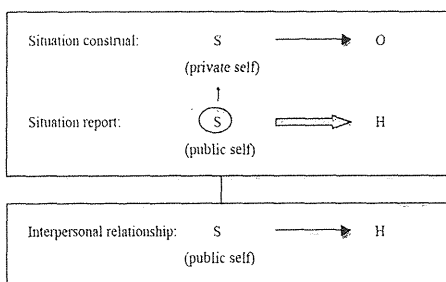


Figure 1. English as a public-self centered language

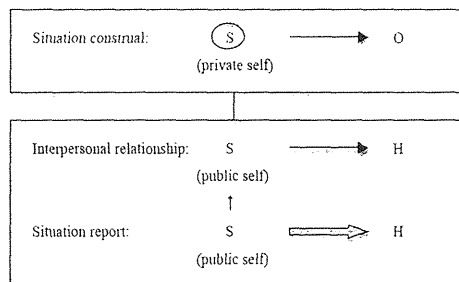


Figure 2. Japanese as a private-self centered language

(Hirose (this volume:6))

¹⁴ For more details, see Hirose (this volume).

The difference in the combination of three tiers shown above manifests itself as the difference in the unmarked mode of expression in Japanese and English. The point is the place where the unmarked deictic center or the basic “egocentricity” lies.

4.2. *The Unmarked Mode of Expression in Japanese and English*

In Japanese, as the basic “egocentricity” lies in the private self in the “situation construal” tier, the unmarked mode of expression is *private expression*, i.e. expression for representation of thought, not communication. In English, on the other hand, as the basic egocentricity lies in the public self in the “situation report” tier, the unmarked mode of expression is *public expression*, i.e. expression for communication. This means that Japanese and English are different in *communicativity*. The term communicativity means the degree to which an expression in a language or, by extension, the language per se lends itself to communication. From the perspective of communicativity, Japanese is communicatively weak, whereas English is communicatively strong.¹⁵

Naturally, the difference in communicativity between the two languages influences their difference in grammar:¹⁶

(24) Today is Saturday.

According to Ross’s (1970) performative analysis, every declarative sentence of English has a performative clause (e.g. *I SAY TO YOU* or *I TELL YOU*) in its underlying structure. Thus, sentence in (24) is assumed to have a structure like the following:¹⁷

(25) I SAY TO YOU Today is Saturday.

Performative clauses such as *I SAY TO YOU* or *I TELL YOU* guarantee the addressee-orientedness of sentence (24). In other words, such underlying clauses guarantee or underpin the strong communicativity of English. Therefore the utterance *Today is Saturday* is interpreted as a public expression in default cases.

On the other hand, in the case of Japanese sentences like (26), it is impossible, or at least extremely difficult, to assume a similar performative clause, as in (27):

(26) Kyoo-wa doyoobi-da
today-TOP Saturday-COP

¹⁵ For more details, see Hirose (1997, 2000).

¹⁶ The rest of the discussion in this subsection is largely based on Hirose (this volume).

¹⁷ In terms of the three-tier-model, the performative part of (25) corresponds to situation report; on the other hand, the propositional part, i.e. *Today is Saturday*, corresponds to situation construal.

- ‘Today is Saturday.’
 (27) # I SAY TO YOU *Kyoo-wa doyoobi-da*

The lack of underlying performative clauses means that nothing guarantees the addressee-orientedness of the utterance (26), which leads to the weak communicativity of Japanese. Therefore, the utterance *Kyoo-wa doyoobi-da* is interpreted as a private expression in default cases.

Evidence for this difference is provided by the comparison of speech-act conditionals in Japanese and English:

- (28) a. If you want to know, *I tell you* today is Saturday.
 b. If you want to know, today is Saturday.
- (29) a. *siri tai nara yuu ga, kyoo-wa doyoobi-da*
 know want if *tell* but, today-TOP Saturday-COP
 ‘If you want to know, I tell you today is Saturday.’
 b. * *siri tai nara, kyoo-wa doyoobi-da*
 know want if today-TOP Saturday-COP
 ‘If you want to know, today is Saturday.’

In (28a), the *if*-clause modifies the performative clause *I tell you*. Note that the same *if*-clause occurs without an explicit performative clause as shown in (28b).¹⁸ This means that the utterance *today is Saturday* itself can be regarded as a public expression. On the other hand, the Japanese counterpart of (28a) is (29a), wherein the conditional clause *siri tai nara* ‘if you want to know’ modifies the speech-act verb *yuu* ‘say’, which linguistically guarantees the speaker’s communicative intention. Interestingly, if *yuu* is deleted, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as shown in (29b). This means that the expression *kyoo-wa doyoobi-da* ‘today is Saturday’ is a private expression in which no communicative intention is assumed.¹⁹

4.3. *The Implication of the Difference in Communicativity*

Now let us consider the implication of the difference between Japanese and English in communicativity in terms of the three-tier model. As seen in (22-iii), the fact that situation report is separated from interpersonal relationship in English means that one can assume an unmarked (or neutral) level of communication which does not depend on any

¹⁸ Some native speakers of English judge that the occurrence of speech-act verbs in speech-act conditionals such as that in (28a) is deviant or anomalous. This, too, supports the communicative strength of English.

¹⁹ For more information about speech-act conditionals with regard to the (non-)occurrence of performative clauses, see Shizawa (2011).

particular relationship between speaker and addressee. In other words, English is, at least in default cases, not much concerned with the presence of addressee because of its strong communicativity: English is addressee-oriented, regardless of whether or not the existence of an addressee is presupposed. Therefore, in English, one has to use marked expressions to intentionally get the hearer/reader involved.

On the other hand, in Japanese, situation report is unified with interpersonal relationship, which means that in reporting a situation to someone, the speaker must always construe and consider his/her interpersonal relationship with the addressee. To put it in another way, in a place for communication (including a narrative), Japanese should be much concerned with the presence of addressee because of its weak communicativity. This means that, for Japanese, bearing addressee-orientedness per se is marked. Therefore, in Japanese, one need not use marked expressions to intentionally get the hearer/reader involved.

On the basis of the above discussion, I propose the following hypotheses concerning the purpose and necessity of using marked constructions:

- (30) a. Because of its communicative strength, English does not have to be particularly concerned with the presence or existence of a hearer/reader and thus needs to use marked constructions to deliberately get the hearer/reader involved or immersed in the situation described.
- b. Because of its communicative weakness, in a place for communication, Japanese has to be particularly concerned with the presence or existence of a hearer/reader and thus does not necessarily have to use marked constructions to deliberately get the hearer/reader involved or immersed in the situation described.

If the hypotheses in (30) are on the right track, the *raison d'être* of the LIC in English can be explained (at least in part): it exists for the purpose of getting the hearer/reader involved or immersed into the situation described. The hearer/reader's conceptual immersion caused by the used of LICs leads to joint attention, which enables him/her to feel as if he/she were viewing the situation described. In terms of the three-tier model of language use, because the LIC is relevant to joint attention (or the interaction of the speaker/writer and hearer/reader), the marked word order in the LIC can be regarded as a linguistic realization of the "interpersonal relationship" tier.

Supporting evidence for the hypotheses in (30) is provided by the following examples:

- (31) a. Hey, you skipped the line. b. You left the door open.

According to Imai (1995), English declarative sentences like those in (31) have the illocutionary forces of a warning or a demand for apology. For example, utterance (31a) does not simply describe the situation in which the hearer skipped the line; rather, it requires him/her to queue again or to apologize for skipping the line. The same is true for (31b). The illocutionary force, as Honda (2011:137) suggests, can be attributed to the sharing of emotional experience based on joint attention. In my framework, this can be rephrased as follows: the use of a declarative sentence in a situation wherein, normally, a negative imperative (e.g. *Don't skip the line. / Don't leave the door open.*) should be used reflects the speaker's intention to get the hearer involved. In a word, the source of the illocutionary force is the use of a marked construction.

Now compare the examples in (31) with their counterparts in Japanese:

- (32) a. Oi, warikomi si-ta-na.
 hey skipping-the-line do-PAST-PART
 ‘Hey, you skipped the line.’
 b. Doa-ga akep-panasi-dat-ta-zo.
 door-NOM open-leave-COP-PAST-PART
 ‘You left the door open.’

It is true that the utterances in (32) have the same illocutionary force as the pair in (31); however, note that (31) and (32) are quite different from each other with regard to the source of the illocutionary force. Observe the following:

- (33) a. # warikomi si-ta.
 skipping-the-line do-PAST
 ‘You skipped the line.’
 b. # Doa-ga akep-panasi-dat-ta.
 door-NOM open-leave-COP-PAST
 ‘You left the door open.’

In the examples in (33), the sentence-ending particles *-na* and *-zo* are deleted, as the result of which we get anomalous sentences.²⁰ This means that the source of illocutionary force in the pair in (32) is not the constructions per se but the sentence-final particles, because such particles are responsible for addressee-orientedness in Japanese.²¹ Owing to such particles, which can be regarded as linguistic realizations of the strong concern with the

²⁰ The sentences in (33) are felicitous when they are just used to describe the situations.

²¹ Needless to say, by using particular intonations, one can produce the same illocutionary force.

addressee, Japanese need not use marked constructions.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have made a contrastive analysis of locative inversion constructions (LICs) in English and their counterparts (locative constructions: LC) in Japanese from the viewpoint of subjectivity, joint attention, and Hirose's (2011, this volume) three-tier model of language use. I have shown that the rhetorical effect of English LICs and Japanese LCs (or Japanese in general), i.e. the sense of presence, is the effect of empathy created by joint attention, and that the use or non-use of marked constructions for the purpose of getting the hearer/reader involved in the situation described has much to do with the communicative strength in English and Japanese.

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