

# ANTI-RECONSTRUCTION EFFECTS ARE ANTI-RECONSTRUCTION EFFECTS \*

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In Wurmbrand and Bobaljik (2003) (henceforth W&B) we argue that the lack of an expected scope ambiguity in a particular class of restructuring contexts across languages is systematic, and we propose an analysis which treats the phenomenon as an “anti-reconstruction effect”. We posit that NP objects originating in the VP-complement of a restructuring verb undergo movement to the domain of the embedding verb and are subsequently barred from undergoing scope reconstruction to their base position. Our goal in this paper is to defend the W&B characterization of the puzzle as against conceivable alternatives invoking complex predicates (henceforth CompPreds), both base-generated and derived. For the most part, we concentrate on plausible extensions of existing analyses of related phenomena, though we also respond to the CompPred analysis of one of the relevant cases as put forward by Saito and Hoshi (1998) and related work.

## 1. The puzzle: Anti-reconstruction effects

There is a scopal ambiguity between certain embedding verbs and embedded quantified objects, partly illustrated in (1).

- (1) John forgot to close all the windows
- (i) *forget* »  $\forall$ : what John forgot was to close all windows
  - (ii)  $\forall$  » *forget*: all windows are such that John forgot to close them

We take it that *forget* contributes negation as part of its meaning, and thus that it has the potential to interact scopally with quantifiers such as the universal *all* in (1). If negation scopes over the universal (the surface scope reading, as in (i)) the sentence will mean “not all windows were closed.” On this reading the sentence is felicitous in the context (call it “C”) where John remembered to close some (relevant) windows, but forgot others, which remained open. The inverse scope reading in (ii) asserts that all windows were forgotten, and thus that no window was closed. On such a reading, the sentence would be infelicitous in C.

This ambiguity disappears in (certain) restructuring<sup>1</sup> contexts—the embedded object obligatorily takes scope over the matrix verb. Thus, the apparent translation

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<sup>1</sup> Restructuring contexts are infinitival complementation structures which show mono-clausal rather than bi-clausal behaviour for certain diagnostics. Even in languages which have restructuring, only certain verbs are (potential) restructuring predicates—verbs like *plan*, *decide* are not (there is some cross-linguistic variation, but also a clear “core” set of restructuring predicates). We treat restructuring as [V VP] complementation; see Wurmbrand (2001b) for

equivalents of (1) in German and Itelmen in (2)a,b are judged infelicitous in context C, as is the Japanese example in (2)c in the relevant context. For further examples with other scope bearing elements, see W&B.

- (2) a. German restructuring (see also Bayer and Kornfilt 1990, 1994)
- weil er alle Fenster vergessen hat [ t<sub>OBJ</sub> zu schließen]  
 since he all windows(ACC) forgotten has [ t<sub>OBJ</sub> to close]  
 ‘since he forgot to close all windows’ ▽ » forget; \*forget » ▽
- b. Itelmen long distance object agreement (field notes JDB&SW)
- t’-əntxa-čeʔn miʔ okno-ʔn sop-es  
 1SG-forget-3PL.OBJ all window-PL close-INF  
 ‘I forgot to close all the windows.’ ▽ » forget; \*forget » ▽
- c. Japanese affixal verbs (Koizumi 1995)
- John-wa subeto-no ringo-o tabe-wasure-ta  
 John-TOP all-GEN apple-ACC eat-forget-PAST  
 ‘John forgot to eat all the apples.’ ▽ » forget; \*forget » ▽

The examples in (2) are restructuring configurations; minimally different examples that are non-restructuring configurations (for example, without scrambling in (2)a or without long-distance agreement in (2)b) permit the reading excluded here.

Keeping to the assumption that the ambiguities involved are scopal, the examples in (2) indicate that at the relevant level of representation, the object thematically associated with the lower predicate asymmetrically c-commands the higher predicate. There are two ways this may be achieved. On the one hand, the object may originate in a low position, but move to a higher position where it remains at LF, as in (3)a. One such analysis is developed in Wurmbrand (2003b) and WandB, where the node  $\alpha$  is a VP; we will not present that account here, referring the reader to those works for details. On the other hand, the CompPred family of approaches makes possible analyses in which the thematically embedded object c-commands the matrix predicate *forget* throughout the derivation, receiving a theta-role by some form of inheritance or percolation. This is sketched in (3)b.

- (3) a. Anti-reconstruction (LF)                      b. CompPred structure
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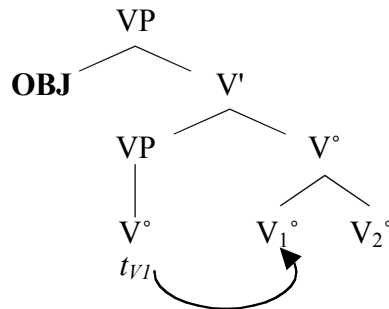
The canonical CompPred analyses (especially those inspired by work in Categorical Grammar) would hold that  $\alpha$  in (3)b is a complex lexical item or  $X^\circ$  — we refer to these as the lexical CompPred approaches. There is also a somewhat intermediate

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arguments, discussion, and a review of the literature.

position in the literature, in which CompPred structures such as (3)b are derived from a V-VP complementation structure via syntactic incorporation, as in (4) (see Haider 1993, Bayer and Kornfilt 1994, Saito and Hoshi 1998, Hoshi 1999, and Saito 2000).

(4) Derived CompPred (V-V Incorporation)



The important characteristic of such proposals for present concerns is that, although the lower verb projects to a VP, there is nevertheless no trace of the object in that lower VP—the complex predicate formation “passes up” the  $\theta$ -selectional properties of the lower verb to the complex and the object is base generated in the higher VP.

Before adducing our arguments, we note one piece of evidence for the initial plausibility of CompPred approaches. A leading idea of such analyses of restructuring is that a sequence like *forget to close* (in some languages) is syntactically a simple predicate (if morphologically and semantically complex). Mono-clausal effects arise because there is only a single clause, a single VP with a complex head. On this view, one could imagine trying to reduce the non-ambiguity of (2) to the lack of ambiguity in simple clauses where *forget* takes a universally quantified NP complement, as shown for German and English in (5), although we are not aware of such an argument having been made.<sup>2</sup>

- (5) a. Er hat alle Bücher vergessen  
 he has all books forgot  
 ‘He forgot all (the) books.’

$\nabla \gg \text{forget}; * \text{forget} \gg \nabla$

- b. He forgot all his books.

$\nabla \gg \text{forget}; * \text{forget} \gg \nabla$

It would appear that CompPred analyses need no special mechanism to block reconstruction—there is simply no trace position lower than *forget* and hence (so

<sup>2</sup> This restriction seems to be part of a more general observation: universally quantified objects of referentially opaque verbs cannot take scope under their selecting predicates (Zimmermann 1992-1993). This seems to hold robustly for negative verbs; sentences such as *John rejected all the claims*; *John stopped all the machines* lack the NEG $\gg$  $\nabla$  reading which is available in clausal / gerundive complements. Note that these same negative verbs show the usual de dicto / de re ambiguities with existential complements (*John forgot* [<sub>NP</sub> *something to read*]). We understand Zimmermann to favour an analysis whereby verbs like *forget* are lexically ambiguous in a manner that ties the lack of a narrow scope reading for the universal in (5) to the property denoting nature of its complement.

the story might go) the object cannot take scope lower than *forget*. Nevertheless, we submit that the similarity to simple predicates is a red herring. In particular, we will provide evidence for full VP structure in the complements of restructuring predicates, and in particular for a trace of the object in these constructions, even where reconstruction is not possible. In other words, we argue here that there is indeed a puzzle to be solved. Space does not permit a full literature review, and thus we will limit ourselves to identifying a number of challenges which arise for straightforward extensions of CompPred analyses of closely related phenomena.<sup>3</sup> Unless it is explicitly noted, our arguments apply to both lexical and derived CompPred analyses.

## 2. Do CompPred Analyses solve the problem?

The first general point to make is that it is not clear that a CompPred analysis will as such shed any light on the anti-reconstruction facts at issue. To say, as we did above, that structures like (3)b require no special mechanisms to derive the anti-reconstruction effects assumes that scope relations correspond to syntactic c-command relations (perhaps up to QR). But proponents of CompPred analyses who have discussed the issue have explicitly rejected such a view of scope. However, discussions of quantifier scope in frameworks that make extensive use of complex predicates go to significant lengths specifically to allow reconstruction-like readings in configurations like (3)b. For example, Manning, Sag and Iida (1999) consider the scope possibilities in causative examples such as (6) (originally from Kitagawa 1986), a construction they take to be a paradigm case of a CompPred.

- (6) ano ban watasiwa Taroo ni biiru sika [ [ nom-] ase ]-na-katta  
 that night I TOP T. DAT beer except drink-CAUS-NEG-PAST  
 ‘That night, I made/let Taroo drink only beer.’ *lit.* ‘...not drink except beer.’
- i Only with respect to beer, I brought about a situation such that T. drank it (not the whiskey, etc.) [*only* » CAUS]
  - ii. I brought about a situation such that T. would drink only beer (and no whiskey, etc.) [CAUS » *only*]

Regarding this example, Manning, Sag and Iida observe:

“...it is essential that any lexical account of causatives make clear how it can ... assign ‘word-internal’ scope to a quantified NP that appears external to the lexical causative. The account must predict that a quantified argument of the causative verb can be interpreted as having narrow scope with respect to the causative operator, even though there is no syntactic constituent to serve as the basis of that particular scope assignment” (pp. 52-53.)

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Steedman (1985), Haider (1993), Bayer and Kornfilt (1990, 1994), Hinrichs and Nakezawa (1994), Neeleman (1994), Saito and Hoshi (1998), Kathol (2000), and Williams (2003).

In other words, Manning, Sag, and Iida take it as an important property of mono-stratal CompPred analyses like (3)b that they must be able to derive exactly the scope reading that we find to be excluded in the anti-reconstruction cases. If their proposals work out, then the anti-reconstruction puzzle in (2) is no more clearly solved on a CompPred analysis than it is on a VP-complementation one.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. Adjacency and the syntactic independence of heads

We have just argued that CompPred analyses do not in any obvious way solve the problem of anti-reconstruction in restructuring. In fact, we can argue that a subset of CompPred analyses is ill-suited to providing a solution. Specifically, some accounts (among them Categorial Grammar-inspired approaches invoking rules of partial combination such as Kathol 2000 and perhaps Williams 2003) set surface adjacency as a condition on CompPred formation. Such theories assign to a long passive<sup>5</sup> example like (7) a bracketing as indicated (cf., Kathol 2000) at every (or the only) level of representation.

- (7)        weil     [ nur deutsche Autos        [ zu reparieren versucht ] ]     wurden  
           since     only German cars (NOM) to repair        tried                    were  
           ‘They only tried to repair German cars.’  
           \*’They tried to only repair German cars.’                    only » try; \*try» only

Surface adjacency is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for restructuring in general, nor for the anti-reconstruction effects in particular. Examples of anti-reconstruction effects without adjacency were already given in (2)a,b. Examples of adjacency without reconstruction (and thus without anti-reconstruction effects) arise when the matrix predicate is a non-restructuring verb such as ‘plan’ or ‘decide’. The fact that restructuring shows no correlation with adjacency provides an important challenge to mono-stratal CompPred theories in which the only relevant level of representation is the surface representation. Note that the syntactic VP complementation approach advocated in W&B leads to no particular expectation of adjacency beyond what is expected for a verbal complementation structure in the language generally. Thus, since German VPs are head final, the verbs in verbal complementation structures tend to cluster together at the end of the clause, but adjacency among the verbs is neither necessary nor sufficient for restructuring. In particular, non-adjacency is expected whenever the lower VP can move away from the selecting verb, as in VP-topicalization and VP-extrapolation (for examples, see Wurmbrand 2003a, W&B).

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<sup>4</sup> This criticism can be made even sharper if, as W&B argue, anti-reconstruction effects arise only in a subset of restructuring configurations. Specifically, the W&B analysis admits reconstruction (correctly, as argued there) in the complements of functional restructuring predicates (including CAUS as in (6)). See Wurmbrand (2003a, in press), and also Yokota (2001) for a related criticism of Manning, Sag and Iida (1999) from other kinds of Japanese data.

<sup>5</sup> In long passive (cf. long unaccusative) constructions, the matrix (restructuring) predicate alone is morphologically passive, but it is the case/agreement properties of the embedded NP that are affected. Long passive is a reliable restructuring diagnostic in German (see Wurmbrand 2001b), and induces an anti-reconstruction effect, as indicated by the permissible paraphrases of (7).

Of course, not all CompPred theories are mono-stratal. A lexicalist approach could posit base generation of a complex  $X^\circ$ , followed by excorporation of one of the two heads (although we argue below that this is problematic for other reasons). Likewise, the incorporation analyses mentioned above derive the complex predicate in the course of the derivation and could appeal to covert incorporation for the cases where adjacency fails on the surface. There are at least three considerations that suggest that implementation of the covert incorporation idea in particular is not entirely straightforward. First, given that incorporation on these theories is itself the licenser of the mono-clausal properties typical of restructuring (cf. domain extension via head-movement as in Baker 1988), how is it that covert incorporation licenses overt restructuring properties (like the NP movement in long passive or clitic-climbing in Italian)? Second, how does theta-percolation work if incorporation occurs only at LF, and how can it be guaranteed that the object is projected in the higher VP? (See below for arguments that the lower VP cannot be radically empty as in Saito 2000.) Third, restructuring effects obtain even in VP-topicalization structures such as (8), even though these fronted elements are known to be strong islands for XP-movement and reconstruction: covert movement into or out of these XPs is strongly prohibited (Barss 1986, Sauerland 1998, Wurmbrand 2001a), an observation reaffirmed by the inability of the existential NP in (8) to take scope outside of the fronted XP despite the fact that it bears nominative case and controls agreement on the finite verb.<sup>6</sup>

- (8) [Ein Außenseiter **zu gewinnen** ]<sub>XP</sub> **scheint** hier eigentlich nie  
 [An.NOM outsider **to win** ]<sub>XP</sub> **seems** here actually never  
 ‘An outsider never actually seems to win here.’ [Meurers 1999, 2000]
- i. It never seems to be the case that any outsider wins here.
  - ii. \*There is a (specific) outsider who never seems to win here.

A covert incorporation approach would thus have to explain why covert incorporation licenses overt restructuring properties, and likewise, why the head movement at issue may escape the islandhood that XP movement cannot escape. In sum, the fact that the two predicates involved in a restructuring configuration need not ever be adjacent provides an argument against mono-stratal CompPred approaches to restructuring, and raises a number of questions for CompPred analyses that are embedded in a derivational theory whereby the CompPred itself may obtain only at a level of representation more remote from the surface (D-structure or LF). None of these issues arises on a VP complementation approach which posits no special relation between the matrix and embedded verbal heads.

#### 4. Event Structure

The lack of a correlation between restructuring and adjacency argues against CompPred analyses for which adjacency is a key component. In this section, we

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<sup>6</sup> Wurmbrand (2001a) proposes that case and agreement are determined by the Agree relationship and crucially not via obligatory raising to a specifier position.

offer two arguments in favour of a full-fledged VP constituent as the complement of lexical restructuring verbs such as *forget*. The first argument is intended to establish that V-VP structures have two events; the second argument argues again on the basis of event types that the lower VP is an accomplishment and thus must contain an object trace.

#### 4.1 How many events?

Although restructuring environments, including those inducing anti-reconstruction effects, display a variety of mono-clausal properties (primarily having to do with the locality of NP-movement and cliticization), there is nevertheless evidence for two syntactically represented events. Event modifiers such as *wieder* ‘again’ may modify either the CompPred event as a whole or may selectively modify the lower event, as (9) illustrates. In the context given for (9a), the adverbial *wieder/zum zweiten Mal* ‘again/for the second time’ clearly modifies the trying (to repair) and not the repairing alone. This is the reading that is readily accommodated on the CompPred approaches. In (9b) however, the adverbial *wieder* has what von Stechow (1996) refers to as the *restitutive* reading; what is important is that the adverb modifies the predicate *to repair* and does not modify the higher predicate *try*.

- (9) a. Der Wagen wurde wieder/zum zweiten Mal zu reparieren versucht  
 The.NOM car was again/the second time to repair tried  
 ‘They tried again/for the second time to repair the car.’

Context 1: John’s new car (which has never been repaired before) broke down. He brought it to the garage, the mechanics looked at it and tried to repair it. However, they couldn’t fix the problem. Yesterday, they had an expert come from a different garage...

- b. Der Wagen wurde wieder zu reparieren versucht  
 The.NOM car was again to repair tried  
 ‘They tried to fix the car again.’

Context-2: John drove his brand new car into a tree. He brought it to the garage and hopes that they can fix it up again.

It has been argued by von Stechow (1996) that the adverb *wieder* is a diagnostic for syntactic structure, that is, that the constituents modified by the adverb are syntactically represented constituents. In a CompPred analysis, the modification in (9b) would have to be modification of a single sub-part of a complex lexical head. If the bracketing of [<sub>V</sub> [*wieder zu reparieren*] *versucht*] as a single complex head is implausible, the CompPred analysis would seem to be incompatible with the assumption that syntactic structure and event structure are directly correlated. Under the VP complementation analysis, the difference in (9) is represented straightforwardly as a difference in the adjunction sites of the adverb—the higher or the lower VP. Note that on this specific point, the incorporation (derived CompPred) analyses pattern with the VP complementation analysis, since both

have an embedded VP as the possible target for the modifier *wieder*. We turn now to a consideration that will distinguish between (3)a and incorporation approaches.

## 4.2 Embedded accomplishments

For concreteness, we examine the incorporating CompPred proposal offered for the Japanese anti-reconstruction cases in Saito (2000). This proposal is a refinement of the proposal in Saito and Hoshi (1998) (considered, but not adopted in Hoshi 1999:14). A relevant example, is given in (10), for which the derivation is as in (4).

- (10) John-ga migime-dake-ga tumu-reru  
 John-NOM right.eye-only-NOM close-can  
 ‘John can only close his right eye’ *only* » *can*; \**can* » *only*

Under this proposal (part of a larger framework which argues for percolation of theta-roles) the complex predicate is derived in the syntax, from a structure containing a VP-complement to the restructuring verb. What distinguishes this proposal from the anti-reconstruction approach, and makes this proposal qualify as an instantiation of (3)b is the claim that the object is merged directly in the higher VP; there is no trace of the object in the lower VP, as there is in our account. The anti-reconstruction effect (obligatory wide-scope for the object) follows, since at no point is the object ever c-commanded by the (complex) predicate.

As evidence for this view, Saito argues that the lower VP in a restructuring configuration like (10) is empty not only of object traces, but also of all other scope-bearing elements. The key examples, along with relevant paraphrases, are given in (11).

- (11) a. Taroo-wa me-o 0.001-byoo-dake ake-rare-ru  
 T.-TOP eye-ACC 0.001-second-only open-can-PRES  
 ‘Taroo can open his eyes only for 0.001 seconds.’ *only* » *can*; *can* » *only*
- b. Taroo-wa me-ga 0.001-byoo-dake ake-rare-ru  
 T.-TOP eye-NOM 0.001-second-only open-can-PRES  
 ‘Taroo can only open his eyes for 0.001 seconds.’ *only* » *can*; ?\**can* » *only*

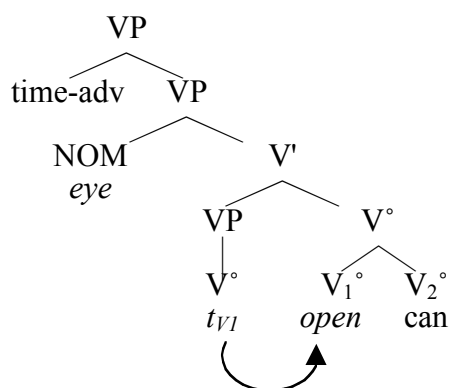
*can* » *only*: Taroo has a special ability to move his eyelids very quickly

*only* » *can*: He cannot open his eyes for long  
 (e.g., because his eyes are very sensitive to ultraviolet rays)

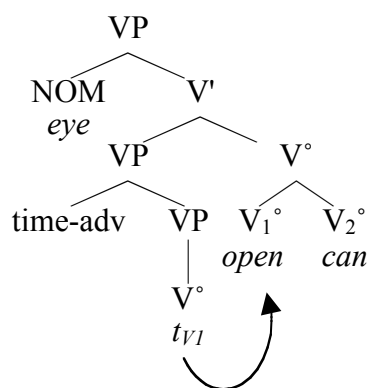
Saito’s observation is that the scope of *only* relative to the modal is fixed in the nominative object construction, even when *only* is not on the nominative DP. In (11)b, nominative case on the object (a clear restructuring diagnostic) forces the scope of *only* in the adverbial to be fixed above the modal. That is, Saito proposes that only (12)a and not (12)b is possible when the object is nominative, and thus in the higher clause.



(12) a. High adverb position



\*b. Low adverb position



Note, however, that Saito’s analysis does not exclude (12)b without an additional stipulation. What Saito suggests is that “[i]f there is an analogue of the thematic hierarchy for adverbials which forces them to appear in a position higher than the object, they too will have to [be merged–JDB/SW] in the projection of the higher verb.” We believe that this suggestion erroneously conflates two notions of scope. We accept Saito’s characterization of the readings in (11) as arising from a scope interaction between the focus particle *dake* ‘only’ and the modal. However, the scope of ‘only’ should be kept distinct from the “scope” of the adverbial, in the sense of its modificational properties. In the paraphrases given by Saito, the adverb in all cases—crucially, even when *only* takes “high scope”—modifies the lower VP alone. All the readings involve the duration that the eyes are open. The *only* » *can* reading in (11), as given by Saito, corresponds to something like the longest time that the eyes can be (kept) open, while the *can* » *only* reading means something like the fastest time for an eye-opening event. But neither paraphrase corresponds to the structure in (12)a; this structure should not correspond to the duration of opening, but rather to the duration of the ability or potentiality (see also Matsumoto 1996: 121). The only reading that (12)a should have would be something like that in (13), in which the PP *for an(other) hour* specifies the time span during which the predicate [be able to open his eyes] holds.

(13) For an(other) hour, John will be able to open his eyes...  
 (at which time the muscle relaxant will take effect)

Thus, if modification is represented structurally, the PP *0.001-byoo-dake* ‘for only 0.001 seconds’ must be attached to the lower predicate at some point in the derivation in (11).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> This would mean that *only* and the *for* PP are interpreted in different positions. As shown in Buring and Hartmann (2001), it is not unusual that *only* is interpreted in a higher position than the XP it is apparently associated with. Using standard tests such as binding, they show that in surface configurations such as [[ *only* X] Y] it is possible for X to reconstruct below Y, while *only* takes scope over Y. An example in English that shows this effect is *Only her<sub>i</sub> own student will no professor<sub>i</sub> fail (anybody else’s are fair game)*. The relevant interpretation is the assertion paraphrasable as “The only people that no professor will fail are her own students”; under this interpretation, the sentence would be false if a professor failed one of her own students. The

The modificational properties of time-span adverbials in fact provide an even stronger argument that (4)/(12)a is not the correct analysis, and that there is an object trace inside the lower VP, as we have maintained.<sup>8</sup> In Japanese, as in English, there are two kinds of time span adverbials, which diagnose different aspectual classes of VPs. In Japanese, bare time adverbials such as *1-jikan* ‘one-hour’ correspond to PPs like ‘for an hour’, and modify the duration of an event or state. With the locative marker *-de*, an expression like *1-jikan-de* ‘one-hour-in’ has instead the distribution of PPs ‘in an hour’, which, as is familiar from the aspect literature, serve to diagnose accomplishments.

Importantly, with activity-denoting verbs like *eat* and *read*, the verb itself does not constitute an accomplishment without an object of the appropriate type (a “bounded” DP). Aspectual distinctions hold at the VP-level, a fact that underlies the distinction in (14)—*reading* is not an accomplishment, while *reading a book* is, and hence only the transitive VP with an object DP licenses the *in*-PP.

- (14) a. John read #in an hour / for an hour.  
 b. John read the book in an hour.

Accomplishment-identifying *-de* adverbials in Japanese are licensed in Japanese potential constructions, even when the object is nominative, see (15).

- (15) a. Taro-ga            hon-ga            1-jikan-de    yom-e-ru  
           T.-NOM        book-NOM      1-hour-in    read-can-PRES  
           'Taro can read the book in one hour'
- b. T-wa            pizza-ga        1-pun-de     tabe-rare-ru  
           T.-TOP        pizza-NOM     1-minute-in eat-can-PRES  
           'Taro can eat the pizza in one minute'

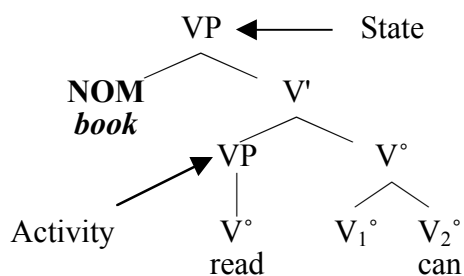
Consider now the structure that Saito would assign, (16a), as compared with the structure that we would assign to these examples (minus the adverbials), (16b). We have added aspectual labels for the VP nodes. In Saito’s analysis, there is no node corresponding to an accomplishment—the higher VP is a state (the fact that the potential morpheme assigns nominative to its object unambiguously identifies this predicate as stative), and the lower VP—with no object trace—is thus an activity. Both states and activities are incompatible with *-de* marked time-span adverbials. On our account, however, the lower VP contains an object trace, and thus defines an accomplishment. The acceptability of *-de* modification in (15) thus weighs in favor of the analysis which includes an accomplishment VP in the structure.

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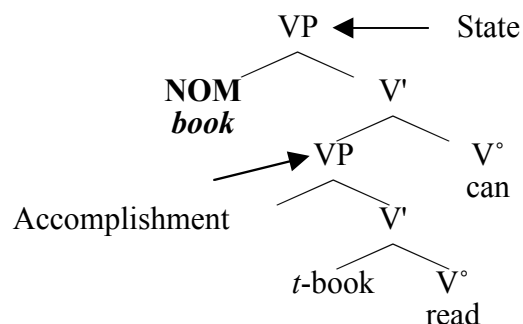
bound variable interpretation of the pronoun *her* forces reconstruction of the DP *her own students*, yet *only* still scopes over *no*. It is not clear whether sentences of this form also allow *only* to reconstruct.

<sup>8</sup> Similar challenges can be made for the complex predicate/category formation approaches suggested by Haider (1993) and Bayer and Kornfilt (1994) for German. See Wurmbrand (2003a) for German examples parallel to the Japanese examples discussed here.

## (16) a. Aspect values (Saito)



## b. Aspect values (this paper)



In sum, while the absence of a low scope reading for *dake* relative to the modal in (11b) does not follow from our analysis, it also does not follow without stipulation from a complex predicate analysis.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, if adverbial modification can be used as a diagnostic for syntactic structure, then there is direct evidence for an object trace in the relevant constructions. In addition to the general concerns we have about the viability of a complex predicate analysis for the anti-reconstruction effects in all three languages, the considerations just discussed argue against the specific complex predicate analysis that has been proposed for the Japanese anti-reconstruction effects.

## 5. Conclusion.

We have provided four arguments that the complement of a lexical restructuring verb is a full-fledged VP including crucially the thematic object of the lower verb or its trace. These arguments raise challenges for CompPred accounts of restructuring and show that even should such accounts prove workable, the anti-reconstruction effects in (2) constitute a real puzzle in need of a solution.

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<sup>9</sup> There is some debate about the scope of *only* in Japanese (for example, Nomura 2003 presents judgments not compatible with those in (10)) and we do not attempt at this point to provide an account for Saito's facts. However, we would like to point out that it is not uncommon that focus particles such as *only* display language-specific attachment restrictions (see Buring and Hartmann 2001). One way to account for the obligatory high scope of *only* in (11) would be to assume that *only* can only attach to propositions and not to VP-predicates in Japanese.

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