

A Note on Restructuring Constructions in Japanese*

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1. Introduction

A clause functions as a boundary for a syntactic operation. The following are examples from Italian.

- (1) a. Credo [che Gianni *la* presenterà a Francesco]
“I believe that Gianni will introduce her to Francesco.”
b. **La* credo [che Gianni presenterà a Francesco] (Rizzi (1978:115))

Sentences in (1) include finite clause complements which are introduced by the complementizer *che*. The clitic *la* ‘her’ is an argument of the embedded verb. In (1a), the clitic is cliticized to the embedded verb. In (1b), it is cliticized to the matrix verb. The contrast between (1a) and (1b) shows that a clitic movement is a clause-bounded operation in Italian.

With infinitival clause complements, the situation is rather different. Consider examples in (2) and (3).

- (2) a. Piero *decidera* [di parlarti di parapsicologia]
“Piero will decide to speak to you about parapsychology.”
b. *Piero *ti decidera* [di parlare di parapsicologia]
(3) a. Piero *verra* [a parlarti di parapsicologia]
“Piero will come to speak to you about parapsychology.”
b. Piero *ti verra* [a parlare di parapsicologia] (ibid. (1978:113))

When the matrix verb is *decidere* ‘decide’, the clitic *ti* ‘to you’ which is an argument of the embedded verb can be cliticized only to the embedded verb as in (2). When the matrix verb is *venire* ‘come’, the clitic can be cliticized either to the embedded verb as in (3a) or to the matrix verb as in (3b). This shows that infinitival clauses selected by some semantic types

* This paper is a simplified version of Akima (2003).

of verbs do not function as a clause boundary. Such verbs are called restructuring verbs. The infinitival complements selected by restructuring verbs are called restructuring infinitives. The clauses containing a restructuring verb and a restructuring infinitive are called restructuring constructions (cf. Rizzi (1978), Wurmbrand (1998, 2001, 2002)). Restructuring constructions are observed cross-linguistically; for instance, in languages such as German, Dutch, Spanish, and Japanese as well as Italian (cf. Rizzi (1978), Wurmbrand (1998, 2001, 2002), Cinque (2001, 2003)).

In German, the impossibility of relative clause pied-piping is used as a diagnosis of restructuring constructions. Relative clause pied-piping is the phenomenon where an element in the embedded infinitival clause is relativized, pied-piping the infinitival clause. Relative clause pied-piping is possible when the matrix verb is *bedauern* ‘regret’ as in (4), but is impossible when the matrix verb is *versuchen* ‘try’ or *müssen* ‘must’ as in (5).

- (4) ... der Roman [den *schon gelesen zu haben*] der Hans bedauerte
the novel that already read to have the John regretted
... “the novel that John regretted having read already” (Wurmbrand (2002:24))
- (5) a. *... der Roman [der *ihr zu geben*] schon oft versucht wurde
the novel that her to give already often tried was
... “the novel that somebody had tried to give to her already several times”
(ibid. (2002:25))
- b. *... der Roman [den *lesen*] nur der Hans muß
the novel that read only the John must
... “the novel that only John must read” (ibid. (2002:24))

In (4), *der Roman* ‘the novel’ is relativized and the infinitival clause is pied-piped. In (5), *der Roman* ‘the novel’ is relativized and pied-piping the infinitival clause is blocked. Given that only full clauses can be pied-piped (cf. Wurmbrand (2001:Chapter 5)), the verb *bedauern* ‘regret’ takes a non-restructuring infinitive, but the verb *versuchen* ‘try’ or *müssen* ‘must’ takes a restructuring infinitive.

Wurmbrand (1998, 2001, 2002) claims that restructuring constructions are classified into two subtypes based on the data in German.¹ Consider (6a) which contrasts sharply with (6b).

- (6) a. dass der Lastwagen und der Traktor [zu reparieren] versucht wurden
that the truck and the tractor to repair tried were
“that they tried to repair the truck and the tractor” (ibid. (2002:7))

¹ Cinque (2001) claims that only one type of restructuring constructions exists based on the data in Italian.

- b. *Der Wagen wurde [(zu) reparieren] gemußt/müssen
 the car was (to) repair must-PART/INF
 “They had to repair the car.”

(ibid. (2002:8))

In (6a), the restructuring verb *versuchen* ‘try’ is passivized, and the embedded object occurs as the matrix subject with nominative Case and agrees with the matrix auxiliary. This is called long passive. On the other hand, long passive cannot apply to the restructuring verb such as *müssen* ‘must’ as in (6b). The possibility of long passive is used to distinguish two subtypes of restructuring constructions.

Miyagawa (1987) claims that Japanese restructuring constructions do not show the clause-boundedness effect with respect to the licensing of *sika na(i)* ‘only’.

- (7) a. Boku-ga [Taro-ga pizza-*sika* tabe-*na-i* no]-o kii-ta
 I-Nom Taro-Nom pizza eat Comp-Acc hear-Past
 “I heard that Taro eats only pizza.”

- b. *Boku-ga [Taro-ga pizza-*sika* taberu no]-o kik-*anakat-ta*

(Miyagawa (1987:276))

In (7a), *sika* and *na(i)* occur in the embedded finite clause. (7b) is ungrammatical because they occur in the different clauses; *sika* is in the embedded finite clause and *na(i)* in the matrix clause.

Now let us consider the case of nonfinite clauses which are called purpose expressions.

(8) is grammatical, though *sika* and *na(i)* are apparently in the different clauses.

- (8) Hanako-ga tosyokan-ni [zassi-*sika* kari-ni] ik-*ana-i*
 Hanako-Nom library-to magazine borrow-NI go
 “Hanako goes to the library to borrow only magazines.”

(ibid. (1987:276))

This shows that (8) is a restructuring construction.

In Italian, *di* or *a* introduces infinitival clauses. In German, some infinitival clauses are introduced by *zu*, while some other infinitival clauses lack such a word. Japanese has three types of morphemes that introduce nonfinite clauses and some other nonfinite clauses lack such a morpheme, as I will show in the next section. In this paper, I will examine what combinations of syntactic forms of embedded nonfinite clauses and semantic types of embedding verbs show restructuring properties in Japanese. Furthermore, I will consider whether or not Wurmbrand’s claim for two subtypes of German restructuring constructions also holds in Japanese.

2. The Classification of Japanese Nonfinite Clauses

In this paper, Japanese nonfinite clauses are classified into four types in terms of the form of the embedded infinitives, which I call bare V infinitives, *V-te* infinitives, *V-ni* infinitives, and *V-yooni/yooto* infinitives.²

Examples with each infinitive are given in (9).^{3, 4}

(9) a. bare V infinitives

Hanako-ga [syukudai-o yari] wasure-ta
Hanako-Nom homework-Acc do forget-Past
“Hanako forgot to do her homework.”

b. *V-te* infinitives

Hanako-ga gakkoo-e [arui-te] it-ta
Hanako-Nom school-to walk-TE go-Past
“Hanako went to school on foot.”

c. *V-ni* infinitives

Taro-ga [hon-o kai-ni] it-ta
Taro-Nom book-Acc buy-NI go-Past
“Taro went to buy a book.”

d. *V-yooni/yooto* infinitives

i. Taro-ga Hanako-ni [seigensokudo-o mamoru-yooni] it-ta
Taro-Nom Hanako-to speed-limit-Acc keep-YOONI say-Past
“Taro told Hanako to keep the speed limit.”

ii. Taro-ga [mainiti benkyoosi-yooto] kokoromi-ta
Taro-Nom every-day study-YOOTO try-Past
“Taro tried to study every day.”

(9a) includes a bare V infinitive, where the verbal root *yari* ‘do’ is immediately followed by the matrix verb. In (9b), the gerund-forming morpheme *-te* is attached to the verbal root *arui* ‘walk’. In (9c), the morpheme *-ni*, which is used in purpose expressions, is attached to the

² There is an approach according to which these constructions form complex predicates. See Kageyama (1993), Matsumoto (1991, 1998), and Saito and Hoshi (1998).

³ In what follows, I will use the following notations. The morphemes *-te*, *-ni*, and *-yooni/yooto*, which are attached to the verbs, are glossed as TE, NI, and YOONI/YOOTO, so that the presence of these morphemes is clearly indicated.

⁴ The syntactic category of *yooni* and *yooto* is controversial in the literature. Nemoto (1993) claims that *yooni* is not a complementizer. Uchibori (1997, 2000) claims that *yooni* and *yooto* are subjunctive complementizers. Following Nemoto, I assume that *yooni* and *yooto* are not complementizers. But I will leave their syntactic status unspecified in this paper.

verbal root *kai* ‘buy’. In (9d), the morphemes used in control constructions are involved. *-Yooni* is attached to the non-past tense form of the verb *mamoru* ‘keep’ in (9di), and *-yooto* is attached to the verbal root *benkyoosi* ‘study’ in (9dii).

Infinitival clauses are selected by various semantic types of verbs. In the following sections, I will focus on four semantic types of verbs among them: modal, motion, aspectual, and irrealis verbs.⁵ Logically, there are sixteen combinations (four syntactic types of forms and four semantic types of verbs). Actually, six combinations are accepted among them. Bare V infinitives are selected by modal and aspectual verbs but not by motion and irrealis verbs as in (10).

(10) bare V infinitives

a. modal

Taro-ga [ringo-o tabe] rare-ta (koto)

Taro-Nom apple-Acc eat can-Past (fact)

“Taro could eat an apple.”

b. aspectual

Taro-ga [ringo-o tabe]{hazime-ta/tuzuke-ta}

Taro-Nom apple-Acc eat begin-Past/continue-Past

“Taro began/continued to eat an apple.”

V-te infinitives are selected by motion and aspectual verbs but not by modal and irrealis verbs as in (11).⁶

⁵ This paper is based on the semantic classification of verbs in Wurmbrand (1998, 2001).

⁶ There are two types of *iku* ‘go’ and *kuru* ‘come’ that select *V-te* infinitives. One is a motion verb and the other is an aspectual verb. *Iku* and *kuru* as motion verbs retain their intrinsic lexical meanings, whereas *iku* and *kuru* as aspectual verbs do not. A motion verb with a *V-te* infinitive indicates a sequence of events as in (ia). A motion verb with a *V-te* infinitive expressing manner indicates a single event as in (ib). (See Teramura (1982) for details.) *Iku* and *kuru* as aspectual verbs are glossed with capital letters like ‘IKU-Past’ in the gloss of *it-ta* and ‘KURU-Past’ in the gloss of *ki-ta* as in (ic) to distinguish aspectual verbs *iku* and *kuru* from motion verbs *iku* and *kuru*.

(i) a. motion (non-aspectual), a sequence of events

Taro-ga [ringo-o tabe-te] {it-ta/ki-ta}

Taro-Nom apple-Acc eat-TE go-Past/come-Past

“Taro ate an apple and went/came.”

b. motion (non-aspectual), a single event

Hanako-ga gakkoo-e [arui-te] {it-ta/ki-ta}

Hanako-Nom school-to walk-TE go-Past/come-Past

“Hanako went/came to school on foot.”

c. aspectual

i. Taro-ga [tosyokan-no hon-o katappasi-kara kari-te] it-ta

Taro-Nom library-Gen book-Acc one-after-another borrow-TE IKU-Past

“Taro borrowed the books from the library one after another.”

(11) V-*te* infinitives

a. motion

Taro-ga [ringo-o tabe-te] {it-ta/ki-ta}

Taro-Nom apple-Acc eat-TE go-Past/come-Past

“Taro ate an apple and went/came.”

b. aspectual

i. Taro-ga [tosyokan-no hon-o katappasi-kara kari-te] it-ta

Taro-Nom library-Gen book-Acc one-after-another borrow-TE IKU-Past

“Taro borrowed the book from the library one after another.”

ii. Taro-ga [sono hon-o naganen aisi-te] ki-ta (koto)

Taro-Nom the book-Acc for-many-years love-TE KURU-Past (fact)

“Taro has long loved the book.”

V-*ni* infinitives are selected by motion verbs but not by modal, aspectual, and irrealis verbs as in (12).

(12) V-*ni* infinitives

motion

Taro-ga [ringo-o tabe-ni] {it-ta/ki-ta}

Taro-Nom apple-Acc eat-NI go-Past/come-Past

“Taro went/came to eat an apple.”

V-*yooni/yooto* infinitives are selected by irrealis verbs but not by modal, aspectual, and motion verbs as in (13).

(13) V-*yooni/yooto* infinitives

irrealis

i. Taro-wa Hanako-ni [Jiro-o sikaru-yooni] tanom-da

Taro-Top Hanako-to Jiro-Acc scold-YOONI ask-Past

“Taro asked Hanako to scold Jiro.”

ii. Taro-wa [sono daiya-o nusum-ooto] kuwadata-ta

Taro-Top the diamond-Acc steal-YOOTO attempt-Past

“Taro attempted to steal the diamond.”

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- ii. Taro-ga [sono hon-o naganen aisi-te] ki-ta (koto)
Taro-Nom the book-Acc for-many-years love-TE KURU-Past (fact)
“Taro has long loved the book.”

Among the six combinations, *V-te* infinitives selected by aspectual verbs show exceptional properties for the argument below. In this paper, I exclude such constructions as (11b) from consideration.⁷

3. Restructuring Constructions in Japanese

3.1. Long-Distance Scrambling and Anaphor Binding

In this section, I will consider whether or not the infinitival clauses shown in the previous section show restructuring properties.

Let me first show cases in German. In German, the possibility of long-distance scrambling is used as a diagnosis of restructuring constructions. German does not allow long-distance scrambling from an embedded finite clause as in (14).

- (14) *Gestern hat *eine schwere Sprache*_i [der Lehrer den Schüler darauf
 yesterday has a difficult language the teacher the pupil on-it
 hingewiesen [daß Berber *t_i* ist]]
 referred that Berber is
 “Yesterday the teacher pointed out to the pupil that Berber is a difficult language.”
 (Grewendorf and Sabel (1994:264))

Long-distance scrambling from an embedded infinitival clause is not allowed when the matrix verb is *bedauern* ‘regret’ as in (15a), while it is allowed when the matrix verb is *versuchen* ‘try’ as in (15b). This shows that (15b) is a restructuring construction.

- (15) a. *dass Hans nur *den Traktor* bedauert hat [repariert zu haben]
 that John only the tractor regretted has repaired to have
 “that John {only} regretted having repaired {only} the tractor”
 (Wurmbrand (2001:286-287))
- b. dass Hans *den Traktor* versucht hat [zu reparieren]
 that John the tractor tried has to repair
 “that John (has) tried to repair the tractor” (ibid. (2001:270))

In Japanese, however, long-distance scrambling from embedded finite clauses is allowed as shown in (16).

⁷ See Akima (2003:Chapter 3) for details.

- (16) *Hon-o_i* [John-ga [Mary-ga t_i kat-ta to] it-ta]
 book-Acc John-Nom. Mary-Nom buy-Past Comp say-Past
 “A book_i, John said that Mary bought t_i.”

The possibility of long-distance scrambling does not indicate that the complement clause is transparent for a clause-bounded operation. There are some cases where short-distance scrambling and long-distance scrambling behave differently, which can be used as diagnoses of having the complement clause that is transparent for a clause-bounded operation. According to Saito (1992), a phrase moved by short-distance scrambling can bind an anaphor as in (17), whereas a phrase moved by long-distance scrambling from an embedded finite clause cannot, as in (18).

- (17) a. *Karera-o_i* [Masao-ga otagai_i-no sensei-ni t_i syookaisi-ta]
 they-Acc Masao-Nom each-other-Gen teacher-to introduce-Past
 “Them_i, Masao introduced t_i to each other’s_i teachers.”
 b. ?*Karera-o_i* [otagai_i-no sensei-ga t_i hihansi-ta]
 they-Acc each-other-Gen teacher-Nom criticize-Past
 “Them_i, each other’s_i teachers criticized t_i.” (Saito (1992:75))
- (18) **Karera-o_i* [Masao-ga otagai_i-no sensei-ni [Hanako-ga t_i
 they-Acc Masao-Nom each-other-Gen teacher-to Hanako-Nom
 hihansi-ta to] it-ta]
 criticize-Past Comp say-Past
 “Them_i, Masao said to each other’s_i teachers that Hanako criticized t_i.”
 (ibid. (1992:76))

In (17), the object pronoun *karera* ‘them’ moves to the sentence initial position and binds a reciprocal anaphor *otagai* ‘each other’. The possibility of binding a reciprocal anaphor indicates that short-distance scrambling is A-movement because an anaphor must be A-bound. On the other hand, in (18), the embedded object pronoun moves to the matrix clause initial position, but cannot bind a reciprocal anaphor. The impossibility of binding a reciprocal anaphor indicates that long-distance scrambling from an embedded finite clause is not A-movement but A'-movement. If a phrase moved by scrambling out of an infinitival complement can bind an anaphor, the whole clause is mono-clausal. All of the five infinitival clauses allow anaphor binding by a scrambled phrase as in (19)-(23).

- (19) bare V infinitives selected by modal verbs
Taro-to Jiro-o_i otagai-no titioya-ga [t_i nagur] e-ta (koto)
 Taro-and Jiro-Acc each-other-Gen father-Nom hit can-Past (fact)
 “Taro and Jiro_i, each other’s_i father could hit t_i.”
- (20) bare V infinitives selected by aspectual verbs
 a. *Taro-to Jiro-o_i otagai-no tomodati-ga [t_i nonosiri] hazime-ta*
 Taro-and Jiro-Acc each-other-Gen friend-Nom swear-at begin-Past
 “Taro and Jiro_i, each other’s_i friends began to swear at t_i.”
 b. *Taro-to Jiro-o_i otagai-no tomodati-ga [t_i seme] tuzuke-ta*
 Taro-and Jiro-Acc each-other-Gen friend-Nom blame continue-Past
 “Taro and Jiro_i, each other’s_i friends continued to blame t_i.”
- (21) V-*te* infinitives selected by motion verbs
 a. *Taro-to Jiro-o_i otagai-no tomodati-ga [paatii-ni t_i sasot-te]*
 Taro-and Jiro-Acc each-other-Gen friend-Nom party-to invite-TE
 it-ta
 go-Past
 “Taro and Jiro_i, each other’s_i friends invited t_i to the party and went.”
 b. *Taro-to Jiro-o_i otagai-no tomodati-ga [paatii-ni t_i sasot-te]*
 Taro-and Jiro-Acc each-other-Gen friend-Nom party-to invite-TE
 ki-ta
 come-Past
 “Taro and Jiro_i, each other’s_i friends invited t_i to the party and came.”
- (22) V-*ni* infinitives selected by motion verbs
 a. *Taro-to Jiro-o_i otagai-no hahaoya-ga eki-made [t_i mukae-ni]*
 Taro-and Jiro-Acc each-other-Gen mother-Nom station-to meet-NI
 it-ta
 go-Past
 “Taro and Jiro_i, each other’s_i mother went to meet t_i at the station.”
 b. *Taro-to Jiro-o_i otagai-no hahaoya-ga eki-made [t_i mukae-ni]*
 Taro-and Jiro-Acc each-other-Gen mother-Nom station-to meet-NI
 ki-ta
 come-Past
 “Taro and Jiro_i, each other’s_i mother came to meet t_i at the station.”

- (23) V-*yooni/yooto* infinitives selected by irrealis verbs
- a. *Karera-o_i otagai_i-no sensei-ga Hanako-ni [t_i hihansuru-yooni]*
 they-Acc each-other-Gen teacher-Nom Hanako-to criticize-YOONI
 it-ta
 say-Past
 “Them_i, each other’s_i teachers told Hanako to criticize t_i.”
- b. *Karera-o_i otagai_i-no tomodati-ga [t_i odorokas-ooto] keikakusi-ta*
 they-Acc each-other-Gen friend-Nom surprise-YOOTO plan-Past
 “Them_i, each other’s_i friends planned to surprise t_i.”

These examples show that these infinitival clauses are restructuring infinitives.

3.2. Long Passive

In Section 1, I have shown that in German long passive can apply to the restructuring verb such as *versuchen* ‘try’, while it cannot apply to the restructuring verb such as *können* ‘can’.

Now see examples of Japanese given in (24)-(28). (The active counterparts are shown in (10)-(13).) Modal verbs with bare V infinitives do not allow long passive.

- (24) **Ringo-ga [tabe] rare-rare-ta (koto)*
 apple-Nom eat can-Pass-Past (fact)
 “Someone could eat an apple.”

Aspectual verbs with bare V infinitives allow long passive.

- (25) a. *Ringo-ga [tabe] hazime-rare-ta*
 apple-Nom eat begin-Pass-Past
 “Someone began to eat an apple.”
- b. *Ringo-ga [tabe] tuzuke-rare-ta*
 apple-Nom eat continue-Pass-Past
 “Someone continued to eat an apple.”

Motion verbs with V-*te* infinitives do not allow long passive.

- (26) a. **Ringo-ga [tabe-te] ik-are-ta*
 apple-Nom eat-TE go-Pass-Past
 “Someone ate an apple and he went.”

- b. *Ringo-ga [tabe-te] ko-rare-ta
 apple-Nom eat-TE come-Pass-Past
 “Someone ate an apple and he came.”

Motion verbs with *V-ni* infinitives do not allow long passive.

- (27) a. *Ringo-ga [tabe-ni] ik-are-ta
 apple-Nom eat-NI go-Pass-Past
 “Someone went to eat an apple.”
 b. *Ringo-ga [tabe-ni] ko-rare-ta
 apple-Nom eat-NI come-Pass-Past
 “Someone came to eat an apple.”

Irrealis verbs with *V-yooto* infinitives allow long passive.⁸

- (28) a. *Jiro-ga Hanako-ni [sikaru-yooni] tanom-are-ta
 Jiro-Nom Hanako-to scold-YOONI ask-Pass-Past
 “Someone asked Hanako to scold Jiro.”
 b. ?Sono daiya-ga [nusum-ooto] kuwadate-rare-ta
 the diamond-Nom steal-YOOTO attempt-Pass-Past
 “Someone attempted to steal the diamond.”

3.3. Summary

The observations in this paper are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 Restructuring properties of Japanese infinitival clauses

	bare V		<i>V-te</i>	<i>V-ni</i>	<i>V-yooni</i> <i>V-yooto</i>
	Modal	Aspectual	Motion	Motion	Irrealis
(a) Anaphor binding in long-distance scrambling constructions	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
(b) Long passive	*	OK	*	*	*/OK

⁸ Irrealis verbs with *V-yooni* infinitives block long passive. The impossibility of long passive is irrespective of the types of restructuring. See the active counterpart of (28a), which is repeated below.

(i) Taro-ga Hanako-ni [Jiro-o sikaru-yooni] tanom-da
 Taro-Nom Hanako-to Jiro-Acc scold-YOONI ask-Past
 “Taro asked Hanako to scold Jiro.”

When the embedded object *Jiro* is passivized, it must move across the matrix dative argument *Hanako*. This movement violates the minimality condition and leads the sentence to be ungrammatical.

All of the clauses which I have examined allow anaphor binding in long-distance scrambling constructions. Bare V infinitives selected by modal verbs, and V-*te* infinitives selected by motion verbs, and V-*ni* infinitives selected by motion verbs block long passive, while bare V infinitives selected by aspectual verbs and V-*yooto* infinitives selected by irrealis verbs allow it. The difference in the possibility of long passive indicates that these infinitival clauses are divided into two subtypes. Based on these data, I have shown that Wurmbrand's (1998, 2001, 2002) claim that restructuring constructions are divided into two subtypes also holds in Japanese.

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