Two Types of Scrambling Constructions in Japanese

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1. Introduction

The sentences of the form in (1b) are often referred to as instances of the scrambling construction, in contrast to those of the 'unmarked word order' in (1a).\(^1\)

(1) a. NP-NOM NP-ACC/DAT V
   b. NP-ACC/DAT NP-NOM V

The scrambling construction is one of the most extensively discussed topics in Japanese syntax, and various kinds of analyses have been presented over the years. It is not a straightforward task, however, to summarize the result of the past study, since the preceding works are based on sets of assumptions often radically different from one another.

In order to lay out the relevant descriptive observations in an analysis-neutral manner, I use the terms \textit{SO-type} [Subject-Object word order] construction and \textit{OS-type} [Object-Subject word order] construction in this paper. In addition, I call the 'object' NP preceding the 'subject' in the OS-type construction as \textit{DL} (cf. the 'dislocated' NP), whether or not it is analyzed to have moved to its 'surface' position by a syntactic movement.

(2) a. SO-type construction:
   NP-NOM NP-ACC/DAT V
   b. OS-type construction:
      NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) NP-NOM V

In section 2, I will critically review the descriptive generalizations reported in the past study, paying attention to the accompanying assumptions as well. In section 3, the recaptured past observations are summarized, so that they form a skeletal analysis, which shall be called the \textit{Essential Analysis} in this work. In other words, the \textit{Essential Analysis} is meant to express an answer to questions such as "What has been uncovered regarding this construction?" or "What is the standard analysis of this construction?" Since the \textit{Essential Analysis} is underspecified in several respects, many full-fledged analyses can be compatible with it, logically speaking.

In section 4, I will introduce further properties of the OS-type construction which have not been reported in the literature. If these observations in section 4 are correct and form the descriptive generalizations to be accounted for, they will serve to significantly reduce the range of the adequate analyses. For the illustration of the point, I will review Saito 1992 in section 5, and show that the lines of analyses represented by Saito 1992 would suffer from serious problems in accounting for the new observations presented in section 4. The conclusion will be presented in the form of the \textit{Revised Essential Analysis}, which expresses the minimal requirements on any successful analysis of the OS-type construction, considering both the newly reported generalizations and the findings from the past study.\(^2\)

2. Past study of the OS-type Construction

2.1. Subjacency effects

It has been assumed in the literature that the OS-type construction is derived from the corresponding SO-type construction by the movement of the DL; let us tentatively call such an operation \textit{Scrambling} following the literature. Harada 1977 argues that Scrambling is a syntactic movement, by demonstrating that the OS-type construction in Japanese exhibits subjacency effects.\(^3\)

(3) Subjacency effects in the OS-type construction:
   a. \(\text{[A-no hon-o] John-ga [SP s ec ec_i katta] hito-ni aitagatteiru rassii}\)
      
      want:to:see seem
      'It seems that [that book], John wants to meet [the person who bought \(ec_i\)].'
      (Saito 1985:285 (11a))
   b. \(\text{[Russell-ni] John-ga [SP s ec ec_i atta koto-ga aru] Russell-DAT John-NOM met fac-NOM exist}\)
      
      hito-o mituketa rassii  person-ACC found seem
      'It seems that [Russell], John found [a person who actually met \(ec_i\)].'
      (Saito 1985:286 (11b))

It has been considered in the literature that the fact that the OS-type construction exhibits subjacency effects means that an overt movement is involved in deriving

\(^1\) Sometimes a sentence in which an adjunct phrase is placed before the nominative NP is also regarded as an instance of scrambling. But I limit the discussion in this work to the construction in which an accusative-marked NP or a dative-marked NP appears before the nominative-marked NP, mainly because the 'unmarked' position for an adjunct phrase is not yet totally clear in Japanese.

\(^2\) The core idea presented in this paper was first proposed in Ueyama 1997; the analysis there was mainly based on the observations regarding the weak crossover effects. Hayashishita 1997 has further examined the quantifier scope interpretation from the viewpoint of the analysis in Ueyama 1997. The analysis of the OS-type construction to be proposed in this paper (as well as the one presented in Ueyama 1998) is an extended version of Ueyama 1997 which has incorporated the claim in Hayashishita 1997.

\(^3\) Scrambling is not necessarily clause-bound, as pointed out in Saito 1985 among others. Section 4.1 below contains some examples of the 'long distance' OS-type construction.
this construction; it is also usually assumed that what undergoes movement is the DL. Strictly speaking, however, it is not necessarily the case that the offending movement should have applied to the DL. Furthermore, the subjacency effects do not sufficiently indicate that the construction is derived by an overt syntactic movement, since it is not demonstrated that being an overt syntactic movement is a necessary condition for the subjacency effects.

Nevertheless, assuming that the OS-type construction is derived by a syntactic movement of a DL, the issue of interest among Japanese linguists then moved onto how this movement should be further characterized: namely, whether it is an A-movement (as passivization or raising in English) or an A’-movement (as wh-movement in English). It has been said that Scrambling exhibits both A-properties and A’-properties. Let us examine the so-called A-properties in section 2.2 and the so-called A’-properties in section 2.3.

### 2.2. A-properties: absence of the WCO effects

#### 2.2.1. A-properties

(4a) and (4b) are the representative A-properties that are discussed in the literature regarding the OS-type construction in Japanese.

(4) (Alleged) A-properties of the OS-type construction:

a. Availability of anaphor-binding

b. Absence of weak crossover (WCO) effects

The reported observations relevant to (4a) presuppose that the word *otagai* ’each other/relative’ in Japanese has the feature [+anaphor] in the binding theoretic sense. Hoji 1998b, however, convincingly argues against this assumption, which is widely-held among Japanese generative linguists. He demonstrates that (i) if we took *otagai* to be unambiguously [+anaphor, -pronominal], we would completely fail to capture the wide range of empirical paradigms discussed in Hoji 1998b, and (ii) if we took *otagai* to be ambiguous between [+anaphor, -pronominal] and [-anaphor, +pronominal], on the other hand, the validity of such a claim is not demonstrable. Therefore, although the alleged observations themselves are completely consistent with the analysis to be given below, I will not address (4a) in this work.

Let us now consider (4b) ’Absence of WCO effects’. Sentences in (5) are typically used to illustrate the WCO effects; they do not allow the bound reading between the two underlined NPs, and they are to be contrasted with (6) in which a bound reading is available (Postal 1971, Wasow 1972, Chomsky 1976).

(5) WCO effects:

a. *His best friend hit every student.*

(after QR: every student, his best friend hit t)

b. *Who did [his best friend] hit t?*

The effects are not observed in the case of (7), despite the apparently similar configuration.

(7) a. *Every daughter seems [to her father] t to be beautiful.*

b. *Who t seems [to his mother] t to have come?*

This observation is often understood in a generalized form as in (8):

(8) a. Movement to an A-position does not induce WCO effects.

b. Movement to an A’-position induces WCO effects.

The absence of WCO effects is regarded as an A-property in this sense.

#### 2.2.2. WCO effects and the QP type

It is usually assumed that the availability of a bound reading is sensitive to the structural relation of c-command (see Evans 1977, Partee 1978, and Reinhart 1983ab, among others). If we assume (9) for now, mainly following the spirit of Reinhart 1983ab and Hoji 1998c, the relevant condition can be stated as in (10).

(9) The bound reading in (6)-(7) is based on the *Formal Dependency (FD)* established between the (QR-)trace of a QP and the dependent term.

(10) *FD(A,B) if A does not c-command B at LF.*

Let us introduce a few remarks on the availability of a bound reading, summarizing the parts of Ueyama 1998:section 3.1 that are relevant to the current discussion.

It is important that we use a QP such as *NP-sae* ’even NP’, 10 izyoo-no NP ’ten or more NPs’, or 55%-no NP ’55% of the NPs’ in order to illustrate the WCO effects clearly. I call them A-type QPs in this paper, since these QPs can have a bound reading only in terms of an FD, which is contingent upon c-command, as stated in (10).

(11) **A-type QPs:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP-sae</th>
<th>even NP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 izyoo-no NP</td>
<td>’ten or more NPs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55%-no NP</td>
<td>’55% of the NPs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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5 It is claimed in Reinhart 1983ab and Hoji 1998c that *every* instance of bound variable anaphora is contingent upon c-command, but I have argued against this generalization in Ueyama 1998. I do not go into the discussion regarding the theoretical status of a bound reading in this paper.


7 These QPs were tentatively called as *A-type QPs* in Ueyama 1998.
(12) An instance of WCO effects:

> [So-ko-o tekitaisisiteiru kaisya-ga] -ga Toyota-sae-o
> that-place-ACC be:hostile company-NOM Toyota-even-ACC
> uttaeta.
> sued
> 'the company which is hostile to it] sued [even Toyota].'

Some QPs allow an apparent bound reading without recourse to FD. First, I have pointed out in Ueyama 1998 that an apparent bound reading obtains without c-command if we use *do-no NP 'which/every NP', as long as it precedes the dependent term in the surface word order. I tentatively call this type of QP as existential QP, without any further discussion of its nature in this paper.8

(13) Apparent bound reading in terms of an existential QP:

a. [Kyonen Toyota-ga do-no zidoosya-gaisya-o uttaeta
last:year Toyota-NOM which GEN automobile-company-ACC sued
koto]-ga so-ko-o toosan-ni oiyatta no?
fact-NOM that-place-ACC bankrupt-DAT drove COMP
'(Lit.) {The fact that Toyota sued which automobile company last year] caused it to go bankrupt? (i.e., Which automobile company is such that the fact that Toyota sued it caused it to go bankrupt?)

b. [Kyonen do-no zidoosya-gaisya-ga Toyota-o uttaeta toyuu
last:year which-GEN automobile-company-NOM Toyota-ACC sued COMP
riyyu-de], John-ga so-ko-o tyoosasiteiru no?
reason-with John-NOM that-place-ACC is:investigating COMP
'(Lit.) {For the reason that which automobile company sued Toyota last year], is John investigating it? (i.e., Which automobile company is such that John is investigating it for the reason that it sued Toyota last year?)

In addition, QPs such as subete-no NP 'every NP' or NP1 to NP2 'NP1 and NP2' (at least marginally) allow an apparent bound reading even if the QP does not precede the dependent term. Again tentatively I call this type of QP as a specific QP.9

8 These QPs were tentatively called as B-type QPs in Ueyama 1998. Ueyama 1998 demonstrates in chapter 3 that the anaphoric relation as in (13) is subject to the syntactic condition different from the one for the anaphoric relation involving a existential QP, and proposes in chapter 5 that it is an instance of an E-type link.

9 Regarding the (apparent) anaphoric relation as illustrated in (14), readers are referred to Appendix D of Ueyama 1998 and Hayashishita 1999 for the relevant discussion.

(14) Apparent bound reading in terms of a specificQP:

a. *[So-ko-no bengosi-ga subete-no zidoosya-gaisya-o
that-place-GEN attorney-NOM every GEN automobile-company-ACC
uttaeteiru (node, zidoosya-gy ookai-wa daikonran-ni oitiiteiru),
sued because automobile-industry-TOP disorder-DAT thrown into
'Since [its/a retained] attorney has sued every automobile company, because automobile industry has been thrown into a state of disorder'.

b. *[So-ko-no bengosi-ga Toyota-to Nissan-o suisensita
that-place-GEN attorney-NOM Toyota and Nissan-ACC recommended
(node, ato-wa dareka-ni Mazda-o suisensite-moraw-eba
because rest-TOP someone-DAT Mazda-ACC recommend-ask-if
ii dake da),
good only COPULA
'Since [its/a retained] attorney recommended Toyota and Nissan, now we have only to ask someone to recommend Mazda'.

I do not go into the discussion regarding the nature of the anaphoric relation in (13) and (14) in this paper. The only point crucial to the following discussion is the fact that we should, as we in fact will in the ensuing discussion, avoid existential QPs or specific QPs and use only FDQPs in examining the WCO effects.

2.2.3. WCO effects and the OS-type construction
Let us return to the discussion of the OS-type construction. Consider the schematic form in (15).

(15) OS-type construction:

\[ QP-ACC/DAT ... [NP ... NP ... }-NOM ... \text{V} \]

Although (15) may appear to be a WCO configuration, the OS-type construction in (16) allows a bound reading, even if we use an FD-QP.

(16) Absence of WCO effects in the OS-type construction:

\[ Toyota-sae-o, [so-ko-o tekitaisisiteiru kaisya-ga ec],
Toyota-even-ACC that-place-ACC be:hostile company-NOM
uttaeta.
\]

sued
'
Even Toyota], [the company which is hostile to it] sued ec,'.

cf. A corresponding SO-type construction:

\[ [So-ko-o tekitaisisiteiru kaisya-ga Toyota-sae-o
that-place-ACC be:hostile company-NOM Toyota-even-ACC
uttaeta.
\]
2.3.1. A’ -properties

2.3. A’-properties: reconstruction effects

As argued in Yoshimura 1992 among others.

Scrambling also appears to have properties associated with the so-called A’-movement in English. Those properties in (17) are the representatives of the A’-properties mentioned in the literature regarding the OS-type construction in Japanese.

(17) Alleged A’-properties of the OS-type construction:

a. Reconstruction effects of Condition C violation
b. Reconstruction effects of ‘pronominal’-binding (and ‘anaphor’-binding)

(17a) is discussed in Saito 1985 and Saito 1992, for example. Schematically, it concerns whether an anaphoric relation can be established between John, and he, in the configuration (18):

(18) ...[ ... John, ...] ...[ he, ... t; ... ] ... 

Saito 1992 seemingly assumes that the contrast between (19a) and (19b) indicates that the availability of the anaphoric relation in (18) is related to the A/A’ distinction.

(19) a. ??[Which picture of John,] did he, like t; 
   (van Riemsdijk & Williams 1981:201 (86a), cf. Lebeaux 1990:319 (2c))
   b. [John’s, mother], seems to him, [ t; to be smart] 
   (Saito 1992:90 (47a))

On the basis of the observation that the configuration (18) is not always clearly acceptable with the OS-type construction, Saito 1992 argues that Scrambling "cannot be analyzed simply as A movement" (p.91). In characterizing the phenomenon, however, Saito 1992 mentions the notion of ‘degree of embedding’, along the lines of van Riemsdijk & Williams 1981. Although it is possible that such a notion is indeed crucial, this notion cannot be expressed in terms of the primitive concepts in Grammar, thereby suggesting that the relevant condition cannot be stated as a grammatical condition. Therefore I consider that we should dismiss the observations reported there for the reason that the alleged contrast cannot be stated in formal terms (at least at this stage), even if we agreed with the descriptive generalization.\(^{10}\)

Let us turn to (17b). It has been noticed since Engdahl 1980, van Riemsdijk & Williams 1981, Barss 1984, 1986, and Lebeaux 1990 that a configuration such as in (20) is well-formed in spite of the fact that a reflexive pronoun appears not to be c-commanded by its antecedent.

(20) Reconstruction effects:

a. [Which pictures of himself does John like t; ?
   b. [These photographs of himself, John really likes t; .
      (Barss 1986:17 (1))

These examples have been said to exhibit reconstruction effects.\(^{11}\) It has been known that the presence of the reconstruction effects in (20) crucially depends upon whether the trace is c-commanded by the QP or not. This is illustrated by the contrast in (21).

(21) a. (Guess) which one of his teachers, Mary told the principal that every boy should talk to t;
   b. *(Guess) which one of his teachers, Mary told t; that every boy should talk to the principal.
   (Hoji & Ueyama 1998:(40a,b))

In (21a) the trace is c-commanded by every boy and the bound reading is available, while in (21b) it is not c-commanded by every boy and the bound reading does not obtain.

It has been pointed out that raising does not exhibit reconstruction effects in contrast with a wh-movement, as shown in (22).\(^{12}\)

(22) a. Wh-movement:
   [Which friend of his son,] did every boy invite t; ?
   b. Raising:
   *(Which friend of his son,] seems to even John t; to win the prize?

The availability of reconstruction effects is thus regarded as an A’-property.

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\(^{10}\) See sections A.3.2 and B.1.4 of Ueyama 1998 for more discussion on this issue.

\(^{11}\) Various analyses have been proposed to account for the reconstruction effects, including the postulation of a new level of representation (van Riemsdijk & Williams 1981), an operation of (literal) reconstruction (Langendoen & Battistella 1982, Saito 1992), chain binding (Barss 1986), and the copy and deletion theory of movement (Chomsky 1995).

\(^{12}\) It is sometimes claimed that an A-movement can exhibit reconstruction effects (Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Barss 1986, Kitagawa & Kuroda 1992); but, as far as I know, the relevant examples involve every NP. Since we know that a non-QP (such as every NP) can have a bound reading without c-command, as mentioned above, I wish to maintain the generalization that an A-movement does not exhibit reconstruction effects. Relevant discussion is found in section D.2 of Ueyama 1998, which however does not cover Fox 1999. (I learned only at the final stage of the preparation of this work that Fox 1999 also argues that A-reconstruction is possible, in part drawing from Lebeaux 1994.)
2.3.2. Reconstruction effects in the OS-type construction

As has been reported in Hoji 1985 and Yoshimura 1992, among others, the OS-type construction exhibits reconstruction effects, as schematized in (23) and exemplified in (24).

(23) $[\ldots \text{NP} \ldots ]^{\text{ACC/DAT}} \ldots \text{QP-NOM} \ldots t_i \ldots V$

(24) $[\text{So-ko no ko-gaisya]-o Toyota-sae-ga suisensita}$

\[ \text{that-place-GEN child-company-ACC Toyota-even-NOM recommended} \]

‘Even Toyota recommended [its subsidiary].’ (i.e. It holds even with Toyota that it recommended its subsidiary.)

Therefore, if one assumes that the OS-type construction is derived by Scrambling, this movement should have an A’-property.

Note that some examples of the OS-type construction fail to exhibit the reconstruction effects.

Consider (25), in comparison with (26):

(25) $?[\text{So-no zidoosya-gaisya]-no ko-gaisya]-o do-no}$

\[ \text{that-GEN automobile-company-GEN child-company-ACC which-GEN} \]

\[ \text{zidoosya-gaisya-ga suisensita no?} \]

\[ \text{automobile-company-NOM recommended COMP} \]

‘Which automobile company recommended [that automobile company’s subsidiary]?’

(26) a. $[\text{So-ke-no ko-gaisya]-o do-no zidoosya-gaisya-ga}$

\[ \text{that-place-GEN child-company-ACC which-GEN automobile-company-NOM} \]

\[ \text{suisensita no?} \]

\[ \text{recommended COMP} \]

‘Which automobile company recommended [its subsidiary]?’

b. $\text{Do-no zidoosya-gaisya-ga ko-gaisya]-o}$

\[ \text{which-GEN automobile-company-NOM that-GEN automobile-company-GEN} \]

\[ \text{ko-gaisya]-o suisensita no?} \]

\[ \text{child-company-ACC recommended COMP} \]

‘Which automobile company recommended [that automobile company’s subsidiary]?’

Ueyama 1998 classifies the dependent terms into two groups, and claims that the reconstruction effects generally do not obtain when a large NP is involved. (27a) and (27b) exemplify large NPs and small NPs, respectively.

13 In fact, Kuno & Kim 1994:24 (5.9b) argues that there is no reconstruction effects in Japanese, citing an example similar to (25) in the relevant respects.

14 Although it is by far unmarked to use pronouns as a dependent term in English, it is not impossible to have a bound reading using a demonstrative NP, as pointed out in Evans 1977:491. I thank Ken Safir for helping me construct the examples in (29)-(30).

15 The relevant discussion is found in Ueyama 1998: sections 3.1, 3.4.1, & 5.3.2.1.

16 Cf. ‘A constituent moved by scrambling can move back to its D-structure position.

(27) a. \text{large NPs:}

\[ \text{so-no zidoosya-gaisya ‘that automobile company’} \]

\[ \text{so-no daigaku-insei ‘that graduate student’} \]

\[ \text{that linguist (in English)} \]

b. \text{small NPs:}

\[ \text{so-ko ‘that institution’} \]

\[ \text{so-re ‘it/that thing’} \]

\[ \text{he, it (in English)} \]

The large NP vs small NP contrast also obtains in English with respect to reconstruction effects.

(28) a. \text{Every linguist insisted that John had demanded a special evaluation of him.}

b. \text{Every linguist insisted that John had demanded a special evaluation of that linguist.}

(29) Reconstruction effects with a small NP:

a. $[\text{Which evaluation of him}, \text{ did every linguist insist that John had demanded } t_1 ?}$

b. $[\text{A special evaluation of him}, \text{ every linguist insisted that John had demanded } t_1 .}$

(30) No reconstruction effects with a large NP:

a. $?[\text{Which evaluation of that linguist}, \text{ did every linguist insist that John had demanded } t_1 ?}$

b. $?[\text{A special evaluation of that linguist}, \text{ every linguist insisted that John had demanded } t_1 .}$

Readers should consider the notions \text{large NPs} / \text{small NPs} to be merely descriptive labels, rather than theoretical primitives.

The crucial point is that we should use a small NP in testing the reconstruction effects in question. Therefore, the example in (25) is not a counterexample to the generalization that the OS-type construction in Japanese exhibits reconstruction effects.

2.4. ‘Undoing’ of the movement: radical reconstruction of a wh-phrase

Saito 1989,1992 further argues that some properties of the OS-type construction in Japanese can be accounted for only if it is postulated that Scrambling can be ‘undone’ at LF. The claim is partly based on the contrast
between (31) and (32). 17

Hanako-NOM who-DAT Masao-NOM come Q told fact
'the fact that Hanako told who [Q {Masao is coming}]'
(Saito 1992:84 (32b), due to K.I. Harada 1972)

(32) a. ?Do-no hon-o Masao-ga [CP [Hanako-ga t] tosyokan-kara
which-GEN book-ACC Masao-NOM Hanako-NOM library-from
karidasita] ka siritagatteiru (koto)
checked out Q want:to:know fact
'(the fact that) which book, Masao wants to know [Q {Hanako
checked out t, from the library}]
(Saito 1992:84 (33b))

b. ?Dare-ni Mary-ga [CP [John-ga t Susan-o syookaisita] ka]
who-DAT Mary-NOM John-NOM Susan-ACC introduced Q
siritagatteiru (koto)
want:to:know fact
'(Lit.) To whom, Mary wants to know [Q {John introduced Susan
t}]
(Yoshimura 1992:244 (38b))

Both (31) and (32) can be schematically represented as in (33), in which the wh-
phrase is located outside the scope of Q.

(33) ... wh-ACC/DAT [CP [ ... ] Q] ...

Nevertheless, the examples in (32) are much more acceptable than (31). 18 Saito

(1989,1992) argues that Scrambling can be literally 'undone' and the DL is
'radically reconstructed' to the trace position at LF, so that the OS-type
constructions in (32) has the representations in (34) (prior to LF wh-movement).

(34) OS-type construction:
PF: [wh-ACC/DAT] ... [CP [ ... t] ... Q] ...
LF: ... [CP [ ... [wh-ACC/DAT] ... Q] ...

In other words, this analysis claims that the LF representation of (32b) is not
distinct from that of (35), and it is thus expected that the configurations in (32)
are not ungrammatical.

(35) SO-type construction:
Mary-ga [CP [John-ga dare-ni Susan-o syookaisita] ka]
Mary-NOM John-NOM who-DAT Susan-ACC introduced Q
siritagatteiru (koto)
want:to:know fact
'(Lit.) Mary wants to know [Q {John introduced Susan to whom}]'

Saito 1992 claims that the same point is shown by the fact that (36) is not
totally unacceptable: its schematic representations and the corresponding SO-type
construction are given in (37) and (38), respectively.

(36) ??[[CP Hanako-ga do-no hon-o tosyokan-kara karidasita to],
Hanako-NOM which-GEN book-ACC library-from checked out COMP
Masao-ga [CP [minna-ga t omotteiru] ka] siritagatteiru koto
Masao-NOM everyone-NOM think Q want:to:know fact
'the fact that [that Hanako checked out which book from the library],
Masao wants to know [Q {everyone thinks t}]
(Saito 1992:85 (36b))

(37) OS-type construction:
PF: ... [CP [ ... Wh-NP ... ] ... [CP [ ... t ... ] Q] ...]
LF: ... [CP [ ... [CP [ ... [wh-NP ... ] ... Q] ... ]

(38) SO-type construction:
Masao-ga [CP [minna-ga [CP Hanako-ga do-no hon-o
Masao-NOM everyone-NOM Hanako-NOM which-GEN book-ACC
tosyokan-kara karidasita to] omotteiru] ka] siritagatteiru koto
library-from checked out COMP think Q want:to:know fact
'the fact that Masao wants to know [Q {everyone thinks [that Hanako
checked out which book from the library}]']

future research.

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17 While Saito (1989,1992) discusses the relevant observations in terms of the so-called
proper binding condition, I have tried to simplify the presentation here. Readers
are referred to Ueyama 1998: section 2.2.3, footnote 14 for a more faithful summary of his
discussion.

18 Hajime Hoji (p.c.; February 1998) points out to me that the examples in (32) and (36)
are hardly acceptable for him, reporting that presumably Scrambling of the wh-phrase out
of the CP is blocked by the subjacency condition(s). The fact that these sentences are
more or less acceptable for me (and apparently many other speakers) then suggests the
possibility that the subjacency effects of the OS-type construction are not as solid as
normally believed. Since this is beyond the scope of this work, I have to leave it for

---

Blackwell (Ueyama) p. 13

Blackwell (Ueyama) p. 14
Notice that this 'literal reconstruction of a wh-phrase' cannot be explained by chain-binding proposed in Barss 1986. Saito 1989,1992 thus argues on the basis of these observations that Scrambling is an operation which can be literally 'undone' at LF.\(^9\)

### 3. Two representations of the OS-type construction

#### 3.1. Redundancy in Saito (1992)'s analysis

We have seen that Scrambling appears to have both A- and A'-properties. This has led some linguists to propose that the OS-type construction is structurally ambiguous, so that some DLs are located in an A-position while the others are in an A'-position.\(^20\) In addition, Saito 1989,1992 has argued that Scrambling can also be 'undone' at LF, i.e., a DL can be put back into its \(\theta\)-position at LF. Saito 1992 concludes that the OS-type construction is three-way ambiguous: the DL may be literally reconstructed back into the trace position, may be in an A-position commanding the subject, or may be in an A'-position.

\[(39)\] Saito's (1992) analysis of the OS-type construction:

- a. at S-structure: the DL is adjoined to IP
- b. at LF:
  - (i) the movement is undone,
  - (ii) the chain is reanalyzed as an A-chain, or
  - (iii) the DL is regarded to be in an A'-position.

(cf. Saito 1992:99-100 (66))

Notice however that the alleged A'-properties (the reconstruction effects of 'pronominal'-binding) will be accounted for, once we assume that Scrambling can be 'undone'. For example, according to this analysis, the LF representation of (24a) can be identical to that of (40), and the acceptable status of (24a) is expected, provided that the availability of a bound reading is determined at LF.

\[(40)\] SO-type construction:

```
Toyota-sae-ga [ko-ko-no ko-gaisya]-o uttaeta
Toyota-even-NOM that-place-GEN child-company-ACC sued
```

'Even Toyota recommended [its subsidiary].'

Incidentally, Saito 1992 considers (41) as evidence supporting the claim that Scrambling can be an A'-movement, assimilating (41) with the topicalization in English in (42b).

\[(41)\]

```
Zibunzisin-o [Hanako-ga t_1 hihansita] (koto)
self-ACC Hanako-NOM criticized fact
'the fact that Herself, Hanako, criticized \(t_1\).
```

(Saito 1992: (17), (53), (58) & (71))

\[(42)\]

- a. *Himself, seems to John, to be a genius.
- b. Himself, [John, likes \(t_1\].

(Saito 1992:77 (18))

However, we can regard (41) as another instance of the 'literal reconstruction', so to speak, since the LF representation of (41), if Scrambling is undone at LF, will be identical to that of (43).

\[(43)\] SO-type construction:

```
Hanako-ga zibunzisin-o hihansita (koto)
Hanako-NOM self-ACC criticized fact
'the fact that Hanako criticized herself'
```

Thus, the two-way distinction is sufficient for accounting for the major observations which have been discussed in the literature: we have only to assume that some DLs are in an A-position c-commanding the subject while the others are in its \(\theta\)-position at LF, and it is unnecessary to postulate that some DLs are in an A'-position c-commanding the subject at LF.

#### 3.2. Essential Analysis

The discussion so far leads us to the analysis summarized in (44). I will refer to (44a) as Deep OS-type and the DL therein as Deep DL; in addition, I will refer to (44b) as Surface OS-type and the DL therein as Surface DL.

\[(44)\] Essential Analysis:

- An OS-type construction involves either a Deep DL (as in (44a)) or a Surface DL (as in (44b)).

  a. Deep OS-type:

```
PF: NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) ... NP-NOM ... V
LF: NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) [... NP-NOM ... V]
```

\(\text{\ldots}\)
b. Surface OS-type:

PF: NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) ... NP-NOM ... V
LF: NP-NOM [... NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) ... V]

Given the necessary conditions for bound readings in (9)-(10) above, it follows that the Deep OS-type does not exhibit WCO effects while the Surface OS-type does. Therefore, the properties of the OS-type construction should be classified as follows.

(45) Properties of the Deep OS-type (one more to be added later):

Absence of WCO effects

(46) Properties of the Surface OS-type (one more to be added later):

a. Preservation of WCO effects
b. Reconstruction effects
c. Literal reconstruction of a wh-phrase

Since it is claimed in (45) and (46) that the nullification of WCO effects is a property of the Deep OS-type, and the reconstruction effects one of the Surface OS-type, it is expected that the two effects do not cooccur with respect to the same DL.

(47) ?[(So-ko-no kaikaisi-o-sae), [so-in,-no kookoo-no that-place-GEN accountant-ACC-even that-guy-GEN high:CHOOL-GEN sensei]-ga [subete-no zidoosyagaisya]-ni ecj suisensita. teacher-NOM every-GEN automobile:COMP-DAT recommended V]

'[Even its, accountant], [his, high school teacher] recommended to [every automobile company].'

Intended (but impossible) interpretation:

\[\forall x (x=automobile company) \text{[it holds with even } y, \text{who is } x's accountant, \text{that } y's high school teacher recommended } y \text{ to } x \]

3.3. Implications to the scope interpretation

The distinction between the Deep and the Surface OS-type brings us a new insight into the issue of scope interpretations in the OS-type construction. (48) is the descriptive generalization which has been assumed in most of the literature in Japanese syntax (see Kuroda 1969/1970, Hoji 1985, among others).

(48) (i) In the SO-type construction, 'QP1-NOM QP2-ACC/DAT V' QP1>QP2, but *QP2>QP1.
(ii) In the OS-type construction, 'QP2-ACC/DAT QP1-NOM V' QP1>QP2, and QP2>QP1.

Suppose that we take the hypothesis in (49), following Reinhart 1976, Huang 1982, and Aoun & Li 1989:

(49) Scope Interpretation Hypothesis:

a. The scope of a QP is its c-commanding domain after QR.

b. If QP1 c-commands QP2 before QR applies, QP1 must also c-command QP2 after QR.

The unambiguity of the SO-type construction is directly expected from this hypothesis. In addition, the ambiguity of the OS-type construction is also expected, since, under the Essential Analysis, the OS-type construction in (50) can have two LF representations in (51a) and (51b), which will result in different scope interpretations.

(50) OS-type construction:

PF: QP2-ACC/DAT QP1-NOM V

(51) a. LF representation (before QR) of (50) in case it is the Deep OS-type:

b. If QP1 c-commands QP2 before QR applies, QP1 must also c-command QP2 after QR.

a. LF representation (before QR) of (50) in case it is the Deep OS-type:

24 Although the generalization in (48) has been largely accepted in the literature, some speakers detect scope ambiguity in the SO-type construction, as noted in Kitagawa 1990. For example, (i) allows the second reading relatively easily.

(i) SO-type construction:

\[[Dareka-ga [utno subete-no sensya-o] bikoositeitru (touyu someone-NOM all-GEN athlete-ACC shadow COMP koto-wa, zenm-ga kiken-ni saraseteiru touyu koto da.) fact-TOP everyone-NOM danger-DAT exposed COMP fact COPULA (The fact that someone is shadowing every athlete of ours (means that everyone's life is in danger).)\]

\[\forall y (y\text{=athlete})[\exists x (x\text{ is shadowing } y)]

But such an ambiguity is restricted to the cases in which the second QP is a wh-phrase, and absent in the case where the second QP is a wh-phrase. (See Hayashishita 1999 for relevant examples and discussion.) In contrast, the scope ambiguity in the OS-type construction is observable, even if we use wh-QPs. Therefore, despite some apparent countereamples, I maintain that (48) expresses a descriptive generalization which needs to be accounted for.

25 (49b) should be understood as a mere generalization. It has yet to be considered how the relevant constraint should be stated to achieve the effect in question under the framework assumed here.
Thus, we can consider that the 'QP2 > QP1' reading is a property of the Deep OS-type while the 'QP1 > QP2' reading (in the OS-type construction) is a property of the Surface OS-type.

3.4. Summary and consequences

(52) lists the major observations regarding the OS-type construction in Japanese that have been mentioned above, stated in informal terms.

(52) (Alleged) properties of the OS-type construction:

a. Subjacency effects are observed.

b. ‘Anaphor-binding’ is available from the DL.

c. A quantifier DL does not induce so-called weak crossover (WCO) effects.

d. Reconstruction effects are observed (at least with respect to bound variable anaphora).

e. Reconstruction effects are not necessarily observed with respect to the Condition C/D effects.

f. A DL is not necessarily an ‘A-binder’.

gh. A wh-DL may have to be literally reconstructed back to its theta-marked position before an LF wh-movement.

h. The scope ambiguity emerges (even if the corresponding SO-type construction is unambiguous).

Pointing out that the observations in (52a,b,e) should not necessarily be connected to an argument in regard to the syntactic position of the DL, I have argued that the rest of the properties can all be attributed to either the Deep OS-type or the Surface OS-type (or both) in the Essential Analysis in (44), repeated here.

(44) Essential Analysis:

An OS-type construction involves either a Deep DL (as in (44a)) or a Surface DL (as in (44b)).

a. Deep OS-type:

PF: NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) ... NP-NOM ... V
LF: NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) [...] NP-NOM [...] V

b. Surface OS-type:

PF: NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) ... NP-NOM ... V
LF: NP-NOM [...] NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) [...] V

Restated in our terms, the properties of the Deep and the Surface OS-type are summarized as follows.

Restated in our terms, the properties of the Deep and the Surface OS-type are summarized as follows.

(53) Properties of the Deep OS-type:

a. Absence of WCO effects

b. Wide scope reading of DL with respect to the subject

(54) Properties of the Surface OS-type:

a. Preservation of WCO effects

b. Narrow scope reading of DL with respect to the subject

c. Reconstruction effects

d. Literal reconstruction of a wh-phrase

In the next section, I will show, mainly based on the properties (53a,b) and (54a,b), that the distribution of the Deep DL is more restricted than that of the Surface DL.

4. Further Conditions on the Deep DL

It is generally assumed in the literature that any instance of the OS-type construction exhibits the properties (53a,b). Most instances of the OS-type construction in fact pattern as in (55).

(55) a. QP-ACC/DAT ... [NP ... NP ... ]-NOM ... ee) ... V

   bound variable anaphora available

b. QP2-ACC/DAT QP1-NOM V

   the reading QP2>QP1 available

In the terms of the Essential Analysis, the observations in (55) are accounted for by assuming that these are instances of the Deep OS-type. Some instances of the OS-type construction, however, pattern as in (56), contrary to the widely-held assumption just noted.

(56) a. *QP-ACC/DAT ... [NP ... NP ... ]-NOM ... e) ... V

   bound variable anaphora unavailable

b. QP2-ACC/DAT QP1-NOM V

   the reading QP2>QP1 unavailable

It follows that such an OS-type construction can only be an instance of the Surface OS-type.

This section demonstrates that there are syntactic environments in which only a Surface DL can occur, as indicated in (57).

(57) a. The DL in the long distance OS-type construction is necessarily a

26 Hayashishita 1997 further adds the ‘availability of resumption’ to the properties of the Deep OS-type. Hoji & Ueyama 1998 discusses the nature of ‘resumption’ in Japanese based on his observation, which in turn provides support for the analysis of the OS-type construction to be presented in this paper.
that the bound reading is not available in (63). Given this, it is predicted that NP1 does not take wide scope over NP2 in (60) and (62).

LF: *NP1-

unpublished manuscripts inaccessible to me.

28 The observation that the long distance OS-type construction does not induce the scope ambiguity has been reported in Kitagawa 1992 and apparently in several other unpublished manuscripts inaccessible to me.

The following subsections discuss the long distance OS-type and the multiple OS-type construction.

4.1. Long distance OS-type construction

We begin with the long distance OS-type construction. Before entering the discussion, however, it must be noted that we should exclusively examine the configuration in (58a) instead of the one in (58b).

(58) a. NP1-DAT (=DL) NP-NOM [CP ... e1c1 ...] ...
   b. NP1-ACC (=DL) NP-NOM [CP ... e1c1 ...] ...

This is because an NP-ACC can be an argument of the matrix predicate (i.e., a major object), and hence we cannot really tell whether a surface string such as (58b) is a long distance OS-type construction as in (59a), or a clause-internal OS-type construction as in (59b).

(59) a. NP1-ACC (=DL) NP-NOM [CP ... e1c1 ...] ...
   b. NP1-ACC (=DL) NP-NOM e1c1 [CP ... ec1 ...] ...

Now I argue that the LF representation of the long distance OS-type construction in (60) should be as in either (61a) or (61b), but not as in (62).

(60) PF: NP1-DAT (=DL) NP2-NOM [CP NP3-NOM ... ec1 ...] V1 COMP] V2

(61) LF:
   a. NP2-NOM [CP NP3-NOM ... NP1-DAT (=DL) ... V1 COMP] V2
   b. NP2-NOM [CP NP1-DAT (=DL) NP3-NOM ... e1c1 ... V1 COMP] V2

(62) LF: *NP1-DAT (=DL) NP2-NOM [CP NP3-NOM ... e1c1 ... V1 COMP] V2

Given this, it is predicted that NP1 does not take wide scope over NP2 in (60) and that the bound reading is not available in (63).

Both predictions are indeed borne out. Due to space considerations, however, I will only present the data relevant to the bound reading. Ueyama 1998 and Hayashishita 1999 contain the empirical paradigms that pertain to the prediction in regard to quantifier scope.

As shown in (64), the configuration (60) does not allow a bound reading, when we use an F2QP.

(64) a. ?*10 izyoo-no kigyou-ni [so-ko-no bengosi]-ga

   10 more:than-GEN company-DAT that-place-GEN attorney-NOM

   [John-ga ec ayamatta to] omotteiru.

   John-NOM apologized COMP think

   'Its attorney thinks that John apologized to ten or more companies.'

   (I.e., this sentence does not mean: 'It holds ten or more companies that its attorney thinks that John apologized to it.')

   b. ?*Toyota-ni-sae [so-ko-no bengosi]-ga [John-ga ec

   Toyota-DAT-even that-place-GEN attorney-NOM John-NOM

   ayamatta to] omotteiru.

   apologized COMP think

   'Its attorney thinks that John apologized to even to Toyota.'

   (I.e., this sentence does not mean: 'It holds even with Toyota that its attorney thinks that John apologized to it.')

Compare (64) with (65), where an (apparent) bound reading is possible with an existential QP.

(65) Do-no zidoosya-gaisya-ni [so-ko-no bengosi]-ga

   which-GEN automobile-company-DAT that-place-GEN attorney-NOM

   [John-ga ec ayamatta to] omotteiru no?

   John-NOM apologized COMP think COMP

   'To which automobile company does its attorney think that John apologized to it?'

Yoshimura 1992 and Saito 1992 conclude that a long distance OS-type construction does not induce the WCO effects. One may consider that the relevant sentences given by them should be counted as counterexamples to my claim, but the reported observations are in fact consistent with the theory assumed here. I have exhausted the relevant examples provided in Yoshimura 1992 and Saito 1992 in the following. Schematically, the examples in (67) and (68) have the configuration given in (66a) and (66b), respectively.

(66) a. NP-ACC/NP-DAT; NP-NOM [CP ... NP ... t ...] ...
b. NP-ACC/NP-DAT, [np ... np ... ]-nom [cr ... ti ... ]...

(67) Long distance OS-type construction and WCO effects:

a. Daremo-o Mary-ga [cr [np ei] bizin kontesuto-de] e /so-itu-o everyone-ACC Mary-NOM beauty contest-at that-guy-ACC

(68) a. daremo-o [np bizin kontesudo-de] e /so-itu-o mikaketa hito-o everyone-ACC beauty contest-at that-guy-ACC saw person-

b. NP-ACC/NP-DAT, [np ... np ... ]-nom [cr ... ti ... ]...

(69) Saito 1992 cites the examples in (69), which have a structure schematized in (66b).
exhibit subjacency effects. Over the nominative NP at the same time. It is also expected that the bound nominative NP at the same time, and that DL1 and DL2 cannot take wide scope. It follows that DL1 and DL2 cannot both bind dependent terms within the DOM.

Recall from the beginning of this subsection that an apparent long distance OS-type construction may well be a clause-internal one, when the DL is an accusative-marked NP. In addition, as mentioned in section 2.2.2 above, an existential QP may not exhibit WCO effects. Therefore, even if a bound reading obtains in an apparent long distance OS-type construction, the sentence is not a counterexample to my claim, if (i) the DL is an accusative-marked NP, or if (ii) an existential QP is used. Among the examples above, (67a,c,d), (68a,c,d), and (69a,b) qualify (i), and at least (67b) and (68b) qualify (ii). Therefore, the observations reported in these works are all covered by the generalization presented in this paper. Conversely, if one adopts the conclusion drawn in Yoshimura 1992 and Saito 1992, the fact that a bound reading is not possible in (64) is left unexplained.

4.2. Multiple OS-type construction

Let us now consider the multiple OS-type construction as schematized in (70). For convenience, we will call the first and the second DLs as \( DL1 \) and \( DL2 \), respectively.

(70) a. \( NP-ACC (=DL1) \) NP-DAT (=DL2) NP-NOM \( \ldots \) \( V \)

b. \( NP-DAT (=DL1) \) NP-ACC (=DL2) NP-NOM \( \ldots \) \( V \)

I argue that the schematic PF representation in (70) cannot correspond to the LF representation in (71d), and that (71c) is allowed only marginally, compared with (71a) and (71b).

(71) LF:

a. \( NP-NOM \ldots DL2 \) DL1 \( \ldots \) \( V \)

or \( NP-NOM \ldots DL1 \) DL2 \( \ldots \) \( V \)

b. \( DL1 \) NP-NOM \( \ldots \) DL2 \( \ldots \) \( V \)

c. \( DL2 \) NP-NOM \( \ldots \) DL1 \( \ldots \) \( V \)

d. \( DL1 \) DL2 NP-NOM \( \ldots \) \( V \)

It follows that DL1 and DL2 cannot both bind dependent terms within the nominative NP at the same time, and that DL1 and DL2 cannot take wide scope over the nominative NP at the same time. It is also expected that the bound reading with the QP being DL2 is harder than the one with the QP being DL1, and that the wide scope reading of DL2 over the nominative NP is harder than that of DL1 over the nominative NP. Again I omit the illustration of the scope examples, due to space considerations, referring the reader to Ueyama 1998:section 2.4 and Hayashishita 1999.

First let us make sure in (72) that there are instances in which two bound readings obtain simultaneously.

(72) SO-type construction:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[USC to UCLA to-ga]} \\
\text{[55%-no gakusei-ni]} \\
\text{[to-i-o suteiru] so-ko-no sensei-o] suisen-saseta.}
\end{array}
\]

We now examine the configuration of (70). As shown in (73), the two bound readings do not obtain at the same time if both the two QPs are \( FD \) QPs.

(73) a. \( \text{[USC to UCLA to-o]} \) [55%-no gakusei-ni] \( +NOM \) student-DAT

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[ha-ku-o suteiru] so-ko-no sensei-ga] suisen-saseta.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[Its professor who knows him] made [55% of the students] recommend [each of USC and UCLA].}
\end{array}
\]

b. \( \text{[USC to UCLA to-o]} \) [55%-no gakusei-ni] \( +NOM \) student-DAT

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[ha-ku-o suteiru] so-ko-no sensei-ga] suisen-saseta.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[Its professor who knows him] made [55% of the students] recommend [each of USC and UCLA].}
\end{array}
\]

In contrast to (73), the two bound readings successfully obtain in the multiple OS-type construction as in (74) and (75), in which an existential QP is involved.

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29 Notice further that (69b) does not have a case-marker, and hence, it is not an instance of the OS-type construction, strictly speaking. As demonstrated in Haji & Ueyama 1998, and Fukaya & Haji 1999, the presence or the absence of a case-marker shows striking correlations with a number of other grammatical phenomena in Japanese. It must be noted for example that a construction without a case-marker generally does not exhibit subjacency effects.

30 The use of a causative predicate 'made recommend' in (72)-(76) is not crucial to the point at issue. In fact, unacceptable sentences, corresponding to (73), can be constructed with a plain ditransitive verb quite easily. If we use a plain ditransitive verb, however, the 'double' bound reading in sentences corresponding to (72), (74)-(76), seems to become somewhat less readily available, and as a result, the intended contrast in (72)-(76) tends to become not as sharp as otherwise. (I believe that the relevant contrast between a causative predicate and a plain ditransitive verb stems from pragmatics). See also (78)-(80) below, in which a plain verb form is used.
(74) a.  [USC to UCLA to-o] [do-no gakusei-ni]  [[so-itu-o
USC and UCLA and-ACC which-GEN student-DAT also that-guy-ACC
sitteiru] so-ko-no sensei-ga] suisen-saseta
know that-place-GEN professor-NOM recommend-made
'Its professor who knows **him** made [**every student**] recommend [each of] USC and UCLA.'

b.  [55%-no gakusei] ni [do-no daigaku-o-mo] [[so-itu-
55%-GEN student-DAT which-GEN university-ACC also that-guy-
o sitteiru] so-ko-no sensei-ga] suisen-saseta
ACC know that-place-GEN professor-NOM recommend-made
'Its professor who knows **him** made [55% of the students] recommend [every university].'

(75) a.  [Do-no daigaku-o] [do-no gakusei-ni-mo] [[so-itu-
which-GEN university-ACC which-GEN student-DAT also that-guy-
o sitteiru] so-ko-no sensei-ga] suisen-saseta
ACC know that-place-GEN professor-NOM recommend-made COMP
'[Which university] did its professor who knows **him** make [**every student**] recommend?'

b.  [Do-no gakusei-ni] [do-no daigaku-o-mo] [[so-itu-
which-GEN student-DAT which-GEN university-ACC also that-guy-
o sitteiru] so-ko-no sensei-ga] suisen-saseta
ACC know that-place-GEN professor-NOM recommend-made COMP
'[Which student] did its professor who knows **him** make recommend [every university]?'

If 55%-no gakusei '55% of the students' in (73) is replaced with so-no gakusei 'that student', for example, the relevant anaphoric relation also becomes possible, since the coreference between so-no gakusei and so-itu is allowed.

(76) a.  [USC to UCLA to-o] [so-no gakusei-ni] [[so-itu-o
USC and UCLA and-ACC that-GEN student-DAT that-guy-ACC
know that-place-GEN professor-NOM recommend-made
'[Its professor who knows **him**] made [**that student**] recommend [each of] USC and UCLA.'

b.  [So-no gakusei-ni] [USC to UCLA to-o] [[so-itu-o
that-GEN student-DAT USC and UCLA and-ACC that-guy-ACC
know that-place-GEN professor-NOM recommend-made
'[Its professor who knows **him**] made [**that student**] recommend [each of] USC and UCLA.'

Another point in regard to the multiple OS-type construction is that DL2 is harder to be a Deep DL than DL1. Thus, (78) and (79) demonstrate that the bound reading in (77b) is hardly established in case α is an FDQP, compared to the case in (77a).

(77) a.  ... α-ACC/DAT NP-DAT/ACC [ ... β ...]-NOM V
b.  ... NP-DAT/ACC α-ACC/DAT [ ... β ...]-NOM V

(78) a.  (Kotosi-wa) A-sya-o-sae Toyota-ni [ so-ko-
Toyota-ni  (this-year-TOP) A-company-ACC-even that-place-GEN
oya-gaisya]-ga] suisensita.
parent-company-NOM recommended
'(This year,) its parent company recommended even Company A to Toyota.'

b.  ?*(Kotosi-wa) Toyota-ni A-sya-o-sae [ so-ko-
Toyota-ni  (this-year-TOP) Toyota-DAT A-company-ACC-even that-place-GEN
oya-gaisya]-ga] suisensita.
parent-company-NOM recommended
'(This year,) its parent company recommended even Company A to Toyota.'

(79) a.  (Kotosi-wa) A-sya-ni-sae Toyota-o [ so-ko-
Toyota-o  (this-year-TOP) A-company-DAT-even Toyota-ACC that-place-GEN
oya-gaisya]-ga] suisensita.
parent-company-NOM recommended
'(This year,) its parent company recommended Toyota to even Company A.'

b.  ?*(Kotosi-wa) Toyota-o A-sya-ni-sae [ so-ko-
Toyota-o  (this-year-TOP) Toyota-ACC A-company-DAT-even that-place-GEN
oya-gaisya]-ga] suisensita.
parent-company-NOM recommended
'(This year,) its parent company recommended Toyota to even Company A.'

As expected, there is no such contrast in case α in (77) is an existential QP. The examples in (80) correspond to the configuration schematized in (77b).
(80) a. (Kotosi-wa) Toyota-ni do-no zidoosya-gaisya-o [so-ko (this:year-TOP) Toyota-DAT which-GEN automobile-company-ACC that-place
-no oya-gaisya]-ga suisensita no?
-GEN parent-company-NOM recommended COMP

'(This year,) to which automobile company did [its parent company] recommend to Toyota?'

b. (Kotosi-wa) Toyota-o do-no zidoosya-gaisya-ni ko-ko (this:year-TOP) Toyota-ACC which-GEN automobile-company-DAT that-place
-no oya-gaisya]-ga suisensita no?
-GEN parent-company-NOM recommended COMP

'(This year,) to which automobile company did [its parent company] recommend Toyota?'

In these examples, the bound reading is allowed as readily as their analogues corresponding to (77a).

5. Revised Essential Analysis

We have noted in section 3 that there can be many ways of executing the idea represented by the Essential Analysis. The new descriptive generalizations in section 4, however, significantly reduce the range of the adequate analyses. In fact, the direction suggested by these observations is quite different from the one presumed in most of the previous analyses. This may however not be evident at first sight. In this section, therefore, I shall try to show this by demonstrating that Saito 1992, one of the representative analyses of the OS-type construction, suffers from serious problems in accounting for the new generalizations. I will then present the Revised Essential Analysis, which, although it is still skeletal, accounts for all the observed facts.

5.1. Recapturing the analysis proposed in Saito 1992

According to the analysis proposed in Saito 1992, the OS-type construction is derived when Scrambling (as an instance of Move α) applies to (81a) to yield (81b).31

(81) a. NP-NOM NP-DAT/ACC ...

b. [p NP-DAT/ACC [p NP-NOM ... t₁ ... ]] He states that this movement "does not, or at least not need, establish semantically significant operator-variable relations" unlike topicalization and wh-movement in English (Saito 1992:88), and relates this to his claim that Scrambling can be 'undone' at LF.32 Saito 1992 does not specify what theoretical entity or property ensures the availability of the 'radical reconstruction' of Scrambling, but it seems reasonable, on the basis of Saito & Fukui 1998: section 2.1, mentioned in footnote 31, that for Saito 1992 Scrambling can be 'undone' because it is not motivated by any sort of feature checking.33

When Scrambling is undone at LF, i.e., when the DL is literally put back into the original θ-position, the representations in (82) are derived, which conform with what we have called the Surface OS-type.

(82) Surface OS-type under the analysis in Saito 1992:

PF: [p NP-DAT/ACC [p NP-NOM ... t₁ ... ]]  
LF: NP-NOM [... NP-ACC/DAT ... V]

When the movement is not undone, on the other hand, the representations in (83) obtain, and this corresponds to what we have called the Deep OS-type.

(83) Deep OS-type under the analysis in Saito 1992:

PF: [p NP-DAT/ACC [p NP-NOM ... t₁ ... ]]  
LF: [p NP-DAT/ACC [p NP-NOM ... t₁ ... ]]  
Recall that the representations of the Deep OS-type are meant to account for the so-called A-properties of the OS-type construction. But how can the DL show A-properties while being in an IP-adjoined position, which is normally regarded as an A'-position? Saito 1992 argues that the chain formed by Scrambling can be reanalyzed as an A-chain at LF under certain conditions (which we will examine more in detail in the next subsection).

The relevant points of Saito's analysis can thus be summarized as in (84).34

(84) Saito's Grammar (reinterpreted):

a. An NP can move without being motivated by feature-checking.

31 It is not discussed in Saito 1992 what motivates this movement, but Saito & Fukui 1998 argues that Scrambling does not need to have a motivation (just like Merge) since the structure it creates is consistent with the Xbar schema for Japanese. (Cf. "The operation Merge is not subject to Last Resort, in the sense that it is 'costless' and thus need not be motivated by any kind of feature checking (Chomsky 1995:26). Hence, if scrambling and heavy NP shift are instances of Merge, it is not at all surprising that they are optional." (Saito & Fukui 1998:452-453))

32 This point is mentioned in Saito 1989. Cf. "I have argued in this paper that scrambling is S-structure A'-movement and, further, that it can be freely undone in the LF component. The latter conclusion implies that scrambling need not establish a semantically significant operator-variable relation, as already suggested in Ross (1967), N. McCawley (1976), and Chomsky and Lasnik (1977), among others." (Saito 1989:194)

33 Saito & Fukui 1998:443 refers to Lee 1994 for the hypothesis that "a chain created for the purpose of feature checking must be retained at LF."

34 Recall from section 3.1 above that Saito's (1992) assumption that the chain formed by Scrambling can alternatively be an A'-chain is superfluous, as nothing in his paper requires it.
b. The chain formed by the movement in (84a) can be reanalyzed as an A-chain, provided that the relevant conditions are satisfied.

c. The movement in (84a) must be 'undone' in the covert component unless (84b) takes place.35

Therefore his analysis in effect claims (85):

(85) a. A Deep OS-type (i.e., the OS-type construction with A-properties) can obtain if and only if the A-chain reanalysis is possible.

b. A Deep DL undergoes movement.

In the following two subsections, I argue against Saito's (1992) analysis and in fact any analysis that incorporates either of the assumptions in (85), by demonstrating that serious problems are inevitably caused by each of these assumptions.36 37

5.2. Deep DL and Case-marking

In this subsection, I examine the assumption (85a) in light of the descriptive generalizations presented in section 4 above, which are summarized in (57), repeated here.

(57) a. The DL in the long distance OS-type construction is necessarily a Surface DL.

b. There is at most one Deep DL in a clause. (Thus, in the multiple OS-type construction, at least one of the DLs is a Surface DL.)

c. In the multiple OS-type construction, it is harder for the second DL to be a Deep DL compared to the first DL.

While (57a) is in effect discussed in Saito 1992 and is compatible with his analysis, (57c) (or possibly (57b) as well) turns out to raise a serious problem for the assumption (85a); this will become clear as we examine some details of his A-chain reanalysis hypothesis later in this subsection.37

First, let us see how (57a) is accounted for under the analysis presented in Saito 1992. Suppose that the A-chain reanalysis is in principle possible, as long as no well-formed conditions are violated.38 Saito 1992 assumes that (86) is one of the well-formedness conditions for an A-chain, following Chomsky 1986b.39

(86) Each link of an A chain must be 0-subject. (i.e., no barrier can intervene between two members of a single A chain.)

(Saito 1992:100 (67))

According to the condition in (86), then, the long distance Scrambling can never be reanalyzed as an A-chain while the clause-internal Scrambling may optionally be reanalyzed as an A-chain, at least in regard to this condition. Thus, (57a) does not raise any problem against Saito's (1992) analysis.

Second, the observation (57b) indicates that not every clause-internal 'scrambling chain' can be reanalyzed as an A-chain. Therefore, this generalization raises a problem for any analysis which assumes that an IP-adjoined position (i.e., a landing site of a clause-internal Scrambling) can always be an A-position in the relevant sense. Let us see how the IP-adjoined position is characterized in Saito 1992.

He assumes that (87) is another well-formed condition for an A-chain.

(87) If C = (a_1,...,a_n) is a maximal CHAIN, then a_n occupies its unique 0-position and a_i its unique Case-marked position.40

(Saito 1992: (60)&(74); cited from Chomsky 1986a:137 (171))

This condition requires that an NP be Case-marked in the 'scrambled position' in order to qualify as a Deep DL (i.e., the 'scrambled NP' that exhibits A-properties).

Saito 1992 specifically claims that V^0 raises to I^0 at LF so that V can enter into SPEC-head agreement with an NP in an IP-adjoined position.41 Saito 1992:106

35 Cf. "I was led to adopt Tada's (1990) hypothesis that a non-operator, non-A position is not licensed at LF. This hypothesis implies that unless scrambling is undone, the position of a scrambled phrase must be reanalyzed either as an operator position or as an A position at LF." (Saito 1992:102)

36 The insight stated in (84) is, in a sense, formulated more straightforwardly in Boskovic & Takahashi 1998. Unlike Saito 1992, their analysis does not claim (83b), and hence, the criticism in section 5.3 below does not apply to their analysis. Since their analysis still keeps (85a), the arguments in section 5.2 are relevant to Boskovic & Takahashi 1998 as well as to Saito 1992. See especially fn. 42 below.

37 The assumption in (85a) may face another problem with respect to the availability of resumption in the Deep OS-type, as originally pointed out in Hayashishita 1997, since it is normally considered that an A-chain does not allow resumption. However, this does not make a strong counterargument without a formal theory of resumption in Japanese and I will not pursue the discussion here. Hori & Ueyama 1998 discusses the relevant empirical materials and makes an attempt to characterize resumption in Japanese.

38 In fact, this seems to be an implicit assumption of Saito 1992. This is suggested by the logic in the following part: "The first possibility is that the Chain Condition (= (87) [A.U.]), or the relevant part of it, applies at S-structure but not at LF. If this is the case, then nothing would prevent the chain created by clause-internal scrambling from being an A-chain at LF." (Saito 1992:106) This argument does not hold if one considers that the Chain Condition is a licensing condition for an A-chain, and that nothing can be reanalyzed unless it is licensed as such.

39 While Saito 1992 cites Chomsky 1986b for (86), I have not been able to locate the part in Chomsky 1986b which exactly states (86) as it is.

40 Apparently, this condition is not meant to apply to A-chains.

41 Saito 1992 follows Kuroda 1988 and assumes that an adjoined position can enter into SPEC-head agreement. Obviously, however, Saito 1992 does not adopt Kuroda's (1988) analysis of the OS-type construction. According to Kuroda 1988, a 'scrambled NP' (a DL, in our terms) cannot be marked with Case. (Cf. Kuroda 1988: Proposition 19) "A scrambled object marked with o is not Case-marked," and Assumption U-5 (revised) "If a chain is marked with Case, it cannot occupy more than one Case position." Note that, for
goes on as follows: "Suppose further that the IP adjoined position in Japanese cannot only be an IP SPEC position, as Kuroda (1988) proposes, but can also participate in SPEC/head agreement with the position of I. The latter assumption basically means that SPEC/head agreement in Japanese differs from that in English in two respects: It is optional and furthermore can be many to one." Therefore this analysis explicitly predicts that both of the two DLs in the multiple OS-type construction can be a Deep DL simultaneously. This however is a wrong prediction, as we have observed in section 4.2 and as recorded in (57b), repeated above.

One may object, however, that the analysis suggested in Saito 1992 can be made compatible with the observation (57b) with some modification which does not affect the main claim a great deal.42 Suppose for example that NPs in Japanese need not be Case-marked (perhaps because of the accompanying overt case-marker) but can optionally receive Case43, and that verbs can carry at most one Case to assign; it will be assigned to an NP in an object position if Case assignment takes place before V raises to I, while it will be assigned to a 'scrambled' position after the V-to-I raising.44 Then according to (87), a 'Scrambling chain' can be reanalyzed into an A-chain only if the DL (rather than its trace) is assigned Case by the verb, and hence it will be guaranteed that there be at most one Deep DL per clause. This is one way to make Saito's (1992) analysis compatible with (57b).

Even if we adopt this modification, however, (57c) poses an even more serious challenge for Saito's analysis. (57c) states that DL1, rather than DL2, tends to be picked as a target of SPEC-head agreement with V+I, in the terms of Saito (1992).

(88) \[[\text{DP} \text{DL1 [DP} \text{DL2 [NP-NOM ... V+I]]}]

If it were the other way around, i.e., if the NP closer to V+I enters into agreement relation, this might sound more plausible, but the fact is that one has to assume that SPEC-head agreement can occur skipping the closer possible target, and furthermore, that such a 'long distance' agreement is in fact much more preferred to a 'local' agreement. Technically it may be possible to conceive of a stipulation yielding such a result. It is however most likely that such a stipulation would go against the core insight underlying the notion 'agreement', and hence may ultimately undermine what constitutes the core insight concerning the computational system of the human language faculty.

The root of this problem lies in the assumption that the 'A-properties' of a DL are attributed to the establishment of a relation between the verb and the DL. This assumption however is the core idea of the A-chain reanalysis hypothesis in Saito 1992, as recorded in (85a).

(85) a. A Deep OS-type (i.e., the OS-type construction with A-properties) can obtain if and only if the A-chain reanalysis is possible.

The observation (57c) therefore indicates that (85a) cannot be maintained.

5.3. Movement vs. Base-generation

Consider now the representations in (89):

(89) 'SO-type-looking Deep OS-type':
    PF: [NP-NOM ... NP-DAT/ACC ... ]
    LF: [NP-DAT/ACC]i ... NP-NOM ... ti ... 

(89) has a PF representation of an SO-type construction, and an LF representation of the Deep OS-type; therefore, if (89) were well-formed, it would be predicted that an (apparent) SO-type construction could exhibit the properties of the Deep OS-type. But in fact, this is not the case, at least generally speaking.45 Therefore, any analysis of the OS-type construction should explain why (89) is very marginal at best.

Under an analysis which assumes that a Deep DL undergoes movement, (89) will obtain if the movement takes place in the covert component. Therefore, such an analysis has to stipulate that the relevant movement must be overt in order

42 Kitagawa 1990 in effect mentions that an SO-type construction can marginally exhibit some properties of the OS-type construction. See section B.1.2. of Ueyama 1998 for a summary of the relevant parts of Kitagawa 1990. His observations with respect to the bound reading and the scope interpretation are accounted for by the analysis presented in Ueyama 1998:Appendix D and Hayashishita 1999.

43 Kuroda (1988: section 6) proposes.

44 One may also entertain the possibility that Case is always assigned at LF and V-to-I raising is an optional operation. I do not pursue this possibility because Saito 1992:106 states that the V-to-I raising he has in mind is an operation exactly like the one Chomsky 1991 suggests for English, which is not considered to be optional.

Kuroda, the object position and the Spec of IP position, which is taken to be the landing site of scrambling, are both Case-marked positions.) As suggested by (87), on the other hand, it is crucial in Saito 1992 that a DL can be marked with Case. 42 It is not always easy to modify an analysis so as to make it compatible with (57b), depending upon how it characterizes the source of 'A-properties' of a Deep DL. For example, Saito & Fukui 1998 seems to assume that an IP-adjoined position is construed as an A-position after V raises to I, judged from the statement in Saito & Fukui 1998:454, fn.25. It is very difficult to modify such an analysis so that only one DL be assigned 'A-properties' in a multiple OS-type construction.

The analysis presented in Boskovic & Takahashi 1998 also faces this problem. In our terms, they claim that a Deep DL (i.e., a 'scrambled' NP which shows A-properties) is 0-marked in the 'scrambled' position, and that "a verb may 0-mark its object in the IP-adjoined position" "when moved to I" (Boskovic & Takahashi 1998:360). As we have seen in section 4.2 above, a verb such as recommand can have two internal arguments, THEME (accusative-marked) and GOAL (dative-marked), so to speak, and either NP can be a Deep DL especially when it is the only DL. But yet it is not allowed for both of them to become Deep DLs at the same time. This fact cannot be explained under the analysis in Boskovic & Takahashi 1998, unless it is augmented by a highly implausible stipulation (such as A verb cannot 0-mark more than one object after raising to I, for example).
The criticisms in the preceding subsections apply to any analysis which (directly or indirectly) makes these claims, and in fact they apply to almost all analyses of the OS-type construction in the literature.

The Essential Analysis given in section 3.2 above was meant to delineate the minimal requirements for any successful analysis of the OS construction. Now that we have rejected the claims in (85), the range of the appropriate analyses is further restricted, and we are in a position to revise the Essential Analysis so that it can account for all the observations presented above, without assuming (85).

First, we have to assume that the Deep DL is base-generated in a position outside the θ-domain of the predicate, since the claim (85b) is rejected. One would then naturally wonder how the locality between the Deep DL and the corresponding θ-position could be accounted for. Ueyama 1997 proposes that the Deep DL has to be accompanied by an empty operator movement originated in the θ-marked position corresponding to the DL, as schematized in (90). 

(90) Deep OS-type:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PF: NP-DAT/ACC (=DL)</th>
<th>NP-NOM</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LF: NP-DAT/ACC (=DL)</td>
<td>Op_</td>
<td>NP-NOM</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>t_1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to account for the observation that a clause boundary cannot intervene between the Deep DL and its corresponding θ-position (as summarized in (57a)), it is necessary to assume that the relevant empty operator movement is clause-bound. As for the observation recorded in (57b) that there is at most one

As an attempt to ensure this, one may wish to entertain the possibility that Scrambling is motivated by a strong feature (i.e., a feature which must be checked before Spell-Out). However, if this assumption is taken, it must be reconsidered why Scrambling can be 'undone' at LF. Recall from the discussion in section 5.1 that one of the most plausible accounts for the difference between Scrambling in Japanese and wh-movement in English, for example, is to assume that Scrambling can be 'undone' exactly because it is not driven by any feature-checking, as suggested in Saito & Fukui 1998:section 2.1 and Lee 1994. Obviously, these two assumptions conflict with each other. Therefore, as long as the explanation for 'undoing' of Scrambling just given is maintained, one can merely add an unprincipled stipulation that Scrambling is an overt operation, in order to rule out (89).

The problem is in fact mentioned in Saito 1992:108, but it is presented as a problem for the absence of WCO effects only, and he proposes that the WCO effects should be accounted for by referring to the S-structure. This solution is clearly unsatisfactory, since the problem is relevant, not only to the WCO effects, but to any property connected with the Deep OS-type. For example, Saito 1992 assumes that the Binding Theory applies at LF, and that an 'anaphor' otagai 'each other' can be bound by a Deep DL. Although we do not adopt the assumption that otagai has the feature [+anaphoric] (as mentioned in section 2.2.1 above), let us momentarily accept this assumption, for the sake of discussion. Suppose that Scrambling can also take place at LF; since it is a covert movement, the PF representation is just like an SO-type sentence, but the 'scrambled' NP c-commands the subject at LF. It is then predicted by his theory that an 'anaphor' within the subject could be bound by a covertly 'scrambled' NP, but he explicitly denies the possibility of such 'anaphor'-binding in his (13). This discrepancy between the prediction and the observation is not even pointed out in Saito 1992.

I have argued that any analysis incorporating the assumption (85b) has to stipulate that the movement has to take place in the overt component, and that it is difficult to derive the stipulation from a deeper principle.

(85) b. A Deep DL undergoes movement.

Therefore, I conclude that an appropriate analysis of the OS-type construction should not include (85b).

5.4. Revised Essential Analysis

I have thus argued against the claims in (85), repeated here.

(85) a. A Deep OS-type (i.e., the OS-type construction with A-properties) can obtain if and only if the A-chain reanalysis is possible.

b. A Deep DL undergoes movement.

The criticisms in the preceding subsections apply to any analysis which (directly or indirectly) makes these claims, and in fact they apply to almost all analyses of the OS-type construction in the literature.

46 The claim that the DL is (or can be) base-generated in a position c-commanding the nominative NP is found in some preceding works.

47 Ueyama 1997 states that it is a case-marker on the DL (rather than the NP itself) that requires the empty operator movement. It is assumed that a case-marker is not properly interpreted without being syntactically related to the verb, and that (i) θ-marked positions are syntactically related to the verb and that (ii) the empty operator movement as in (90) forms a syntactic relation between the Deep DL and the θ-position. A crucial assumption here is that a case-marker is not related to abstract Case at all.

48 In this work I leave open at what point of the derivation the empty operator movement occurs, since it does not seem to hinge on any empirical issues at this stage.

49 Ueyama 1997 states that the empty operator movement in question is an instance of QR, which is assumed to be clause-bounded. Obviously the assumption that the relevant empty operator movement is clause-bound should be carefully examined in connection with other constructions in Japanese which may involve an empty operator movement: e.g. cleft construction, tough construction, comparative ellipsis, stripping, sluicing and so on. I leave it to the future research to argue for the assumption that the empty operator movement in Japanese is clause-bounded. Hori & Ueyama 1998 contains some relevant
Deep DL per clause, we should assume that the position in which the DL is base-generated in (90) does not exist more than one per clause, either for a syntactic or an interpretive reason. I consider that this is a choice which should be made on the basis of the consideration of a wider range of facts, including the comparison between the OS-type construction and other constructions which arguably involve an empty operator movement, such as C(ase-Marked)-comparatives, CM-stripping, CM-sluicing, and CM-clefts in Japanese, as discussed in Hoji & Ueyama 1998. Although I cannot yet provide a full-fledged argument at this stage, I will suggest in section 5.5 below that the availability of this position is closely related with the interpretation of the entire clause in question.

The properties of the Deep OS-type (summarized in (53), which is repeated here) can be accounted for straightforwardly under the analysis in (90).

\[ \text{(53) Properties of the Deep OS-type:} \]
\begin{enumerate}
  \item Absence of WCO effects
  \item Wide scope reading of DL with respect to the subject
\end{enumerate}

A dependent term contained in the subject NP can be bound by the DL, because the latter c-commands the former in their base-generated positions, and the Formal Dependency (which is contingent upon LF c-command, as introduced in (9)-(10) in section 2.2.2 above) can be established between them. Hence the absence of the so-called WCO effects is as expected. Similarly, the DL QP will take wide scope over the subject QP because the former c-commands the latter at LF, assuming the Scope Interpretation Hypothesis (which is introduced in (49) in section 3.3 above).\(^{50}\)

Saito 1992 presumes that the Surface DL undergoes the derivation just like the one of the Deep DL until S-structure. Exactly for this reason, he needs the A-chain realanalysis hypothesis in order to make the Deep OS-type diverge from the Surface OS-type. But as we have argued in section 5.2, this hypothesis is inappropriate for the OS-type construction in Japanese. Now, if we postulate that the Surface DL is base-generated in the same position as the Deep DL, we would need to devise some mechanism in order to separate them in the course of the derivation.\(^{51}\) I would like to propose instead that the Surface DL undergoes a derivation different from the one of the Deep DL from the beginning.

Let us assume that a Surface DL is base-generated in the (ordinary) \(\theta\)-position, unlike a Deep DL. Note that no operation is necessary in order to derive the LF representation of the Surface OS-type.

\[ \text{(91) Surface OS-type:} \]
\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{PF:} & \quad \text{NP-}\text{DAT/ACC}(=\text{DL}) \quad \text{NP-NOM} \quad \ldots \quad i \ldots \\
  \text{LF:} & \quad \text{NP-NOM} \quad \text{NP-}\text{DAT/ACC}(=\text{DL}) \quad \ldots
\end{align*} \]

Although Saito 1989, 1992 and others have proposed an analysis in which a Surface DL undergoes an overt movement and then is covertly put back into the \(\theta\)-position, the representations in (91) obtain if we assume that the Surface DL undergoes a PF movement, as Hayashishita 1997 proposes. The latter derivation should be more 'costless' than the 'undoing' analysis since the PF movement analysis requires only one operation to derive (91).\(^{52}\) The properties of the Surface OS-type (summarized in (54) repeated here) are then accounted for in a straightforward manner.

\[ \text{(54) Properties of the Surface OS-type:} \]
\begin{enumerate}
  \item Preservation of WCO effects
  \item Narrow scope reading of DL with respect to the subject
  \item Reconstruction effects
  \item Literal reconstruction of a wh-phrase
\end{enumerate}

There does not seem any syntactic 'motivation' for this movement. But such property may be ascribed to the PF movement in general, as it is often said that an operation in the phonological component has properties different from the one in the overt (i.e., before Spell-Out) and the covert components. Nevertheless, we have to assume that the PF movement (or the PF representation) is relevant to the so-called subjacency conditions, in order to account for the fact that the OS-type construction (whether it is the Deep or the Surface OS-type) exhibits the locality effects. Naturally the ultimate analysis has to be accompanied by a theory of subjacency effects, but this is definitely beyond the scope of this work, and should be pursued in some future research.\(^{53}\)

We have also observed the effects described by (57c) in section 4.2.

\[ \text{(57) c. In the multiple OS-type construction, it is harder for the second DL to} \]
\[ \text{be a Deep DL compared to the first DL.} \]

I have argued in section 5.2 that this fact cannot be accounted for under the A-chain realanalysis hypothesis as in Saito 1992. Under our current analysis, in which a Deep DL is base-generated and a Surface DL undergoes PF movement, the

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\(^{50}\) I am grateful to Hajime Hoji for originally suggesting to me that the Deep OS-type might involve an empty operator movement.

\(^{51}\) See fn. 25 in section 3.3 above, for the status of the Scope Interpretation Hypothesis (49) in this paper.

\(^{52}\) Thus, Boskovic & Takahashi 1998, which assumes that every DL is base-generated outside of the \(\theta\)-domain, adopts the A-chain realanalysis hypothesis in Saito 1992.

\(^{53}\) Notice that the theory of subjacency effects has to be reconsidered regardless of this claim, since it is not easy to express the subjacency conditions as applying to LFs in the model of Grammar outlined in Chomsky 1995, in which the feature-driven movements are restricted by Minimal Link Conditions and should be even more local (cf. Chomsky 1995:ch.4 section 4.5.5). This suggests that not only in Japanese but universally the PF component may play a central role regarding the so-called subjacency effects. See Merchant 1999 for arguments that the locus of (some of) the island effects should be in the phonological component. I am grateful to Teruhiko Fukaya for the relevant information.
generalization is rephrased as in (92):

(92) The PF movement crossing the Deep DL is allowed only marginally.

Although (92) may appear to be an unnatural condition, it is worth noting that (92) is relevant to another construction as well. Recall from the discussion in section 5.3 that an SO-type construction normally does not (but sometimes marginally does) exhibit the properties of the Deep OS-type. I have pointed out there that this observation cannot be accounted for by the analysis in Saito 1992 since it allows the derivation of (89) (repeated here), unless a stipulation is added that this movement cannot occur in the covert component.

(89) 'SO-type-looking Deep OS-type':
   PF: NP-NOM ... NP-DAT/ACC ...
   LF: [NP-DAT/ACC]i ... NP-NOM ... ti ...

Under the analysis given in this subsection, (93) is the schematic structure corresponding to (89).

(93) 'SO-type-looking Deep OS-type':
   PF: NP-NOMi NP-DAT/ACC (=Deep DL) ... ti (=PF movement trace) ... ecj ...
   LF: NP-DAT/ACC (=Deep DL) Op=N NOM ... ti ...

If the derivation in (93) were allowed freely, the current analysis would also make a wrong prediction as well.\(^{54}\) Notice however that the PF movement in (93) is blocked (or regarded as marginal) due to (92). Therefore (92) may be worth taken into consideration in characterizing the PF movement in general. I would like to suggest that the 'subjacency effects' in Japanese to be described in future research should also cover the effects of (92).

We can summarize the preceding discussion in the form of the Revised Essential Analysis in (94):

(94) Revised Essential Analysis:
   a. Deep OS-type:
      PF: NP-DAT/ACC (=DL) ... NP-NOM ... ecj ... 55
      LF: NP-DAT/ACC (=DL) [Op=N [NP-NOM ... ti ... ]]
   b. Surface OS-type:
      PF: NP-DAT/ACC (=DL) NP-NOM ... ti ...
         (DL having undergone a PF movement)

\(^{54}\) This is the issue discussed in section 5.3 above. I thank Chris Kennedy for raising a question relevant to this point.

\(^{55}\) Alternatively, the PF representation of the Deep OS-type may be as in (i):
   (i) PF: NP-DAT/ACC (=DL) [Op=N [NP-NOM ... ti ... ]]

It depends on at what point of the derivation the empty operator movement occurs, as mentioned in footnote 48 above.

LF: NP-NOM [NP-DAT/ACC (=DL) ... ]

This analysis is still skeletal, with many choices left open. It is nevertheless significant that this line of analysis does not suffer from the fatal problems that plague the line of analysis as presented in Saito 1992.

5.5. A note on the availability of a Deep DL and the clause type

The Revised Essential Analysis claims that an NP can be base-generated outside the θ-domain of the predicate. One may naturally wonder what type of position this might be. I believe that in order to fully characterize this position, we must consider how a Deep DL is interpreted in this position, taking into account the observations given in this subsection. Although its discussion in regard to the interpretive characteristics of the Deep DL (in comparison with nominative-marked NPs, so-called 'topics', and other case-marked NPs) is still speculative, let us cite the relevant claim made in Ueyama 1996,1997,1998.

Ueyama 1996, 1997 claim that there are syntactically two types of clause structures, and that the one is (ultimately) interpreted as an eventuality while the other as a predicational proposition.\(^{56}\) It is not easy to demonstrate whether a given clause is interpreted as an eventuality or as a predicational proposition. For example, a sentence 'John kissed Mary' can be understood as either (i) an eventuality of 'kissing' whose agent is 'John' and whose theme/patient is 'Mary', or (ii) a predication of a property 'kissed Mary' in regard to a substance 'John', and it appears that the two interpretations cannot be distinguished in terms of the truth condition(s).\(^{57}\) Nevertheless, there are some clauses which unambiguously represent an eventuality, such as the embedded clause of a perceptual verb as given in (95).\(^{58}\)

(95) NP-DAT [CP ... [COMP tokoro]-NOM mieta

\(^{56}\) See Kuroda 1965, 1972, 1992 for relevant discussions, especially in regard to the distinction between categorical and thetic judgments, since sometimes the types of phenomena discussed there are also relevant to the distinction between predicational proposition and eventuality. These two distinctions are not meant to be identical, however. The main concern of Kuroda's is the characterization of nominative-marked NPs and topic-marked NPs, and as a result, his theory does not easily extend to Deep DLs. Ueyama 1996, 1997, 1998 have tried, on the other hand, to characterize the core concept in a way different from the Kuroda's, so as to cover the distinction between the Deep and the Surface OS-type.

\(^{57}\) One may consider (95) to be an instance of the OS-type construction, since a dative-marked NP precedes a nominative-marked phrase, but this is the unmarked word order with the predicate mieta 'could see'. Therefore, the sentences with the order [NP-DAT ... NP-NOM ... mieta] exhibits the properties of the SO-type construction, and those with the order [NP-NOM ... NP-DAT ... mieta] the properties of the OS-type construction. Some of the relevant examples are found in Takezawa 1987.
NP could see the scene of CP.

Generally speaking, an embedded clause of a perceptual verb characteristically denotes an eventuality, since it is impossible to visibly see a predicational proposition. In contrast, the embedded clause in (96), for example, can express a predicational proposition just as a matrix clause.

(96) NP-TOP [CP ... [COMP to]] omotteiru 'NP thinks that CP.'

I wish to claim that a Deep DL has to correspond to one of the two constituents of the 'major predication', which can be found only in a clause expressing a predicational proposition: in other words, I claim that a Deep DL cannot be interpreted if the clause is interpreted as an eventuality. It then follows that a DL within a clause expressing an eventuality is necessarily a Surface DL for interpretive reasons, hence, the LF representation corresponding to (97) must be (98a), rather than (98b).

(97) PF: NP-DAT [CP NP-ACC/DAT NP-NOM ... [COMP tokoro]]-NOM mieta

(98) a. NP-DAT [CP NP-NOM ... NP-ACC/DAT ... [COMP tokoro]]-NOM mieta
b. *NP-DAT [CP NP-ACC/DAT ... NP-NOM ... [COMP tokoro]]-NOM mieta

We thus expect that the WCO effects are preserved in this type of OS-type construction, and that the DL cannot take wide scope over the embedded subject. In other words, we expect that (99a) disallows the bound reading and that (99b) fails to yield the reading in which QP1 takes wider scope than QP2.

(99) a. NP-DAT [CP QP-ACC/DAT [NP ... NP ...]-NOM ... [COMP tokoro]]-NOM mieta
b. NP-DAT [CP QP1-ACC/DAT QP2-NOM ... [COMP tokoro]]-NOM mieta

Both of these expectations are in fact borne out. Due to space limitation, however, I only present the examples relevant to the bound reading in what follows.59

(100) a. *(John-ni-wa [CP 55%-no robotto-o [NP so-re-no sekkeisyaisa]kowasiteiru tokoro]-ga mieta rasi. designer-NOM destroying COMP-NOM could:see they:say

b. *(John-ni-wa [CP 55%-no robotto-o [NP so-re-no sekkeisyaisa]kowasiteiru tokoro]-ga mieta rasi. designer-NOM destroying COMP-NOM could:see they:say

They say that John could see [[its designer] destroying 55% of the robots].'

One might suspect that the perceptual report construction does not allow a bound reading at all, but (101) shows that it is indeed possible, as long as a relevant FD (i.e., Formal Dependency, the establishment of which is contingent upon LF e-command) can be established.60

(101) John-ni-wa [CP 55%-no robotto-ga [NP so-re-no sekkeisyaisa]ni tobiakakatteiru tokoro]-ga mieta rasi. designer-DAT assaulting COMP-NOM could:see they:say

'They say that John could see [[its designer] destroying [its designer]].'

Notice that the QP in (100) is what we have called an FD-QP, i.e., a QP which can yield a bound reading only on the basis of an FD. As we have seen in section 2.2.2 above, other types of QPs (such as do-no NP 'which NP', which we have labeled as existential QP above) allow a bound reading without recourse to FD, and hence, it is predicted that a bound reading will obtain if we use such a QP instead of 55%-no NP in (100). This prediction too is borne out, as illustrated in (102).

(102) John-ni-wa [CP do-no konpyuutaa-o-mo [NP so-re-no sekkeisyaisa]kowasiteiru tokoro]-ga mieta rasi. 61

As noted in section 4, Ueyama 1998:ch. 2 and Hayashishita 1999 contain the relevant empirical paradigms in regard to the scope interpretation.

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59 There are also some speakers who hardly allow quantification within the embedded clause of a perceptual verb. Interestingly, even such speakers generally accept a bound reading with an existential QP.

60 Some speakers may not like the sequence o-mo. We can make minimal pairs by using ni-mo instead, as in (1).

(i) a. *(John-ni-wa [CP 55%-no robotto-ni [NP so-re-no sekkeisyaisa]kiz-o taketeiru tokoro]-ga mieta rasi. designer-NOM scratch-ACC put COMP-NOM could:see they:say

'They say that John could see [[its designer] scratching 55% of the robots].'

b. John-ni-wa [do-no konpyuutaa-ni-mo [NP so-re-no sekkeisyaisa]kiz-o komatteiru tokoro]-ga mieta rasi. 61
'They say that John could see [[its designer] destroying every computer].'

It is also expected that the bound reading in (100) should become available if the inner CP is embedded in an environment which allows the occurrence of a Deep DL. As shown in (103), the bound reading is possible if the CP is a complement clause of a verb such as omow- 'think' (cf. (96)).

(103)  John-wa [cp 55%-no kaisya-ni [cp so-ko-no
John-TOP 55%-GEN company-DAT that-place-GEN
attorney-NOM apologized COMP think

'John thinks [that [its attorney] apologized to (each of) 55% of the companies].'

I have suggested in this subsection that a Deep DL (i.e., a 'scrambled' NP showing the 'A-properties') is required to occur in a clause which is (ultimately) interpreted as what I call predicational proposition. Obviously, more research is necessary in order to fully materialize the 'prospectus' presented above. Nonetheless, I find it to be significant and encouraging that the observations in (100)-(103) confirm the predictions made by the analysis proposed in this work, once we assume that the position of the base-generated Deep DL is closely tied to a certain type of interpretation, and, as a result, a Deep DL is not allowed when the relevant interpretation is unavailable.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this work has been to characterize a proper analysis of the OS-type construction (i.e., the so-called 'scrambling' construction) in Japanese. As mentioned in section 2, many analyses in effect recognize (at least) two distinct analyses for this construction, and we have given them the names the Deep OS-type and the Surface OS-type.

Having first classified the major observations in the past study as in (53) and (54), I argued in section 3 that any successful analysis should conform to the skeletal analysis presented in (44).

(53) Properties of the Deep OS-type:
   a. Absence of WCO effects
   b. Wide scope reading of DL with respect to the subject

(54) Properties of the Surface OS-type:
   a. Preservation of WCO effects
   b. Narrow scope reading of DL with respect to the subject
   c. Reconstruction effects
   d. Literal reconstruction of a wh-phrase

(44) Essential Analysis:
   An OS-type construction involves either a Deep DL (as in (44a)) or a Surface DL (as in (44b)).
   a. Deep OS-type:
      PF:  NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) ... NP-NOM ... V
      LF: NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) [...] NP-NOM [...] V
   b. Surface OS-type:
      PF:  NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) ... NP-NOM ... V
      LF: NP-NOM [...] NP-ACC/DAT (=DL) [...] V

I then added further observations of the OS-type construction in section 4, as summarized in (57).

(57) a. The DL in the long distance OS-type construction is necessarily a Surface DL.
   b. There is at most one Deep DL in a clause. (Thus, in the multiple OS-type construction, at least one of the DLs is a Surface DL.)
   c. In the multiple OS-type construction, it is harder for the second DL to be a Deep DL compared to the first DL.

In section 5 I demonstrated that the observations in (57b) and (57c) raise serious problems for any analysis which incorporates the assumption in (85a) (including Saito 1992, Saito & Fukui 1998, and Boskovic & Takahashi 1998, among others).

(85) a. A Deep OS-type (i.e., the OS-type construction with A-properties) can obtain if and only if the A-chain reanalysis is possible.

I also pointed out there that an analysis which assumes (85b) would need a stipulation which blocks the covert application of the relevant movement, and that the stipulation is very hard to be derived from a deeper principle.

(85) b. A Deep DL undergoes movement.

Thus, I have argued that an appropriate analysis of the OS-type construction should assume neither (85a) nor (85b).

In order to illustrate that the observations presented in this work can be accounted for without the assumptions in (85), I have then presented the Revised Essential Analysis in (94).

(94) Revised Essential Analysis:
   a. Deep OS-type:
PF: NP-DAT/ACC (=DL) ... NP-NOM ... ec_i ...
LF: NP-DAT/ACC (=DL) [Op [NP-NOM ... ti ... ]]

b. Surface OS-type:
PF: NP_i-DAT/ACC (=DL) NP-NOM ... ti ...
(DL having undergone a PF movement)
LF: NP-NOM [NP-DAT/ACC (=DL) ... ]

This analysis has to be accompanied by the following assumptions.

(104) a. The empty operator movement in (94a) is clause-bounded.
   b. There is at most one position per clause in which the DL is base-generated as in (94a).
   c. The subjacency condition applies to the PF movement (or to the PF representation) in (94b).

The theories from which (104) can be derived have yet to be developed, but I have suggested above that each assumption in (104) is at least not implausible. Instead of (85), the proposed analysis claims (105):

(105) a. A Deep OS-type (i.e., the OS-type construction with A-properties) can obtain if and only if the DL can be base-generated in the pre-nominative position (accompanied by an empty operator movement, as specified in (94a)).
   b. A Deep DL does not undergo movement.

Thus, as far as the OS-type construction in Japanese is concerned, I conclude that the ‘A-positions’ in Japanese are coextensive with the positions where an NP is base-generated. Note that this conclusion is not meant to be a universal claim, since we have not scrutinized the corresponding facts in other languages. In fact, I consider it to be quite likely that there is a language (which is equipped with a rich overt agreement system, presumably) that has a marked word order construction involving an overt A-movement. If it is shown (i) that the existence of a certain syntactic head X is relevant to the availability of the Deep OS-type (so to speak), (ii) that the relation of the X and the DL (so to speak) must be local, and desirably (iii) that the agreement between the X and the DL is overtly marked, we will be able to conclude that an A-movement is involved in deriving the construction in question.

Before closing, I would like to mention that the conclusion drawn in this paper can be relevant to the claim made in Fukui 1986 and in Kuroda 1988, when interpreted as in Hoji 1998a:section 3, that Japanese lacks formal agreement features altogether. An immediate consequence of this assumption is that there is no feature-driven movement in this language at all (as claimed in Saito & Fukui 1998), and the conclusion in this work can thus be considered as a natural consequence of this assumption. Conversely, if it is shown to hold that the A-positions in Japanese are completely coextensive with the positions where an NP is base-generated, it follows that there is no positive evidence for the existence of A-movement, and hence the relevant formal features, in this language. In this sense, then, the conclusion in this work can be regarded as a piece of supporting argument for the claim that there is no formal agreement features in Japanese.

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