Chapter 8

Some notes on the scope properties of nominative objects in Japanese

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This chapter aims to provide novel support for a phrasal complementation approach to restructuring phenomena on the basis of an analysis of some novel observations concerning the scope properties of nominative objects in Japanese. It is first shown that nominative objects must take scope under the potential suffix when subjects receive an instrumental case. It is then argued that the obligatory narrow scope of nominative objects under consideration follows from the phrasal complementation approach, which dictates that the nominative object is base-generated below the potential suffix. The observation is difficult to capture with an alternative complex head approach, in which the nominative object is always base-generated above the potential suffix.

1 Introduction

Although there have been several proposals on restructuring (clause union) constructions (see Miyagawa 1987, Saito & Hoshi 1998, Cinque 2006, Wurmbrand 2001, 2015a, 2015b, Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2005, 2007, Nomura 2005, Takahashi 2011, Shimamura & Wurmbrand 2014, among others), the precise nature of restructuring is still under debate. This chapter aims to provide novel support for the phrasal complementation approach advocated by Wurmbrand (2001, 2015a, 2015b), Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2005, 2007), Nomura (2005), Takahashi (2011), and Shimamura & Wurmbrand (2014), among others, on the basis of an analysis of novel observations concerning the scope properties of nominative objects in Japanese.

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It has been observed in the literature that while transitive objects in Japanese usually must receive the accusative case, they can receive the nominative case when a transitive predicate is accompanied by a potential suffix (Kuno 1973):

(1) Kodomo-tati-ga kanzirensyuu-o/*ga tuzuke-ru.
child-PL-NOM kanji.practice-ACC/NOM continue-PRS
'Children continue kanji practice.'

(2) Kodomo-tati-ga kanzirensyuu-o/ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-NOM kanji.practice-ACC/NOM continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue kanji practice.'

The transitive verb *tuzuke* 'continue' in (1) can only assign the accusative case to the object *kanzirensyuu* 'kanji practice.' In addition, when *tuzuke* 'continue' is accompanied by the potential suffix *-rare* 'can', as in (2), the object *kanzirensyuu* 'kanji practice' can receive either the accusative case or the nominative case. Notably, accusative and nominative objects behave differently with respect to scope (see Sano 1985, Tada 1992, Koizumi 1998, 2008, Ura 1999, Yatsushiro 1999, Takano 2003, Nomura 2005, Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2007, Takahashi 2011, Shimamura & Wurmbrand 2014, Funakoshi & Takahashi 2014, Ochi & Saruwatari 2014, Kasai 2018, among others).

(3) a. Kodomo-tati-ga kanzirensyuu-dake-o tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-NOM kanji.practice-only-ACC continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue only kanji practice.'
'Children can continue kanji practice without doing any other things.' (can > only)
'It is only kanji practice that children can continue.' (?*only > can)

b. Kodomo-tati-ga kanzirensyuu-dake-ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-NOM kanji.practice-only-NOM continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue only kanji practice.'
'Children can continue kanji practice without doing any other things.' (can > only)
'It is only kanji practice that children can continue.' (only > can)

The verb *tuzuke* 'continue' in (3a) and (3b) is accompanied by the potential suffix *-rare* 'can', and the two examples differ only in the case of the object. Interestingly, while the accusative object in (3a) must take scope under the potential

suffix, the nominative object in (3b) can take scope over the potential suffix.[1] The rest of this chapter elucidates that the scope properties of nominative objects interact with the case of subjects. It is then argued that the observation under consideration provides further credence to the phrasal complementation approach, which dictates that the nominative object is base-generated below the potential suffix (see Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2005, 2007, Nomura 2005, Takahashi 2011, Funakoshi & Takahashi 2014, Shimamura & Wurmbrand 2014). Conversely, the observation is hard to capture with an alternative complex head approach (Saito & Hoshi 1998), in which the nominative object is always base-generated above the potential suffix.

This chapter is organized as follows. §2 shows that nominative objects must take scope under the potential suffix when a co-occurring subject receives an instrumental case. §3 provides an analysis of the data provided in §2, essentially following Kishimoto (2010) and Shimamura & Wurmbrand (2014). §4 discusses an alternative analysis in terms of the complex head approach and shows that such an analysis has difficulty capturing the data in question. §5 presents further consequences of the proposed analysis, and §6 concludes this chapter.

2 Instrumental subjects and the scope properties of nominative objects

This section provides the core observations discussed in this chapter. In particular, it is shown that nominative objects must take scope under the potential suffix when co-occurring subjects receive an instrumental case. While the above examples all involve nominative subjects, it is well known that Japanese allows several non-nominative subjects (see Kishimoto 2017 for an overview). Below is an example of a subject that receives the instrumental case (see Kishimoto 2005, 2010, Takubo 1984, Inoue 1998):

(4) a. Kodomo-tati-ga kanzirensyuu-o tuzuke-ru.
child-PL-NOM kanji.practice-ACC continue-PRS (cf. 1)

b. Kodomo-tati-de kanzirensyuu-o tuzuke-ru.
child-PL-with kanji.practice-ACC continue-PRS
'Children continue kanji practice.'

[1] Contrary to earlier works that assume that nominative objects must take scope over the potential suffix (see Tada 1992, Koizumi 1998, Saito & Hoshi 1998, Takano 2003), I assume, in alignment with more recent works, that nominative objects can take scope under the potential suffix (see Nomura 2005, Koizumi 2008, Takahashi 2011, Funakoshi & Takahashi 2014, Ochi & Saruwatari 2014, Kasai 2018). See below for discussion.

While the subject in (4a) receives the nominative marker *-ga*, the subject in (4b) receives *-de*, which is usually employed to mark instruments (e.g., *naifu-de* 'with a knife'). Following Kishimoto (2005, 2010), I dub subjects that receive *-de* INSTRUMENTAL SUBJECTS.[2] As shown below, instrumental subjects can appear in the potential construction.

(5) a. Kodomo-tati-ga kanzirensyuu-o/ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-NOM kanji.practice-ACC/NOM continue-can-PRS (= 2)

b. Kodomo-tati-de kanzirensyuu-o/ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-with kanji.practice-ACC/NOM continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue kanji practice.'

The transitive verb *tuzuke* 'continue' is accompanied by the potential suffix *-rare* 'can', and the object can receive either the accusative or nominative case. The subject of this construction can receive either the nominative case, as in (5a), or the instrumental case, as in (5b). Significantly, the scope of nominative objects appears to correlate with the case of the subjects (see Ebina 2020):

(6) a. Kodomo-tati-ga kanzirensyuu-dake-ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-NOM kanji.practice-only-NOM continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue only kanji practice.' (= 3b)
'Children can continue kanji practice without doing other things.' (can > only)
'It is only kanji practice that children can continue.' (only > can)

b. Kodomo-tati-de kanzirensyuu-dake-ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-with kanji.practice-only-NOM continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue only kanji practice.'
'Children can continue kanji practice without doing any other things.' (can > only)
'It is only kanji practice that children can continue.' (?*only > can)

As reported in the literature, the nominative object can take scope over the potential suffix when the former appears with the nominative subject, as in (6a). However, the nominative object must take scope under the potential suffix when the former appears with the instrumental subject, as in (6b). The following section provides an analysis of the contrast between (6a) and (6b), essentially following the analysis of the instrumental subjects proposed by Kishimoto (2010) and the structure of the potential construction proposed by Shimamura & Wurmbrand (2014).

[2] Instrumental subjects must be plural (see Takubo 1984, Kishimoto 2005, 2010). I thus use plural subjects for all the relevant examples in the text.

3 An analysis

3.1 Instrumental subjects

Kishimoto (2010) makes two important claims about nominative and instrumental subjects, each of which is addressed below:

(7) a. Nominative and instrumental subjects are genuine "subjects" (i.e., elements in *v*P Spec).[3]
b. While nominative subjects move to TP Spec, instrumental subjects do not move to TP Spec.

Regarding (7a), Kishimoto (2010) shows that both instrumental subjects and nominative subjects can be targets of subject honorification (see Harada 1976, Shibatani 1978), which is claimed to target elements in *v*P Spec (see Takano 2011, Kishimoto 2012). Subject honorification is allowed only when the subjects are worthy of respect:

(8) a. Ito-sensee-ga John-kara hon-o o-uketori-ni-nat-ta.
Ito-professor-NOM John-from book-ACC HON-receive-HON-PST
'Prof. Ito received a book from John.'
b. (adapted from Kishimoto 2010: 649)
John-ga Ito-sensee-kara hon-o o-uketori-ni-nat-ta.
John-NOM Ito-teacher-from book-ACC HON-receive-HON-PST
'John received a book from Prof. Ito.'

Ito-sensee 'Prof. Ito' in (8a) is the nominative subject, and the predicate *uketor* 'receive' receives a specific morphology for subject honorification (i.e., *o….ni nar*). *Ito-sensee* 'Prof. Ito' in this example acts as the target of honorification. In contrast, *Ito-sensee* 'Prof. Ito' in (8b) is the source argument and cannot be the target of subject honorification. The only possible target in (8b) is *John*, which usually would not count as a suitable target for honorification. Importantly, instrumental and nominative subjects can be targets of subject honorification.

(9) a. Sensee-tati-ga o-aruki-ni-nat-ta.
teacher-PL-NOM HON-receive-HON-PST
b. (adapted from Kishimoto 2010: 649)
Sensee-tati-de o-aruki-ni-nat-ta.
teacher-PL-with HON-receive-HON-PST
'The teachers walked.'

[3] See Saito (2006b), Takano (2011), and Kishimoto (2012) for the definition of subjects as elements in *v*P Spec. As one reviewer points out, this definition of subjects requires passive and unaccusative subjects to move to *v*P Spec (see Saito 2006b, Takano 2011, Kishimoto 2012). It remains to be seen if this definition of subjects holds cross-linguistically.

In (9a) and (9b), *sensee-tati* 'teachers' acts as the target of subject honorification, which indicates that agent arguments that receive *-de* are genuine subjects. Assuming that the elements in *v*P Spec function as subjects, Kishimoto (2010) proposes that nominative and instrumental subjects are both base-generated in *v*P Spec:[4]

(10) $[_{TP}\ [_{vP}\ \text{SUBJ}\ [_{VP}\ \text{V}]\ ]\ \text{T}]$

Regarding (7b), Kishimoto (2010) points out that nominative and instrumental subjects behave distinctly with respect to scope (see Kishimoto 2010 for details). The difference can also be observed in the following examples (cf. Kitaoka 2014):

(11) a. Sensee-tati-dake-ga aruk-ana-katta.
teacher-PL-only-NOM walk-NEG-PST
'Only the teachers did not walk.'
'It is not the case that only the teachers walked.' (not > only)
'It is only the teachers that did not walk.' (only > not)

b. Sensee-tati-dake-de aruk-ana-katta.
teacher-PL-only-with walk-NEG-PST
'Only the teachers did not walk.'
'It is not the case that only the teachers walked.' (not > only)
'It is only the teachers that did not walk.' (*only > not)

The nominative subject in (11a) can take scope over or under negation (see Sakai 2000 and also Kataoka 2006), while the instrumental subject in (11b) must take scope under negation. On the basis of this observation, I assume, in line with Kishimoto (2010), that while nominative subjects move to TP Spec, instrumental subjects stay within *v*P (see Kishimoto 2010 for other arguments):

[4]Here, I assume that subject honorification is an instance of subject agreement (see Ura 1999, Takano 2011, Kishimoto 2012). One reviewer asks why instrumental subjects, which bear *-de*, can be targets of honorific agreement. As the reviewer correctly points out, *-de* 'with' is usually classified as a postposition, rather than as a case marker, such as the nominative marker *-ga* and the accusative marker *-o*. Given that PPs in many languages are invisible to (phi-)agreement, it might be puzzling that instrumental subjects can undergo honorific agreement. One approach to this difference is to assume that honorific agreement in Japanese is not conditioned by case (see Kishimoto 2012), while phi-agreement in languages like English is conditioned by case (see Chomsky 2000). As PPs usually do not bear case, phi-agreement with a PP is prohibited in languages like English. By contrast, honorific agreement is not conditioned by case, hence instrumental subjects can be targets of subject honorification. If movement into TP Spec is conditioned by case, it also follows that instrumental subjects fail to undergo subject raising (cf. Kishimoto 2010).

(12) a. $[_{TP}$ $SUBJ_{i\,NOM}$ $[_{NegP}$ $[_{vP}$ t_i] Neg] T] (= 11a)
b. $[_{TP}$ $[_{NegP}$ $[_{vP}$ $SUBJ_{INST}$] Neg] T] (= 11b)

The nominative subject in (12a) moves from *v*P Spec to Spec TP. The subject thus takes scope over Neg at Spec TP or takes scope under Neg at *v*P Spec via reconstruction. In contrast, the instrumental subject in (12b) stays within *v*P and obligatorily takes scope under negation.[5]

3.2 Nominative object construction

Shimamura & Wurmbrand (2014) argue that nominative object construction is an instance of *functional restructuring* (cf. Wurmbrand 2001), where the potential suffix directly selects VP-complement.

(13) $[_{ModP}$ $[_{can P}$ SUBJ $[_{VP}$ OBJ V] *can*] Mod]

Here, the subject is base-generated as an argument of the potential suffix (indicated as *can*), and the object is selected by the verb. Furthermore, Shimamura & Wurmbrand (2014) suggest that the potential suffix moves to the Mod(al) head for modal force. I assume (i) that the potential suffix cannot assign the accusative

[5]Two reviewers ask how cases like the following that concern "predicate fronting" (see Hoji et al. 1989) can be made consistent with the analysis developed in the text (one reviewer provided the version of (i.b) that involves the instrumental subject) :

(i) a. Kodomo-tati-ga/de kanzirensyuu-o tuzuke-sae-su-ru.
child-PL-NOM/with kanji.practice-ACC continue-even-do-PRS
'Children even continued kanji practice.'
b. $[_{XP}$ Kanzirensyuu-o tuzuke-sae$]_i$ kodomo-tati-ga/de t_i su-ru.
kanji.practice-ACC continue-even child-PL-NOM/with do-PRS

In (i.a), the verb *tuduke* 'continue' is followed by a focus particle *sae* 'even', which is, in turn, followed by the verb *su* 'do'. In (i.b), the phrase that consists of the object *kanzirensyuu* 'kanji practice' and the verb (indicated as XP) is moved to the sentence-initial position. If the fronted category is *v*P and *su* 'do' is inserted to support the Tense morpheme (see Yatsushiro 1999), then it is unclear why the instrumental subject, which must stay within *v*P, is not included in the fronted category. However, we can understand the acceptability of (i.b) if we assume that the fronted category in (i.b) is not *v*P but VP (see Kitaoka 2014, Funakoshi 2020); as the VP does not involve the subject (*v*P Spec), the instrumental subject (as well as the nominative subject) are not included in the fronted constituent. Alternatively, we can assume with Saito (2006a) that *su* 'do' is a main predicate that can take a nominalized VP due to the attachment of *sae* 'even'. The fronted XP in (i.b) under this analysis is the nominalized VP complement, which also excludes the instrumental subject (as well as the nominative subject), which are external arguments.

case to the object and (ii) the nominative object and the nominative subject are case-licensed by Tense via Multiple Agree (see Ura 1999, Hiraiwa 2001, 2005, Takahashi 2011); I set aside the movement of the nominative phrases for the moment.[6]

(14) $[_{TP}\ [_{ModP}\ [_{\textit{can}P}\ SUBJ_{NOM}\ [_{VP}\ OBJ_{NOM}\ V]\ \textit{can}]\ Mod]\ T]$

3.3 Putting all the pieces together

Let us now consider how the above assumptions work together. The contrast that must be accounted for is given below:

(15) a. Kodomo-tati-ga kanzirensyuu-dake-ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-NOM kanji.practice-only-NOM continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue only kanji practice.' (= 6a)
'Children can continue kanji practice without doing any other things.' (can > only)
'It is only kanji practice that children can continue.' (only > can)

b. Kodomo-tati-de kanzirensyuu-dake-ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-with kanji.practice-onlyNOM continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue only kanji practice.' (= 6b)
'Children can continue kanji practice without doing any other things.' (can > only)
'It is only kanji practice that children can continue.' (?*only > can)

While the nominative object can take scope over the potential suffix in the presence of the nominative subject, as in (15a), the nominative object fails to take scope over the potential suffix in the presence of the instrumental subject, as in (15b). Given that the nominative subject moves to TP Spec (see 12a), I propose that the nominative object can move above the potential suffix in the presence of the nominative subject (see Koizumi 1998, Nomura 2005). (15a) is thus analyzed as in Figure 1.

The nominative subject is base-generated in *can*P Spec and moves to TP Spec. The nominative object also moves to TP Spec and takes scope over the potential suffix as the nominative object c-commands the potential suffix after movement.

[6] I assume that nominative case is assigned via (downward) Agree (Chomsky 2000). However, see Shimamura & Wurmbrand (2014) for an analysis based on Reverse Agree (see Wurmbrand 2014 for Reverse Agree). The choice does not affect the discussion in this section.

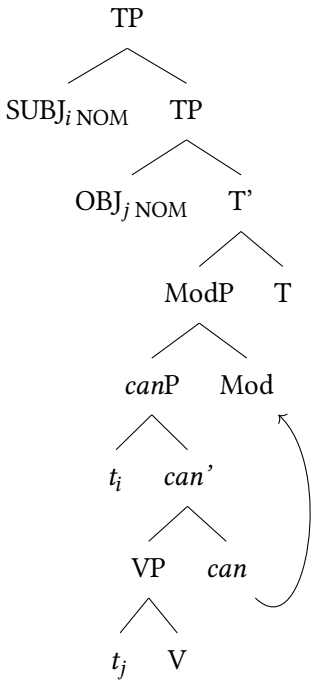

Figure 1: Structure of (15a)

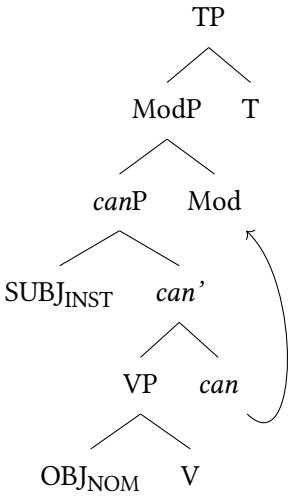

Figure 2: Structure of (15b)

Furthermore, the object can take scope under the potential suffix via reconstruction.[7]

Let us now consider the case in which the nominative object co-occurs with the instrumental subject (15b). Given that the instrumental subject in transitive sentences stays within *v*P (12b), I propose that the instrumental subject in the potential construction stays within *can*P. This entails that the nominative object in (15b), which follows the nominative subject, stays within the VP (Figure 2).

Given that the instrumental subject stays within the *can*P, the nominative object, which is clearly located below the subject, stays within the VP in Figure 2. I assume that quantified elements, including NPs with the focus particle *dake* 'only', can take scope without movement into a node of type *t* (see Blok 2017 for discussion). Thus, the nominative object can be interpreted in its base-generated position.[8]

[7]It might be the case that the nominative object stays within the VP for narrow scope interpretation (see Nomura 2005, Ochi & Saruwatari 2014).

[8]Note that the nominative object is not forced to stay within the VP complement in the pres-

In sum, I have argued in this section that the obligatory narrow scope interpretation of the nominative object in the presence of the instrumental subject (see 15b) follows if we assume that the nominative object in question must stay within *can*P when the former follows the instrumental subject. Note that the above analysis crucially relies on the phrasal complementation approach to restructuring, which posits a full VP structure below a restructuring predicate (i.e., a potential suffix) and requires the nominative object to be base-generated below the potential suffix. The next section discusses an alternative analysis in terms of the complex head approach and shows that such an analysis fails to capture the contrast between (15a) and (15b).

4 An alternative: Complex head analysis

This section explores a major alternative analysis of restructuring phenomena in terms of the complex head approach and how the analysis fares with the observations made in this chapter. In the complex head approach proposed by Saito & Hoshi (1998), the potential suffix and the embedded predicate form a single complex head when the embedded object receives nominative case, which is assumed to be assigned by the potential suffix (Kuno 1973). In this analysis, all arguments (and adjuncts) that are associated with the embedded predicate are base-generated above the complex head. The analysis thus assigns an identical

ence of an instrumental subject; rather, the nominative object can be positioned above the instrumental subject via "overt movement," in which case the former can take scope over the potential suffix:

(i) a. [$_{\text{canP}}$ Kodomo-tati-de [$_{\text{VP}}$ kanzirensyuu-dake-ga tuzuke]-rare]-ru.
child-PL-with kanji.practice-only-NOM continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue only kanji practice.'
'Children can continue kanji practice without doing other things.' (can > only)
'It is only kanji practice that children can continue.' (?*only > can) (= 15b)

b. [$_{\text{TP}}$ Kanzirensyuu-dake$_{\text{i}}$-ga [$_{\text{canP}}$ kodomo-tati-de [$_{\text{VP}}$ t_{i} tuzuke]-rare]-ru].
kanji.practice-only-NOM child-PL-with continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue only kanji practice.'
'Children can continue kanji practice without doing other things.' (can > only)
'It is only kanji practice that children can continue.' (only > can)

In (i.b), the nominative object is moved to the sentence-initial position, which I assume to be TP. The nominative object in this example can take scope over the potential suffix. Given that Japanese has scrambling (Saito 1985), the movement in question may be scrambling. Alternatively, given that Tense assigns case to the nominative object, the nominative object may undergo raising to TP Spec. I leave the choice open here.

structure to the nominative object construction with the nominative subject (see 15a) and that with the instrumental subject (see 15b), as shown in Figures 3 and 4.

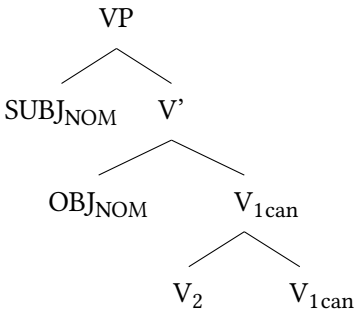

Figure 3: Structure of (15a) in complex head analysis

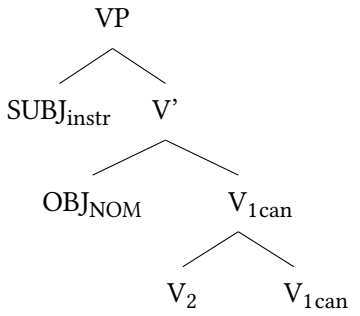

Figure 4: Structure of (15b) in complex head analysis

Figures 3 and 4 verify that the structure of the nominative object construction is the same regardless of the case of the subject: the nominative object is always base-generated above the potential suffix. Figures 3 and 4 thus predict that the scope property of the nominative object should not be affected by the case of the subject. Saito & Hoshi (1998) assume (i) that the scope of the potential suffix is determined by the lower segment of the [V1, V1] and (ii) that the potential suffix as a whole (i.e., [V1, V1]) dominates the lower segment of the potential suffix (i.e., V1). The nominative object thus asymmetrically c-commands the lower segment of the potential suffix. The analysis therefore predicts that the nominative object in Figures 3 and 4 should always take scope over the potential suffix. Consequently, it would be difficult to capture the reason the scope of the nominative object depends on the case of the subject.[9]

[9]The contrast between (15a) and (15b) also raises a question regarding an approach that posits the covert movement of a quantifier for the wide scope interpretation of the nominative object (see Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2007, Takahashi 2011, Funakoshi & Takahashi 2014). Note that Blok (2017) claims that while type mismatch is resolved via type shifting, scope shifting is yielded by quantifier raising. We would then expect that the nominative object (or the focus particle *dake* 'only') could covertly move to a position above the potential suffix (I thank one reviewer for pointing this out). Given the unambiguity of (15b), we might have to conclude that the relevant covert scope shifting operations are indeed absent in Japanese, in which case we are led to reconsider some observations that are understood in terms of covert scope shifting operations in Japanese (see Takahashi 2011, Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2012, Oku 2018).

5 Further considerations

This section considers some consequences of the analysis developed in §3. First, further examinations of relevant examples lead us to one important interpretive property of the potential suffix. The structure of the nominative object construction with the nominative subject (see Figure 1) and with the instrumental subject (see Figure 2) is given in Figures 5 and 6, respectively.

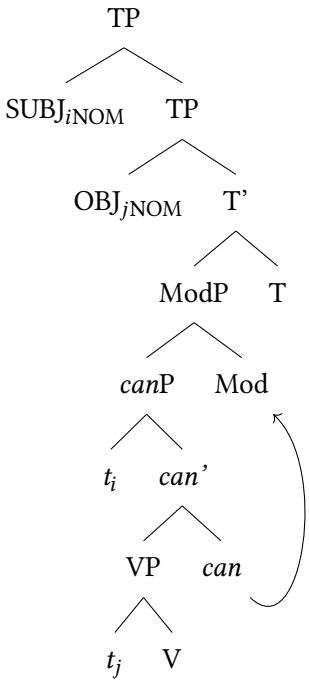

Figure 5: Nominative subject (see Figure 1)

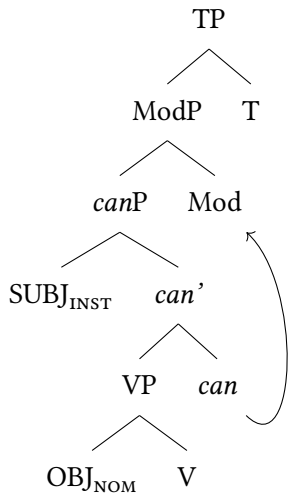

Figure 6: Instrumental subject (see Figure 2)

The nominative subject in Figure 5 c-commands the potential suffix after the subject movement and is c-commanded by the potential suffix before the subject movement. The instrumental subject in Figure 6 c-commands the potential suffix before movement of the latter and is c-commanded by the raised potential suffix. Therefore, it may be predicted that the nominative and instrumental subjects can take scope over or under the potential suffix. However, the following examples show that both types of subject interact with the potential suffix unambiguously:

(16) a. Kodomo-tati-dake-ga kanzirensyuu-ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-only-NOM kanji.practice-NOM continue-can-PRS
'Only children can continue kanji practice.'
'Children can continue kanji practice without other people around.'
(*can > only)
'It is only children who can continue kanji practice.' (only > not)

b. Kodomo-tati-dake-de kanzirensyuu-ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-only-with kanji.practice-NOM continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue only kanji practice.' (= 6b)
'Only children can continue kanji practice.'
'Children can continue kanji practice without other people around.'
(can > only)
'It is only children who can continue kanji practice.' (*only > not)

While the nominative subject in (16a) necessarily takes scope over the potential suffix, the instrumental subject in (16b) takes scope under the potential suffix. I assume that the obligatory wide scope interpretation of the nominative subject in (16a) reduces to a well-known observation in the literature that sentence-initial nominative phrases must receive exhaustive-listing interpretation when a predicate is individual-level (see Kuno 1973). The obligatory narrow scope interpretation of the instrumental subject in (16b) follows if the potential suffix is interpreted only in its derived position, which asymmetrically c-commands the instrumental subject.[10]

Furthermore, the proposed analysis predicts that the nominative object can take scope over the potential suffix when a non-nominative subject moves to TP Spec. This is because when the subject moves into TP Spec, the object that follows the subject can also move into TP Spec. This is illustrated below:

(17) a. $[_{\text{TP}} \; \overset{\uparrow}{} \; [_{\text{ModP}} \; [_{\textit{can}\text{P}} \; \text{SUBJ} \; [_{\text{VP}} \; \underset{*}{\text{OBJ}_{\text{NOM}}} \; \text{V}] \; \textit{can}] \; \text{Mod}] \; \text{T}]$

b. $[_{\text{TP}} \; \text{SUBJ}_i \; \underset{\uparrow}{\text{OBJ}_{j\text{NOM}}} \; [_{\text{ModP}} \; [_{\textit{can}\text{P}} \; t_i \; [_{\text{VP}} \; t_i \; \text{V}] \; \textit{can}] \; \text{Mod}] \; \text{T}]$

When the subject stays within canP Spec, the nominative object following the subject must stay within the VP. This is the case of the nominative object with

[10]Note that the contrast between (16a) and (16b) provides another argument against complex head analysis; as such analysis requires that the subjects always be base-generated above the potential suffix, it fails to capture the availability of the narrow scope interpretation of the instrumental subject observed in (16b).

the instrumental subject (see 17a). Conversely, when the subject moves into TP Spec, the nominative object can also move into TP Spec. This is the case of the nominative object with the nominative subject (see 17b). We then expect that the nominative object can move into TP Spec when a non-nominative subject moves into TP Spec. This prediction is borne out. In contrast to the instrumental subject, the dative subject can take scope over negation:

(18) a. Kodomo-tati-dake-de kanzirensyuu-ga tuzuke-rare-na-i.
child-PL-only-with kanji.practice-NOM continue-can-NEG-PRS
'Only children can't continue kanji practice.'
'It is not the case that only children can continue kanji practice.' (not > only)
'It is only children who cannot continue kanji practice.' (*only > not)

b. Kodomo-tati-dake-ni kanzirensyuu-ga tuzuke-rare-na-i.
child-PL-only-DAT kanji.practice-NOM continue-can-NEG-PST
'Only children cannot continue kanji practice.'
'It is not the case that only children can continue kanji practice of kanji.' (?not > only)
'It is only children who cannot continue kanji practice.' (only > not)

Although the instrumental subject in (18a) cannot take scope over negation, the dative subject in (18b) can take scope over negation. The contrast indicates that while the instrumental subject stays within *can*P, the dative subject moves into TP Spec, just like the nominative subject (see Ura 1999, Kishimoto 2010):

(19) a. $[_{TP}$ $SUBJ_{i\ NOM/DAT}$ $[_{NegP}$ $[_{CANP}$ t_i] Neg] T] (see 12a)
b. $[_{TP}$ $[_{NegP}$ $[_{CANP}$ $SUBJ_{INST}$] Neg] T] (see 12b)

We would then expect that the nominative object that co-occurs with the dative subject can take scope over the potential suffix. This prediction is borne out (see Ura 1999, Takahashi 2011):

(20) a. Kodomo-tati-de kanzirensyuu-dake-ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-with kanji.practice-only-NOM continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue only kanji practice.' (= 15b)
'Children can continue kanji practice without doing any other things.' (can > only)
'It is only kanji practice that children can continue.' (?*only > can)

b. Kodomo-tati-ni kanzirensyuu-dake-ga tuzuke-rare-ru.
child-PL-DAT kanji.practice-only-NOM continue-can-PRS
'Children can continue only kanji practice.'
'Children can continue kanji practice without doing any other things.' (can > only)
'It is only kanji practice that children can continue.' (only > can)

As we have observed above, the nominative object in (20a), which co-occurs with the instrumental subject, only takes scope under the potential suffix. By contrast, the nominative object in (20b), which co-occurs with the dative subject, can take scope over the potential suffix. The contrast between (20a) and (20b) provides further credence to the current analysis, which dictates that the nominative object can take scope over the potential suffix when the string-vacuous movement of the latter is not blocked by the intervening subject.

In sum, I have discussed some consequences of the analysis developed in the previous sections. In particular, I have shown (i) that the scope of the potential suffix is determined in its derived position and (ii) that nominative objects that co-occur with a non-nominative subject sometimes take scope over the potential suffix.

6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided a new argument for the phrasal complementation approach to restructuring on the basis of some new observations concerning the scope properties of nominative objects in the Japanese potential construction. Specifically, I have shown that the nominative object must take scope under the potential suffix in the presence of the instrumental subject, which the phrasal complementation approach accommodates. In contrast, the observation in question is hard to account for with the complex head approach, which always requires the nominative object to be base-generated above the potential suffix. I have also shown that the wide scope behavior of the nominative object interacts with subject movement on the basis of the analysis of the nominative object that co-occurs with the dative subject.

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