Restructuring and Clause Structure in Isbukun Bunun

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This paper studies the restructuring phenomenon in Isbukun Bunun, which exhibits special morphology and syntax that distinguish it from sentences containing common infinitives. I demonstrate that a subclass of predicates should be analyzed as restructuring predicates in Isbukun Bunun, since they apparently create transparent domains for syntactic operations such as passivization and clitic placement. I argue that the lack of clause-boundedness effects in restructuring follows trivially from the functionally impoverished structure of the restructuring infinitives, so that this construction lacks clausal properties throughout the derivation.

1. INTRODUCTION. Restructuring refers to the complementation of a subclass of predicates that is characterized by the lack of clause-boundedness effects; that is, restructuring complement clauses appear to be transparent domains for syntactic phenomena so that certain ordinarily local, clause-bounded processes apply across the boundaries of embedded clauses. A typical Italian example is in (1).

\[(1) \text{ITALIAN}\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{Lo volevo \{vedere t}_{\text{CL}} \text{ subito}.} \quad \text{(Restructuring)} \\
& \text{him I.wanted see immediately} \\
& \quad \text{‘I wanted to see him immediately.’}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{*Lo detesto \{vedere t}_{\text{CL}} \text{ in quello stato}.} \quad \text{(Nonrestructuring)} \\
& \text{him I.detest see in that state} \\
& \quad \text{‘I detest seeing him in that state.’}
\end{align*}
\]

As shown in (1), syntactic operations such as clitic climbing are transparent for the restructuring infinitive in (1a), while nonrestructuring infinitives such as the one in (1b) represent an impenetrable domain for such operations. In most studies on restructuring, it has been noted that the class of restructuring predicates and the exact processes involved varies across languages (Rizzi 1978, Wurmbrand 2001, Bhatt 2005, Chung 2004,

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Cinque 2006), and this paper aims to analyze the Isbukun Bunun version of restructuring, which displays intriguing syntactic and morphological patterns that separate it from non-restructuring complementation. In particular, I will pursue a monoclausal approach to restructuring and show that the lack of clause-boundedness follows trivially from the fact that restructuring configurations lack clausal properties throughout the derivation.

This article is organized as follows. Section 2 supplies some background on the syntax and voice agreement system in Isbukun Bunun (henceforth simply Isbukun), and I then introduce the Isbukun construction that is the focus of this study and give the reasons for treating it as a version of restructuring. Other alternative accounts will be discussed (and excluded) as well. Section 3 establishes that the embedded clause-like constituent in restructuring is a VP and, crucially, smaller than a full-flowered clause; moreover, I discuss the long-distance voice agreement in this configuration. Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. THE PHENOMENON OF RESTRUCTURING. In this section, I provide some background on the grammar of Isbukun to facilitate the following discussion.

Bunun is a Formosan Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan. It has five dialects: Takitduh, Takbanauz, Takibakha, Takivatan, and Isbukun. The current study is based on the Isbukun dialect spoken in Taitung County. Isbukun has two NP case markers: as illustrated in (2) and (3), the nominative marker is a and the oblique is mas; they are placed immediately preceding the associated NPs; meanwhile, both of them are often omitted in colloquial speech, as shown in (4). Moreover, as shown in these examples, Isbukun is a predicate-initial language and generally exhibits a V-S-O-IO-Obl sequence in terms of default word order, though (exclusively) in non-AV environments it is possible to have the oblique-marked external argument precede the nominative-marked internal argument (He, Li, and Lin 1986; Li 1997; Huang 1997; Jeng 1999; Zeitoun 2000).

(2) ISBUKUN
M-aun a Tahai mas bunbun.
AV-eat NOM Tahai OBL banana
‘Tahai eats bananas.’

(3) ISBUKUN
Masuhis saikin sui sia Alang.
AV.return 1 SG.NOM money P Alang
‘I give the money back to Alang.’
(4) ISBUKUN

Huud saikin davus.

AV.drink 1SG.NOM wine

‘I drink wine.’

Furthermore, just like many other Formosan and Western Austronesian languages (Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis 1992; Chang 1997; Aldridge 2004; Rackowski and Richards 2005, among others), Isbukun has an elaborate voice system, sometimes also called a topic or focus system, in which a range of arguments are permitted to serve as the syntactically most prominent NP, namely the trigger, of the clause. That is, the syntactic relation corresponding to the trigger can be borne by a wide range of arguments: not only by the external argument (the actor), but also by noun phrases bearing semantic roles such as patient, theme, goal, benefactive, and instrument. Crucially, the verbs must be marked with their associated morphology; that is, the semantic role or grammatical function of the trigger has to be registered on the verb. The examples in (5) illustrate the voice system in Isbukun; in these examples, the trigger is bolded and the agreement morphology is underlined.

(5) ISBUKUN

a. **Actor voice**: ma-, m-, Ø

M-aun a Tahai mas acipul-tan laupaku.

AV-eat NOM Tahai OBL corn-this.OBL now

‘Tahai is eating the corn now.’

b. **Patient voice**: -un

Kaun-un-in a acipul-a mas Tahai.

eat-PV-PFV NOM corn-that.NOM OBL Tahai

‘That corn has been eaten by Tahai.’

c. **Locational voice**: -an

Na-sabah-an adi lumah mas Tahai aip.

IRR-sleep-LV this room OBL Tahai today

‘This room will be slept in by Tahai today.’

d. **Beneficiary/Instrumental voice**: is-

Is-baliv a Tahai mas ahil-tan.

BV-buy NOM Tahai OBL book-this.OBL

‘This book is bought for Tahai.’

In this paper, I assume the seminal analysis proposed by Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis (1992; henceforth GHT), according to which the trigger agrees with T0 and bears nominative case; meanwhile, the voice morphology is registered and established at that point. Therefore, for instance, AV-morphology leads to an actor trigger and PV-morphology forces the patient argument to assume the trigger role. Put differently, our discussion assumes the GHT system and that Isbukun triggers are constituents that have entered into

5. The trigger, that is, the NP marked by the -a nominative case marker in Isbukun, has been known by a number of names in the Austronesian literature, including “subject,” “topic,” “pivot,” and “trigger.” Here I will refer to it as the trigger to avoid confusion. For more discussion of the syntactic properties associated with the trigger in Austronesian languages, see Schachter (1976, 1994), Kroeger (1993), Richards (2000), Aldridge (2002), Rackowski (2002), and references cited therein.
an Agree relation with \( T^0 \) head, allowing them to raise and generate the corresponding agreement morphology on the verb. Note that another possible alternative for voice morphology, which assumes that the trigger is actually a topic phrase, and thus advancement to trigger position involves Ā-dependency (Pearson 2005), cannot be sustained in Isbukun. One obvious reason, among others, to rule out this possibility is that, as argued in Pearson (2005), for languages that permit this analysis option, the trigger must be definite (Pearson 2005:419–20).

(6) MALAGASY
   a. Nihinana ilay voankazo ny gidro.
      PST.AV.eat that fruit DET lemur
      ‘The lemur ate the fruit.’
   b. *Nihinana ilay voankazo gidro.
      PST.AV.eat that fruit lemur

This definiteness constraint is expected if the trigger is a topic, and generally a topic is assumed to be the most salient entity established in the discourse universe. However, this restriction is not observed in Isbukun. The trigger in Isbukun common declarative clauses need not be definite or specific. In other words, no definiteness or specificity restriction of any kind is imposed on the occurrence of trigger in this language:

(7) ISBUKUN
   a. Tatangis a uvaaz.
      AV.cry NOM child
      ‘A child/children is/are crying.’
   b. Tatangis a uvaaz-a.
      AV.cry NOM child-that.NOM
      ‘That child is crying.’

Therefore, it is reasonable to reject the Ā-analysis of trigger and voice morphology.

The focus of this study concerns sentences like (8), where the matrix predicate selects a clause-like embedded constituent that does not exhibit an overt subject.

(8) ISBUKUN
   Miliskin saikin tu ma-baliv bunbun-cia.
      AV.want 1SG.NOM TU AV-buy banana-that.OBL
      ‘I want to buy the bananas.’

In what follows, I will show that, despite appearances, (8) is a monoclausal sentence with the embedded complement clause exhibiting a functionally impoverished structure. Arguments for such a proposal come from long passive, clitic placement, Ā-extraction, and word order variation. Below I will refer to the matrix embedding verbs as restructuring verbs and the embedded complements as restructuring infinitives or clauselets for ease of reference.

2.1 LONG PASSIVE. The first piece of evidence for the clause union or restructuring effect has to do with long Ā-movement, often labeled “long passive” in the literature. Object movement of this sort is significant in that, in restructuring, the case assignment

6. Details on how the Āgree relation is established in restructuring are discussed in section 3.
properties of the embedded verb are affected by passivization of the matrix verb. That is, structural accusative becomes unavailable in this configuration, leaving the matrix T₀ as the only case assigner for the embedded object. Since the boundary separating the embedded clause from the matrix verb is transparent for syntactic processes, a DP complement can thus raise out of the clauselet (that is, the embedded clause) to the specifier of the matrix T₀, where it enters into a case and agreement relation with the matrix T₀.

The existence of long passive is a central argument for restructuring in German:⁷ passivizing the matrix predicate and thereby removing the accusative case assignment capacity also removes the possibility of accusative case on the embedded patient argument. As a result the embedded patient argument bears nominative case assigned by matrix T₀.

(9) GERMAN: **long passive**

a. dass der Traktor zu reparieren versucht wurde
   that the tractor to repair tried was
   ‘that they tried to repair the tractor’

b. dass der Traktor und der Lastwagen zu reparieren
   that [the tractor and the truck] to repair
   versucht wurden
   tried were
   ‘that they tried to repair the tractor and the truck’ (Wurmbrand 2001:19)

As exemplified in (10) and (11), long passive is attested with restructuring predicates in Isbukun as well.

(10) ISBUKUN

   AV.want 1SG.NOM TU AV-buy banana-that.OBL
   ‘I want to buy the bananas.’

b. Iliskiun-ku bunbun-a tu baliv-un.
   want.PV-1SG.ACC banana-that.NOM TU buy-PV
   Lit. ‘The bananas are wanted to be bought by me.’

(11) ISBUKUN

a. Mastatala saikin tu m-aun bunbun-cia.
   AV.wait 1SG.NOM TU AV-eat banana-that.OBL
   ‘I am waiting to eat the bananas.’

   wait.PV-1SG.ACC banana-that.NOM TU eat-PV
   Lit. ‘The bananas are being waited to be eaten by me.’

It is noteworthy that, in Isbukun, in addition to the matrix verb, the embedded verb of the clauselet must be “passive”—that is, nonactive or taking non-AV morphology—as well. In other words, when the matrix predicate carries PV, the embedded patient argument bearing nominative case is the trigger of the entire clause; crucially, the embedded predicate has to carry PV morphology as well. In current thinking, it has often been

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⁷ Given the structure proposed for restructuring constructions, the term “long passive” is actually a misnomer since this form of passive is a very local operation under the current analysis. Nevertheless, I will continue to use this as a purely descriptive label so as to be consistent with previous scholarship.
assumed that the verbal head $v^0$ has the ability to license accusative case (Chomsky 2001). Following this, the long passive in Isbukun evidently shows that the complement of the matrix restructuring predicate lacks $v^0$, the accusative assigning head. In (10b) and (11b), therefore, the embedded internal argument *bunbun* ‘banana’ is raised to the matrix clause and gets nominative case assigned by matrix $T'$. Importantly, long passive is not possible when the raised internal argument comes from the complement of nonrestructuring predicates.

(12) **ISBUKUN**

a. Mintatulun saikin tu ma-baliv bunbun-cia.
   
   AV.regret 1SG.NOM TU AV-buy banana-that.OBL
   
   ‘I regret buying the bananas.’

b. *Intatulunan-ku bunbun-a tu bailiv-un.
   
   regret.PV-1SG.ACC banana-that.NOM TU buy-PV
   
   Intended: Lit. ‘The bananas are regretted to be bought by me.’

Intriguingly, this kind of effect is not unique to Isbukun; similar situations can be witnessed in another Austronesian language, Chamorro (Chung 2004), where it is convincingly argued that restructuring configuration is involved. In (13), where a restructuring verb *begin* is involved, one can have long passive with the embedded verb bearing passive morphology. On the other hand, as shown in (14), with a nonrestructuring verb like *help*, long passive is ungrammatical.

(13) **CHAMORRO**: long passive in restructuring

Tinituhun esta si Dolores kinässi as Antonio.

NPL.RL.INTR.PASS.begin already Dolores NPL.RL.IN.PASS.tease OBL Antonio

‘Antonio began to tease Dolores.’ (lit., ‘Dolores was begun to be teased by Antonio.’) (Chung 2004:204)

(14) **CHAMORRO**: long passive in nonrestructuring

*Pära tafan-ma-chägi mu-na’fanätuk ni lalahi siha.

FUT 1PL.IRR.INTR-PASS-try INF.TR-hide OBL men PL

Intended: ‘The men will try to hide all of us.’ (Chung 2004:204)

Note that the restructuring constructions we have seen so far cannot be analyzed as raising constructions, with the restructuring verb being a functional head (cf. Cinque 2006). It is widely accepted in the literature that a typical property of raising predicates is their compatibility with weather-*it* (overt or covert) or inanimate subjects; however, restructuring predicates in their active voice are not compatible with such non-thematic surface subjects. The contrast is illustrated in (15)–(18):

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8. Note that the only important fact for the present analysis is that there is no structural case position or assigner in this kind of nonactive construction. If one assumes a strong version of Burzio’s generalization (1986), the lack of structural accusative case only entails the lack of an external argument but not the lack of a voice head (in the sense of Kratzer [1994, 1996], who assumes that there are different voice heads such as active, passive, etc.). In the following discussion, I will not take any position on these issues, since whether the construction involves or lacks an independent voice head is orthogonal to the discussion of restructuring.
(15) ISBUKUN: **weather-it subject with raising verb**
Maupamani na-hudanan.
AV:seem IRR-AV:rain
‘It looks like it’s going to rain.’

(16) ISBUKUN: **inanimate subject with raising verb**
Maupamani paz-an masasakin.
AV:seem rice-this.NOM AV:ripe
‘The rice seems ripe.’

(17) ISBUKUN: **weather-it with restructuring verb**
*Tanam (tu) hudanan.
AV:try TU AV:rain

(18) ISBUKUN: **inanimate with restructuring verb**
*Miliskin bunbun-a tu kaun-un.
AV:want banana-that.NOM TU eat-PV
Intended: Lit. ‘The bananas want to be eaten.’

As a result, I conclude that raising predicates in Isbukun are nonthematic, whereas restructuring verbs establish thematic relations with their argument(s). In other words, *want*-type restructuring verbs are indeed thematic lexical verbs rather than functional raising heads.

### 2.2 CLITIC PLACEMENT.

The next piece of evidence for clausal transparency in restructuring comes from the placement of clitics. In the restructuring literature, the restriction exhibited in clitic climbing is often cited as one of the strongest arguments for restructuring: see (1) above. Similar restrictions can be observed in Isbukun as well. Table 1 lists the pronominal clitics in Isbukun.

In Isbukun, clitics can be found cliticized to the verbal head, as shown in (19) and (20). Note that such a cliticization process is sensitive to clause boundaries: for example, in (19) it is not possible to have the clitic *ik* ‘1SG.NOM’ attached to the predicates of the first conjunct.

(19) ISBUKUN
Aitunauvi mazima saia munghuhuma at, madu-*ik* saitia.
because AV:like 3SG.NOM AV:work AT love-1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC
‘Because he likes to work, I like him.’

#### TABLE 1. PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN ISBUKUN BUNUN
(adapted from Jeng 1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-su</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 INCL</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 EXCL</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-mu</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now consider the contrast demonstrated in (21) and (22). In (21b) and (21c), the pro-
nominal clitics \textit{ku} ‘1SG.ACC’ and \textit{ik} ‘1SG.NOM’, respectively, attach to the matrix predi-
cate even though they are the embedded patient argument. The same happens with \textit{su} ‘2SG.ACC’ in (22b) and \textit{as} ‘2SG.NOM’ in (22c). These patterns evidently show that the
embedded clauselet is functionally impoverished and the whole sentence is regarded as a
monoclusal unit. Moreover, this further confirms that in long passives like (21c) and
(22c), the embedded patient argument is, indeed, the trigger of the entire clause: in (21c),
for example, where the trigger is a clitic, the clitic attaches to the matrix \(v^0\) and is licensed
in the matrix clause.

(21) ISBUKUN

\begin{align*}
a. & \textit{Ma-litud-un-\textbf{ku-as} Dahu tu maludah zaku.} \\
& \text{IRR-hit-PV-1SG.ACC-2SG.NOM Dahu TU AV.hit 1SG.ACC} \\
& \text{‘Dahu plans to hit me.’} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
b. & \textit{Ma-ltidipa-\textbf{ku} Dahu tu maludah.} \\
& \text{AV.plan-1SG.ACC Dahu TU AV.hit} \\
& \text{‘Dahu plans to hit me.’} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
c. & \textit{Aldidipa-un-\textbf{ik} Dahu tu ludah-un.} \\
& \text{plan-PV-1SG.NOM Dahu TU hit-PV} \\
& \text{Lit. ‘I am planned to be hit by Dahu.’} \\
\end{align*}

(22) ISBUKUN

\begin{align*}
a. & \textit{Tanam Dahu tu mapazikpik suu.} \\
& \text{AV.try Dahu TU AV.cheat you} \\
& \text{‘Dahu tries to cheat you.’} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
b. & \textit{Tanam-\textbf{su} Dahu tu mapazikpik.} \\
& \text{AV.try-2SG.ACC Dahu TU AV.cheat} \\
& \text{‘Dahu tries to cheat you.’} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
c. & \textit{Tanam-un-\textbf{as} Dahu tu pazikpik-un.} \\
& \text{try-PV-2SG.NOM Dahu TU cheat-PV} \\
& \text{Lit. ‘You are tried to be cheated by Dahu.’} \\
\end{align*}

2.3 Ā-EXTRACTION. Just as in many Austronesian languages, Ā-extraction in
Isbukun is restricted to the nominative-marked argument, that is, the trigger-only restriction
(Keenan and Comrie1977):

(23) ISBUKUN

\begin{align*}
a. & \textit{Ma-i-baliv a Dahu mas tulkuk.} \\
& \text{AV.buy-PFV NOM Dahu OBL chicken} \\
& \text{‘Dahu bought the chicken.’} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
b. & \textit{Sima ma-i-baliv tulkuk?} \\
& \text{who AV.buy-PFV chicken} \\
& \text{‘Who bought the chicken?’} \\
\end{align*}
Now, given the fact that the embedded patient argument in a restructuring sentence like (24) can Ā-extract suggests that this embedded argument is now the trigger of the matrix clause and, accordingly, it must first move to the matrix clause across the agent/actor, and from there it is eligible for further Ā-movement.

(24) ISBUKUN
Maaz a iliskin-un-su tu baliv-un?
what NOM want-PV-2SG.ACC TU buy-PV
Lit. ‘What is the thing that is wanted to be bought by you?’

2.4 WORD ORDER. In the restructuring literature, most scholars agree that only restructuring clauses allow a certain degree of flexibility in the placement of phrases originating from the embedded clauses, though the situation is slightly complicated by other factors. Example (25) is from German.

(25) GERMAN: (non-focus) scrambling
a. dass Hans den Traktor versucht hat zu reparieren
that John the tractor.ACC tried has to repair
‘that John (has) tried to repair the tractor’

b. dass Hans bedauert hat den Traktor reparieren zu müssen
that John regretted has the tractor.ACC repair to must
‘that John (has) regretted having to repair the tractor’

c. *dass Hans den Traktor bedauert hat reparieren zu müssen
that John the tractor.ACC regretted has repair to must
Intended: ‘that John (has) regretted having to repair the tractor’

(Wurmbrand 2001:41)

As is exemplified in (25a), the embedded object can be scrambled from an extraposed restructuring infinitive; however, if the matrix verb is a nonrestructuring predicate like bedauern ‘regret’, scrambling is unfeasible, as shown in (25b) and (25c).

In Isbukun, therefore, if restructuring is indeed involved, we expect the trigger to be permitted to surface inside the clauselet, no matter what processes account for the word-order options (of arguments) within a single matrix clause. This prediction is borne out. Example (26) shows that the trigger Dahu can surface inside the restructuring comple-

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9. The precise identity of these processes is unclear. In particular, I am not claiming that the German type of “scrambling” is attested in Isbukun Bunun. Instead, I am just giving an example of the relatively free word order in restructuring configuration, which possibility is not available in other contexts, and how it relates to the clausal union effect. It is likely that, under such circumstances, the matrix verb and its restructuring complement undergo predicate fronting together (so as to derive the verb-initial order), and later the trigger undergoes focus-related movement. However, I will stress the fact that the main point to be made here is to show the relative clausal transparency in restructuring, and the observation is compatible with any kind of particular analysis of such word order options.
ment and precede the oblique argument of the clauselet. Therefore, it is evident that the complementation in question displays transparency properties.

(26) **ISBUKUN**

a. Miliskin Dahu tu [mabaliv lumah-a sia Taihuku].
   AV.want Dahu TU AV.buy house-that.OBL P Taipei
   ‘Dahu wants to buy that house in Taipei.’

b. Miliskin tu [mabaliv lumah-a Dahu sia Taihuku].
   AV.want TU AV.buy house-that.OBL Dahu P Taipei
   ‘Dahu wants to buy that house in Taipei.’

Again, such transparency for syntactic operations is not observed with nonrestructuring verbs: the trigger is not allowed to occur inside the clauselet under any circumstances. As is illustrated in (27), the trigger Dahu cannot occur inside the embedded clauselet.

(27) **ISBUKUN**

a. Mintatulun Dahu tu [mabaliv lumah-a sia Taihuku].
   AV.regret Dahu TU AV.buy house-that.OBL P Taipei
   ‘Dahu regrets buying that house in Taipei.’

b. *Mintatulun tu [mabaliv lumah-a Dahu sia Taihuku].
   AV.regret TU AV.buy house-that.OBL Dahu P Taipei

As a result, I conclude that the above contrast in word order flexibility can be attributed to the effect of restructuring configuration: miliskin ‘want’ is a restructuring verb so that the trigger Dahu entertains a relatively freer word order possibility within the clause, whereas a nonrestructuring verb like mintatulun ‘regret’ does not trigger restructuring configuration, and, thus, the trigger Dahu cannot occur within the clauselet.

2.5 SUMMARY. In this section, I have attempted to establish the existence of restructuring construction in Isbukun and the clausal transparency effects brought about by restructuring predicates, based on four tests: long passive, clitic placement, Ā-extraction, and word order flexibility. These phenomena offer evidence that the construction in (8) is indeed a version of restructuring. Before presenting the structural analysis of restructuring, I would like to briefly compare (and rule out) another possible alternative analysis: serial verb construction (SVC). In the literature, SVC is also argued to involve monoclausal structure; however, the restructuring construction in Isbukun is not the same as, and hence should not be treated as, a SVC because the essential criteria for SVCs, as argued widely in the relevant literature, are not observed in the construction under discussion. For instance, it has been pointed out in Baker (1989), Collins (1997), and Stewart (1998) that two crucial criteria (among others) of SVCs are, first, no overt marker should separate the two successive verb phrases, and, second, the two verb phrases should (at least) share their internal argument. Importantly, the two traits are not found in what we argue to be the restructuring configuration: (i) an overt linking element tu obligatorily precedes the embedded predicate, and (ii) the restructuring predicate selects the embedded verb phrase, rather than the embedded object alone, as its complement. As can be seen in the unequivocal SVC case of (28) in Isbukun, the occurrence of tu is banned in SVCs and there is, evidently, object-sharing between the two predicates, with the lower NP cici ‘meat’ serving as the argument of both the higher and lower predicates (cf. Collins 1997).
Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the two constructions are distinct and, thus, they should be treated separately.

(28) ISBUKUN
Siza a Tahai (*tu) mas cici maun.
AV.take NOM Tahai TU OBL meat AV.eat
‘Tahai takes the meat and eats (it).’

3. STRUCTURE. In this section, I consider the phrase structure of restructuring. In the literature, various approaches to restructuring share the property that they treat restructuring infinitives as being deficient, as lacking some characteristics that nonrestructuring infinitives have (Bhatt 2005, Chung 2004, Cinque 2004, Moore 1991, Wurmbrand 2001, and the references therein). The analysis I will pursue here is built on some version of Wurmbrand’s (2001, 2004) monoclausal treatment of restructuring clauses; particularly, restructuring infinitives do not involve clausal properties. In other words, a restructuring complement clause does not only lack clausal projections such as CP and TP,10 but also does not include an embedded structural case position; on the other hand, the nonrestructuring clauselet must include a vP, and the (minimal) structure of nonrestructuring infinitives is as in figure 1b. In this view, then, the lack of clause-boundedness effects in restructuring follows trivially from the assumption that this construction lacks clausal properties throughout the derivation.11 The phrase structures of restructuring and nonrestructuring configurations are schematically represented in figure 1a and figure 1b, respectively, where I use the restructuring verb want and the nonrestructuring verb regret as illustrative examples.

There are several reasons for believing the analysis proposed here should be on the right track. To begin with, as demonstrated in the discussion of long passive, the embedded internal argument cannot get case-licensed within the restructuring clauselet, but must receive case from the matrix v⁰/T⁰. Given that v⁰ is independently believed to be able to license accusative case, I suggest that the restructuring infinitive in Isbukun excludes v⁰. Under such a proposal, the long passive facts, in particular, follow straightforwardly and the construction is assimilated to the regular passive. Once the matrix clause is passivized, in consonance with Burzio’s Generalization, the matrix v⁰ can no longer license accusative case on the object. The embedded object, therefore, needs to find its case-licensor higher in the tree; given that the licensor is now finite T⁰, the embedded object appears in the nominative form. Moreover, the facts presented earlier, including clitic placement, Ā-extraction, and flexible word order, are expected under such a monoclausal treatment. In particular, the clausal-boundedness restriction of clitic climbing is, apparently, lifted in the restructuring construction because there is actually one full-

10. When I suggest that restructuring clauselets in Isbukun lack TP, I am saying that the embedded restructuring clauses lack the functional structure associated with tense as well as the properties taken to be anchored on T-related projections in this language, such as the case and voice agreement properties (cf. GHT 1992).

11. The proposed diagrams given in figure 1 aim to highlight the structural difference between restructuring and nonrestructuring predicates; therefore, I do not include some other details in the trees provided. For instance, the derivation of predicate-initial order in Isbukun (which is presumably derived by a subsequent predicate-fronting operation) is temporarily put aside so as to simplify matters.
fledged clause involved; the embedded internal argument in the restructuring context can Ā-extract, since this embedded argument, being in the Agree relation with the matrix T₀, is now the trigger of the whole clause.

Furthermore, as argued in Bhatt’s (2005) discussion of Hindi-Urdu restructuring and Chung’s (2004) discussion of Chamorro restructuring, infinitival agreement can be parasitic on the agreement of the matrix finite T₀, given appropriate contexts. Therefore, in these languages, a dependency is shown to be created between the matrix T₀ and the head of the infinitival clause, such that whatever features set the values of the features of the matrix T covaluate the features of the infinitival head. I suggest that similar situations take place in Isbukun restructuring as well. In particular, in this language we can see morphological voice agreement of the lower embedded predicate being parasitic on the next highest T₀ head so that a voice dependency is established between the verb and its closest T₀ head. Given this, and given the reduced structure in restructuring clauselet, the embedded predicate(s), without an independent T₀ within the clauselet, would need to
take its voice specification from the matrix $T^0$ and hence ultimately from the trigger.\textsuperscript{13} This gives rise to the phenomenon of “voice harmony” in restructuring construction,\textsuperscript{14} which is actually a manifestation of (apparent) long-distance morphological agreement. In long passive sentences, for instance, after the matrix $T^0$ agrees with the raised internal argument, now the trigger, it is consequently marked with nonactor voice. Afterwards, the verbal heads, matrix and embedded, copy this specification from the matrix $T^0$, which to both of them are the closest $T^0$.

Given our analysis that restructuring complements do not include a structural case position, and given the strong version of Burzio’s generalization (1986), we expect that the lack of structural case entails the lack of an external argument of the embedded verb in Isbukun restructuring infinitives. The expectation is met. First, as described above, there is obligatory voice/case dependency between the matrix predicate and the embedded internal argument; however, this dependency is unexpected under an analysis that assumes the existence of a subject in the embedded clause, since this embedded external argument would result in a minimality problem with Agree and with the $\tilde{A}$-movement of the embedded object.\textsuperscript{15} Second, there are other empirical arguments supporting the view that restructuring infinitives are indeed subjectless VPs: cf. figure 1a.\textsuperscript{16} In other words, we will see independent evidence for the absence of an infinitival subject, which view is in favor of the position taken in Wurmbrand (2001) that control infinitives are of two classes—infinitives that lack a syntactic subject and infinitives that include a syntactic

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} In languages like Chamorro, the covariation between the matrix $T^0$ and the embedded head can be observed in their person and number agreement; as shown below, the matrix and embedded verbs exhibit the same agreement prefix—one that registers third person and dual or plural number.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Note that there is only one $T$ in this construction, but to emphasize that this $T$ is immediately preceding the restructuring verb, I will still refer to it as the matrix $T$.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Note that the current proposal should not be taken to mean that restructuring necessarily leads to this sort of “voice harmony” effect. As pointed out in Chang (2006, 2007), restructuring is attested in some Formosan Austronesian languages, such as Kavalan and Mayrinax Atayal; however, the voice consonance effect is not necessarily observed with these languages. Therefore, it is plausible that languages can vary in their detailed clausal structure (for example, the number of functional projections that are present in the restructuring clauses) and the realization of voice morphology (for example, the existence of default voice morphology) in restructuring configuration. Also, as mentioned earlier, it is important to note that the class of restructuring predicates seems to vary across languages. In German and Japanese (Wurmbrand 2001), for instance, \textit{plan} is not a restructuring predicate, but in Isbukun \textit{plan} is clearly a restructuring verb. On the other hand, though \textit{forget} is shown to be a restructuring predicate in German and Japanese, it is not in Isbukun. The reason for such variation is still unclear and surely worth further investigation. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for reminding me of these facts.
\item \textsuperscript{15} It is in principle possible to presume that there is some special property (for example, lack of $\phi$-features) of the PRO of the clauslet so that the occurrence of an embedded subject does not lead to minimality violation (cf. Bhatt 2002). However, even if one makes these additional assumptions and wishes to deal with the problem theory-internally, the empirical argument I provide in the following still sustains and clearly argues for the lack of an external argument of the embedded complement.
\end{itemize}
subject—and that the absence vs. presence of a syntactic subject corresponds to the restructuring vs. nonrestructuring distinction.

One strong piece of evidence for the lack of an infinitival subject in restructuring comes from binding facts. For a sentence such as (29), which involves an anaphor embedded in the infinitival complement, our subject-less VP account is empirically indistinguishable from a clausal account (that is, an account assuming that restructuring infinitives include an embedded infinitival PRO subject), since both can provide a satisfactory way of accounting for the coreference relation between the embedded anaphor and the matrix subject. As represented in (29a) and (29b), the anaphor is bound by PRO in the [+PRO] approach (so that its coreference relation with the matrix subject is established only indirectly), whereas the anaphor is bound by the matrix subject directly in the [−PRO] approach.

(29) ISBUKUN
Miliskin Dahu tu [sadu sia cidanunman mas anakanak].
AV.want Dahu TU AV.see p mirror OBL self

‘Dahu wants to see himself in the mirror.’

a. want Dahui [PROi see SELFi]
b. want Dahu [see SELF]

Therefore, in order to distinguish the two approaches, we need to look for environments where the matrix subject is absent or unavailable. The rationale goes as follows. Under the [+PRO] approach, the presence or absence of a matrix subject should not affect the binding properties in the embedded infinitive because the PRO infinitival subject would always be available as an antecedent (unless extra assumptions are made). On the other hand, under the [−PRO] approach, the lack of a matrix subject would take away the only accessible binder for the anaphor embedded in the infinitive, and the resulting structure should thus be ungrammatical. As will be illustrated below, the binding facts in Isbukun will support the current [−PRO] analysis. In (30), it can be seen that an embedded anaphor can occur in the impersonal nonrestructuring constructions; thus the grammaticality provides evidence for the existence of an embedded infinitival subject that binds the embedded anaphor. Note that it cannot be assumed that the anaphor is bound directly by an implicit matrix argument in (30) instead, since, in general, implicit arguments cannot (directly) bind anaphors in Isbukun, which fact is shown in (31). Therefore, sentences like (30)—as well as its contrast with (31)—provide evidence for the existence of an embedded PRO subject in nonrestructuring contexts.

(30) ISBUKUN
Na-asa tu ka anakanak (dau) ma-pataz mas babu.
IRR-must TU make self PART AV.kill OBL pig

‘It is necessary to kill the pigs by oneself.’

16. A note of emphasis is needed here. In my account, I take the restructuring configuration to be the prerequisite to license the range of clausal transparency effects as demonstrated in section 2; in other words, when I choose to refer to the restructuring configuration as VP, I choose the most syntactically and semantically neutral label that stands for the attributes of (i) denoting an action or event, (ii) being void of propositional and force properties, and (iii) lacking a structural case assigner. In other words, the restructuring configuration is a construct of well-defined syntactic and semantic properties that are observed to hold over empirical facts.
(31) ISBUKUN
Ba-i-liv-un a lumah (*mas anakanak).
buy-PFV-PV NOM house OBL self
‘A house was bought (*oneself).’

In contrast, the situation changes drastically with restructuring constructions. In a clear restructuring configuration such as (32), which involves long passive, an anaphor is illicit in the restructuring infinitival complement when there is no appropriate/available antecedent in the clause.

(32) ISBUKUN
*Ililiskin-un a sanglav tu sinuaz-un mas anakanak
want-PV NOM vegetable TU grow-PV OBL self
Intended: ‘(They) want to grow themselves some vegetables.’

On the assumption that the restructuring infinitive lacks an embedded syntactic subject, just as the current analysis proposes, and that implicit arguments cannot directly bind anaphors in Isbukun, the pattern of (32) can be straightforwardly captured: since the restructuring infinitive does not include an embedded subject, and there is no other possible antecedent for the anaphor in the sentence, such an unbound anaphor is ruled out by the binding theory.17

To recapitulate, in this section I have shown that a restructuring infinitive clause not only lacks clausal properties but also does not include an embedded structural case position. In this view, then, the lack of clause-boundedness effects as well as the morphological voice dependency in restructuring follow neatly from the structure I propose here.

4. CONCLUSION. This paper offers a detailed case study of restructuring phenomena in Isbukun. In particular, I investigated the restructuring construction in Isbukun, which displays interesting morphology and syntax that set it apart from sentences containing regular infinitives. I have attempted to offer an analysis for the phenomenon that restructuring infinitives are apparently transparent domains for syntactic operations. I have also shown that, owing to the reduced structure of the restructuring infinitives, the embedded predicate, without an independent T0 within the clauselet, has to take its voice specification from the matrix T0 and, hence, ultimately from the trigger. Moreover, I have demonstrated that Isbukun restructuring infinitives do not include a structural case position or an embedded

17. The assumption that restructuring infinitives are subjectless raises some important questions about the interpretation of these infinitival constructions. However, these concerns do not cause any problem in the analysis I propose here, since restructuring infinitives in Isbukun are all obligatory control infinitives. In other words, semantically, these infinitives require a particular interpretation coming from a uniquely predetermined controller and, in this regard, since the interpretation of the understood subject is fixed, control is determined lexically/semantically (Landau 1999, 2000). More specifically, I assume with Chierchia (1984) and Wurmbrand (2001) that there is a correlation between subjectless infinitives and obligatory control (though it is only a one-way correlation), and that the obligatory control effect is the result of an inherent lexical property, or an entailment relation built into the meaning of the selecting predicate. Put differently, I assume that a syntactic subject and the application of a syntactic control mechanism is vacuous in the current case under investigation, since the antecedent of the infinitival subject is already prespecified as part of the meaning of the obligatory control predicate and, crucially, it is exactly this redundancy that licenses the omission of a syntactic embedded subject in restructuring constructions.
external argument. To summarize, I conclude that a monoclausal approach to Isbukun restructuring is empirically and conceptually adequate, in that it explains and predicts a range of correlations between the syntactic and semantic properties of restructuring contexts and, hence, allows us to gain some insight into the nature of restructuring.

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