

On PF-LF Mismatch in the Japanese Light Verb Construction

Toru Ishii (Meiji University)

The Past Meets the Present: A Dialogue Between
Historical Linguistics and Theoretical Linguistics

Academia Sinica

July 15, 2008

1. Introduction

(1) Transfer operations

- a. PF-Transfer -> The sensory-motor (S-M) interface
- b. LF-Transfer -> The conceptual-intentional (C-I) interface

(2) When do Transfer operations apply?

- a. Chomsky's (2004, 2005, 2006) Simultaneous Transfers

The phases are the same for both Transfer operations. PF-Transfer and LF-Transfer apply simultaneously when structure-building completes a phase (CP/vP).

- b. Non-simultaneous Transfers

Since PF-Transfer and LF-Transfer are independent operations, there is no a priori reason to assume that they should apply simultaneously in a derivation.

(Nissenbaum 2000, Megerdooonian 2002, Cecchetto 2004, 2005, Felser 2004, Matushansky 2005, Marušič 2005, Ishii (to appear))

(3) Proposal

- a. Non-simultaneous Transfers in a Nominal Phrase

The complement nominal phrase of a light verb in the light verb construction functions only as an LF-phase but not as a PF-phase.

- b. "Case Domain Fusion"

When more than one case domain overlaps, "case domain fusion" must take place, where "case domain" is regulated by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).

2. Japanese Light Verb Constructions

2.1 Verbal Nouns (Complex Event Nominals) and Light Verb *suru*

(4) John-ga Bill-to(-no) aiseki-o sita koto-ga nai
 John-Nom Bill-with(-Gen) table-sharing-Acc did Comp-Nom Neg
 'John has never shared a table with Bill.' (Matsumoto 1996: 116)

(5) a. John-ga yooroppa-e tomodati-to ryokoo-o sita
 John-Nom Europe-to friend-with trip-Acc did
 'John made a trip to Europe with friends.'

b. John-ga yooroppa-e(-no) tomodati-to-no ryokoo-o sita
 John-Nom Europe-to(-Gen) friend-with-Gen trip-Acc did

(Cf. Tsujimura 2007: 314)

2.2 A PF-LF Mismatch in the Light Verb Construction

(6) Grimshaw and Mester (1988), Sells (1989), Dubinsky (1990), Hasegawa (1991), Kageyama (1991, 1993), Uchida and Nakayama (1993), Matsumoto (1996), Huang (1997), Saito and Hoshi (2000)

(7) John-ga Bill-to aiseki-o site-iru
 John-Nom Bill-with table-sharing-Acc doing-be
 'John is sharing a table with Bill.'

(8) PF-LF Mismatch

a. θ -marking = LF: *John* and *Bill* are inside the nominal phrase.

[_{NomP} **John-ga Bill-to** aiseki]-o site-iru
John-Nom Bill-with table-sharing-Acc doing-be
 (Agent, Theme)

b. Case marking = PF: *John* and *Bill* are outside the nominal phrase.

John-ga **Bill-to** [_{NomP} aiseki]-o site-iru
John-Nom **Bill-with** table-sharing-Acc doing-be

3. Previous Analyses

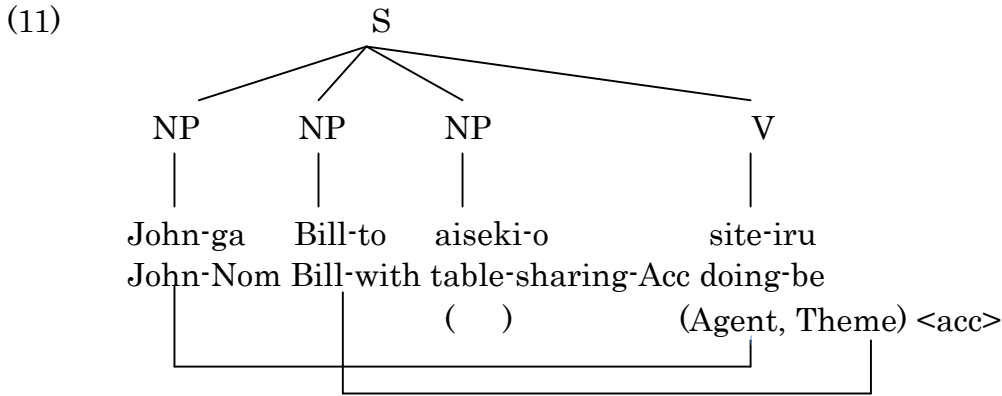
3.1 Grimshaw and Mester's (1988) Argument Transfer Analysis

(9) a. *suru* 'do' () <acc>

b. *aiseki* 'table-sharing' (Agent, Theme)

(10) *aiseki* 'table-sharing' () + *suru* 'do' (Agent, Theme) <acc>

Argument Transfer



3.2 Lexical Decomposition Analyses

(12) Tamen bang-le wo-de piao
 they tie-Perf my ticket
 'They kidnapped me.'

- (13) a. [_{VP} tamen [_{V'} DO [_{VP} wo [_{V'} bang piao]]]]
 b. [_{VP} tamen [_{V'} **bang**_i [_{VP} wo [_{V'} **t**_i piao]]]]

(14) *Suru* as an "Eventuality Predicate"

a. The Light Verb Construction: *Suru* is an overt form of the "eventuality predicate" DO.

(i) S-selection

This use of *suru* s-selects an agent as its subject and an action as its complement.

(ii) C-selection

It c-selects an NP complement, which is a gerundive construction, *i.e.* a nominalized verb phrase.

(iii) Case

It assigns the accusative case particle *-o* to the NP.

b. The Overtly Incorporated Construction: *Suru* is an overt form of the "eventuality predicate" DO, OCCUR, or BE

(i) S-selection

This use of *suru* s-selects an eventuality (an action, an event, or a state) as its complement. If *suru* s-selects an action (*i.e.* *suru* is an "eventuality predicate" DO), it also s-selects an agent as its subject. If *suru* s-selects a non-action or state (*i.e.* *suru* is an "eventuality predicate" OCCUR or BE), it does not s-select a subject.

(ii) C-selection

It c-selects a VP complement.

(iii) Case

Since VPs do not need Case, accusative case assignment does not take place.

(15) a. The Light Verb Construction

John-ga Bill-to aiseki-o site-iru
John-Nom Bill-with table-sharing-Acc doing-be
'John is sharing a table with Bill.'

b. The Overtly Incorporated Construction

John-ga Bill-to aiseki-site-iru
John-Nom Bill-with table-sharing-doing-be
'John is sharing a table with Bill.'

(16) a. The Light Verb Construction

John-ga [_{NP} [_{VP} Bill-to aiseki]]-o site-iru
John-Nom Bill-with table-sharing-Acc doing-be
'John is sharing a table with Bill.'

b. The Overtly Incorporated Construction

John-ga [_{VP} Bill-to t_i] aiseki_i-site-iru
John-Nom Bill-with table-sharing-doing-be
'John is sharing a table with Bill.'

(17) Argument Transfer as the Result of Complex Predicate Formation

When an "eventuality predicate" is combined with the main predicate of its complement, arguments of the individual predicates become arguments of the composite predicate.

(18) a. A flight occurred over the North Pole in a light aircraft in 1926.

b. A flight *over the North Pole* occurred in a light aircraft in 1926.

c. A flight *over the North Pole in a light aircraft* occurred in 1926.

d. A flight *over the North Pole in a light aircraft in 1926* occurred.

(19) a. John did *yesterday's* reading of the poem.

b. John did the reading of the poem yesterday.

3.3 Incorporation Analyses

(20) a. S-structure

John-ga Bill-to aiseki-o site-iru
 John-Nom Bill-with table-sharing-Acc doing-be
 (Agent, Them)

b. LF

John-ga Bill-to t_i -o aiseki_i-site-iru
 John-Nom Bill-with t_i -Acc table-sharing_i-doing-be
 (Agent, Theme)

(21) Taroo-ga kotosi-no natu [Amerika-ni **ryokoo**] to [Doitu-ni
 Taro-Nom this year-Gen summer America-to **travel** Conj Germany-to
ryuugaku](**-to**)-o sita
study abroad(**-Conj**)-Acc did

Lit. 'This summer, Taro did a travel to the United States and a study abroad in
 Germany.' (Fukui and Sakai 2006: 328)

(22) Constraint on an Across-the-Board Movement

An across-the-board movement of different elements into a single landing site is prohibited.

4. Proposal

4.1 A Non-simultaneous Transfer Analysis

(23) [_{nP} John [[_{NP} Bill-to aiseki] *n*]]

John Bill-with table-sharing
 (Agent, Theme)

(24) LF-phasehood (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006, Matushansky 2005)

LF phases have the status of a "proposition"; either a phrase in which all θ -roles are assigned or a full clause including tense and force.

(25) [_{vP} [_{VP} [_{nP} John [[_{NP} Mary-to aiseki] *n*]] *su*] *v*]

John Mary-with table-sharing do

: The clausal case domain = the accessible domain of *v*

: The nominal case domain = the accessible domain of *n*

(26) Two Case Marking Systems in Japanese (cf. Miyagawa 1990)

- a. There are two case marking systems in Japanese, *i.e.* the clausal case marking system (the lack of the genitive case particle *-no*) and the nominal case marking system (the presence of the genitive case particle *-no*).
- b. The clausal case marking system involves two steps, *i.e.* Case assignment and Case licensing, whereas the nominal case marking system involves only Case licensing.

(27) Licensing Conditions on Clausal and Nominal Case Markings

- a. The clausal case marking is licensed within the accessible domain of the C/v; the clausal case domain is equivalent to the accessible domain of C/v.
- b. The nominal case marking is licensed within the accessible domain of *n*; the nominal case domain is equivalent to the accessible domain of *n*.
- c. The notion of accessible domain is regulated by the notion of c-command and the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).

(28) The Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)

In [_{ZP} Z ... [_{HP} a [_H YP]]], the domain of H, *i.e.* YP, is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible, where ZP and HP are phases.

(adapted from Chomsky 2001: 13)

(29) Case Domain Fusion

- a. When more than one case domain overlaps, "case domain fusion" must take place.
- b. "Case domain fusion" only takes place when the two phase heads are of the same type; transitive/experiencer (T/E) or unaccusative (ergative) /passive (UA/P)

(30) [_{VP} [_{VP} [_{NP} John [[_{NP} Mary-to(-no) aiseki] *n*] su] v]

John Mary-with(-Gen) table-sharing <T/E> do <T/E>

(31) [_{VP} [_{VP} [_{NP} John Mary-to(-no) aiseki]-o [_{NP} su]] v]

[John Mary-with(-Gen) table-sharing]-Acc do

(32) [_{TP} John-ga [[_{VP} [_{VP} [_{NP} *t*John Mary-to(-no) aiseki]-o [_{NP} su]] v] T]]

John-Nom [*t*John Mary-with(-Gen) table-sharing]-Acc do

(33) *[[_{TP} [_{NP} *t*John Mary-to(-no) aiseki]-ga [[_{VP} [_{VP} John-o [_{NP} su]] v] T]]

[*t*John Mary-with(-Gen) table-sharing]-Nom John-Acc do

(* by the Proper Binding Condition)

(34) [TP Mary-ga [[vP [VP [nP [NP John-no Amerika-e-no ryokoo] n]-o]
 Mary-Nom John-Gen America-to-Gen travel-Acc
 [[t_nP kyakkasita]]] v]T]]
 turned-down

'Mary turned down John's trip to the United States.'

4.2 Consequences

4.2.1 Case Marking of an External Argument

(35)*John-no Mary-to-no aiseki-o sita koto-ga nai
 John-Gen Mary-with-Gen table-sharing-Acc did fact-Nom Neg
 'John has never shared a table with Mary.'

4.2.2 The Ergativity Constraint

(36) a. *?Ya-ga mato-ni meityuu-o sita
 arrow-Nom target-Dat strike-Acc did
 'The arrow hit the target.' (Miyagawa 1989: 659)

b. *Ressya-ga Tokyoo-kara tootyaku-o sita
 train-Nom Tokyo-from arrival-Acc did
 'The train arrived from Tokyo.'

(37) [vP [VP [nP [NP Tokyoo-kara ressyaa tootyaku] n] su] v]
 Tokyo-from train arrival <UA/P> do <UA/P>

: The clausal case domain = the accessible domain of v

: The nominal case domain = the accessible domain of n

4.2.3 Indeterminate Pronouns

(38) a. Taroo-wa Hanako-ni [dare-ga warui]-to-mo iwa-nakat-ta
 Taro-Top Hanako-Dat anyone-Nom fault-that-MO say-Neg-Past
 Lit. 'Taro did not say to Hanako that anyone was wrong.'

b. *Taroo-wa dare-ni [Hanako-ga warui]-to-mo iwa-nakat-ta
 Taro-Top anyone-Dat Hanako-Nom fault-that-MO say-Neg-Past
 Lit. 'Taro did not say to anyone that Hanako was wrong.'

(Fukui and Sakai 2006: 330)

(39) a. *Taroo-wa dare-ni hon-mo watasa-nakat-ta
 Taro-Top anyone-Dat book-MO hand-Neg-Past
 'Taro did not hand a book to anyone.'

b. Taroo-wa dare-ni soodan-mo si-nakat-ta
 Taro-Top anyone-Dat consultation-MO do-Neg-Past
 'Taro did not consult anyone.' (Kishimoto 2001: 624)

- (40) John-wa [_{NP} *t*_{John} dare-ni soodan]-mo si-nakat-ta
 John-Top anyone-Dat consultation-MO do-Neg-Past

4.2.4 Toplicazation, Relativization, Clefting, and Scrambling

- (41) a. John-wa [Tokyoo-ni ryokoo]-o sita
 John-Top [Tokyo-to trip]-Acc did
 'John made a trip to Tokyo.'
- b. Topicalization
 ***Ryokoo_i-wa** John-ga [Tokyoo-ni *e_j*] sita
trip-Top John-Top Tokyo-to did (Matsumoto 1996: 114)
- c. Relativization
 *[John-ga [Tokyoo-ni *e_j*] sita] **ryokoo_i**
 John-Nom Tokyo-to did **trip**
 Lit. 'the trip John made to Tokyo'
- d. Clefting
 *[[**OP_i** [John-ga [Tokyoo-ni *t_j*] sita]]-no]-wa ryokoo_i-o da
 John-Nom Tokyo-to did-Comp-Top trip-Acc be
 Lit. 'It is the trip that John made to Tokyo.'
- e. Passivization
 ***Ryokoo-wa_i** John-ni-yotte [Tokyoo-ni *t_j*] s-are-ta
trip-Top John-by Tokyo-to do-Passive-Past
 Lit. 'The trip was made to Tokyo by John.'
- f. Scrambling
 *John-ga **ryokoo-o_i** Tokyoo-ni *t_j* sita
 John-Nom **trip-Acc** Tokyo-to did
 'John made a trip to Tokyo.'
 ***Ryokoo-o_i** John-ga Tokyoo-ni *t_j* sita
trip-Acc John-Nom Tokyo-to did
- (42) a. John-ga [kagaku-no ronbun]-o kaita
 John-Nom [chemistry-Gen paper]-Acc wrote
 'John wrote a paper on chemistry.'
- b. Topicalization
 ***Ronbun_i-wa** John-ga [kagaku-no *e_j*](*-o*) kaita
paper-Top John-Nom chemistry-Gen(*-Acc*) wrote

c. Relativization

*[John-ga [kagaku-no e_i]($-o$) kaita] **ronbun_i**

John-Nom chemistry-Gen(-Acc) wrote paper

Lit. 'the paper that John wrote on chemistry'

d. Clefting

*[[**OP_i** [John-ga [kagaku-no t_i] kaita]]-no]-wa ronbun_i-o da

John-Nom chemistry-Gen wrote-Comp-Top paper-Acc be

Lit. 'It is the paper that John wrote on chemistry.'

e. Passivization

* **Ronbun_i-wa** John-ni-yotte [kagaku-no t_i] kak-are-ta

paper-Top John-by chemistry-Gen write-Passive-Past

Lit. 'The paper was written on chemistry by John.'

f. Scrambling

*John-ga **ronbun-o_i** kagaku-no t_i kaita

John-Nom **paper-Acc** chemistry-Gen wrote

'John wrote a paper on chemistry.'

***Ronbun-o_i** John-ga kagaku-no t_i kaita

paper-Acc John-Nom chemistry-Gen wrote

(43) John-ga yooroppa-e(-no) ryokoo-o sita

John-Nom Europe-to(-Gen) trip-Acc did

'John made a trip to Europe.'

(44) Topicalization

a. ***[Yooroppa-e ryokoo]_i-wa** John-ga e_i sita

Europe-to trip-Top John-Nom did

'John made a trip to Europe.'

b. **[Yooroppa-e-no ryokoo]_i-wa** John-ga e_i sita

Europe-to-Gen trip-Top John-Nom did

(45) Relativization

a. *John-ga e_i sita **[yooroppa-e ryokoo]_i**

John-Nom did **Europe-to trip**

Lit. 'the trip John made to Europe'

b. John-ga e_i sita **[yooroppa-e-no ryokoo]_i**

John-Nom did **Europe-to-Gen trip**

- (46) [_{NP} *t*_{John} [[_{NP} yooroppa-e(-no) ryokoo] *n*]]_i-wa **John-ga** *e_i* sita
 Europe-to(-Gen) trip-Top John-Nom did
 'John made a trip to Europe.'

- (47) Müller's (1996) Generalization

A trace with a (not necessarily c-commanding) antecedent in a position of type α must not be dominated by a category in a position of the same type α .

- (48) [[_{NP} *t*_{John} [[_{NP} yooroppa-e-no ryokoo] *n*]]_i-wa [[_{TP} John-ga *t_i* sita] C]]
 Europe-to-Gen trip-Top John-Nom did

5. Constraints on the Distribution of Arguments

5.1 Grimshaw and Mester's (1988) Constraints on Argument Transfer

- (49) a. At least one non-subject argument of a verbal noun must be transferred to a light verb.
 b. An argument cannot be transferred unless all thematically higher arguments are transferred as well.
- (50) The subject argument must be transferred to a light verb.
- (51) ?John-ga Bill-to-**no** aiseki-o sita
 John-Nom Bill-with-**Gen** table-sharing-Acc did
 'John is sharing a table with Bill.' (Grimshaw and Mester 1988: 218)
- (52) a. ?Sono deeta-ga [wareware-e-**no** [kare-no riron-ga matigatte iru to]-**no**
 that data-Nom [us-to-**Gen** [he-Gen theory-Nom mistaken be Comp]-**Gen**
 syoomei]-o site-iru
 proof-Acc doing-be (Grimshaw and Mester 1988: 215-6)
 b. Sono deeta-ga [wareware-e-**no** [kare-no riron-ga matigatte iru
 that data-Nom us-to-**Gen** [he-Gen theory-Nom mistaken be
koto]-**no** syoomei]-o site-iru
 Comp]-**Gen** proof-Acc doing-be
- (53) a. Sono deeta-ga **wareware-ni** [[**kare-no riron-ga matigatte iru to**]-no
 GOAL THEME
 that data-Nom us-to he-Gen theory-Nom mistaken be Comp-Gen
 syoomei]-o site-iru
 proof-Acc doing-be
 'That data proves to us that his theory is mistaken.'

- b. *Sono deeta-ga [**kare-no riron-ga matigatte iru to**][**wareware-e-no**
 THEME GOAL
 that data-Nom he-Gen theory-Nom mistaken be Comp us-to-Gen
 syoomei]-o site-iru
 proof-Acc doing-be (Grimshaw and Mester 1988: 224)

- (54) a. Karera-wa **soko-e [sono bussi-no yusoo]-o** suru rasii
 GOAL THEME
 they-Top there-to the goods-Gen transport-Acc do seem
 'It seems that they will transport the goods there.'
- b. Karera-wa **sono bussi-mo [soko-e-no yusoo]-o** suru rasii
 THEME GOAL
 they-Top the goods-even there-to-Gen transport-Acc do seem
 'It seems that they will transport the goods there, too.'
- (Matsumoto 1996: 118)

5.2 Distribution of Genitive-Marked Elements and Non-Genitive -Marked Elements

- (55) a. John-ga [amerika-e 10-nen buri-ni kikoku]-o suru rasii
 John-Nom [America-to after 10-years return]-Acc do seem
 'It seems that John will return to his country, the United States, after 10
 years of absence.'
- b. John-ga [amerika-e 10-nen buri-**no** kikoku]-o suru rasii
 John-Nom [America-to after 10-years-**Gen** return]-Acc do seem
- c. *John-ga [amerika-e-**no** 10-nen buri-ni kikoku]-o suru rasii
 John-Nom [Americak-to-**Gen** after 10-years return]-Acc do seem
- d. John-ga [amerika-e-**no** 10-nen buri-**no** kikoku]-o suru rasii
 John-Nom [America-to-**Gen** after 10-years-**Gen** return]-Acc do seem
- (56) a. John-ga [10-nen buri-ni amerika-e kikoku]-o suru rasii
 John-Nom [after 10-years America-to return]-Acc do seem
 'It seems that John will return to his country, the United States, after 10
 years of absence.'
- b. John-ga [10-nen buri-ni amerika-e-**no** kikoku]-o suru rasii
 John-Nom [after 10-years America-to-**Gen** return]-Acc do seem
- c. * John-ga [10-nen buri-**no** amerika-e kikoku]-o suru rasii
 John-Nom [after 10-years-**Gen** America-to return]-Acc do seem
- d. John-ga [10-nen buri-**no** amerika-e-**no** kikoku]-o suru rasii
 John-Nom [after 10-years-**Gen** America-to-**Gen** return]-Acc do seem

- (57) a. There is a dependency between *n* and a genitive-case-marked element.
 b. There is a dependency between *v/C* and a non-genitive-case-marked element.

- (58) a. ...[[NP Amerika-e 10-nen buri-**no** kikoku] *n*] su] *v*]

America-to	after 10-years- Gen	return	do
- b. *...[[NP Amerika-e-**no** 10-nen buri kikoku] *n*] su] *v*]

America-to- Gen	after 10-years	return	do

6. Some Speculations on Verbal Nouns

- (59) The Root Hypothesis (Pesetsky 1995, Marantz 1997)

A root is category-neutral; its category is determined by a syntactic environment where it appears.

- (60) { α , {destroy, OBJ}}

- (61) The notion of accessible domain based on PF-phasehood is crucial for determining the category of a root.

(e.g.)

- a. If a root appears in the accessible domain of *v*, it becomes a verb.
 b. If a root appears in the accessible domain of *n*, it becomes a noun.

- (62) John-ga Bill-to(-no) aiseki-o sita koto-ga nai
 John-Nom Bill-with(-Gen) table-sharing-Acc did Comp-Nom Neg
 'John has never shared a table with Bill.'

- (63) [_{VP} [_{VP} [_{NP} John [[_{NP} Mary-to(-no) **aiseki**] *n*]] su] *v*]
 John Mary-with(-Gen) **table-sharing** do

7. Conclusion

References:

- Cecchetto, Carlo. 2004. Explaining the locality condition of QR: Consequences for the theory of phase. *Natural language semantics* 12:345-397.
 Cecchetto, C. 2005. QR in the theory of phases. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 49:103-114.
 Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
 Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
 Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries. In *In Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
 Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
 Chomsky, Noam. 2004. Beyond explanatory adequacy. In *Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of*

- Syntactic Structures Volume 3*, ed. by Adriana Belletti, 104-131. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2005. On phases. Ms., MIT.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2006. Approaching UG from below. Ms., MIT.
- Dubinsky, Stanley. 1990. Light verbs and predicate demotion in Japanese. In *Grammatical Relations: A Cross-Theoretical Perspective*, ed. by Katarzyna Dzewirek, Patrick Farrel, and Errapel Meijias-Bikandi, 127-145. Stanford: The Stanford Linguistics Association.
- Fukui, Naoki, and Hiromu Sakai. 2006. The visibility guideline for functional categories: Verb raising in Japanese and related issues. In *Theoretical Comparative Syntax*, by Naoki Fukui, 289-336. New York: Routledge.
- Grimshaw, Jane. 1990. *Argument structure*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Grimshaw, Jane, and Armin Mester. 1988. Light verbs and θ -marking. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19:205-232.
- Felser, Claudia. 2003. Wh-coping, phases, and successive cyclicity. *Lingua* 114:543-574.
- Hasegawa, Nobuko. 1991. On head movement in Japanese: The case of verbal nouns. *Zyooti Daigaku Gengogakkai Kaihoo 6 (Proceedings of the 6th Sophia Linguistics Conference)*:8-32.
- Huang, C.-T. James. 1997. On lexical structure and syntactic projection. *Chinese Languages and Linguistics* 3:45-89.
- Ishii, Toru. to appear. Discontinuous antecedents and radical reconstruction. *WECOL 2007 Proceedings*, University of California, San Diego.
- Kageyama, Taro. 1991. Light verb constructions and the syntax-morphology interface. In *Current English Linguistics in Japan*, ed. by Heizo Nakajima, 169-203. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kageyama, Taro. 1993. *Bunpoo to Gokeisei (Grammar and Word Formation)*. Tokyo: Hituzi Syoboo.
- Kishimoto, Hideki. 2001. Binding of indeterminate pronouns and clause structure in Japanese. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32:597-633.
- Laka, Miren. 1990. Negation in syntax: On the nature of functional categories and projections. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Marantz, Alec. 1997. No escape from syntax. *UPenn Working Papers in Linguistics* 4:201-225.
- Marušič, Franc. 2005. *On non-simultaneous phases*. Doctoral dissertation, Stony Brook University.
- Matsumoto, Yo. 1996. A syntactic account of light verb phenomena in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 5:107-149.
- Matsushansky, Ora. 2005. Going through a phase. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 49:157-181.
- Megerdooimian, Karine. 2002. *Beyond words and phrases: A unified theory of predicate composition*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1989. Light verbs and the ergativity hypothesis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:659-668.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1990. Case realization and scrambling, Ms. Ohio State University.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2001. The EPP, scrambling, and wh-in-situ. In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 293-338. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Müller, Gereon. 1996. A constraint on remnant movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14.2:355-407.
- Nissenbaum, Jonathan. 2000. *Investigations of covert phrase movement*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Pesetsky, David. 1995. *Zero Syntax: Experiences and Cascades*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Phillips, Colin. 1996. Order and structure. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Saito, Mamoru, and Hiroto Hoshi. 2000. Japanese light verb construction and the minimalist program. In *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 261-295. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Simon, Mutsuko Endo. 1989. *An Analysis of the Postposing Construction in Japanese*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan.
- Sells, Peter. 1989. More on light verbs and theta-marking. Ms., Stanford University.
- Tsujimura, Natsuko. 1990. Ergativity of nominals and Case assignment. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:277-288.
- Tsujimura, Natsuko. 2007. *An Introduction to Japanese Linguistics (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Uchida, Yoshiko, and Mineharu Nakayama. 1993. Japanese verbal noun constructions. *Linguistics* 31:623-666.

Toru Ishii
School of Arts and Letters
Meiji University
1-1 Kandasurugadai, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo, 101-8301 JAPAN
E-mail: tishii@kisc.meiji.ac.jp