

# LIGHT VERBS AND VERB RAISING\*

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Grimshaw and Mester (1988) observe some peculiarities of the Japanese light verb *suru* and argue that they can be explained by Argument Transfer with the assumption of the hierarchical organization of the argument structure. In this paper we will note some problems with their analysis, and propose an alternative analysis. In this analysis, the peculiarity of the light *suru* construction is minimized to the possibility of Raising of *suru* to INFL position, leaving the nominal stem behind. Other peculiarities Grimshaw and Mester consider to be explained by Argument Transfer follow from independently motivated principles, or become independent of light *suru*.

## 1. Introduction

Grimshaw and Mester (1988, henceforth G & M) investigate the behavior of  $\theta$ -marking with the Japanese verb *suru*, which they argue is thematically incomplete or 'light',<sup>1</sup> According to them, *suru* subcategorizes and Case-marks a direct object NP, without assigning it a  $\theta$ -role. They also argue that the *suru* construction is properly understood as a case of Argument Transfer, where both *suru* and the head of the object NP act as  $\theta$ -markers and have their own  $\theta$ -marking domain, even though the entire  $\theta$ -marking capacity resides ultimately in the Noun.

According to their analysis, the object NPs<sup>2</sup> of *suru* in the following

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<sup>1</sup> *Suru* is actually a combination of the verb stem *su* (or *shi*) and the present Tense marker *ru*. Thus it is more appropriate to say that *su* (or *shi*) is the verb. In this paper, however, we will informally use *suru* to refer to the verb stem. There also exists heavy *suru*. According to G & M, the ambiguity between heavy *suru* and light *suru* is very similar to that between English auxiliary *do* and the main verb *do*. They claim that the object of heavy *suru* shows none of the characteristics of the object of light *suru* (cf. section 1). And heavy *suru*, unlike light *suru*, places thematic restrictions on the subject, which has to be, roughly speaking, agentive.

<sup>2</sup> They consider *hanashi*, *shuppatsu*, and *keikoku* in the light *suru* construction to be NPs, but we will treat them as Ns in our alternative analysis. They, however, are NPs with the heavy

sentences (i.e., *hanashi*, *shuppatsu*, and *keikoku*) are originally responsible for  $\theta$ -assignment of the arguments.

- (1) a. John-ga Mary-ni hanashi-o shita.  
       -nom    -to   talk-acc suru-Past  
       ‘John talked to Mary.’  
 b. John-ga Tookyoo-kara shuppatsu-o shita.  
       -nom            -from departure-acc suru-Past  
       ‘John departed from Tokyo.’  
 c. John-ga murabito-ni ookami-ga kuru-to keikoku-o shita.  
       -nom villager-to wolf-nom come-COMP warn-acc suru-Past  
       ‘John warned the villagers that the wolf was coming.’

Their claim that the argument array in above sentences is determined by the object of *suru* is based on the following nominal constructions, where the same set of arguments is seen to occur.

- (2) a. John-no Mary-e<sup>3</sup>-no hanashi  
       -gen    -to-gen talk  
       ‘John’s talk to Mary’  
 b. John-no Tookyoo-kara-no shuppatsu  
       -gen            -from-gen departure  
       ‘John’s departure from Tokyo’  
 c. John-no murabito-no ookami-ga kuru-to-no keikoku  
       -gen villager-gen wolf-nom come-COMP-gen warning  
       ‘John’s warning to the villagers that the wolf is coming’

If *hanashi* ‘talk’, *shuppatsu* ‘departure’, and *keikoku* ‘warn’ in (1) assign the same  $\theta$ -roles as those in (2), they seem to violate the strict locality condition on  $\theta$ -marking (i.e., the sisterhood condition), since the arguments in (1), according to G & M, occur outside the maximal projection of the  $\theta$ -assigner.

To solve this apparent problem, G & M postulate the Argument Transfer operation, by which some or all of the  $\theta$ -role assigning capacity of the Noun is transferred to the light verb *suru*. By this Argument Transfer *suru* in (1) obtains the capacity to assign  $\theta$ -roles to the arguments of *hanashi*,

*suru*.

<sup>3</sup> According to G & M, the postposition *-ni* may not occur before the genitive Case marker *-no*. So *-ni* before *-no* is replaced by *-e* inside NPs.

*shuppatsu*, and *keikoku*, respectively, apparently satisfying the locality condition on  $\theta$ -marking.<sup>4</sup>

Argument Transfer, however, cannot be a syntactic operation, since for it to be a syntactic operation, the following D-structure should be possible in the first place (cf. (1c)).

(3) [<sub>NP</sub> John-no murabito-e-no ookami-ga kuru-to-no keikoku]-o shita.

In (3) the arguments *John*, *murabito-e*, and *ookami-ga kuru-to* occur inside the NP. According to G & M, *keikoku* in (3) is not assigned a  $\theta$ -role by *suru*. Considering that D-structure is a representation of  $\theta$ -role assignment (Chomsky 1981:39), a D-structure representation can never contain an argument which is not assigned a  $\theta$ -role. Thus it seems to be problematic to assume that *keikoku* in (3) is inserted at D-structure without being assigned a  $\theta$ -role.

Even if (3) is a possible D-structure representation, Argument Transfer cannot derive (1c) from (3) by a syntactic movement without violating the ECP.<sup>5</sup> If (1c) is derived from (3) by a syntactic movement, the structure will be as follows.

(4) John-ga<sub>i</sub> murabito-ni<sub>j</sub> ookami-ga kuru-to<sub>k</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>k</sub> keikoku]-o shita.

As the NP in (4) is not assigned a  $\theta$ -role by *suru*, it is not L-marked (cf. Chomsky 1986b), as a consequence of which it is a BC and a barrier. Thus the traces in (4) cannot be governed by the antecedent. And nouns are not proper governors. So the representation in (4) should be ruled out by the ECP.

If Argument Transfer cannot be a syntactic operation, the only remaining possibility is that it is a lexical operation as G & M assume. This raises a question of why Transfer takes (in fact, in G & M's analysis, should take) place. G & M suggest that it occurs to avoid a  $\theta$ -Criterion violation. They suggest that such Transfer licenses the object of light *suru* by making it participate in  $\theta$ -assignment. This amounts to saying that such an NP cannot participate in  $\theta$ -assignment without Transfer. We do not see why this

<sup>4</sup> They do not include the VP node in their structures. If Japanese should have the VP node as argued for by Saito (1985), it is impossible to assume that V assigns  $\theta$ -role to the subject, since such  $\theta$ -assignment violates the sisterhood condition on  $\theta$ -marking. To solve this problem, we need to assume that subject  $\theta$ -role is assigned by predication.

<sup>5</sup> Such a derivation has another problem in that the chain (John-ga, t<sub>i</sub>) in (4) is assigned two Cases (i.e., nominative and genitive), causing Case conflict.

should be so, since such NPs always participate in  $\theta$ -assignment within the NP even before Transfer. With respect to this point, Armin Mester (personal communication) suggests to us that the actual requirement might be that they should participate in  $\theta$ -assignment on a clause level (i.e., outside the NP). We are not sure, however, whether such a suggestion can be compatible with their assumption that Argument Transfer is a lexical operation, in the sense that a clause is basically a syntactic notion. In addition, their approach raises a question of how a lexical operation can be triggered by a syntactic principle like  $\theta$ -Criterion.

Apart from these technical and conceptual problems, such a treatment inevitably complicates the Lexicon.

- (5) a. *keikoku* (Agent, Goal, Theme)  
 b. *keikoku* (Theme)  
 c. *keikoku* ( )
- (6) a. *suru* ( ) <acc>  
 b. *suru* (Agent, Goal) <acc>  
 c. *suru* (Agent, Goal, Theme) <acc>

(5a) is the lexical entry for *keikoku* when no Transfer takes place. (5b) is the one when Agent and Goal are transferred to *suru*. (5c) is the one when all the arguments are transferred to *suru*. To prevent a Projection Principle violation, it is necessary to stipulate that (5a, b, c) should be combined with (6a, b, c) respectively. This in essence amounts to saying that there are 3 kinds of *keikokusuru* in the Lexicon. In addition, it is also necessary to stipulate that (5b, c) should not be chosen for a nominal construction. We think that such stipulations are not attractive, and that it will be better if we can explain the peculiar behavior of the light *suru* in Japanese, if any, without resorting to them.

In this paper, we will propose an alternative analysis which does not invoke problematic Argument Transfer, and does not complicate the Lexicon. In the first section, we will briefly overview G & M's observations of some peculiarities of the *suru* construction and their accounts based on Argument Transfer together with the hierarchical organization of argument structure. In the second section, we will propose an alternative analysis, which we call Verb Raising Analysis. In the third section, we will show how the peculiarities of the *suru* construction can be explained in the Verb Raising Analysis.

## 2. Argument Transfer Analysis

G & M (p. 215) observe the following things with respect to the *suru* construction.

- (7) i) At least one argument apart from the subject must be outside the NP.  
 ii) The subject argument must always be outside the NP.  
 iii) For Nouns that take a Theme and a Goal, if the Theme argument is realized outside NP, the Goal must also be realized outside NP.

G & M provide the following examples to support their generalization in (7.i).

- (8) a. sono deeta-ga wareware-ni [kare-no riron-ga machigatte  
 that data-nom us-to he-gen theory-nom mistaken  
 iru-to] shoomei-o shiteiru.  
 be-COMP proof-acc suru  
 'The data proves to us that his theory is mistaken.'  
 b. sono deeta-ga wareware-ni [[kare-no riron-ga machigatte iru-to]-no  
 shoomei]-o shiteiru.  
 c. \*sono deeta-ga [wareware-e-no [kare-no riron-ga machigatte iru-  
 to]-no shoomei]-o shiteiru.

According to them, all the three arguments are outside the NP *shoomei* in (8a), and the two arguments (including the subject) are outside the NP in (8b). In (8c), however, only the subject occurs outside the NP and other arguments are inside the NP. Hence they generalize that at least one non-subject argument must be outside the NP.

The following sentences show that once a non-subject argument occurs outside the NP, the subject argument should also do so.

- (9) a. John-ga Mary-ni hanashi-o shita.  
 -nom -to talk-acc suru-Past  
 'John talked to Mary.'  
 b. \*Mary-ni John-no hanashi-o shita.

In (9a), the subject as well as *Mary-ni* appears outside *hanashi*, whereas in

(9b) *Mary-ni*, but not the subject, appears outside the NP.

To explain the above-mentioned two observations in terms of Argument Transfer, G & M assume the following. First they assume that the external argument structure position corresponding to the subject of a Verb is lexically suppressed for Nouns, rather than internalized as suggested in Williams (1981). And they, following Stowell (1981), assume that  $\theta$ -marking is assignment of an index from a position in an argument structure to the corresponding phrase. And they define a suppressed argument as an argument position with no index to assign. For example, *shoomei* 'proof' takes three arguments: Agent/Source, Goal and Theme. Since it is a Noun, the Agent/Source (subject) position is suppressed as shown in (10), and has no associated index.

(10) *shoomei* (Agent/Source, Goal<sub>j</sub>, Theme<sub>k</sub>)

Then they put a constraint on Transfer in such a way that suppressed argument (i.e., argument with no index) may not be visible for argument structure operation. To put it another way, the Noun must transfer to *suru* at least one argument with an index. This, according to G & M, is the reason why there should be at least one non-subject argument occurring outside the NP.

Then why should the subject argument always transfer? They claim that this is because Transfer respects hierarchical organization of argument structure. According to them, the argument structure of *shoomei* is as follows.

(11) *shoomei* (Agent/Source (Goal<sub>j</sub>, Theme<sub>k</sub>))

As the Noun should transfer to *suru* at least one argument with an index, either Goal or Theme at least should be transferred. And the reason that the subject should also be transferred when Goal is transferred, according to them, is because Transfer acts in a top-down fashion, preserving the structural organization of the argument structure. Thus it cannot remove a lower argument structure without removing all the higher arguments also. This is why an outcome should be disallowed in which the Goal has been transferred, and the Agent is not, as in (9b).

To explain their observation in (7.iii), they further assume that internal arguments of *shoomei* is also hierarchically organized as follows.

(12) *shoomei* (Agent/Source (Goal<sub>j</sub> (Theme<sub>k</sub>)))

Thus whenever Theme is transferred, the other arguments (Agent/Source and Goal) should also occur outside the NP.<sup>6</sup>

### 3. Verb Raising Analysis

In section 1, we introduced G & M's observations about the light *suru* construction and their accounts. In this section, we will propose our analysis of the same construction. We will show how those observations can be explained in our analysis in section 3. Before we propose our analysis, we would like to assume that N+*suru* compounds as well as Ns are all contained in the Lexicon. In other words, *keikokusuru* 'to warn', for instance, is a lexical entry of a verb, whereas *keikoku* 'warn' is a lexical entry of a noun. This is just like the English Lexicon contains *destroy* as well as *destruction*, for instance. Thus we have only one kind of lexical entry *keikokusuru* in the Lexicon, of which argument structure is the same as that of *keikoku*.<sup>7</sup>

Based on that, we think that the D-structure of (1c), repeated below, is (13). (The same also applies to (8a).)

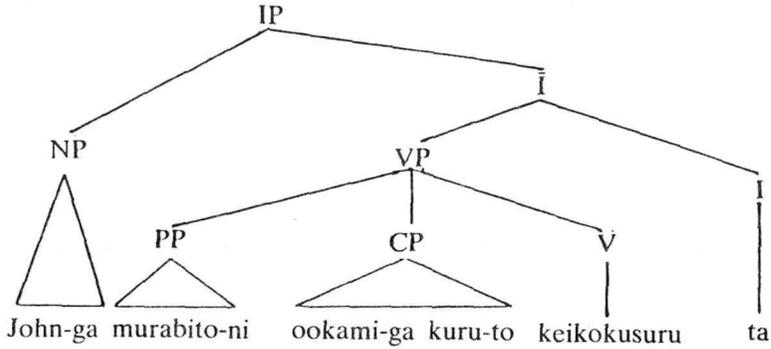
- (1) c. John-ga murabito-ni ookami-ga kuru-to keikoku-o shita.  
           -nom villager-to wolf-nom come-COMP warn-acc suru-Past  
           'John warned the villagers that the wolf was coming'.

<sup>6</sup> It is not clear whether this really establishes the hierarchical organization of argument structure, since it may also be said that Argument Transfer respects the linear order of argument structure.

<sup>7</sup> This is not to deny the fact that there is a systematic relation between the nouns like *keikoku* and their verbal counterparts. However, it is not true that all the Japanese nouns can have N+*suru* forms. It is not also true that all the Sino-Japanese nouns can have N+*suru* forms, since the following forms are not possible.

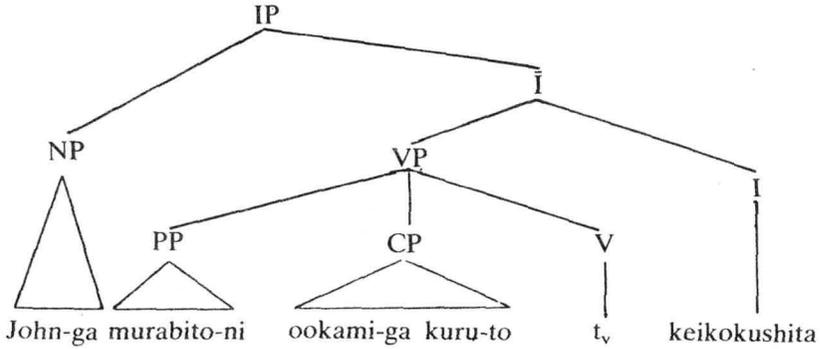
hinkoo	'behavior'	*hinkoosuru
suimin	'sleep'	*suiminsuru

Thus we think that the Japanese Lexicon should somehow specify whether or not a given noun can form a verbal counterpart in combination with *suru*. This, we think, amounts to saying that both the nouns and the N+*suru* forms are listed in the Lexicon.

(13)<sup>8</sup>

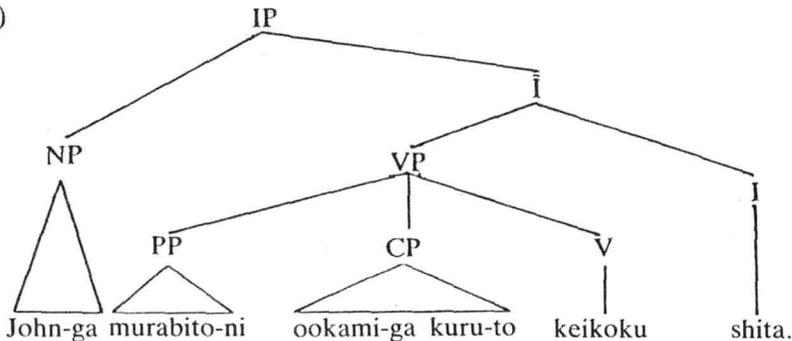
We will assume that Verb Raising in the sense of Chomsky (1986b) also takes place in Japanese. If Raising of the verb *keikokusuru* takes place in (13), the structure will be the following.

(14)



With respect to (1c), we would like to assume that the morphological boundary of the complex *N+suru* is not so strong, as a consequence of which *suru* alone can also undergo Verb Raising, leaving the noun part behind. After Verb Raising of *suru*, (13) will look like the following.

(15)



<sup>8</sup> In this paper we will assume that  $S$  and  $\bar{S}$  are projections of INFL and COMP, respectively.

So the characteristic thing of the light *suru* construction is that the Raising of *suru* can make a noun appear under the V node. Following G & M, we will also assume, not unreasonably, that *suru* is an accusative Case-assigner. Then the raised *suru* assigns Case to the VP headed by *keikoku*. As *keikoku* without *suru* is a noun, it can bear the Case assigned by *suru*, deriving (1c). In such an analysis *keikoku* in (15) cannot be a maximal projection NP contra G & M. Instead, it is an  $X^0$  level element. And there is no need to postulate Argument Transfer to explain (1c), since  $\theta$ -roles are assigned to the arguments by *keikokusuru* 'to warn' at D-structure.

Case assignment by a light verb is also found in Korean, which is typologically very closely related to Japanese. Korean behaves basically the same as Japanese in this respect. The following are Korean sentences corresponding to (1a, b, c), respectively.

- (16) a. John-i Mary-eykey iyaki-lul ha-ess-ta.  
           -nom -to talk-acc do-Past-Dec  
           'John talked to Mary.'
- b. John-i Seoul-eyse chwulpal-ul ha-ess-ta.  
           -nom -from departure-acc to-Past-Dec  
           'John departed from Seoul.'
- c. John-i maulsalamtul-eykey ili-ka on-n-ta-ko  
           -nom villagers-to wolf-nom come-Prog-Dec-COMP  
           kyengko-lul ha-ess-ta.  
           warn-acc do-Past-Dec  
           'John warned the villagers that the wolf was coming.'

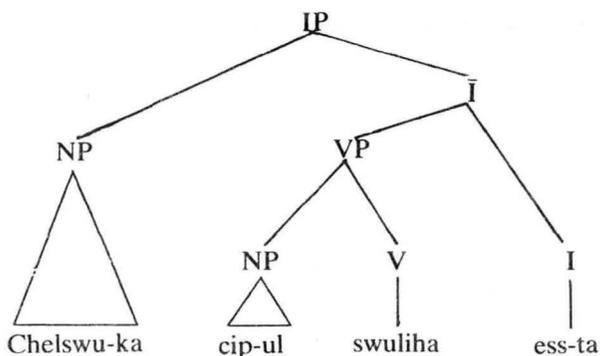
Above sentences can be treated on a par with Japanese counterparts. To put it more specifically, *iyakiha* 'to talk', *chwulpalha* 'to depart', *kyengkoha* 'to warn' are complex verbs of N+*ha* and the morphological boundary between N and *ha* is not so strong, as a consequence of which *ha* alone can undergo Verb Raising. In such a case, *ha* assigns accusative Case to the remaining Nouns, i.e., *iyaki* 'talk', *chwulpal* 'departure', and *kyengko* 'warn', deriving (16a, b, c).

In Korean *ha* can function as a dummy verb which supports the stranded Tense (Han 1987). This takes place when the Negation morpheme *ani* is inserted after the verb, as shown in the following.

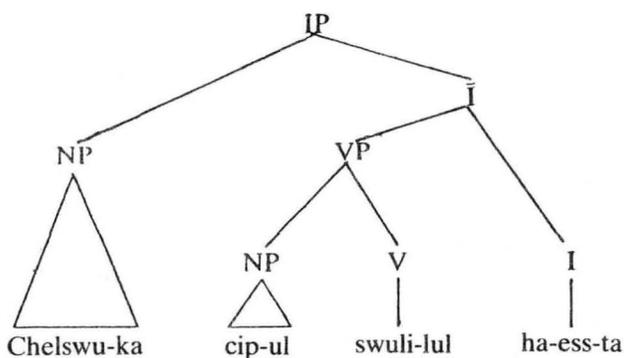
following Chomsky (1986b:3). For arguments that INFL is the head of S in Korean, see Han (1987). We will also assume that choice of  $\bar{X}$  is forced when there is a specifier, otherwise optional (Chomsky 1986b:4).



(20)



(21)



So the NP *cip* is assigned accusative Case by the transitive verb *swuliha* 'to repair', and *swuli* is marked with accusative due to the raised *ha*. One consequence of our analysis is that we need not adopt an unattractive assumption that the N *swuli* 'repair' somehow assigns accusative Case to its apparent object in (19).

If *swuliha* 'to repair' undergoes Verb Raising, the following will result.

(22) Chelswu-ka *cip-ul* swuliha-ess-ta.

Sentences like (19) are not possible in Japanese due to the double-*o* constraint.

#### 4. Explanation for G & M's observations

In this section we will examine how the alleged peculiarities of the light *suru* construction observed by G & M can be explained in our analysis.

In our analysis it is straightforward why subject argument must always be outside the domain of N. In the previous section we mentioned that the apparent object of light *suru* is not actually an NP, but an  $X^0$  level element, which is a noun in nature, stranded by Raising of *suru*. Under this assumption, subject should always appear outside the maximal projection of such an element (i.e., VP) just like any other ordinary subject. Thus one alleged peculiarity of the light *suru* construction disappears in our analysis.

The idea that the object of *suru* is not a maximal projection provides an account of why such an object cannot undergo Topicalization. G & M observe the following contrast, without providing any explanation for the ungrammaticality of (23b).

- (23) a. John-ga [ookami-ga kuru-to] hookoku-o shita.  
           -nom wolf-nom come-COMP report-acc suru-Past  
           'John reported that the wolf was coming.'  
       b. \*Hookoku-wa John-ga [ookami-ga kuru-to] shita.

Considering that Topicalization is possible only for phrases, the reason why (23b) is impossible becomes obvious. It is because a non-phrase is topicalized. This directly follows from the condition that  $X^0$  can move only to head position (cf. Chomsky 1986b). Topic position cannot be considered to be head position. Consequently, any movement of  $X^0$  to Topic position always results an ungrammatical sentence.<sup>10a,b</sup>

<sup>10.a</sup> The following sentence is slightly better than (23b).

- (i) ?ookami-ga kuru-to hookoku-wa John-ga shita.  
       wolf-nom come-COMP report-top -nom suru-Past

In (i) *ookami-ga kuru-to hookoku* is topicalized. In G & M's analysis, it is not clear why (i) should be better than (23b). In our analysis, it can be said that the reason (i) is better than (23b) is because *ookami-ga kuru-to hookoku* was originally a phrasal category (i.e., VP), whereas *hookoku* is an  $X^0$  level element. The marginality of (i) can be attributed to the Raising of *suru*. If the original VP (including *suru*) is topicalized, a grammatical sentence results.

- (ii) ookami-ga kuru-to hookokusuru-no-wa John-ga shita.

In Han (1987) we suggest that *no* in (ii) can be considered to be a dummy N inserted to resolve the Case resistance problem. To be more specific, we suggest that the topic marker in Korean

Our analysis does not allow such an N to assign genitive Case, since it was originally a part of a verb, and can never be in the environment for genitive Case assignment. Then how can we explain the grammaticality or ungrammaticality of the following sentences where such Ns assign genitive Case?

- (24) a. John-ga murabito-ni [<sub>np</sub> [<sub>cp</sub> ookami-ga kuru-to]-no  
           -nom villager-to           wolf-nom come-COMP-gen  
           keikoku]-o shita  
           warn-acc suru-Past  
           ‘John warned the villagers that the wolf was coming.’  
   b. \*John-ga [<sub>np</sub> murabito-e-no [<sub>cp</sub> ookami-ga kuru-to]-no keikoku]-o  
           shita.

According to G & M, (24a) is grammatical, since the internal argument Goal (which has an index) and the subject are both transferred, respecting the hierarchical organization of argument structure. In (24b), however, only the subject, a suppressed argument which does not have an index, is transferred. Therefore it is ungrammatical.

In our analysis (24a, b) cannot be derived from the D-structure (13), since (13) does not allow genitive Case assignment to the preceding CP or PP. We claim that only sentences like (1c) involve light *suru*, and that *suru* in sentences like (24a, b) is heavy *suru*. To put it more specifically, *suru* in (24a, b) is like English main verb *do*, and assigns object  $\theta$ -role to a preceding NP unlike *suru* in (1c). We think that heavy *suru* imposes a selectional restriction on its object NP. It is not clear to us, however, how to express such a restriction. Our idea at this point is that heavy *suru* cannot take a proposition (whether it is a derived nominal or a clause) as its object. It can only take a non-proposition (or an objective in the sense of Fillmore 1968) as its object. Such a restriction will always prevent a subject argument from

or in Japanese is an inherent Case assigner, and as the head of the VP (i.e., *ookami-ga kuru-to hookokusuru*) is also a Case assigner, there arises a Case resistance problem in the sense of Stowell (1981) in (ii). And *no* is inserted to resolve this problem. The second occurrence of *suru* can be considered to be a dummy V inserted to bear the stranded Tense (analogous to English Do Support or Korean Ha Support). This suggests that in Japanese also VP-proposing is possible and INFL exists as a syntactic node.

<sup>10.b</sup> Armin Mester and Peter Sells suggest to us (personal communications) that the ungrammaticality of (23b) may be due to the impossibility of Topicalization of predicates. Their suggestion, however, does not go through, if our analysis of (ii) is right, since there takes place Topicalization of the VP (presumably a predicate).

occurring inside the object NP of heavy *suru*. Whatever the exact nature of the selectional restriction of heavy *suru*, it is basically a lexical property and not a syntactic one.

Then how can we explain the contrast between (24a) and (24b)? We do not think that *murabito-ni* in (24a) is assigned  $\theta$ -role by the nominal head *keikoku* 'warn'. We think that *murabito-ni* is assigned  $\theta$ -role by the complex *keikoku-o suru*, just like *to us* in the following English sentence.

(25) John made a claim *to us* that the wolf was coming.

It is very unlikely that *to us* in (25) is assigned  $\theta$ -role by *claim*, even though it is the case in the following sentences.

- (26) a. John claimed *to us* that the wolf was coming.  
 b. John's claim *to us* that the wolf was coming

We think that G & M's effort to relate *murabito-ni* and *keikoku* in (24a) by Argument Transfer amounts to saying that *to us* in (25) is assigned  $\theta$ -role by *make* through Argument Transfer. Such an idea will eventually lead us to say that *make* in (25) does not assign  $\theta$ -role to *claim*, and Argument Transfer should take place to avoid a  $\theta$ -Criterion violation. This, we think, is an unnecessary complication of English Grammar, and also is against the intuition of native English speakers. We think that  $\theta$ -assignment in (24a) is basically the same as that in (25). Consequently, Argument Transfer is irrelevant for (24a). The unacceptability of (24b) is basically due to the same reason why it is difficult to treat *to us* in (25) to be a modifier of just *claim* instead of *make a claim*.

Finally let us consider why (9b), repeated below, is ungrammatical in our analysis.

- (9b) \*Mary-ni John-no hanashi-o shita.  
       -to       -gen talk-acc suru-Past  
       'John talked to Mary.'

According to G & M, (9b) is ungrammatical because the subject appears inside the NP. In our analysis *John* cannot be the subject of the whole sentence. This is because *suru* is heavy in (9b) (since it assigns genitive Case), and assigns the object  $\theta$ -role to an NP headed by *hanashi*. Given the mutual c-command condition on Predcate Linking (Rothstein 1983:11), the subject *John* should not be inside the projection of the object *hanashi*.

That is why (9b) is ungrammatical in the interpretation where *John* is the subject of the whole sentence.

(9b), however, can be grammatical, if it means 'e did the talk of John to Mary', meaning 'e talked to Mary about John.' This can be explained as follows in our analysis.

(27) [<sub>ip</sub> e [<sub>vp</sub> Mary-ni [<sub>np</sub> John-no hanashi]-o suru] Past]

In (27) subject position is empty, and *John-no hanashi* is the object of the verb *suru*. The empty subject cannot corefer with *John* due to Binding condition C.

## 5. Problems with the Verb Raising Analysis

The following example where the nominal stem *kyengko* 'warn' is modified by an adjective *sinsokhan* 'prompt' poses a problem for our analysis, as pointed out to us by Armin Mester (personal communication).<sup>11</sup>

(28) John-i maulsalamtul-eykey ili-ka o-n-ta-ko  
 -nom villagers-to wolf-nom come-Prog-Dec-COMP  
 sinsokhan kyengko-lul ha-ess-ta. (cf. 16c)  
 prompt warn-acc do-Past-Dec  
 'John promptly warned that the wolf was coming.'

If (16c) is derived from (29) as we argued in this paper, the possibility of (28) is unexpected since *kyengko* 'warn' in (28) cannot be a Noun at the D-structure level.

(16c) John-i maulsalamtul-eykey ili-ka o-n-ta-ko kyengko-lul ha-ess-ta.  
 (29) John-i maulsalamtul-eykey ili-ka o-n-ta-ko kyengkoha-ess-ta.

This is actually a problem for our analysis of the light verb construction in Japanese and Korean, which crucially assumes Verb Raising in these languages. At this point we do not have any good explanation for this.

However, the following example may pose a problem for G & M.

<sup>11</sup> Examples in (28) and (30) are from Korean. The same also applies to Japanese. According to our judgement, (28) is slightly worse than (30).

- (30) John-i maulsamtul-eykey ili-ka o-n-ta-ko  
 -nom villagers-to wolf-nom come-Prog-Dec-COMP  
 sinsokhi kyengko-lul ha-ess-ta. (cf. 16c)  
 promptly warn-acc do-Past-Dec  
 'John promptly warned that the wolf was coming.'

*Sinsokhi* 'promptly' in (30) is an adverb and it replaces the adjective *sinsokhan* 'prompt' in (28). If *kyengko* 'warn' in (30) is a noun as G & M argues, the possibility of its being modified by an adverb seems to be unexpected. And moreover, it is not true that nouns like *kyengko* can always be modified by an adjective, as the following examples illustrate.

- (31) a. Chelswu-ka cip-ul *kunsaha*key swuli-lul ha-ess-ta. (cf. 19)  
 -nom house-acc superbly repair-acc do-Past-Dec  
 'Chelswu remodeled the house superbly.'  
 b. \*Chelswu-ka cip-ul *kunsa*han swuli-lul ha-ess-ta.  
 superb

Thus as (28) poses a problem for our analysis, (31b) poses a problem for G & M.

Given that (28) cannot be a sufficient counterexample to dismiss our analysis and favor G & M's, we think that our analysis is still a viable one in the sense that it provides a unified account of accusative Case assignment which does not involve object  $\theta$ -role assignment as in light *ha* construction, post-verbal negation and some double accusative construction in Korean as well as in light *suru* construction in Japanese.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper we pointed out that Argument Transfer cannot be a syntactic operation, since it always violates the ECP. We also pointed out that it is hard to consider Argument Transfer to be a lexical operation, since given G & M's analysis, we should say that a lexical operation is triggered by a syntactic principle. As an alternative, we proposed the Verb Raising Analysis. In this analysis, the peculiarity of the light *suru* construction is minimized to the possibility of Raising of *suru* to INFL position, leaving the nominal stem behind. Other peculiarities G & M consider to be explained by Argument Transfer together with hierarchical organization of argument

structure follow from independently motivated principles like Predicate Linking, or become independent of light *suru*. Our analysis further provides a unified account of other instances of accusative Case assignment which does not involve object  $\theta$ -role assignment in Korean such as post-verbal negation and some double accusative construction.

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