

Clausal Case, Verbal Nouns and the Copula *NO* in Japanese

Author(s): Yasufumi Iwasaki

Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: General Session and Parasession on Pragmatics and Grammatical Structure (1997), pp. 161-173

Please see “How to cite” in the online sidebar for full citation information.

Please contact BLS regarding any further use of this work. BLS retains copyright for both print and screen forms of the publication. BLS may be contacted via <http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/bls/>.

The Annual Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society is published online via [eLanguage](#), the Linguistic Society of America's digital publishing platform.

Clausal Case, Verbal Nouns and the Copula *NO* in Japanese*

Yasufumi Iwasaki
Mie University

1. Introduction. Verbal nouns have been the focus of much research since Grimshaw and Mester (1988) because of their special properties bearing on theta theory and Case theory. This paper will discuss the syntactic structure of a verbal noun construction in example 1, shedding more light upon those properties.¹

- (1) Yamada-san ga tyuukosya o HANBAI no ori (ni)
 Yamada-Mr. NOM used cars ACC sale ? occasion (on)
 '(on) the occasion when Mr. Yamada sells used cars'

I refer to nominative and accusative Cases as clausal Case, and *ga* and *o* as clausal Case markers. HANBAI in 1 is a verbal noun or VN, and I highlight VNs in capital letters. As the name implies, VNs possess both verbal and nominal characteristics, and I will illustrate their dual character shortly. Theta-theoretically, HANBAI is the main predicate, taking two arguments *Yamada-san* and *tyuukosya*. I put a question mark in the gloss for *no*, because its categorial status is controversial. Example 1 is an NP, witness the fact that it can take the postposition *ni*. The example, therefore, raises this question: What licenses clausal Case markers *ga* and *o* in 1, although it is an NP in terms of its distribution?

To answer this question, one needs to account for the dual character of VNs, which is illustrated in 2.

- (2) a. Yamada-san no tyuukosya no HANBAI
 Yamada-Mr. GEN used cars GEN sale
 'Mr. Yamada's sale of used cars'
 b. Yamada-san ga tyuukosya o HANBAI-suru
 Yamada-Mr. NOM used cars ACC sale-do
 'Mr. Yamada sells used cars.'

In 2a, HANBAI is the head of an NP, taking two genitive-marked NP modifiers. It, then, behaves just like a regular noun. In 2b, HANBAI-*suru* is a complex predicate, and takes two NP arguments marked by clausal Case. HANBAI behaves like a verb in that it cooccurs with, and theta-marks, nominative and accusative NPs. VNs, thus, have both nominal and verbal characteristics.

I will argue in this paper that the dual character of VNs follows from the hypothesis that they do not always project as an NP. HANBAI projects in 2a, but does not in 2b. When they project as an NP, VNs behave just like a regular noun, exhibiting nominal characteristics. When they do not, they form a complex predicate and exhibit verbal characteristics. Specifically, I will argue that HANBAI in 1 does not project but forms a complex predicate with the copula *no*. Thus, example 1 has the structure shown in 3.

- (3) [_{NP} [_{IP} Yamada-san ga tyuukosya o [HANBAI no]] [_{NP} ori]]

Example 1 is analyzed as an NP whose head noun *ori* is modified by a relative clause with a complex predicate HANBAI *no*. This analysis explains the external

distribution of 1. As for clausal Case, the complex predicate assigns accusative Case to *tyuukosya*; and Infl of the relative clause, nominative Case to *Yamada-san*.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews previous analyses of 1. Section 3 shows that some occurrences of *no* are the nonfinite copula. In section 4, I will argue that *no* in 1 is also the nonfinite copula, and present my analysis of 1. Section 5 summarizes the main arguments of this paper.

2. Review of previous analyses. Faced with the dual character of VNs, previous attempts have either treated them as an N, attributing their verbal characteristics to their interaction with some verbal or functional element in their vicinity, or treated them as an underspecified category compatible with behaving as an N or a V. This section critically reviews Miyagawa (1991), Sato (1993), and Manning (1993).

2.1. Miyagawa (1991). Miyagawa (1991:6-19) claims that *ori* in 1 has an aspectual meaning, and that it is an Aspectual functional category ASP. ASP licenses clausal Case, and takes as its complement an NP whose head is a VN. The derivation of 1 under Miyagawa's account is given in 4.

(4) [_{ASP} Yamada-san_i ga [_{ASP} [_{NP} t_i tyuukosya o t_j] [_{ASP} HANBAI_j no ori]]]

In 4, HANBAI projects as an NP, and incorporates into ASP in order to assign accusative Case to *tyuukosya*. *Yamada-san* moves to the Spec of ASP phrase, where it is marked nominative. The verbal noun construction in 1, then, is an ASP phrase or a clause.

Miyagawa's analysis has two problems. First, contrary to his claim, aspectual nouns are irrelevant to the licensing of clausal Case, as shown in 5.

(5) Yamada-san ga tyuukosya o HANBAI no mise
 Yamada-Mr. NOM used cars ACC sale ? shop
 'the shop where Mr. Yamada sells used cars'

5 differs minimally from 1 in having *mise* instead of an aspectual noun *ori*. Nevertheless, clausal Case is licensed in this example as well. The presence of *ori* in 1, therefore, is irrelevant to the licensing of clausal Case. The second problem concerns the external distribution of 1. As Manning (1993) points out, Miyagawa's analysis wrongly predicts that 1 has the same distribution as a clause, but in fact its external syntax is exactly that of an NP.

2.2. Sato (1993). Sato (1993:124-189) bases his analysis of 1 on the parallelism between 1 and 2b. He takes VNs as an N and argues that in 2b the light verb *suru* is responsible for the verbal characteristics of HANBAI. Analogously, he posits a zero light verb in 1 and argues that it is responsible for the verbal characteristics of HANBAI. 6 shows his analysis of 1.

(6) [_{NP} [_{CP} [_{IP} Yamada-san ga [_{I'} [_{VP} tyuukosya o [_{V'} HANBAI [_V zero light verb]]]]] no] [_N ori]]

In 6, the temporal word *ori* takes a CP complement and licenses the occurrence of the zero light verb inside the CP. HANBAI and the zero light verb form a complex

underspecified category. From this it follows that nominative Case in 9 is licensed independently of *gakusei*. This, in turn, raises a question about Manning's analysis of 8. What licenses nominative Case in 8? Whatever it may be, the licenser of nominative Case in 9 may well be the licenser in 8 as well, and consequently the VN in 8 may not be underspecified.

3. Nominative *ga* and the copula *no* in Japanese. The category of *no* in examples like 1 has been controversial. In this section, I will demonstrate that some occurrences of *no* are the nonfinite attributive form of the copula, and in the next section I will argue that *no* in 1 is also the nonfinite copula.

There is no agreement about how many types of *no* should be recognized, but for the purpose of the present discussion I confine myself to only two types of *no*, which are illustrated in 10.

- (10) isya no musume (Sells 1996b)
 doctor COP/GEN daughter
 (i) 'my daughter who is a doctor' (copular use)
 (ii) 'the doctor's daughter' (genitive use)

10 is ambiguous with two readings. In the first reading (i), *no* functions like the copula, while in the second reading (ii) it functions like a genitive marker. Sells (1996b) refers to *no* here as the default linker, claiming that *no* is a single morpheme with various uses, including the copular use and the genitive use. However, I will claim, following Okutsu (1981:113-197), that the copula *no* and the genitive Case marker *no* are distinct morphemes.

I will present three arguments for recognizing the copula *no* as a morpheme distinct from the genitive Case marker. The first argument concerns the distribution and interpretation of *no*. Its distribution and interpretation correspond exactly to those of the present- and past-tense attributive forms of the copula. First, consider 11.

- (11) a. Taro ga imamonao dokusin da/de aru/*no
 Taro NOM still bachelor COP-PRE /COP-PRE/?
 'Taro is still a bachelor.'
 b. Taro ga imamonao dokusin *da/de aru/no riyuu wa
 Taro NOM still bachelor COP-PRE/COP-PRE/? reason TOP
 teisyoku ga nai kara desu
 steady job NOM not have because COP-PRE
 'The reason Taro is still a bachelor is that he does not have a steady job.'

In 11, *da* is the copula, and I take *de aru* as a periphrastic form of the copula. In 11a, *da* and *de aru* are called a conclusive form (i.e. a form used in matrix clauses). 11b contains 11a as a relative clause. *De aru* here is called an attributive form (i.e. a form used in relative clauses and noun complement constructions). In 11b, *no* can replace the attributive form *de aru* without any change in meaning. Note that *da* can occur only in 11a, while *no* can occur only in 11b. 11 seems to suggest that *no* is the attributive form of *da*, because *da* and *no* are complementary in distribution. However, this is not the case, as 12 shows.

- (12) a. Taro ga sakunen made dokusin datta/de atta/*no
 Taro NOM last year till bachelor COP-PAST/COP-PAST/?
 'Taro had been a bachelor till last year.'
- b. Taro ga sakunen made dokusin datta/de atta/no riyuu wa
 Taro NOM last year till bachelor COP-PAST/COP-PAST/? reason TOP
 teisyoku ga nakatta kara desu
 steady job NOM not had because COP-PRE
 'The reason Taro had been a bachelor till last year is that he did not
 have a steady job.'

In 12a, both *datta* and *de atta* can be used, while *no* cannot. 12b contains 12a as a relative clause. The copulas *datta* and *de atta* are a conclusive form in 12a and an attributive form in 12b. In 12b, *no* can replace the past-tense attributive forms of the copula *datta* and *de atta*. 11 and 12, then, show that *no* shares its distribution and interpretation with the present- and past-tense attributive form of the copula.

The second argument for the copula *no* is based on the cooccurrence of *no* with the nominative Case marker. Consider 11b and 12b again. *Dokusin* is a regular noun, and *Taro* is marked nominative. What assigns or licenses nominative Case here? Assuming the GB theory, we can take its assigner to be the Infl associated with the finite copula. However, nominative Case is still assigned when *no* replaces the copula. This fact is explained if *no* is a verbal element and is associated with Infl. But the fact is unexplained, if *no* is the genitive Case marker or the default linker. This argument, coupled with the first argument, leads us to conclude that *no* in 11b and 12b is the nonfinite attributive form of the copula.

The third and final argument for the copula *no* comes from the fact that the copula *na* shares the two properties of *no* discussed above. First, consider 13.

- (13) a. ryoosin ga imamo kenzai da/de aru/*na
 parents NOM still good health COP-PRE/COP-PRE/COP
 'My parents are still alive and well.'
- b. ryoosin ga imamo kenzai *da/de aru/na gakusei
 parents NOM still good health COP-PRE/COP-PRE/COP student
 'students whose parents are still alive and well'

In 13, *kenzai* is an adjectival noun (AN) or a noun with an adjectival meaning. In 13a, *da* and *de aru*, which are conclusive forms, can occur, but *na* cannot. 13a is embedded in 13b as a relative clause. In 13b, *de aru* and *na*, which are attributive forms, can occur, but *da* cannot. The copula *na* is an attributive form and takes ANs. This explains why *na* is unacceptable in 13a, but acceptable in 13b. 13b shows that the copula *na* shares its distribution and interpretation with the present-tense attributive form of the copula. However, this does not mean that *na* is the attributive form of *da*. Consider 14.

- (14) a. ryoosin ga sono toozi mada kenzai datta/de atta/*na
 parents NOM that time still good health COP-PAST/COP-PAST/COP
 'My parents were still alive and well at that time.'

- b. ryoosin ga sono toozi mada kenzai datta/de atta/na
 parents NOM that time still good health COP-PAST/COP-PAST/COP
 gakusei
 student
 'students whose parents were still alive and well at that time'

In 14a, conclusive forms *datta* and *de atta* can occur, but *na* cannot. 14b contains 14a as a relative clause. In 14b, *na* can replace the past-tense copula *datta* and *de atta*. 13 and 14, then, show that just like *no*, the copula *na* shares its distribution and interpretation with the present- and past-tense attributive forms of the copula.

Moreover, nominative Case in 13b and 14b is licensed, even when *na* replaces the finite copula. This fact is explained by assuming that the Infl associated with *na* licenses nominative Case. *Na* and *no*, therefore, share another property, namely being associated with Infl.

I conclude from these three arguments that *no* and *na* are allomorphs, and that they are the nonfinite attributive forms of the copula.² *No* subcategorizes for regular nouns or nominal nouns (NNs), while *na* subcategorizes for ANs. 15 summarizes the finite and nonfinite forms of the copula.

(15) Finite and Nonfinite Forms of the Copula in Japanese

	Finite Form	Nonfinite Form
Conclusive Form	PRE : da (de aru) PAST: datta (de atta)	NN: *no AN: *na
Attributive Form	PRE : *da (de aru) PAST: datta (de atta)	NN: no AN: na

In 15, *da* is exceptional among the finite forms in that it lacks an attributive form. The nonfinite form cannot be used as a conclusive form, because a conclusive form is by definition finite. In Japanese, no verb except the copula has nonfinite attributive forms corresponding to *no* or *na*. In this section, I have demonstrated that some occurrences of *no* are the nonfinite attributive forms of the copula.

4. Analysis of the verbal noun construction. In this section, I will first argue, following Yoshida (1986:102-106) and Matsumoto (1992:118), that *no* in example 1 is also the copula and then discuss how clausal Case is licensed in 1. Finally, I will propose my analysis of 1 and present some arguments for it.

4.1. Nominative *ga* and the copula *no* in the verbal noun construction. Two facts indicate that *no* in example 1 is the copula. First, example 1, repeated below, is actually ambiguous with two readings given in 16.

- (1) Yamada-san ga tyuukosya o HANBAI no ori (ni)
 Yamada-Mr. NOM used cars ACC sale ? occasion (on)
 '(on) the occasion when Mr. Yamada sells used cars'
- (16) a. (on) the occasion when Mr. Yamada sells used cars
 b. (on) the occasion when Mr. Yamada sold used cars

the GB theory, nominative Case is assigned irrespective of the property of the verb, while accusative Case is closely tied to the property of the verb. This section discusses the relation between accusative Case and the property of the VN in 1.

We have seen in section 2 that HANBAI in 1 cannot take noun modifiers which usually occur in an NP headed by HANBAI, as shown in 7 below.

- (1) Yamada-san ga tyuukosya o HANBAI no ori (ni)
 Yamada-Mr. NOM used cars ACC sale ? occasion (on)
 '(on) the occasion when Mr. Yamada sells used cars'
- (7) a. [_{NP} seiryokutekina HANBAI]
 aggressive sale
 'aggressive sale'
- b. *Yamada-san ga tyuukosya o seiryokutekina HANBAI no ori
 aggressive

Seiryokutekina in 7a is a noun modifier, occurring in an NP headed by HANBAI, but it cannot occur in 1, as shown in 7b. I argue that unlike HANBAI in 7a, HANBAI in 1 does not project as an NP, and that due to the absence of a nominal projection, *seiryokutekina* cannot occur in 1.⁴ This explains the unacceptability of 7b. Sato (1993:14-15) refers to VNs like HANBAI in 1 as a bare VN as opposed to a modified VN. However, drawing on the research on ANs, such as Murasugi (1990), I refer to HANBAI in 1 as an unprojected VN. 7b, however, will be acceptable if *tyuukosya* is marked genitive, as shown in 7b'.

- (7) b'. Yamada-san ga [tyuukosya no seiryokutekina HANBAI] no ori

In 7b', HANBAI projects as an NP, and the two modifiers *tyuukosya no* and *seiryokutekina* occur inside the NP. 1 and 7b', then, show that accusative Case is assigned only when HANBAI does not project. Now, I propose to explain the correlation between the unprojected VN and accusative Case assignment by arguing that the unprojected VN and the copula *no* form a complex predicate which assigns accusative Case.

My assumptions about accusative Case assignment in 1 are as follows. First, I accept Sato's (1993:98) claim that all VNs have lexico-semantic representations, but that only bare (or unprojected) VNs project argument structures from them. I argue that VNs in Japanese differ from complex event nominals (Grimshaw 1990:45-150) in English in three respects. First, complex event nominals always project as an NP, while VNs do not always do so. Second, complex event nominals always project argument structures, while VNs do so only when they do not project as an NP. Third, complex event nominals have a suppressed argument position, while VNs do not. HANBAI, for example, has a lexico-semantic representation and an argument structure given in 20.

- (20) HANBAI 'sale'
- a. Lexico-semantic representation: there is an event such that x sells y.
- b. Argument structure: <Agent, Theme>⁵

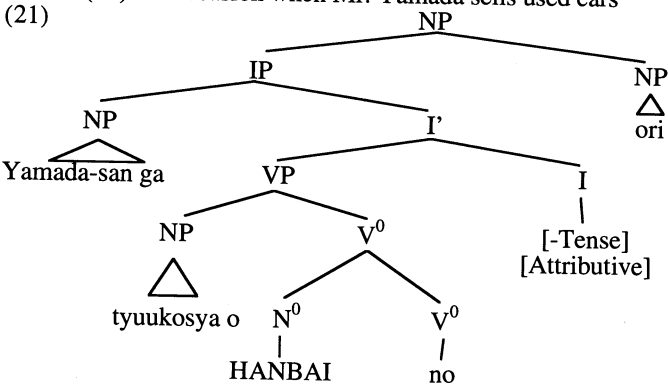
Note here that HANBAI assigns a theta-role to its external argument. Second, I assume following Hoekstra (forthcoming) that lexical verbs are composite elements consisting of a lexical basis and functional material. The lexical basis is either a

noun or an adjective. Functional material licenses a lexical basis, just as functional categories in general license lexical categories. I claim that the complex predicate HANBAI *no* in 1 is equivalent to a lexical verb, with HANBAI providing a lexical basis and *no* providing functional material. *No*, then, licenses the projection of 20b. Following Burzio (1986:178-186), I assume that HANBAI *no* assigns accusative Case because it assigns a theta-role to its external argument.

In this subsection, I have argued that the VN in 1 does not project as an NP but forms a complex predicate with the copula *no* and that the complex predicate theta-marks the two arguments and licenses accusative Case. Sato's generalization that a modified VN cannot project an argument structure follows from the assumption that when licensed by *no*, only a zero-level VN projects an argument structure.

4.3. Analysis of the verbal noun construction. I now propose 21 as the structure of the verbal noun construction in 1.

- (1) Yamada-san ga tyuukosya o HANBAI no ori (ni)
 Yamada-Mr. NOM used cars ACC sale ? occasion (on)
 '(on) the occasion when Mr. Yamada sells used cars'



21 shows that 1 is an NP whose head noun is modified by a relative clause. This explains why its external syntax is exactly that of an NP. I follow Murasugi (1991:140-164) in taking relative clauses as IPs.⁶ HANBAI does not project as an NP, but forms a complex predicate with *no*. N^0 and V^0 are minimal projections, and the complex predicate is again a V^0 . I have borrowed this notation from Sells (1996a, b), where this kind of syntactic combination is proposed for the light verb construction.⁷ This combination is not morphological, partly because elements such as a focus particle can intervene between the VN and *no*, as shown in 22.

- (22) Sato (1993:164)
 doo-koogi o TYOOKOO nomi no sai ni wa
 the course ACC auditing only GEN situation in TOP
 'when just auditing this course'

In 22, *nomi* 'only' intervenes between the VN TYOOKOO and *no*. As for clausal Case assignment in 1, HANBAI *no* assigns accusative Case to *tyuukosya*; and Infl,

nominative Case to *Yamada-san*. This explains why clausal Case is licensed, even when nouns with no aspectual or temporal meaning occur in place of *ori*. Furthermore, we need not introduce an underspecified category into the theory of grammar because nominative Case is assigned by Infl. Since *no* is the nonfinite attributive form, Infl in 21 has features to license that particular inflectional form.

One argument for the proposed analysis comes from Hoshi's (1994:150-151) observation that *GA/NO* Conversion is possible in the verbal noun construction. Since *GA/NO* Conversion takes place in relative clauses, the proposed analysis predicts Hoshi's observation. This prediction is borne out, as shown in 23.

- (23) *sengetu Taro ga/no Tokyo e SYUTTYOO no ori ni*
 last month Taro NOM/GEN Tokyo to business trip COP occasion on
hahaoya ga tazunete kita
 mother NOM visiting came
 'On the occasion when Taro made a business trip to Tokyo last month,
 his mother came to visit him.'

In 23, *Taro* can be marked genitive, and this fact is explained if we assume 21.

A second argument for 21 is that we can now treat unprojected VNs and ANs in the same way. I classify nouns in Japanese into three subcategories in 24.

- (24) Three Subcategories of Nouns in Japanese
 a. Nominal Noun (NN): NNs always project as an NP.
 b. Verbal Noun (VN): VNs lead a double life; they sometimes project as an NP and sometimes do not.
 c. Adjectival Noun (AN): Most ANs never project as an NP. Some ANs (e.g. *binboo* 'poverty', *kenkoo* 'health') sometimes project as an NP and sometimes do not.

NN, VN and AN are subcategories of nouns because they are free forms morphologically (Sells 1996a). They contrast with verbs and adjectives, which are bound forms taking tense suffixes. ANs form a complex predicate with the copula when they do not project, as shown in 25.

- (25) *John ga okane ga hituyoo na ori*
 John NOM money NOM need COP occasion
 'the occasion when John needs money'

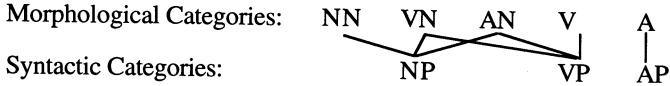
In 25, *hituyoo* is an AN and does not project as an NP. Theta-theoretically, it is the main predicate but needs the copula to project its argument structure.⁸ The proposed analysis, then, can treat unprojected VNs and ANs in the same way.

The proposed analysis can also explain the dual character of VNs in terms of the distinction between morphological and syntactic categories in Japanese. Sells (1996a) proposes 26 to explain the dual character of VNs.

- (26) Morphological and Syntactic Categories in Japanese (Sells 1996a)
- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|----|----|----|---|----|
| Morphological Categories: | N | VN | V | A | AN |
| Syntactic Categories: | N' | | V' | | |
-

In 26, VN is associated with both N' and V', because it is underspecified or dually categorized as V and N. AN is left unassociated, because it always combines with the copula, having no phrasal projection of its own. A is taken to project as a V' as a result of tense inflection. Now, the proposed analysis in 21 leads us to 27.

(27) Morphological and Syntactic Categories in Japanese



In 27, VN and AN are associated with both the NP and the VP. When they project, they are NPs. When they do not, they form a complex predicate which projects as a VP. I take the traditional position that A projects as an AP in Japanese. Note here that the three-way classification of Ns parallels that of syntactic categories. This parallelism is explained by taking VNs and ANs as a lexical basis on which to build complex predicates which function semantically as a VP and an AP. The proposed analysis in 21, thus, explains the dual character of VNs in terms of the discrepancy between morphological and syntactic categories in Japanese.

5. Conclusion. In this paper, I have first shown that some occurrences of *no* are the nonfinite attributive form of the copula, and that *no* in 1 is also the nonfinite copula. Then, I have argued that HANBAI in 1 does not project as an NP but forms a complex predicate with *no*. Finally, I have proposed an analysis of 1, where *ori* is modified by a relative clause and where the Infl of the relative clause licenses nominative Case and the complex predicate accusative Case.

Before closing the paper, I would like to point out that VNs and ANs are mostly borrowings (Kageyama 1982, Murasugi 1990, Kubo 1992:119-121) and that this partly explains why they do not always project as an NP. In Japanese, Vs and As are bound morphemes, taking their own tense suffixes, while Ns are free morphemes. Because we cannot attach verbal or adjectival tense suffixes directly to Vs and As borrowed from other languages, we first change the syntactic category of borrowings into Ns (i.e. VNs and ANs). Since the recategorized borrowings are Ns in Japanese, it is only natural that VNs and ANs should project as NPs. However, once they do, they miss the original purpose of making up the shortage of Vs and As in the vocabulary of Japanese. In order to fulfill the purpose, they do not project as an NP but form complex predicates with the copula. This turns VNs back into their original syntactic category, namely verbs, and ANs into something similar to their original category, namely adjectival verbs. Two stages of recategorization, then, are involved in making use of the borrowed Vs and As in Japanese.

NOTES

* I would like to thank the BLS 23 audience for their comments on my paper.

¹ The following abbreviations are used in this paper: NOM = nominative Case, ACC = accusative Case, GEN = genitive Case, COP = copula, PRE = present tense, PAST = past tense, TOP = topic marker.

² Sells (1996b) also claims that *da* is 'both inflected and tensed', while *na* is 'inflected but not tensed'.

The opposition between the allomorphs *no* and *na* is neutralized immediately before the nominalizer *no*. See Miyagawa (1987) for relevant discussions.

³ The copula either subcategorizes for an NP (i.e. a maximal projection of NNs, ANs, and VNs) or, as I argue below, forms a complex predicate with a zero-level projection of ANs and VNs. On this score, it is similar to *suru* 'do'.

⁴ Yoon (1991) and Han (1996) give the same argument concerning VNs in Korean light verb constructions.

⁵ Contra Sato, I assume that the external theta role Agent is not suppressed.

⁶ In 21, I ignore the relative operator and its trace.

⁷ Sells (1996a, b) proposes this syntactic combination for the light verb construction with *suru* 'do' in Japanese and *hata* 'do' in Korean.

⁸ Urushibara (1994:114-116) points out similarities between the VN in 2b and the AN in 25 and refers to both types of construction as a light verb construction.

REFERENCES

- BURZIO, LUIGI. 1986. Italian syntax: a government-binding approach. Dordrecht: D.Reidel.
- GRIMSHAW, JANE. 1990. Argument structure. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- _____, and ARMIN MESTER. 1988. Light verbs and θ -marking. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19.205-32.
- HAN, HAK-SUNG. 1996. Syntactic affixation and the structure of Korean. Proceedings of 1996 Seoul International Conference on Generative Grammar, 23-37.
- HOEKSTRA, TEUN. forthcoming. The nature of verbs and Burzio's generalization. In Arguments and Case: explaining Burzio's generalization, ed. by Eric Reuland.
- HOSHI, HIROTO. 1994. Passive, causative, and light verbs: a study on theta role assignment. Storrs, CT: The University of Connecticut dissertation.
- KAGEYAMA, TARO. 1982. Word formation in Japanese. *Lingua* 57.215-58.
- KUBO, MIORI. 1992. Japanese syntactic structures and their constructional meanings. Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation.
- MANNING, CHRISTOPHER. 1993. Analyzing the verbal noun: internal and external constraints. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 3.236-53.
- MATSUMOTO, YO. 1992. On the wordhood of complex predicates in Japanese. Stanford, CA:Stanford University dissertation.
- MIYAGAWA, SHIGERU. 1987. Lexical categories in Japanese. *Lingua* 73.29-51.
- _____.1991. Case realization and scrambling. Columbus:Ohio State University, ms.
- MURASUGI, KEIKO. 1990. Adjectives, nominal adjectives and adjectival verbs in Japanese: their lexical and syntactic status. UCONN Working Papers in Linguistics 3.55-86.
- _____. 1991. Noun phrases in Japanese and English: a study in syntax, learnability and acquisition. Storrs, CT: The University of Connecticut dissertation.

- OKUTSU, KEIICHIRO. 1981. 'Boku wa unagi da' no bunpoo. [Grammar of 'I am an eel.']. 3rd edition Tokyo: Kurosio Shuppan.
- SATO, YUTAKA. 1993. Complex predicate formation with verbal nouns in Japanese and Korean: argument transfer at LF. University of Hawaii dissertation.
- SELLS, PETER. 1995. The category and Case marking properties of verbal nouns in Korean. *Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics* 6.370-86.
- _____. 1996a. Case, categories and projection in Korean and Japanese. *Proceedings of the 1996 Seoul International Conference on Generative Grammar*, 47-62.
- _____. 1996b. Morphological expression and ordering in Korean and Japanese. Stanford:Stanford University ms.
- URUSHIBARA, SAEKO. 1994. Syntactic categories and extended projections in Japanese. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University dissertation.
- YOON, JAMES HYE SUK. 1991. Theta operations and the syntax of multiple complement constructions in Korean. *Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics* IV.433-45.
- YOSHIDA, TOMOYUKI. 1986. Morphology and Case assignment in Japanese. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University MA thesis.

Humanities Department,
 Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Mie University,
 1515 Kamihama-cho, Tsu-shi 514, Japan. [iwasaki@human.mie-u.ac.jp]