The Lexical Representation of Light Verb Constructions
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0 Introduction

In much recent work on the lexical representation of syntactic relations it is argued that a distinction should be made between a predicate's lexical semantic representation - often called Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS), which represents its lexical meaning, and its lexical syntactic representation - the (Predicate) Argument Structure (AS) - which is derived from the former through some mapping principle(s). A crucial assumption in these approaches is that the rules of grammar have no direct access to LCS but only to AS. We will present evidence from Dutch light verb constructions which, at first indication, seem to indicate that the rules of grammar should have access to information that is generally thought of as encoded at LCS. This would thus present evidence against a disjunctive representation of the lexical information of a predicate.

After a preliminary introduction in section 1 of the notion light verb construction (LVC) and the Argument Transfer (AT) analysis proposed by Grimshaw & Mester (1988) - an analysis in which the merger of the light verb (LV) and light verb nominal (LVN) is treated as a transfer of the AS of the LVN to the LV - section 2 will present some of the main features of LVCs in Dutch. In section 3 we present two problems for an AT-analysis of LVCs and in section 4 we discuss how LVs may be analyzed in a framework in which an LCS/AS distinction is made. Our analysis of the merging process of LV and LVN is discussed in section 5.

1. Light Verb Constructions: an introduction

Jespersen (1965) coined the term LV for the verbs in expressions like *to take a walk*, *to have a drink*, *to give a kiss*, etc.: The verb plus 'direct object noun' forms a complex predicate in which the thematic content of the argument positions seems to be determined by the noun:[1]

(1) a. Ik geef hem een zoen
I give him a kiss 'I kiss him'
b. Ik maakte een val
I made a fall 'I fell'

a.' Ik zoen hem
'I kiss him'
b.' Ik viel
'I fell'

One of the striking facts in the discussion of light verb constructions is that the notion LV is hardly ever clearly defined. A good example is presented by Kearns' (1989:123) description: "The defining characteristic of those expressions is that the main semantic content of the predicate is provided not by the verb, but by the action nominal complement". In sections 2.1 and 4 we will try to be more precise about what it actually means to say that a verb is a LV (cf. also Hollebrandse & Van Hout (to appear)). The object nouns *zoen* (kiss), *val* (fall) in (1) which determine the semantic content of the open argument positions, we will call LVNs.

Central in the discussion of LVCs is the question how the LV and the LVN are combined, fused. To exemplify this issue, we will briefly review Grimshaw & Mester's (1988) AT-analysis of LVCs in Japanese. They claim that the Japanese

verb *suru* in sentences like (2a) are LVs. They argue that the verb has no semantic content and is only specified for case-marking properties (cf. (2b)). They assume that LVs select theta-transparent NPs, i.e. NPs which have a theta-grid (cf. (2c)). Through the mechanism of AT the verb *suru* takes over the argument structure properties from the noun with which it forms a complex predicate. In essence, this means that the LV starts out as an 'empty' verb and becomes a full verb (FV) via AT (cf. (2d)). Consequently, the LV is able to project its lexical properties like any other verb. The theta-roles of the noun are thus assigned to elements outside the maximal projection of the NP.

(2) a. John-wa murabito-ni ookami-ga kuru to keikoku-o shita
John-TOP villager-D wolf-N come warning-A do
'John warned the villagers that a wolf would come'

b. LV: *suru* ( )<acc>

c. LVN: *keikoku* (θ_a,θ_g,θ_t)

d. LVC: *suru* ( )<acc> + *keikoku* (θ_a,θ_g,θ_t) -> *suru* (θ_a,θ_g,θ_t)<acc> + *keikoku* ( )

The merger of LV and LVN is a manipulation of ASs. Crucial in the AT-analysis is that (i) the LVs have no theta-role specification and that (ii) the LVNs have a theta-role specification. We will challenge both assumptions for Dutch LVCs. The Dutch LVs in (1) are not as empty as Japanese *suru* is; some information is still present in the argument structure of the verb.[2] The essential observation is that for the majority of LVs in Dutch (and maybe even all) the LV also has a full variant. For instance, Dutch *maken* in *maakte een val* (cf. (1b)) is a LV but a FV in *maakte een tafel* (made a table). We will show that LV *maken* retains essential lexical properties of its related FV. In other words, LVs are not empty place holders but verbs which have lexical properties of their own, although not complete. In our analysis LVs are partly specified and partly inherit their lexical properties from the LVN.

2. Light Verb Constructions: some observations

A first approximation of the properties we attribute to LVCs is given in (3); we will elaborate (3a,c) in section 2.1 and (3b) in section 2.2.

(3) a. A LV is lexically related to its full variant.
b. The LVN is an event nominal and, as such, has AS-specification.
c. The LV and the LVN form a complex predicate, i.e. the lexical properties of the LVC as a whole are determined on the basis of fusion of the lexical properties of the LV and LVN.

2.1 (Light) verbs

If the LV and the LVN form a complex predicate, the LVN cannot be an argument but has to have predicative status. We will assume that this means that the phrase headed by the LVN is an NP and not a DP. In other words the complement of the LVN does not head an extended projection (Grimshaw 1991). Given this hypothesis we predict that the LVN behaves different from a regular object, syntactically. It follows, for instance, from the NP/DP status of LVNs that WH-movement is excluded, that pronominalization is forbidden and that modification of the LVN is predicate modification. In Hollebrandse (1993) this is shown to be true (cf. also Kearns (1989)).

A LVC contains two predicative elements but it acts as one. One could thus describe it as a discontinuous predicate. An important question is how to describe this discontinuity. In the AT-analysis this is clear: It is the LVN that contains all the information that defines a head as a predicate (theta-specification), and this information is transferred to the LV. In section 3.1 we will present evidence that such an analysis cannot be upheld.

Because the LV and the LVN behave as a complex predicate, the syntactic properties of the LV (cf. (3a)) and the semantic properties of the LVN (cf. (3b)) must be compatible. In (4) violations of this requirement are illustrated:

(4) a. *Jan geeft Marie een gil
Jan gives Mary a yell
b. Jan geeft een gil
Jan gives a yell 'Jan yells'

(5) a. *Jan maakt mijn jurk een opmerking
Jan makes my dress a remark
b. Jan maakt een opmerking over mijn jurk
'Jan makes a remark about my dress'

LV *geven* in (4) is syntactically a tryadic predicate, i.e. the verb is subcategorized for two object NP-positions. The LVN *gil* is semantically a monadic predicate. With regard to its syntactic arity the LVC in (4a) is grammatical, but the semantic arity is wrong. There are two open argument positions - the subject position and the secondary object position - but given the LVN *gil* there is only one theta role available. Hence the theta criterion is violated in (4a). In (4b) the syntactic arity and the semantic arity of the LV and the LVN are compatible, hence the grammaticality of (4b). The examples in (4) thus illustrates what happens if the LV in the LVC defines more argument positions than the LVN can accommodate. (5) illustrates the other possibility: the LVN in the LVC defines more argument positions than the LV can supply for, syntactically. The LVN *opmerking* is semantically a dyadic predicate. As a result, both the subject and the secondary object in (5a) could receive a theta-role, but syntactically the latter position is not licensed by the LV. In (5b) the object theta-role is projected as a complement of the LVN, not of the LV, and hence its grammaticality.

2.2 Light Verb Nominals

The nominals that are used as LVNs seem to have a common semantic property: Kearns (1989) describes them as action nominals. Whatever the right description might be, it should incorporate the nouns in (6a,b), but not (6c):

(6) a. Jan maakte een beweging, een analyse, een afspraak, ...
'Jan made a move, an analysis, an appointment, ... '
b. Jan maakt een doelpunt, een grimas (tegen), een bedevaart, ...
Jan makes a goal, a grimace (at), a pilgrimage, ...
'Jan scores a goal, makes faces (at), goes on a pilgrimage, ...
c. Jan maakte een stoel, een auto, een boek, ...
'Jan made a chair, a car, a book, ... '

If we look at the type of nouns in (6a,b) we can observe that it are all NPs denoting actions or events. This means that if an NP can only be used as denoting objects it will not be found in LVCs. Nouns like *stoel*, *auto* or *boek* (cf. (6c)) are strictly

object denoting nouns, and can, therefore, not be used as LVNs. Of course many nouns are ambiguous between an object and an event denoting reading. In these cases only the latter (cf. (7b)) is found in the LVC.

(7) a. Marie gaf Jan een schop
'Marie gave Jan a shovel'
b. Marie gaf Jan een schop
Marie gave Jan a kick 'Mary kicked Jan'

Although all nouns in (6a,b) could be classified as event-denoting, there is difference between the nouns in (6a) and those in (6b): only the nouns in (6a) are morphologically derived from verbs. In section 3.2 we will elaborate on the distinction between object and event denoting nouns.

3. Two arguments against an Argument Transfer analysis

3.1 Light Verbs are not 'empty'

An analysis of all LVCs by means of AT would have the implication that all LVs are essentially identical. So there would be no intrinsic difference between the LV *geven* (to give) in (8a) or the LV *krijgen* (to get) in (8b):

(8) a. Zij geeft hem een zoen
'She gives him a kiss'
b. Zij krijgt van hem een zoen
She gets from him a kiss 'She gets a kiss from him'

However, the subject of *geven* in (8a) is the one who kisses while the subject of *krijgen* in (8b) is the one who is being kissed, and no other interpretation is possible. The LVN *zoen* has two thematic roles available but it is the LV that determines which of the thematic roles is realized as the subject of the LVC. The examples in (8) further illustrate that the LV also determines how the other available thematic role is syntactically projected. In (8a) the remaining thematic role of *een zoen* is realized as a secondary object of *geven* while it is realized as a prepositional object in the case of *krijgen*. The fact that the internal role is realized in this particular syntactic position is no surprise given the FV equivalents of these LVs, compare (8a,b) with (9a,b), respectively.

(9) a. Hij geeft haar een boek
'He gives her a book'
b. Zij krijgt van hem een boek
She gets from him a book 'She gets a book from him'

A similar problem arises in the case of impersonal passives. Observe the examples in (10-13):

(10) a. Het vliegtuig landt
'The airplane lands'
b. *Er wordt geland door het vliegtuig
There is landed by the airplane
(11) a. Het vliegtuig maakt een landing
'The airplane makes a landing'

b. Er wordt een landing gemaakt
There is a smooth landing made 'The airplane lands'

(12) a. Hij zoent
'He kisses'
b. Er wordt gezoend
There is kissed 'People are kissing'

(13) a. Hij krijgt een zoen
He gets a kiss 'He is being kissed'
b. *Er wordt een zoen gekregen
There is a kiss got

In an AT-analysis LVs become FVs, completely specified for argument structure. This means that, after AT, the lexical specifications of the LVs *maken* in (11a) and *krijgen* in (13a) are identical to the lexical specifications of the FVs *landen* in (10a) en *zoenen* in (12a). Still, the FVs behave differently from the (former) LVs with respect to passivization, as (10b-13b) illustrate. What seems to be relevant are the properties of the LV, contrary to what the AT- analysis seems to predict. Since the FV *maken* allows passivization (cf. (14a)) the LV *maken* allows passivization, and because the FV *krijgen* does not allow passivization (cf. (14b)), the LV *krijgen* does not allow passivization:

(14) a. Er werd een stoel gemaakt
There is a chair made 'A chair is being made'
b. *Er werd een boek gekregen
There is a book got

3.2 Do light verb nominals have an argument structure?

In 2.2 we have stated that LVNs can be defined as event denoting. We will now make explicit what we mean by that. Following Grimshaw (1990:59) we will classify nouns as in (15):

(15) a.	*dog*	in:	*the dog*	is a result noun
b.	*observation*	in:	*the unexpected observation of a black hole*	is a simple event noun
c.	*examination*	in:	*the examination of the patients took a long time*	is a complex event noun

In Grimshaw's view all nouns have an LCS, or lexical meaning, but not all nouns have an AS. She argues that it is not possible for a head to be specified for thematic information without having an event structure. Simple event nominals do refer to events at the level of their LCS but do not have AS properties. In other words, both classes could be described as having LCSs which refer to an event. Result nouns - in our view an instantiation of the wider class of object denoting nouns - are defined as nouns having LCSs which do not refer to an event, and, therefore, not having ASs. From this perspective LVNs are either simplex event nominals or complex event nominals. There are, however, several indications that the LVNs in the cases under discussion are simple event nouns, or behave as such.

Firstly, Grimshaw (1990:67) claims that zero-derivation (conversion) derives either result nouns or simple event nominals, and crucially not complex event nouns. Given this it is quite surprising that LVCs so often make use of zero-derived nouns (Kearns 1989, Hollebrandse 1993).

Secondly, Grimshaw observes that the numeral one is not compatible with complex event nouns (16a), but is compatible with simple event nouns (16b). The examples in (17) show that the Dutch LVNs are simple event nominals

(16) a. Een/*één landing door een vliegtuig is altijd een fascinerend gezicht
A/one landing by an airplane is always a fascinating sight 'It is always a fascinating sight to see an airplane land'
b. Een/één bedevaart is altijd verstandig
A/one pilgrimage is always wise 'It is always wise to go on a/one pilgrimage'

(17) a. Het vliegtuig maakte een/één landing
'The airplane made a/one landing'
b. Hij gaf een/één schreeuw
He gave a/one yell 'He yelled (once)'

Thirdly, Grimshaw argues that if a non-plural noun disallows aspectual modifiers like *regelmatig* (regular, frequent) or *voortdurend* (constant) it will be a simple event nominal (or a result nominal) (18a). Complex event nouns do allow these types of modifiers (18b). Given the ungrammaticality of (19b,20b) we have to conclude that the LVN is a simple event noun:

(18) a. *De dokter adviseerde een regelmatige bedevaart naar Lourdes
The doctor advised a regular pilgrimage to Lourdes
b. Regelmatige controle van het apparaat door een onderhoudsmonteur is belangrijk
Regular control of the appliance by a mechanic is important 'It is important that the appliance is regularly controlled by a mechanic'

(19) a. Hij gaf regelmatig een demonstratie
He gave regularly a demonstration 'He regularly gave a demonstration'
b. *Hij gaf een regelmatige demonstratie
He gave a regular demonstration

(20) a. Hij maakte voortdurend een beweging
He made constantly a move 'He moved constantly'
b. *Hij maakte een voortdurende beweging
He made a constant move'

Van Hout (1991) adds a fourth test, for Dutch. She observes that in Dutch nouns the external argument can be either expressed by a *van* (of)-PP or a *door* (by)-PP. She observes that complex event nouns can only use the *door*-PP to express the agent:

(21) a. De verwaarlozing *van/door dat stel van hun kind is schokkend
The neglect of/by that couple of their first child is shocking 'The neglect of their child by that couple is shocking'
b. De vertalingen van/door Karel zijn over het algemeen slecht
The translations of/by Karel are in the general bad 'Karel's translations are generally bad'

Again, the LVN does not seem to behave as a complex event noun. (22b) shows that passivization of the LVC (22a) is possible. However, (22c) shows that it is impossible to interpret the *door*-phrase as a complement of the LVN.

(22) a. Hij maakte een afspraak met Karel
'He made an appointment with Karel'
b. Een afspraak met Karel kon niet worden gemaakt door mij
An appointment with Karel could not be made by me 'I was not able to make an appointment with Karel'
c. *Een afspraak met Karel door mij kon niet worden gemaakt
An appointment with Karel by me could not be made

On the basis of (17-22) there seems to be reason to conclude that the LVNs in the LVCs under discussion do not seem to behave as complex event nouns but more as simple event nouns.

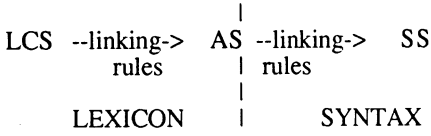
3.3 Summary

On the basis of the preceding discussion we are forced to two conclusions:
(i) The LVN has less thematic content than we need in an AT analysis. In AT the LVN must have argument structure properties that it can transfer to the LV. However if LVNs are simple event nouns they don't have argument structure properties, and, therefore, have nothing to transfer.
(ii) The LV has more information than we expect in an AT analysis. It seems as if the LV has retained some of the properties of its FV equivalent.
In the next section we will outline our view on the lexicon-syntax interface. After that we are in a position to discuss what the consequences are of (i-ii).

4. The lexicon-syntax interface

The LCS of a predicate is the 'deep' semantic description which is probably unique for any particular predicate, or class of predicates. Such a semantic description is mapped onto a more syntax-like representation, AS. AS represents how many arguments a verb requires and to which syntactic argument positions they are linked. The AS representation is not unique for individual predicates or classes of predicates. Two different predicates like *walk* and *swim* will have the same AS. Although essentially different, LCS and AS are part of the lexical representation of a predicate and thus part of the lexicon, to be distinguished from syntax, as sketched in (23):

(23)



What is represented in (23) is a conflation of different positions in the literature (cf. Carrier & Randall (1993), Grimshaw (1990), Hale & Keyser (1986), Rappaport & Levin (1988), Zubizarreta (1987)). Two questions arise:

A. Should we really make a distinction between LCS and AS, or is it possible to have one, although internally structured, lexical representation (cf. Jackendoff (1990), Levin & Rappaport (1994), Pinker (1989), Van Valin 1990)? In the former position there are two mapping relations. In the latter position there is only one full-fledged LCS which directly maps onto syntax.

A good example is given in Zaenen (1993). She argues that auxiliary selection is sensitive to intrinsic argument classification of a predicate (Bresnan & Kanerva

1989, Bresnan & Zaenen 1992), which to some extent could be equated with AS. However, Zaenen describes the availability of passivization in terms of the notion controllability. Verbs which have a volitional dimension can be passivized. Although she doesn't make explicit statements about it, one might hypothesize that the notion controllability is not part of AS. In other words, auxiliary selection seems to be sensitive to AS, passivization to LCS. If the latter conclusion is on the right track, one might argue that the distinction between LCS and AS is superfluous.

B. If we do make a distinction between LCS and AS, what is the status of these two levels of representations in the grammatical system? If AS is all that syntax sees and LCS is inaccessible, what role does LCS play?

The fact that LCS is not directly accessible for syntax does not necessarily mean that LCS plays no role whatsoever in grammar. One might envisage that LCS is relevant for the lexicon. Lexical rules should, perhaps, be formulated in terms of LCS (cf. Pinker (1989)). Speas (1990), for instance, explains dative shift as derived by a lexical rule relating two different LCSs, resulting in two different ASs and Carrier&Randall 1993 claim that resultative verbs are derived by a lexical rule, and that this lexical rule should be formulated in terms of LCS-representations, and not AS-representations.

For argument sake we will adhere to the position that some grammatical phenomena are best described in terms of LCS, and that, as such, this level of representation is motivated. If we would not make a distinction between LCS and AS, all relevant information of LCS could, in principle be relevant for syntax. In other words, syntactic phenomena could be sensitive to any kind of semantic information that is made available at LCS. Since this is clearly not the case, it makes sense to make an LCS/AS distinction and restrict accessibility of syntax to AS. In summary, (23) must be interpreted as in (24):

(24) a. Syntax has only access to AS
b. AS is a derivative of LCS, in the unmarked case
c. LCS contains only information that is semantic in nature, i.e. notions like agent/goal/theme, volitional, CAUSE, etc.
d. AS contains only information that is 'syntactic' in nature, i.e. (i) the number of argument positions and their relative prominence, and (ii) the case-marking properties of the verb.

The position outlined in (24) enables us to be more specific about shifts in meaning, as in the case in of LVs, idioms or, in general, polysemy. That is to say, we will assume that the following statement is true (cf. also Everaert (to appear)):

(25) (Idiosyncratic) meaning shifts affect only the LCS of a verb and leave the AS of a verb unchanged

On the basis of (25) LVs are defined as verbs having the same AS as their FV equivalent, but without the same corresponding LCS:[3]

(26) a. literal *make*: LCS_X, AS_X b. light verb *make*: LCS_y, AS_X

5. Analysis

How can we interpret the conclusions of section 3.3 in view of what is stated in the preceding section?

We have seen that for LVNs the only distinction that seems to be relevant is the difference between nouns having an event denoting LCS and nouns having an object denoting LCS. In LVCs the distinction between simple event nouns and complex event nouns seems to disappear. Given (24a) we are forced to the conclusion that simple event nominals must have argument structure properties, distinguishing them from result nouns. One way of executing this is to refute Grimshaw's claim that it is not possible for a head to be specified for thematic information without having an event structure. One might envisage that all event nouns have ASs but that complex event nouns in addition have event structure properties. This allows us to explain why LVNs behave as they do, and, at the same, account for the fact that there still is a difference in behaviour between simple event nouns and complex event nouns in other configurations (cf. Van Hout (1991)). However, the situation is, in fact, more complicated. Even straightforward complex event nouns behave as if they were simple event nouns when they are LVNs. It is not clear why this is so. We do not have the space to discuss this issue fully but the following approach seems to suggest itself. Hollebrandse (1993) presents evidence that LVNs are NPs and not DPs. This could explain why the LVN does not show any evidence of having an event structure representation. It has been argued that the relation of D w.r.t. N is similar to that of INFL (or Tense) w.r.t. V (cf. Zwarts (1992)). If we follow Higginbotham (1985) in his assumption that the event-specification of a verb is discharged by an inflectional element, then D could be taken as the element which discharges the event-specification of a noun. If there is no D, the event-specification cannot be discharged. If we, furthermore, assume that in the case of nouns event-specification is not mapped from LCS if it cannot be discharged, then we account for the observed behaviour of LVNs.

From the principle (25) it follows that if a FV becomes a LV it must retain its AS-specification while its LCS-specification changes. Since merging of the LV and the LVN does not seem to be lexical in nature - the LVC does not behave as a single lexical unit - it should not be described at the level of LCS (cf. Ramchand (1990) and Neeleman (1994) for relevant discussion). We are, thus, forced to the conclusion that the ASs of the LV and the LVN fuse, merge. In the literature several mechanisms have been suggested to this effect (cf. Ackema (1995), Alsina (1992), Isoda (1991), Neeleman (1994), Ramchand (1990), Rosen (1990), a.o.). We do not have the space here to discuss the differences between these proposals and how they differ from the AS merging process we ourselves want to advocate. We will simply give a brief outline of our analysis (cf. also Hollebrandse (1993) and Everaert (to appear)).

We assume that the argument structures of the LV and LVN are merged through the process of theta-identification Higginbotham (1985). An important feature of our analysis is that the LV contains specific information about the identification procedure. That is, the LV specifies which of its argument positions is identified with which argument position from the LVN (cf. Williams 1985). The remaining argument position of the LV will be used up by the LVN itself. In the case of a LVC as in (1a) *(een zoen geven)* the lexical specification of the LV and LVN can be described as in (27):

(27) LV: *geven* 'give' $(\underline{\theta}_x(\theta_y(\theta_{LVN})))$

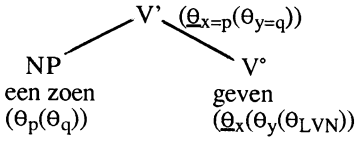
$\underline{\theta}_x$ identifies with θ_p, θ_y identifies with θ_q

LVN *zoen* 'kiss' $(\theta_p(\theta_q))$

Under the standard assumptions about percolation this will result in a syntactic

structure like (28):

(28)



Now LVs will differ in the formulation of the identification procedure. The LV *krijgen* 'to get', for example, forms a minimal pair with the LV *geven*. The only difference between *geven* en *krijgen* is the information about identification. For *krijgen* this information is specified as in (29).

(29) LV: *krijgen* 'to get' ($\underline{\theta}_x(\theta_y(\theta_{LV}))$)
$\underline{\theta}_x$ identifies with θ_q, θ_y identifies with θ_p
LVN: *zoen* 'kiss' ($\theta_p(\theta_q)$)

It is thus clear that the *geven/krijgen* alternation observed in (8) is readily explainable in terms of theta-identification. We don't have to refer to the thematic content of argument positions, only to their relative position in the ASs. This analysis will also account for the thematic mismatches in (4,5).

The passivization facts are less straightforwardly explained in terms of theta-identification. It strongly depends on your analysis of why certain predicates resist or allow passivization. If we would follow Zaenen (1993), Levin & Rappaport (1994) a.o. that controllability or volitionality is the crucial semantic factor, this would create a problem for theta-identification. It is not straightforwardly clear that such a notion is encoded at the level of AS, although it not, in principle, excluded (Cf. Jackendoff (1990:125-130) who encodes this feature on the action tier).

However, another line of reasoning is possible. Grimshaw (1990) argues that passivization is not possible if there is no external argument. She defines an external argument as an argument that has highest prominence both on the level of thematic structure and on the level of event structure. This explains why unaccusative predicates like in (10) don't allow passivization. It also explains the grammaticality of (11b) under the assumption that because the LV *maken* retains its AS-specification it will be marked for an external thematic role. From this it follows that passivization is possible despite the fact that the LVC as a whole has an unaccusative semantics (cf. Everaert to appear). The question is whether our analysis can also give an explanation for the ungrammaticality of (13b)? Or in other words, why is (14b) *Er wordt een boek gekregen* ungrammatical? If we can prove that the verb *krijgen* has no external argument in the above sense, then there is no problem. We leave this problem open here.

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1 Observe that Jespersen also used the term LV for *do* in the constructions *John did see him.* In recent publications the terminology has also been used for causative verbs, raising verbs and serial verbs (cf. Rosen (1989), (1990)). In Everaert (to appear) the relation between participles and aspectual auxiliaries *hebben/zijn* are analyzed as LVCs (cf. also Ramchand (1990)).

2 Isoda (1991) discusses evidence that indicates that even for Japanese *suru* (i) is untenable.

3 We assume that the LCS of a LV is incomplete compared to the FV and not completely different, or empty, as might be in the case of idioms.