

### 3.

#### Naomi Harada - *ATR International* *No head raising in light verb constructions*

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Since Grimshaw and Mester's (1988) seminal work, the so-called light-verb constructions (LVC) in Japanese have drawn much attention, mainly due to the syntax-semantics mismatch that they exhibit.

- (1) Masao-ga Hanako-kara [NP hooseki-no ryakudatu ]-o si-ta (koto)  
Masao-NOM Hanako-from gems-GEN robbing-ACC do-PAST fact  
'Masao stole gem stones from Hanako.' (si- is a suppletive form of su- 'do')

(*Koto* 'fact' is added to (1) -- and to the examples that follow -- to avoid the unnaturalness of sentences without a topic phrase in Japanese.) The lack of a genitive Case marker on *Masao* and *Hanako* in (1) suggests that they are outside the domain of the verbal noun (VN) *ryakudatu* 'robbing', yet these two phrases are arguments of VN, since the dummy verb *si-* < *su-* does not select arguments.

Note that the order between the source and the goal argument cannot be reversed.

- (2) \*... hooseki-o [NP Hanako-kara-no ryakudatu]-o ...  
gems-ACC Hanako-from-GEN robbing-ACC

Based on (2), Saito and Hoshi (2000) propose an analysis of LVC that employs LF head raising. Saito and Hoshi assume that the head noun *ryakudatu* first discharges its theme role within the NP and subsequently moves up at LF, and further discharges the source and agent roles to the remaining two argument NPs. Covert head raising is thus crucial for Saito and Hoshi to account for the syntax-semantics mismatch in LVC: unless the  $\theta$ -role assigning VN raises in LF, it is not clear why NPs outside the domain of VN can be assigned a  $\theta$ -role from VN.

However, there are data that indicate the syntax-semantics mismatch of LVC should not be accounted for in terms of covert head raising. As discussed in Miyagawa (2001), focus particles such as *mo* 'also' or *sae* 'even' block verb raising in Japanese (if any) when they attach to a verb stem. In that case, *su*-support takes place in order to support the stranded tense morpheme, as shown in (3b).

- (3) a. Yumiko-ga sono hon-o yon-da. (koto)  
Yumiko-NOM that book-ACC read-PAST fact  
'Yumiko read that book.'

- b. Yumiko-ga        sono        hon-o        yomi-sae    \*(si)-ta.        (koto)  
 Yumiko-NOM    that        book-ACC    read-even    do-PAST        fact  
 'Yumiko even read that book.'

Focus particles in Japanese can follow any category, including VN. Bearing in mind that focus particles block head raising, let us examine a LVC sentence with a focus particle attaching to VN.

- (4) Taroo-ga    Hanako-kara    [<sub>NP</sub> hooseki-no    ryakudatu]-sae si-ta.    (koto)  
 Masao-NOM Hanako-from        gems-GEN    robbing-even    do-PAST    fact  
 'Masao even stole gem stones from Hanako.'

Due to the presence of *sae* 'even', the VN *ryakudatu* should not raise in LF. Yet (4) is grammatical, calling for an analysis of LVC without recourse to head raising.

### References

- Grimshaw, Jane and Armin Mester (1988) "Light verbs and theta-marking", *Linguistic Inquiry* 19, 205–232.  
 Miyagawa, Shigeru (2001) "The EPP, scrambling, and wh-in-situ", in Michael Kenstowicz ed., *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 293–338.  
 Saito, Mamoru and Hiroto Hoshi (2000) "The Japanese light verb construction and the Minimalist Program", in Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka eds., *Step by step: Essays on Minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 261-295. \

*(This research was supported in part by the Telecommunications Advancement Organization of Japan.)*