

Complex Predicates under v P Hypothesis

Dukkyo Jung
(University of Wisconsin-Madison)

1. Definition of little v

In recent literature about v , there does not exist a clear consensus of what are the contents of the head v . For Chomsky (1995, 1998) and Collins (1997), little v is a ‘transitivity head’ over the VP-shell and introduces an external argument (EPP feature) and enters into a relation with the object (Case-checking or AGREE). In the frame work of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997) where the basic units in the lexicon are roots, words are the output of the syntax, so verbs are made of roots combined with v , whose function is ‘verbalizing’ with different semantic flavors (v BE, v CAUSE, v BECOME). For Kratzer (1996), Harley (1995), and Borer (1998), v has some semantic motivations (‘eventuality’). Based on the observation that the external argument is not an argument of the verb and its interpretation is given compositionally by the verb phrase and event identification, Kratzer gives the ‘event agentive’ interpretation to v (= “Voice” of Kratzer 1996). Harley gives ‘causation’ to v in that the event is interpreted as a causative event, while Borer suggests some aspectual content (‘process’) on v (= “Aspect” of Borer 1998), giving the event a durative interpretation. Overall, it is plausible to group them into three properties:

(1) Properties of ‘Little v ’

- a. transitivity property: external argument & Accusative Case
- b. verbalizing property: $\sqrt{\text{root}} + v \Rightarrow V$
- c. Eventuality property: agentive/causative/process,
- cf. delimitedness/affectedness

Following Arad (1999), I assumes that languages can bundle together any of the features discussed above, forming verbal heads of different types. Different bundlings of the features available in the language make different verbal heads. Out of the combinations, Arad predicts five types of bundles to occur in the language.

(2) Verbalizing + Transitivity + Eventuality

		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{causative} \\ \text{agentive} \end{array} \right\} \left \begin{array}{l} \text{inchoative} \\ \text{stative} \end{array} \right\}$			(Jung 2003)
\Rightarrow	bundle 1 verbalizing agentive transitivity	bundle 2 verbalizing agentive	bundle 3 verbalizing stative	bundle 4 verbalizing inchoative	bundle 5 verbalizing causative transitivity (Arad 1999)

(1) and (2) exactly correspond to our postulation of v features: [+/- Transitivity] & [+/- Eventuality]. All v heads have the verbalizing property of making roots into verbs as their default

property. Transitivity as the syntactic property of *v* is dissociated with Eventuality as the semantic property of *v*. Merging with an external argument and checking object case will determine the activeness (+/-) of transitivity. Accusative case marking, *-lul* is the benchmark for transitivity in Korean. However, it seems to be difficult to define the clear-cut criterion on the activeness (+/-) of eventuality. Fortunately, Korean has a morphological marking for demarcation of eventuality between causative/agentive and inchoative/stative. Coincidentally, it is *-lul*, which is the same morpheme as accusative case marking. Causative and agentive verbs can have *-lul* marking on non-object entities while inchoative and stative verbs cannot.

2. Patterns of *Ha*- properties in Korean

I propose Transitivity and Eventuality for the dual features of *v* and predicted the presence of four different combinations (active + vs. inactive -) in TRANSITIVITY and EVENTUALITY: *v*(+Trans, +Event), *v*(-Trans, +Event), *v*(+Trans, -Event), *v*(-Trans, -Event). The lexical passive/causative that are formed by affixation of HI morphemes (the passive morpheme HI_p: *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki* and the causative morpheme HI_c: *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*, *-wu*, *-kwu*, *-cwu*) to [-stative] verbs are the most prominent case of Spell-Out of *v* in the sense of transitivity and eventuality. Moreover, I claim that *Ha*, also a Spell-Out of *v* in Korean shows the morphological counterparts for each kind of combinations of *v*, as in (3).

(3) a. *v*(-Trans, ±Event): *ha*- (DO),

John_i-i [_{vP} [_{VN} t_i (**Han-kang -ul**) **swuyeong**]-(*ul*) *ha*]-yess-ta. (VN)
 -Nom (Han river -Acc) swimming-Acc DO-Pst-Dec agentive
 ‘John swam (the Han river) (completely).’

b. *v*(+Trans, ±Event): *ha*- (DO)

1. John_j-i [_{vP} t_j **Mary-lul** [_{vP} t_i **ippeu**]-(*lul*) -*ha*]-yess-ta. (Psych VP), Ag
 -Nom -Acc pretty -(Acc) -DO-Pst-Dec Trans
 ‘John treated Mary dearly/in a loving way.’ = ‘John cherished Mary.’

cf. 1.’ John-un Mary-ka ippeu-ta. 1.’’ Mary-ka ippeu-ta.
 -Top -Nom pretty-Dec ←^{Psychic Transition} - Nom pretty-Dec
 ‘Mary is adorable to John.’ ‘Mary is pretty.’

c. *v*(+Trans, ±Event): *-key ha* (CAUSE)

1. John_j-i [_{vP} tam_i-lul [t_i [_{vP} t_i **mwune**]-ci]-*key*-(*lul*) *ha*]-yess-ta. (√P) Caus
 -Nom wall-Acc √collapse BECOME]-Res-(Acc) CAUSE-Pst-Dec Trans
 ‘John caused the wall to be collapsed/destroyed.’

cf. 1’. tam_i-i [_{vP} t_i **mwune**]-ci]-yess-ta. (√P)
 wall-Nom √collapse BECOME-Past-Dec
 ‘The wall collapsed.’

d. *v*(-Trans, -Event): *ha*-(BE)

marwu badak_i-i [_{vP} [_{vP} t_i **pancileu**]-(**lul*) -*ha*]-ta. (√P) Stative
 hallway floor-Nom √slippery -(Acc) -BE -Dec
 ‘The hallway floor is slippery’

e. *v*(-Trans, -Event): *ci* (BECOME), *-key toy* (BECOME)

1. Mary_i-ka [VP t_i yaeppe] -(*lul)-ci-ess-ta. (VP) Inchoative
 -Nom pretty-(*Acc)-BECOME-Past-Dec.
 ‘Mary became pretty.’
2. Elkwul_i-i [VP t_i hayah] -key-(*lul) toy-ess-ta.
 face-Nom white-Res-(*Acc) BECOME-Past-Dec.
 ‘The face became pale.’

The above are some patterns of *ha* being employed in different syntactic constructions: (3a)-Light Verb constructions using Verbal Noun as *ha*'s complement; (3b)-Psych verb construction using intransitive/transitive psych verbs as *ha*'s complement; (3c)-Syntactic Causative construction where *ha* takes as complement Resultative particle *-key* heading a functional phrase (maybe Aspect Phrase) including VP; (3d)-*ha* takes a root itself as complement; (3e) shows another Spell-Out of *v*, *-ci* ‘BECOME’ which is the counterpart of *ha* ‘DO’ in Affected/Passive contexts.

As (2) predicts, statives and inchoatives are [-Eventuality], so they cannot have *lul*-marking. For inchoatives, we have *ci* and *-key toy* for counterparts of *ha* in Spell-Out of *v*. These patterns of *ha* in its distributional usages exactly correspond to the defining properties of *v* discussed so far.

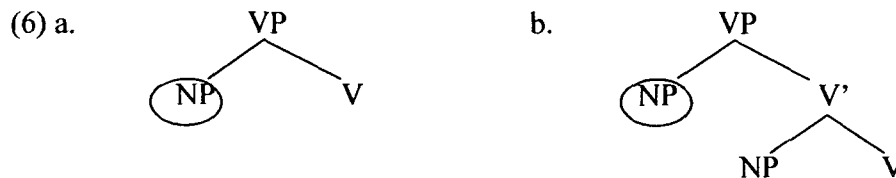
3. Inalienable Possession Construction with ‘do’ in Japanese and Korean

What follows is the study of the Inalienable Possession Construction with ‘do’ in Korean and Japanese. An interesting observation on the Korean and Japanese Inalienable Possession Construction (IPC) is that what makes a change in the grammaticality judgment from (5b) to (5c) is the presence of [agentivity] / [eventuality] in *ha-* in Korean. Such difference is attributed to the functional differences of *v* in the two languages.

- (4) a. John-i phalan kwuykeli-lul ha-ko iss-ta. (Korean)
 -Nom blue earring-Acc do-Part exist-Dec
 ‘John is wearing blue earrings.’
- b. John-ga aoi iyaringu-o si-te i-ru (Japanese)
 -Nom blue earring-Acc do-Part be-Pres
 ‘John is wearing blue earrings.’
- (5) a. Mary-wa aoi me-o si-te i-ru (J)
 -Top blue eye-Acc do-Part be-Pres
 ‘May has blue eyes.’
- b. *John-i phalan nwun-ul ha-ko iss-ta. (K)
 -Nom blue eye-Acc do-Part exist-Dec
 intended: ‘John is blue-eyed.’
- c. John-i nolan nwun-lul ha-ko iss-ta. (K)
 -Nom surprised eye-Acc do-Part exist-Dec
 ‘John wears surprised eyes.’

Tsujioka (2000) tries to explain that (5b) is ungrammatical in Korean due to the impossibility of possessor-raising to T, which is required, but fails because of the intervention by small *v*,

leaving the EPP feature and Case feature of T unchecked, on the assumption of the availability of multiple accusative Case in Korean, but not in Japanese. However, I propose for the difference between Korean and Japanese INP that the presence/absence of [+agentivity] /[-eventuality] on the small *v*, which induces the structural discrepancy. This discrepancy is parallel to the structural difference of transitive and intransitive (i.e., unaccusative) VP in terms of internal vs. external argument positions as below:



The presence/absence of [agentivity] /[-eventuality] in the observed difference in Korean and Japanese Inalienable Possession Constructions may be related to the subject position in NP structure, where an external argument induces an event reading out of a stage-level predicate but an internal argument gets a stative reading out of an individual-level predicate. However, we have the same predicate *ha* and the same syntactic structure in (5b,c). The only difference can be attributed to the [eventuality] of natures of *v*, which is realized as *ha* at the spell-out by default.

4. Other syntactic constructions with *ha*

Besides Inalienable Possession Constructions, Light verb constructions, Psych verb constructions, and Causative constructions, *ha* is found as *v* in the following contexts: where the heads of a functional category Phrase as the complement of *v* will be *-lye(ko)* for Future/Purpose ‘will,’ *ya(man)* for Modal ‘must’, or *-kido* ‘also’/ *-kiman* ‘only’/ *-kicocha* ‘even’ for Focus construction in Korean.

(7) Modal: realized as a morpheme between V and *Ha*

V-lye (‘purposely’) + ha = ‘will V’

- a. John-i kokwuk-eulo ka-lye ha-n-ta.
 -Nom motherland-toward go-purpose DO-Pres-Dec
 ‘John will go to his motherland.’

V-ya (‘(it) is’) + ha = ‘must V’

- b. John-i kokwuk-eulo ka-ya ha-n-ta.
 -Nom motherland-toward go-‘It is’ DO-Pres-Dec
 ‘John must go to his motherland.’

V-nun teus (‘likely’) + ha = ‘seem to V’/‘It seems that ...’

- c. John-i kokwuk-eulo ka-nun teus ha-n-ta.
 -Nom motherland-toward go-Mod ‘likely’ DO-Pres-Dec
 ‘John seems to go to his motherland.’

In contrast with English, where auxiliary Modal verbs stand as a single morpheme, Korean Modal verbs are composed of particles and *ha*.

(8) Focus ('also,' 'even,' 'only') construction

- a. John-i kokwuk-eulo ka-ki-do ha-n-ta.
-Nom motherland-toward go-Nominal-also DO-Pres-Dec
'John also [goes to his motherland]-focus.'
- b. John-i kokwuk-eulo ka-ki-cocha ha-n-ta.
-Nom motherland-toward go-Nominal-even DO-Pres-Dec
'John even [goes to his motherland]-focus.'
- c. John-i kokwuk-eulo ka-ki-man ha-n-ta.
-Nom motherland-toward go-Nominal-only DO-Pres-Dec
'John only [goes to his motherland]-focus.'

The characterization of *ha* in this focus construction is very peculiar, hard to fit to the properties of normal lexical verbs.

Let's look into *ha* in the Post-verbal Negation construction, where *ha* is attached to negative *an-* and copula *-i-* (for the multi-morphemic structure of Korean post-verbal negation, refer to Jung 2002b). If *ha* is not a realization of Spell-Out of *v*, *ha* can be regarded as either lexical LV(Light Verb) or lexical HV(Heavy Verb). For LV, it has a difficulty in explaining the Accusative Case marking on the complement headed by complementizer *-ci*¹ as below:

- (9) a. John-i kokwuk-eulo ka-ci-lu an-i ha-yess-ta.
-Nom motherland-toward go-Comp-Acc Neg-Cop-DO-Past-Dec
'John did not go to his motherland.'
- b. John-i kheu-ci-ka an-i ha-ta.
-Nom be.tall-Comp-Nom Neg-Cop-Do-Dec
'John is not tall.'

In (9a), the Comp internal V is not transitive. So there is no Argument Transfer allowed if any. *ha* itself is LV and has no accusative assigning capacity. Then we should suppose that *ha* in post-verbal negation should be a HV. However, we still have a same difficulty in dealing with a different case marking as in (9b). The nominative case marking on the complementizer cannot come from HV and where is the accusative case to be matched? It does not seem to be plausible to propose that the post-verbal negation employs LV *ha* in some cases and HV *ha* in other cases.

We have shown that the treating *ha* as Lexical LV or HV has some problems. If we take the view of regarding *ha* as a little *v*, we can have simple explanation for those *-lul* markings on non-internal argument constituents. The *-lul* marking is not Accusative Case marking but Eventuality-marking.

¹ It is worth investigating what is the real category of *-ci*. For here, I just follow the conventional view of regarding *-ci* as a complementizer.

5. The Nature of *v* in *ha*

The *v*P in the Minimalist Program paradigm (Chomsky 1995, 1999, 2000) corresponds to TransitiveP (Collins 1997), VoiceP (Kratzer 1994, 1996), the EventP (Travis 1991, Harley 1995) or to AspectP (Embick 1998, van Hout & Roeper 1998) in other paradigms. This identification of *v* as the combination of Transitive and Voice/Event/Aspect is natural in the sense that *v* introduces the external argument (playing the agent role through Event Identification), matching up to EVENT (in lieu of Voice/Event/Aspect), and *v* licenses accusative case, matching up to TRANSITIVE. At the same time, it meets the two requirements of Burzio's (1986) generalization. If there exist some variations in the strength of the functional categories, we can postulate diverse compositions for *v* out of varied combinations (active + vs. inactive -) in TRANSITIVITY and EVENTUALITY: *v*(+Trans, +Event), *v*(-Trans, +Event), *v*(+Trans, -Event), *v*(-Trans, -Event). Korean, whose *v* is morphologically active, shows the morphological counterparts for each kind of internal combinations of *v*, while Japanese does not. In this section, I will bring an overview on the general background assumptions about *v* and present the morphological counterparts in Korean for each kind of internal combinations of *v*, as follows in (10):

(10) Combination of the two features

	+ Transitivity	- Transitivity
+ Eventuality	<i>ha</i> (DO), <i>-key ha</i> (CAUSE) (<i>-key</i>) <i>sikhi</i> (CAUSE), HI_c^2	<i>ha</i> (DO), HI_p
- Eventuality	<i>ha</i> (DO), <i>-key ha</i> (CAUSE), (<i>-key</i>) <i>sikhi</i> (CAUSE), <i>tteuli</i>	<i>ha</i> (BE), <i>i</i> (BE), <i>keli</i> (REPEAT) (<i>-key</i>) <i>toy</i> (BECOME), <i>ci</i> (BECOME)

Ha provides transitivity of bringing external arguments and checking accusative cases as in (3b, c), and it comes with eventuality of bringing the agentive/causative/stative semantic meaning as in (3a, b, c). As its default function of verbalizing, it always makes roots into verbs as in (3a, d). That is the reason why I argue that *ha* is an Spell-Out of *v* in Korean.

- (11) a. John-i twu sikan-(tongan)-ul tali-ess-ta. (agentive) (Korean)
 -Nom two hour-(period)-Acc run-Past-Past
 'John ran for two hours.'
- b. Mary-ka Madison-ul sey pen-ul tanye-(lul) o-ass-ta. (agentive)
 -Nom -Acc three times-Acc go-(Acc) come-Past-Dec
 'Mary visited Madison three times.'
- c. Mary-nun keu kheun pawui-lul ney pen-ul kwul-i-ess-ta. (causative)
 -Top that big boulder-Acc four times-Acc roll-CAUSE-Past-Dec
 'Mary rolled that big boulder four times.'
- d. Na-nun keu eumsik-ul mek-e-(lul) po-ass-ta. (agentive)
 I-Nom that food-Acc eat-E-(Acc) see-Past-Dec
 'I tried to eat that food/I had eaten that food before'

² The lexical passive/causative are formed by affixation of HI morphemes (the passive morpheme HI_p : *-i-*, *-hi-*, *-li-*, *-ki* and the causative morpheme HI_c : *-i-*, *-hi-*, *-li-*, *-ki-*, *-wu-*, *-kwu-*, *-cwu-*).

- (12) a. Mary-ka yaeppe-(**lul*)-ci-ess-ta. (Inchoative) (Korean)
 -Nom pretty-(*Acc)-BECOME-Past-Dec.
 ‘Mary became pretty.’
 b. John-ka tali-ka wen ccok-i/**lul* sam ssenchi-ka/**lul* kil-ta.
 -Nom leg-Nom left side-Nom three cm-Nom long-Dec
 ‘John’s left leg is 3 cm longer (than his right leg).’ (stative)

Italicized *lul*-marked entities are not direct objects or the arguments of a verb. Such *lul*-marking beyond the arguments of a predicate includes duration and frequency adverbials and even V1 in V-V compounds. Wechsler and Lee (1996) describe that kind of *-lul* marking as situation delimiter, i.e., an extensive measure function which temporarily quantifies the event or state depicted by the clause. Takahashi (1998) also observes the same phenomenon of accusative-Case marking on non-objects occurs in Japanese.

- (13) a. Taroo-ga ringo-(o) tabe-ta. (Japanese)
 -Nom apple-Acc eat-Past
 ‘Taroo ate the/an apple.’
 b. Taroo-ga kooen-o arui-ta. cf. kooen-de (‘in/at’)
 -Nom park-? walk-Past
 ‘Taroo walked the park (completely)’
 c. Taroo-ga kawa-o oyoi-da. cf. kawa-de
 -Nom river-? swim-Past
 ‘Taroo swam completely across the river or a significant portion of the length of it.’

Takahashi argues that the *-o* morphological case marking serves to mark a nominal complement of V that is event delimiting in the sense of Tenny (1987) that an event is delimited if it must transpire over a fixed length of time, with a definite temporal endpoint. So delimitedness can be defined as the property of an event’s being bounded in time or as total affectedness of a verbal argument, according to which every relevant part of the entity denoted by the argument is affected by the action denoted by the verb.³ This notion of delimitedness as total affectedness of a verbal argument seems to fit to explaining the multiple accusative case constructions in Korean as below, even though the data (14) can be analyzed in Multiple case-checking (Ura 1996) or Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001).

(14) Multiple-Nominative/Accusative Case Constructions

- a. Namtaymoon sijang-i yanbok-i kap-i cen won-i ssa-ta.
 Southgate market-Nom suit-Nom price-Nom 1000 won-Nom be.cheap-Dec
 ‘The suit’s price of Southgate market is 1000 won cheaper.’

³ Torrego (1998) reports that the syntactic process of overt object raising is responsible for the semantic shift occurring with such verbs and that objects moved outside the VP have a delimiting role for their predicates, giving a telic reading to them. She also observes that there is the related Case effect of the semantic condition of Affectedness.

- b. Namtaymoon sijang-i [yanbok-ul kap-ul cen won-ul ssa]-key pha-n-ta.
 Southgate market-Nom suit-Acc price-Acc 1000won-Acc be.cheap-Res sells
 ‘Southgate market sells suits 1000 won cheaper.’

With the delimitedness as a criterion of [+/- Eventuality] feature, we can understand why *lul*-marking is possible on Verbal Noun in Korean Light Verb Construction, even on unaccusative type of verbal nouns (15b&c). The optionality of the *lul*-marking on non-objects reveals the activeness of Eventuality feature, which is different from Transitivity of the structural case-marking on objects.

- (15) a. John-i sam nyen-*ul* sinbal-*ul* swuchwul-(*ul*) ha-yess-ta (VNt)
 -Nom three year-? shoes-Acc export-? DO-Past-Dec
 ‘John exported shoes for three years.’
 b. Hwasal-i kwanyek-ey/(*ul*) myejwung-(*ul*) ha-yess-ta (VNi)
 arrow-Nom target-Loc/? hit (the mark)-? DO-Past-Dec
 ‘The arrow hit the mark.’
 c. John-i keu ttay hyunmyung-(*ul*) ha-yess-ta (VNi)
 -Nom that time wise DO-Pres-Dec
 ‘John was wise at that time (situation).’

6. EPP feature in AGREE (Chomsky 1999, 2000)

In contrast to the feature-movement view of feature checking in a specifier-head configuration, the recently proposed ‘probe-goal theory of AGREE’ does not require (overt or covert) movement: features are matched or licensed abstractly (or long-distance) without movement. Movement of the subject can occur, not triggered by the need to check Case and agreement features, but rather by EPP (cf. *there*-insertion/Defective Intervention Constraint). If EPP is universally strong (Chomsky 1995), how is the EPP feature checked without subject movement to [Spec, T] in languages like Korean and Japanese which do not have overt expletives and verb movement? Raising-to-Object (ECM) constructions in Japanese and Korean should be driven by AGREE. Then, which is it motivated by either case or aspect?

- (16) a. John-ga [_{CP} Mary ga/o kodomo-da to] omotta.
 -Nom -Nom/Acc child-Cop-Pres -C think-Pst
 ‘John thought that Mary was a child.’
 b. John-ga [Mary *ga/o kodomo-ni]_{Inf} omotta. (Hiraiwa 2001)

Whether syntactic raising (EPP) in ECM is optional in Japanese /Korean seems to be worth an issue for debate. I suggest for now that the raising in ECM may be optional for Case, but not optional for Aspect.

- (17) a. John-ga [yosoujoui nihonjin-ga eigo-ga hido-ku] kanji-ta.
 -Nom than-expected Japanese-Nom English-N bad-Inf think-Past
 ‘John thought that the Japanese are worse at speaking English than he expected.’

b. [TP \emptyset -expl. [John-ni [yosoujouei nihonjin-ga eigo-ga hido-ku] omoweta.
 -Dat than-expected Japanese-Nom English-N bad-Inf seem-Past 'It
 seemed to John that the Japanese are very poor at English.'

Ura (2000) reports that in a raising construction in Japanese the matrix Spec-TP is occupied by a null expletive. The presence of such null expletives is attested in Korean too, as in (18).

- (18)a. \emptyset [John-i elini i]-n teus ha-ta.
 null expl. -Nom child be]-Modif likely BE-Dec
 'It seems that John is a child.'
- b. \emptyset [Abeci_i-ka [_{VP} [_{VP} t_i ppang-ul mek]-ko sipeu-si]]-n teus ha -ta.
 expl. father-Nom bread-Acc eat-Infinitive want-Honor-Modif likely BE- Dec
 'It seems that father wants to eat bread.'
- c. \emptyset [Abeci_i-ka [_{VP} [_{VP} t_i ppang-ul mek]-ko sipeu-si]-ta-ko ha-n -ta.
 expl. father-Nom bread-Acc eat-Infinitive want-Hono-Dec-Mod DO-Pres-Dec
 'It is said that father wants to eat bread.'

In (18c), *pro* seems to have been supposed to fill in the matrix subject position. Even though it is right, *pro* does not work in the (18a,b). Subject-raising does not seem to make a difference in refuting the argument for the presence of the null-expletive in (18a,b), as in the following pair of examples where we have two different interpretations of *ha* in *teus ha* 'seem' constructions.

- (19)a. \emptyset [ce pwun-i kyosoonim-i-si-]-n teus ha-ta.
 expl. that person-Nom professor-Cop-Hono-Modif likely BE-Dec
 'It seems that the gentleman is a professor.'
- b. ce pwun_i-i [t_i kyosoonim-i-]-n teus ha-si-n-ta.
 that person-Nom professor-Cop-Modif likely DO-Hon-Pres-Dec
 'The gentleman acts as if he were a professor.'

7. Conclusion

In keeping with the spirit of the Minimalist Program, this paper provides syntactic arguments for Causatives, Passives, Psych Verb Constructions, and Light Verb Constructions under the assumption of the morphological realization (Spell-Out) of a small *v* head of *vP*. These observations collectively suggest that *v* is not just theory-internally motivated and *ha* is the case of the morphophonetic and semantic justification of *v* in *vP* structure in Korean and the empirical implication of EPP.

REFERENCES

- Arad, Maya. 1999. On "Little *v*". Papers on Morphology and Syntax, cycle 1. MITWPL 33.
 Baker, C. Lee. 1991. The syntax of English *not*: The limits of core grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22:387-429.
 Burzio, Luigi. 1986. *Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
 Carlson, N. Gregory. 1977. *Reference to Kinds in English*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Massachusetts, Amherst. published by Garland 1980.
 Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

- Chomsky, Noam. 1999. Derivation by phase. *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 18. Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist Inquiries: The framework. In *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, eds. Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Collins, Chris. 1997. Argument Sharing in Serial Verb Constructions. *LI* 28: 461-497.
- Diesing, Molly. 1992. *Indefinites*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Emick, David. 1998. Syntax and Categories: Verbs and Participles in the Latin Perfect. Ms., MIT.
- Embick, David and Rolf Noyer. 2001. Movement Operations after Syntax. *LI* 32, 4:555-95.
- Harley, Heidi. 1995. *Subjects, events and licensing*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Hiraiwa, Ken. 2001. Multiple Agree and the Defective Intervention Constraint in Japanese. *HUMIT 2000, MITWPL* 40.
- van Hout, Angeliek & Thomas Roeper. 1998. Events and aspectual structure in derivational morphology. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 23:79-108.
- Jelinek, Eloise. 1998. Voice and Transitivity as Functional Projections in Yaqui. In *The Projection of arguments*, eds. Miriam Butt and Wilhelm Geuder, 195-224. Stanford, Calif.: CSLI.
- Jung, Dukkyo. 2001. Japanese Predicates and Negation. presented at 56th Kentucky Foreign Language Conference at University of Kentucky at Lexington.
- Jung, Dukkyo. 2002a. vP Structure for Light Verb Constructions. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 10(1), 93-117.
- Jung, Dukkyo. 2002b. Multi-morphemic analysis of Korean Post-Verbal Negation. In the Proceedings of the Summer Conference 2002 of the Linguistic Society of Korea.
- Jung, Dukkyo. 2003. The Morphosyntax of Complex Predicates in Japanese and Korean. (on preparation). PhD. dissertation. University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Kitahara, Hisatsugu. 1997. *Elementary operations and optimal derivations*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1989. Stage-level and individual-level predicates. In Emmon Bach, Angelika Kratzer, and Barbara H. Partee, eds., *Papers on Quantification*, 144-221. GLSA, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1994. *The Event Argument and the Semantics of Voice*. MS., University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. In Johann Rooryk and Laurie Zaring, eds., *Phrase structure and the Lexicon*. 125-175. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Takahasi, Naoko. 1998. The function of *-o* in Japanese. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 8:231-24.
- Torrego, Esther. 1998. *The Dependencies of Object*. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 34. MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass.
- Travis, Lisa. 1991. Derived Objects, Inner Aspect and the Structure of VP. Ms, McGill University.
- Tsujioka, Takae. 2000. The inalienable possession construction with 'do'. In *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 9, eds., Mineharu Nakayama and Charles J. Quinn, 390-403. Stanford, CSLI.
- Tsujioka, Takae. 2002. *The Syntax of Possession in Japanese*. Doctoral dissertation. Georgetown University.
- Ura, Hiroyuki. 1996. *Multiple feature-checking: A theory of grammatical function Splitting*. Doctoral dissertation. MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Wechsler, Stephen and Yae-Sheik Lee. 1996. The domain of direct case assignment. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14:629-664.