

# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b>	i
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	iv
<b>Table of Contents</b>	vii
<b>Abbreviations</b>	xi
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction: Framework and Overview</b>	<b>1</b>
1 Argument Structure in the GB framework	1
2 Argument Structure as Phrase Structure	4
2.1 Hale and Keyser (1993)	4
3 Argument Structure as Restriction on Derivation	8
3.1 Functional vs. lexical	8
3.2 Pylkkänen (2002)	9
4 Proposal: The Generalized Little-Verb Hypothesis	11
4.1 Theoretical aim	11
4.2 Theoretical implication	12
4.3 Empirical discussion	14
<b>Chapter 2 Layered Little Verbs: Possessor of Interest</b>	<b>20</b>
1 Introduction	20
2 The Possessive Relationship Construction (PRC)	26
2.1 Main properties	26
2.2 The verbs involved: Washio (1997)	32
3 Hasegawa's (2001) Little- <i>v</i> Analysis	37
4 Where and How is Possessor Introduced into the Derivation?	42
4.1 Derivation of the PRC and the regular transitive	42

4.2	The first Merge as selection	44
5	Movement of Possessor	48
5.1	Comparison with Possessor which stays in a DP	48
5.2	The difference between the two “Experiencers”	49
5.3	<i>Pro</i> or trace?	61
5.4	The “PBC”	63
5.5	Apparent extraction from relative clauses	64
6	Comparison with the Adversity Passive	68
7	Decomposition of Little <i>v</i>	72
7.1	The PRC and other non-Agentive constructions	72
7.1.1	Syntactic properties	73
7.1.1.1	Verb selection	73
7.1.1.2	The Cause subject is not always possible	74
7.1.2	Semantic properties: Benefactive/Malefactive readings	77
7.1.2.1	Predicate types	77
7.1.2.2	Possessor has to go up	78
7.2	The Applicative hypothesis	82
7.3	A proposal	83
7.3.1	Morphology of the layered little verbs	88
7.4	Controllability of the event	97
8	Remaining Problems and Cross-Linguistic Perspective	101
8.1	Verb selection	101
8.2	External or internal Merge to Appl	104
8.3	Why is Possessor permitted to move?	105
9	Conclusion	108

### **Chapter 3 Ditransitives and Applicative**

1	Introduction	
	—Derivationally-Related View vs. Split- Head View	111
2	Two Types of Approaches for Double Objects	113

2.1	A derivationally-related view: Larson (1988)	113
2.2	A split-head view: Pylkkänen (2002)	119
3	Japanese Ditransitives	122
3.1	Derivationally-related by scrambling: Hoji (1985)	122
3.2	The two-Goal hypothesis: Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004)	125
4	Proposal: Morphologically Realized Applicative Head	134
4.1	Applicative for Possessor	134
4.2	Applicative for the Benefactive/Malefactive	134
4.3	The existence restriction	136
5	The Give Benefactive/Malefactive Construction (GBC)	143
5.1	Basic properties	143
5.1.1	The original donative verbs <i>age-ru/yar-u</i>	143
5.1.2	The adverbial phrase <i>no-tame-ni</i>	145
5.2	<i>Ni</i> -phrases	146
5.2.1	Categorical status of a <i>ni</i> -phrase: Pattern 1	151
5.2.2	Categorical status of a <i>ni</i> -phrase: Pattern 2	155
5.2.3	Verb types: Levin (1993)	158
5.2.4	Performance verbs	164
5.3	Benefactive raising	165
5.3.1	Absence of the <i>ni</i> -marked Benefactive phrase: Pattern 4	165
5.3.2	Indeterminate binding	167
5.3.2.1	Comparison with Kishimoto's proposal	177
5.3.3	Pronoun binding	177
5.3.4	Scope interaction	185
5.3.5	What undergoes raising?	189
5.4	Introducing a <i>ni</i> -marked Benefactive phrase: Pattern 3	190
5.5	The mechanism of Benefactive raising	194
5.6	Comparison with construction grammar	195
5.7	Properties of the 'give' verb	198
5.8	Benefactive constructions in Alamblak: Iwamoto (1999)	206

5.9	Comparison with the PRC	209
6	Conclusion and Remaining Issues	209
<b>Chapter 4 What Counts as a SINGLE Event?</b>		
<b>—Approaching from Japanese V-V Predicates</b>		
1	Introduction	213
1.1	Overview	213
1.2	Issue 1: Lexical or syntactic	215
1.3	Issue 2: How is a SINGLE event/argument structure derived?	216
2	What is a “SINGLE” Verb?	217
2.1	Four types of VVPs	217
2.2	Is T included?	224
2.3	Inner structures of VVPs	229
2.3.1	Focus particles and isolated tense	229
2.3.2	The inner structure of an event	232
2.3.3	Transitivity alternation: Sakai et al. (2004)	233
2.3.4	Decomposing VVPs	241
2.4	Little verb in VVPs	246
2.5	Interim summary	252
2.6	Type D: V1- <i>te</i> -V2	256
2.6.1	Constituency	258
2.6.2	Properties related to single/complex event(s)	263
3	Conclusion and Implication	265
Appendix to Chapter 4 T in Non-Finite Forms: Mihara (1997)		271
<b>Chapter 5 Conclusion</b>		277
<b>Bibliography</b>		282