A Study on the Light Verb Construction in English and Korean*

Sun-Woong Kim

0. Introduction

This paper aims at setting up a new structure for the light verb construction of Korean, based on the recent discussion of Hale and Keyser (1991, 1992, 1993a, 1993b). What is meant by the light verb in this paper is just the semantically defective verb (which will be formally clarified in section 2 below) of the sort that has been a topic of research in the literature since Jespersen (1954) and more recently in Grimshaw and Mester (1988), among others, and Han (1987), Ahn (1991) and Park (1992) for Korean light verbs: it refers to the verbs in phrases like *give the floor a sweep, give a groan, take a walk, have a lick, have a bite, make an inspection, make an offer, give a demonstration of the technique, do the ironing,* etc., for English and *hata* verbs like in *chengsohata* 'to clean,' *hapsekhata* 'to table-share' etc., in Korean. This paper is primarily concerned with the grammatical difference found in the examples below:

(1) a. *Chelswu-ka malwu-lul ha-n chengso
       -nomfloor-acc do-rel cleaning
    'lit: the cleaning that Chelswu gave to the floor'
  b. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-wa ha-n hapsek
       -nom -with do-rel table-sharing
    'lit: the table-sharing that Chelswu did with Yenghi'

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The relative clause (1a) is formed with the verb *chengsohata* 'to clean' and (1b) with *hapsekhata* 'to table-share', both of which consist of a verbal noun and a light verb *hata* 'to do'. Where does the difference of grammaticality come in? To begin with, it is obvious that *chengso* is a transitive verbal noun, while *hapsek* is an intransitive (unergative) verbal noun. However, simple difference in transitivity of verbal nouns cannot be reason for the difference in grammaticality shown in (1). An explanation is required.

In section 1, it will be proposed that Korean light verb constructions, as well as those of English, should be divided into two types according to the properties of verbal nouns (Kearns 1988). Section 2 is an application of Higginbotham's (1985) theory of saturation, which is adopted in this paper, to take care of the fact that the verbal noun in light verb construction is not a full argument. In section 3, an explanation of light verb construction will be given in terms of the minimal X′-structure proposed by Chomsky (1993) and, in a similar vein, by Hale and Keyser (1991, 1992, 1993a, 1993b). It will eventually be concluded that Korean light verb *hata* should be divided into two types: true light verb and "heavy" verb.[1]

1. Two Types of the Light Verb Construction

According to Kearns (1988), there is a sharp distinction between two types of verbal nouns which have traditionally been considered to belong to the same class. Consider the following contrast:

(2) a. John gave a sweep to the floor this morning.
     b. John made an inspection last week.
     c. John gave a book to Mary.

(3) *Wh*-movement
     a. *Which sweep did John give to the room this morning?
     b. Which inspection did John make last week?
     c. Which book did John give to Mary?

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[1] I put double quotation mark to "heavy" to distinguish it from true heavy verb *hata* as is *paphata* 'to cook rice', *melihata* 'to do hair', *namwuhata* 'to collect wood (for fuel)', etc. I have no idea of exact nomenclature for "heavy" *hata*, the properties of which will be discussed below. It may be dubbed "quasi" light verb. Whatever the name may be, I would like to put emphasis on the fact *hata* in *hapsekhata* is different from *hata* in *chengsohata*.

(4) Pronominalization

    a. *John gave a sweep to the floor this morning and Mary gave one to the room yesterday.

    b. John made an inspection yesterday and may make another one today.

    c. John gave a book to Mary this morning and Tom gave one to Mary yesterday.

(5) Passivization

    a. *A sweep was given to the floor this morning.

    b. An inspection was made last week.

    c. A book was given to Mary.

Inspection in (2b) behaves just in the same way as regular nouns do ((b) examples of (3–5)), whereas *sweep* in (2a) does not, as is shown in (a) examples of (3–5). In other words, the noun *inspection* of the phrase *make an inspection* can be *wh*-moved, can be pronominalized, and can be passivized like a regular concrete noun as shown in (c) examples of (3–5). On the other hand, *sweep* of *give a sweep to the floor* cannot be moved by *wh*-movement, nor can be pronominalized, and nor can be passivized. By a simple conjecture, it can be said that *inspection* in (b) examples of (2–5) is a regular concrete noun that can carry a θ–role, while *sweep* in (a) examples of (2–5) is defective in the sense that it cannot participate in the usual routine NP–movement operations that can be done to regular nouns. Kearns (1988) assumes that *sweep* in this case is not a full argument but sort of predicate, to which a θ–role cannot be assigned. On this basis, she suggests that there are two types of light verb constructions in English.

(6) Two Types of Light Verb Constructions

    a. True Light Verb (TLV): *give* a sweep, *give* a groan, *have* a lick, etc.

    b. Vague Action Verb (VAV): *make* an inspection, *give* a demonstration, *do* the ironing, etc.

In sum, TLV is different from VAV in that the former takes a defective argument as its complement.

Now let us consider a similar distinction in Korean. Compare Korean light verbs *chengsohata* 'to clean' and *hapsekhata* 'to table–share' again. Tra-

ditionally, the two verbs have been assumed to differ in transitivity:
chengsohata is a transitive verb and *hapsekhata* is an intransitive verb.

(7) a. Chelswu-ka   malwu-lul   chengso-ha-ass-ta.
         -nom   floor-acc   cleaning-pst-dec
      'Chelswu cleaned the floor.'
   b. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-wa   hapsek-ha-ass-ta.
         -nom   -with   table-sharing-do-pst-dec
      'Chelswu shared the table with Yenghi.'

Compare the following relative clauses:

(8) a. *[Chelswu-ka   malwu-lul   t$_i$ ha-n]   chengso$_i$
          -nom   -acc   do-rel   sweep(cleaning)
       'lit: the sweep that Chelswu gave to the floor'
   b. [Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-wa   t$_i$ ha-n]   hapsek$_i$
          -nom   -with   do-rel   table-sharing
       'lit: the table-sharing that Chelswu did with Yenghi'

They are relative clauses headed by *chengso* 'cleaning' and *hapsek* 'table-
sharing', respectively. Most Koreans agree that (8a) is bad and (8b) is
good. This leads us to assume that the traditional transitive/intransitive dis-
tinction in verbal nouns of Korean light verbs has something to do with the
distinction we saw in (3-5) English examples. Now let us have a look at (9-
12) in which we find a similar though not the same distinction:

(9) a. *Chengs-cocha Chelswu-kamalwu-lul ha-ass-ta. (Topicalization)
           -even   -ka   -accdo-pst-dec
        'lit: Even cleaning, Chelswu did to the floor.'
   b. Hapsek-cocha Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-wa   ha-ass-ta.
           -even   -nom   -with do-passive-pst-dec
        'lit: Even table-sharing, Chelswu did with Yenghi.'

(10) a. *Malwu-lul   Chelswu-ka   chengso-lul   ha-ass-ta. (Scrambling)
            -acc   -nom   -acc do-pst-dec
         'lit: Floor Chelswu cleaned.'
    b. Hapsek-ul   Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-wa   ha-ass-ta.
            -nom   -with   what-acc   do-pst-dec
         lit: Table-sharing Chelswu did with Yenghi.'

(11) a. *Chelswu–ka malwu–lul   han–kes–un chengso–ta. (Pseudo–cleft)
　　　　　　–nom　　　　–acc do–n–top　 cleaning–dec
　　　　'lit: What Chelswu did to the floor is cleaning.'

　　 b. ?Chelswu–ka Yenghi–wa　　 han–kes–un　 hapsek–ita.
　　　　　　–nom　　　　–with do–n–top　　 table–sharing–dec
　　　　'lit: What Chelswu did with Yenghi is table–sharing.'

(12) a. *Chelswu–ka malwu–lul mwuess–ul ha–ass–ni? (*Wh*–movement)
　　　　　　　　　　　　what—acc
　　　　'What did Chelswu do to the floor?'

　　 b. A: Chelswu–ka　Yenghi–wa　mwues–ul　　ha–ass–ni?
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　what–acc
　　　　'What did Chelswu do with Yenghi?'

　　　 B: ?Hapsek/yakhon　　　　ha–ass–e.
　　　　　　engagement　　　　 do–pst–dec
　　　　'(He) did table–sharing/engagement (with her).'

The transitive verbal noun *chengso* in (a) examples of (9–12) cannot be topicalized, nor can be scrambled, nor can be pseudo–clefted, and nor can be *wh*–moved. *Chengso* here may well be considered to not be a full argument, while the intransitive (unergative) verbal noun *hapsek* in (b) examples of (9–12) is thought to be as full an argument as a regular concrete NP in that it can be topicalized, can be scrambled, can be pseudo–clefted, and can be *wh*–moved.

Based on this obervation, let us assume that the similar distinction to that in (3–5) English examples exist in Korean, too: *chengsohata* belongs to (6a) type and *hapsekhata* belongs to (6b) type. *Chengso* in *chengsohata* is a defective NP in that it does not behave like regular NPs, while *hapsek* in *hapsekhata* behaves syntactically in the same way as regular NPs. In section 2, we will introduce a theory of saturation that we will assume to be on the right track, and on the basis of that we will try to give an explanation of Korean light verb construction in section 3.

2. A Theory of Saturation

2.1. Extended θ–Roles: E and R

This paper assumes that there are more θ–roles than ordinary ones in a predicate's thematic structure. First of all, we assume the validity of the so–

called "Davidsonian" argument, E(vent), in the thematic structure of a predicate. The Davidsonian argument has been unceasingly observed in the literature, among which in the tradition of generative grammar, Higginbotham's (1985) work is remarkable. He argues that the θ-grid of ordinary predicates includes an event position, E, and it denotes a spatio-temporal location in which the event or action denoted by a predicate occurs. A verb *cut*, let us say, has E_{CUT} in its θ-structure in addition to Agent and Theme θ-roles, to represent the fact that the event or action of cutting is done in a certain place at a certain time.

This paper also assumes another extended θ-role, which is denoted by R (referential). R denotes an entity that is referred to by a nominal expression. A *cat*, for example, refers to an entity in the real world, which can be expressed as in (13):

(13) $\exists x$ (x, a cat)

2.2. A Theory of Saturation

A lexical entry is assumed to have at least, according to Hale and Keyser (1986), [1] Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS) in which the nature of the event along with the semantic roles borne by the participants in the event are given, and [2] a Syntactic Argument Structure (SAS), which will be linked to LCS by rules of Linking to form a θ-grid.

(14) cut; LCS: x produces z, z=linear separation in the material integrity of y, by sharp edge coming into contact with y
　　　　　a. [+V, −N]; SAS: ⟨1, 2, E⟩
　　　　　　　　　Linking → ⟨1x, 2y, E_{CUT}⟩
　　　　　b. [−V, +N]; SAS: ⟨R⟩
　　　　　　　　　Linking → ⟨Rz⟩

Grimshaw (1990) pointed out that E and R turn out to be quite different from one another. First, R counts as the external argument of nouns, whereas E does not count as the external argument of verbs. Second, R can be identified with an lexical conceptual structure argument of the head, which is never possible for E. E does not interact with the syntactic S-structure representation of the predicates, whereas R does. This paper, however, will not proceed to further elaborate the distinction since that would stray to far from the thesis. Rather we will assume that E and R, both of them, can interact with the S-structure representation as will be shown below.

With this much background, let us consider a theory of saturation. Higginbotham (1985) suggests that there are four basic modes of discharge, which take place under government:

(15) a. θ–marking, exemplified by pairs consisting of a predicate and one of its arguments

b. θ–binding, exemplified by determiners or measure words

c. θ–identification, exemplified in simple adjectival modification or adverb modification

d. autonomous θ–marking, where the value assigned to the open position in the θ–marker is the attribute given by its sister constituent

E is discharged by Tense (the event or action denoted by the verb). R position in a nominal grid is discharged by determiner or quantifier via θ–binding. When all of the position in a θ–grid have been discharged, the constituent bearing that grid is said to be saturated.

(16) A constituent such that every role in its associated grid is discharged is saturated.

Let us take a simple example:

(17) The cat ran fast.

(17) is a fully saturated sentence and can be illustrated as in (18):
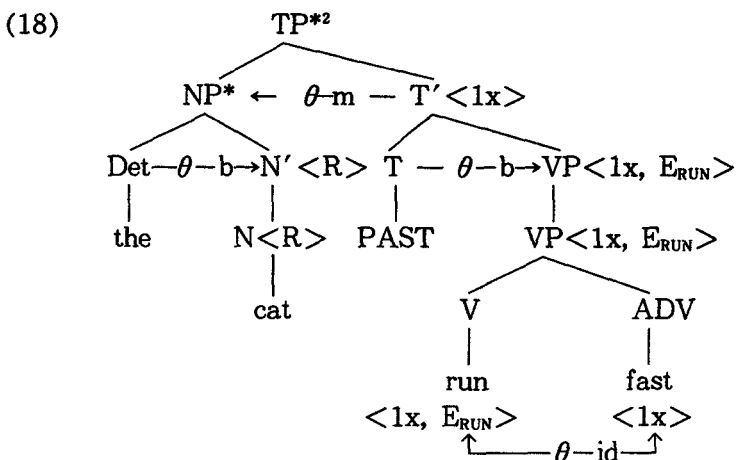
(18)
```
                    TP*²
                   /    \
          NP*  ←  θ–m  —  T′<1x>
          /  \              /  \
   Det—θ–b→N′<R>   T — θ–b→VP<1x, E_RUN>
     |        |       |         |
    the      N<R>    PAST     VP<1x, E_RUN>
              |                 /    \
             cat               V      ADV
                               |       |
                              run     fast
                           <1x, E_RUN>  <1x>
                              ↑____θ–id____↑
```

The only position of *fast* $<1x>$ is discharged by θ–identification with the event position $<E_{RUN}>$ of run. The remaining grids of *run*+*fast* percolate up to VP via V to form $<1_x, E_{RUN}>$. Here, as we just assumed above, T θ–binds E_{RUN}: E_{Run} is discharged off by θ–binding. The remaining grids of VP $<1_x>$ percolate up to T' $<1_x>$. On the other hand, the R position of the noun *cat* is discharged off by via θ–binding by the determiner as we assumed in (15) and the whole NP gets marked *as a fully saturated argument. This NP is θ–marked by T' $<1_x>$, thereby discharging $<1_x>$, and the whole TP becomes saturated.

3. The Structure of Light Verb Constructions

3.1. Minimal X'–structure for Light Verb Constructions

To begin with, I assume the minimal X'–structure in (19) as the structure of VP. This is basically due to Larson (1988) and is adopted, in a slightly modified way, in a series of works by Hale and Keyser (1991, 1992, 1993a, 1993b, class lecture (fall 1993)).

(19)   V^{max} [3]
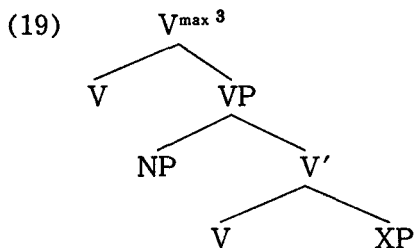
According to the minimal X'–structure guideline, (7a) might have the structure shown in (20).

---

(20)

```
                    TP
                   /  \
                      T'
                     /  \
                  VP      T
                 /  \     |
               NP    V'   ass
               |     |    |
          Chelswu-ka VP   V
                    /  \
                  NP    V'
                  |    /  \
              malwu-lul VN    V
                        |     |
                  chengso(-lul)  ha
```
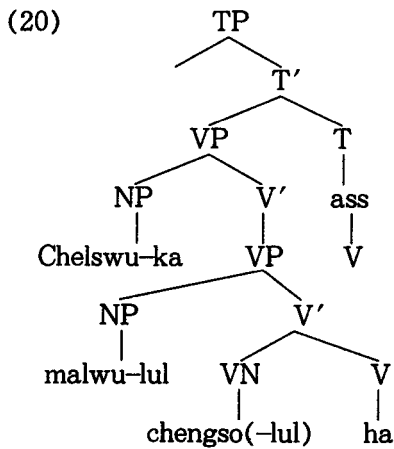
The structure (20), however, is not a structure which Hale and Keyer's framework (1993a, 1993b) allows, because in that framework, a specifier (that is, the inner subject) can only appear if the complement is a predicate. In that framework, only AP and PP can be predicates under the following definitions of XPs. (Hale and Keyser 1993b: 10):

(21) Categories:
  a. V — takes a complement XP and forms a (dynamic) event expression.
  b. P — takes a complement XP and form a prediate.
  c. A — is a predicate.
  d. N — is an entity expression.

(20) violates their principle of Full Interpretation.[4] In accordance to their assumptions, now I propose (21) as a plausible structure for (7a):

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[4] That the structure (20) is not allowed is evidenced from the following ill-formed usage (Hale and Keyser 1993a: 74):

(i) [their (39)]
  a. *The clown laughed the child. (i.e., got the child to laugh)
  b. *The alfalfa sneezed the colt. (i.e., made the colt sneeze)
  c. *We'll sing Loretta this evening. (i.e., have Loretta sing)
  d. *Good feed calved the cows early. (i.e., got the cows to calve)

According to Hale and Keyser (1993b: 5) the sentences in (i) are out, since, no uninterpreted, or "superfluous", projections may appear in a well-formed argument structure.

(21)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP*}\\
\text{NP} - \theta\text{--m} \rightarrow \text{T}' <1x>\\
\text{Chelswu--k}^5 \quad \text{V}^{max} <1x,\ E> \leftarrow \theta\text{--b--T}\\
\text{VP} <1x,\ E> \quad \text{V} \qquad \text{ass}\\
\text{NP} \leftarrow \theta\text{--m--V}' <1x,\ 2y,\ E>\\
\text{malwu--lul}_1 \quad \text{PP} \qquad \text{V}\\
\text{NP} \quad \text{P} \qquad \text{ha}\\
\qquad\qquad <1,\ 2,\ 3,\ E>\\
\text{chengso} \quad \text{lul}_2\\
<x,\ y,\ E>
\end{array}
$$
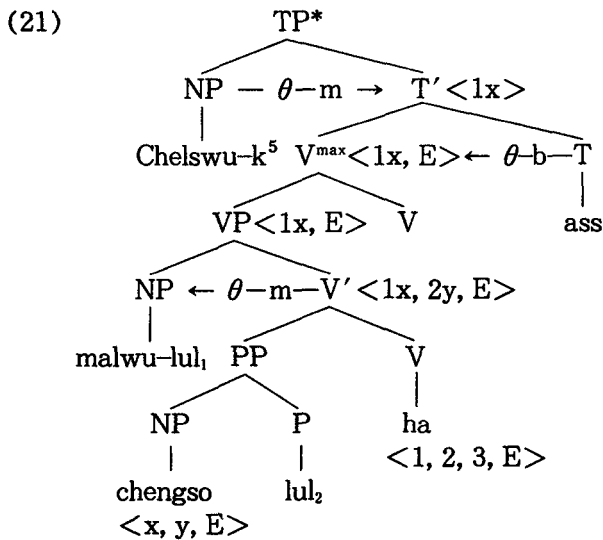
Here, the verbal noun *chengso* is incomplete (defective) in the sense that it carries only SAS $<x, y, E>$ and *ha* is also incomplete in the sense that it carries only LCS $<1, 2, 3, E>$. What it is actually claimed here is that *ha* of *chengsohata* is a true light verb. The syntactic position of 3 of *ha* is occupied by *chengso*. The SAS of *chengso* and the LCS of *ha* percolate up to V′ to form a θ–grid of $<1x, 2y, E>$. $<2y>$ is discharged by θ–marking to NP *malwu* and the remaining positons percolate up to V^{max} as $<1x, E>$, where E is discharged by T via θ–binding. The only θ–position $<1x>$ is discharged via θ–marking to NP *Chelswu* and the whole TP gets saturated.

The case marker –*lul*₂ is assumed to be different from –*lul*₁ at least in that the former is overt from the lexical syntax, while the latter is not.[6]

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[5] Hale and Keyser (1993a, 1993b) suggest that NP complement does not force the existence of an inner subject (=SPEC of VP) and the subject is located in the SPEC of IP outside of VP. If they are correct, then the subject *Chelswu* would be located in the SPEC of TP. I am not sure, however, of the exact position of the outer subject.

[6] An anonymous reviewer of *Language Research* suggested that true light verb construction be analyzed on a par with double object construction in that they behave syntactically in a similar way. Consider the following sentences:

(i) a. Chelswu–ka   namwu–lul   kaci–lul   call–lass–ta.
       –nom   tree–acc   brach–acc   cut–pst–dec
    'Chelswu cut a branch of the tree.'

Several scholars have observed the difference between them. Ahn (1991), for example, identifies $-lul_1$ as a strong Case, $-lul_2$ as a weak Case. Similar distinction can be shown in Park (1992). Park (1992: 108) gives us a very interesting distinction between $-lul_1$ and $-lul_2$. He calls $-lul_1$ a structural Case marker and $-lul_2$ a morphological Case marker. If he was right in saying that morphological Cases are assigned to non-arguments as is shown below, it would be a good evidence in favor of the structure (21)

    b. *Chelswu-ka   namwu-lul   calu-n   kaci
            -nom   tree-acc   cut-rel   branch
        'the branch of the tree which Chelswu cut'
    c. *Kaci-ka(Chelswu-ekey)   namwu-lul   cal-li-ess-ta
        branch-non   -by   tree-acc   cut-pass-pst-dec
        'the branch of the tree was cut (by Chelswu).'

Data in (i) are quite suggestive of the fact that in double object construction with inalieable possession relation, the possessed might be defective in just the same way that *chengso* in *chengsohata* is. Furthermore, similar ungrammaticality is found when the numeral quantifier shows up as an object:

    (ii) a. Chelswu-ka   maykcwu-lul 3-pyeng-ul   masi-ess-ta.
                -nom beer-acc   3-cl-scc   drink-pst-dec(cl=classifier)
            'Chelswu drank three bottles of beer.'
    b. *Chelswu-ka   maykcwu-lul   masi-n   3-pyeng
                                    drink-rel
        'three bottles of beer that Chelswu drank'

If we adopt the view that numeral quantifiers, as predicates, enter into predication relation with their antecedent (Miyagawa 1989), (i) and (ii) may be a piece of evidence that double object construction belongs to the same type with true light verb construction.

However, not all double object constuctions behave similarly:

    (iii) a. Chelswu-ka   chayk-ul   Swunhi-lul   cwu-ess-ta.
                -non   book-acc   -acc   give-pst-dec
            'Chelswu gave a book to Swunhi.'
    b. Chelswu-ka   Swunhi-lul   cwu-n   chayk
                                    give-rel
        'the book which Chelswu give to Swunhi'
    c. Chelswu-ka   chayk-ul   cu-n   Swunhi
        'Swunhi to whom Chelswu gave a book'

In sum, let us conclude that data in (i) and (ii) merely suggest that some object in double object construction may be a defective argument (or predicate), but does not suggest that double object construction is true light verb construction or vice versa.

since we assume that *chengso* is not a full argument.[7]

(22) a. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-pota twubay-lul   te   ca-ass-ta. (Adverb)
         -nom   -than two times-acc more sleep-pst-dec
      'Chelswu slept twice more than yenghi.'

   b. Chelswu-ka   cemsim-ul   mek-ci-lul   an-ha-ass-ta. (Nominal)
         -nom   lunch-acc   eat-nomi-acc not-do-pst-dec
      'Chelswu did not eat lunch.'

   c. Chelswu-ka   chayk-ul ilk-ki-man-ul   ha-ass-ta. (Delimiter)
         -nom book-acc read-nomi-del-acc do-pst-dec
      'Chelswu did reading only.'

Another brief remark on $-lul_2$ is in order. Here $-lul_2$ corresponds to what Hale and Keyser (1993b) call by the name "central coincidence." They assume the abstract P of the argument structure of locatum verbs, for example, belongs to the category "central coincidence." Its complement corresponds to the possession θ-role. The complement of P is "possessed," while the inner subject (SPEC) is the "possessor."

(23) Locatum verbs: saddle, corral, etc.
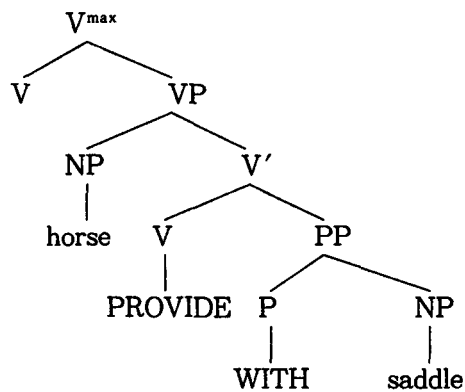
On the other hand, the circled P in (24), for example, corresponds to their P of "terminal coincidence" of location verbs in (25).

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[7] Park (1992) takes verbal nouns, adverbials, and PPs as typical nonarguments to which a mophological Case is assigned.

(24)

```
                        Vᵐᵃˣ
                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                   VP           V
              ┌─────┴─────┐
             NP          V′
              │      ┌────┴────┐
          chengso    PP        V
                  ┌───┴───┐     │
                 NP       ℗    ha
                  │        │
               malwu    -e/ekey
```

(25) Location verbs: shelve, pen, etc.

```
                   Vᵐᵃˣ
              ┌─────┴─────┐
              V          VP
                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                   NP          V′
                          ┌─────┴─────┐
                          V           PP
                          │       ┌────┴────┐
                        PUT       P        NP
                                  │
                                 TO
```

Its complement corresponds to the "goal" in the conventional θ-theory terminology. This is the end-point in a change of location. The inner subject (SPEC) corresponds to "theme," the entity which undergoes the change.

(21) contrasts with (26) below. Here *ha* of *hapsekhata* is treated like a regular heavy verb in the sense that it carries a θ-grid in which SAS and LCS are linked.[8]

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[8] An anonymous reviewer of *Language Research* pointed out the fact that the intransistive verbal nouns *hapsek* and *chwunggo* themselves can have an argument as their complement.

(i) a. Chelsu-ka   <u>Yenghi-wa   hapsek</u>-ha-ass-ta.
                    -with
     'lit: Chelswu did table-sharing with yenghi.'
   b. Yenghi-ka <u>ku   il-ul   ppalli   kkutnay-lako   chwunggo</u>-ha-ass-ta.
                that work-acc quickly finish-c   advice-do-pst-dec
     'Yenghi advised (someone) to finish the work quickly.'

This matter is concerned with the internal thematic structure of phrases like [ₙₚ Yenghi-wa hapsek] and [ₙₚ il-ul ppalli kkutnay-lako chwunggo], and does not exert negative influence on one of our conclusions the *hata* in *hapsekhata* or *chwunggo* in *chwunggohata* is a "heavy" verb.

(26)

```
                                TP*
                   _____/     \
              NP  ←   θ–m   —   T′ <1x>
                              ____/      _____
          Chelswu          VP<1x, E>← θ–b — T
                        ___/      \
                    NP←  θ–m  —  V
                     |            |
                  hapsek         ha
                   <R>       <1x, 2y, E>
```

The θ–grid <2y> of *ha* <1x, 2y, E> is discharged by *hapsek* via θ–mark-
ing, and the remaining <1x, E> percolates up to VP, where E is discharged
off by T via θ–binding. <1x> percolates up to to T′, where <1x> is dis-
charged off via θ–marking to NP *Chelswu*.

An alternative approach to Korean light verb constructions based on the
minimal X′–structure concept was recently made by Yang (1993). He pro-
poses the structure (28) for sentences like (27):

(27) Cekkwun–i   tosi–lul   pakoy–ha–ass–ta.
     enemy–nom   city–acc   destroy–do–pst–dec
     'The enemy destroyed the city.'

(28)

```
                         Agr–o^max
                     ___/        \___
                 VP                  Agr–o
              __/   \___
           DP          V′
                    __/   \___
                 DP           V
              __/   \__        |
           DP         D′      ha
                   __/   \
                 NP        D
              __/   \___
           DP          N′
            |        __/   \__
        cekkwun  DP          N
                  |           |
                tosi        pakoy
```
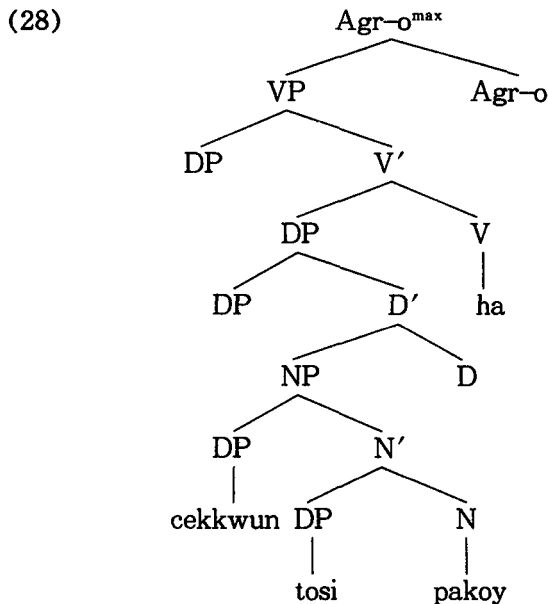
He proposed (28) as a better structure than what he calls "Covert Object–Raising" structure (i.e., VP–shell structure, which is adopted here). However, the derivation based on (28) is not legitimate since it will induce a violation of HMC due to the intervening D. Furthermore, if we follow Hale and Keyser (1993a, 1993b), (28) cannot be a possible structure since a phrase cannot have an internal subject (*cekkwun*) unless its complement is VP or PP. Therefore, (28) is rejected in favor of (21) as the proper structure of true light verb construction.

3.2. Verbal Noun

Up to now, it has been actually shown that the set of Korean light verbs may well be narrowed down to those with the alleged transitive verbal nouns. Those with the intransitive (unergative) verbal nouns are "heavy" verbs in a strict sense. In this section let us take a closer look at other analyses of Korean verbal nouns. This section is again centered on *chengso* and *hapsek* for expository purposes. Consider the following contrast again.

(29) a. Chelswu–ka   malwu–lul   chengso–ha–ass–ta.
     b. Chelswu–ka   Yenghi–wa   hapsek–ha–ass–ta.

There have been a lot of theories about verbal nouns in Korean, among which we would like to discuss two representative works of Ahn (1991) and Park (1992).

Consider the following contrast of relativized noun phrases:

(30) a. *[Chelswu–ka   malwu–lul t_i ha–n]   chengso$_i$/cosa$_i$ [9]
              –nom   –acc   –rel   cleaning/inspection
        'the cleaning/inspection that Chelswu did'

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[9] A participant in the Summer Meeting, LSK, 1993, pointed out to me that (i) is a perfect sentence.

(i) Chelswu–ka   malwu–eyse   ha–n   chengso
        –nom   –loc
        'A sweep/cleaning Chelswu made on the floor.'

What I do have in mind, however, is that (i) is of different structure from (30) in that (i) contains a locative *malwu–eyse*.

b. [Chelswu–ka Yenghi–wa t, ha–n] hapsek$_i$/yakhon$_i$/chwuichim$_i$
                                   –with   table–sharing/engagement/sleep
    'the table–sharing/engagement/sleep that Chelswu did with
    Yenghi'

According to Park (1992), the relevant difference between the transitive
chengso and the intransitive *hapsek* is that the former is an X^0–level catego-
ry, while the latter is an XP category. That is, he claims that the XP cate-
gory can be moved by *wh*–movement and can be the head noun of a rela-
tive clause (30b), while the X^0 category cannot be moved by *wh*–movement
as is shown in (30a). However, it is not clear why the transitive nominal is
a X^0 category, while the intransitive nominal is an XP category. Examples
in (30) impose a similar problem to Ahn (1991), according to whose analy-
sis verbal nouns in light verb constructions are verbs. Ahn (1991) suggests
several arguments to show that the verbal noun in light verb construction
is a syntactic verb.[10] His first argument is that it cannot be extracted:

(31) a. *Yenghi–ka   yenge–lul   ha–n   kongpwu (Relativization)
            –nom   English–acc do–rel   study
         'lit: Study that Yenghi did English.'

     b. *Kongpwu–cocha Yenghi–ka   yenge–lul   ha–ass–ta. (Topicalization)
            study   –even   –nom English–acc do–pst–dec
         'lit: Even study, Yenghi did English.'

     c. *Kongpwu–lul   Yenghi–ka   yenge–lul ha–ass–ta. (Scrambling)
            study   –acc   –nom
         'lit: Study, Yenghi did English.'

     d. *Yenghi–ka yenge–lul   ha–n–kes–un kongpwu–ta. (Pseudo–cleft)
            –nom English–acc do–rel–n–topic study   –dec
         'lit: What Yenghi did English is to study.'

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[10] Most of all, if verbal nouns in light verb construction are verbs as Ahn (1991)
claims, then it would be predicted that *ha* need not be supported in the long–form
negation forms, for example.

(i) a. Chelswu–ka   ku saken–ul cosa(–lul) ha–ass–ta.
    b. *Chelswu–ka   ku saken–ul cosa(–lul) ass–ta.

If he is right in considering *cosa* to be a verb, then it would not be necessary to
support stranded affixes –*ass–ta* and (ib) is falsely predicted to be grammatical.

However, as is clear by now, the following examples show that his observation in (31) is not exhaustive:

(32) a. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-wa   ha-n   hapsek
         -nom   -with do-rel   table-sharing
      'table-sharing that Chelswu did with Yenghi'

   b. Hapsek-cocha Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-wa   ha-ass-ta.
         -even   -nom   -with do-pst-dec
      'Even table-sharing, Chelswu did with Yenghi.'

   c. Hapsek-ul   Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-wa   ha-ass-ta.
         -acc   -nom   -with do-pst-dec
      'Table-sharing, Chelswu did with Yenghi.'

   d. ?Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-wa   ha-n-kes-un   hapsek-ita.
         -nom   -with do-rel-n-topic   table-sharing-dec
      'What Chelswu did with Yenghi is table-sharing.'

According to our analysis, the verbal nouns in (30b) and (32) are fully saturated NPs and there is no reason for examples (30b) and (32) to be ungrammatical. However, (30a) and (31) examples are ungrammatical, since verbal nouns *chengso/cosa* are not arguments in a strict sense from the saturation theoretical point of view. Some points of interest is in order. First, when the object of a true light verb does not show up, the grammaticality of the whole sentence clearly improves.[11]

(33) a. Chelswu-ka   kkaykkuti chengso-lul   ha-ass-ta.
         -nom   cleanly/thoroughly   do-pst-dec
      'lit: Chelswu thoroughly cleaned.'

   b. Chelswu-ka   kkaykkuti   ha-n   chengso
                                              -rel
      'lit: cleaning that Chelswu thoroughly did'

   c. Chengso-lul   Chelswu-ka   kkaykkuti   ha-ass-ta.
         -acc   -nom
      'Cleaning, Chelswu did thoroughly.'

   d. Chelswu-ka   mwuess-ul   kkaykkuti   ha-ass-ni?
                    what   -acc
      'What did Chelswu do thoroughly?'

---

[11] I thank an anonymous reviewer for this point.

However, if the object appears overtly, the grammaticality degrades:

(34) a. Chelswu-ka   malwu-lul   kkaykkuti chengso-lul ha-ass-ta.
              -nom floor -acc leanly/thoroughtly   do-pst-dec
         'lit: Chelswu thoroughly cleaned the floor.'
     b. *Chelswu-ka   malwu-lul kkaykkuti ha-n   chengso
                                                     -rel
         'lit: cleaning that Chelswu thoroughly did to the floor'
     c. *Chengso-lul Chelswu-ka   malwu-lul   kkaykkuti ha-ass-ta.
            -acc   -nom   -acc
         'Cleaning, Chelswu did thoroughly to the floor.'
     d. *Chelswu-ka malwu-lul kkaykkuti mwuess-ul   ha-ass-ni?
                                             what -acc
         'What did Chelswu thoroughly do to the floor?'

Therefore, it can be concluded that the internal thematic structure of
chengso should be further differentiated according to whether the object is
overtly realized or not. I leave it open for further research.

Secondly, Ahn (1991) claims that the following sentences provide further
evidence that the verbal noun is clearly a verb.

(35) a. *Yenghi-ka   yenge-lul   mwues-ul ha-ass-ni? (*Wh*-question)
              -nom English-acc what -acc do-pst-qst
         'lit: What did Yenghi do to English?'
     b. *Yenghi-ka yenge-lul kukes-ul   ha-ass-ta.. (Pronominalization)
              -nom   -acc that -acc   do-pst-dec
         'lit: Yenghi did that to English.'
     c. *Yenghi-ka   yenge-lul   elyewun   kongpwu-lul
              -nom   -acc   difficult   -acc
         ha-ass-ta. (Adjectival modification)
         do-pst-dec
         'lit: Yenghi did difficult study to English.'

Ahn (1991) claims that the deviance in (35) immediately follows since
kongpwu is positioned in the V^0-slot. However, the same argument that was
given concerning (32) may hold against Ahn (1991) as is shown below:

(36) a. Chelswu–ka   Yenghi–wa   mwues–ul   ha–ass–ni?
             –nom   –with what –acc do–pst–qst
        'What did Chelswu do with Yenghi?'
     b. ?Chelswu–ka Yenghi–wa   kukes–ul   ha–ass–ta.
                                              that –acc
        (when *kukes* means *hapsek*)
        'Chelswu did that with Yenghi.'
     c. Chelswu–ka Yenghi–wa elyewun   hapsek–ul   ha–ass–ta.
                                    difficult   table–sharing–acc
        'Chelswu did difficult table–sharing with Yenghi.'

Thirdly, consider the following examples:

(37) a. Yenghi–ka yenge–lul kongpwu–cwungey   hwacangshil–ey
                                            –during   bathroom   –to
        ka–ass–ta.
        go–pst–dec
        'While studying English, Yenghi went to the bathroom.'
     b. Yenghi–ka   hangsang   hakkwa–lul   kongpwu–hwuey
                           always   schoolwork   study   –after
        Chelswu–wa   manna–ass–ta.
                     –with   meet –pst–dec
        'Always after finishing schoolwork, Yenghi met Chelswu.'

Ahn (1991) claims that unless we maintain that *kongpwu* is a Case assigner
in (37), these examples would remain problematic. Here as far as Cases
are concerned, I have no principled theory to explain the difference between
Ahn's (1991) weak and strong Case. However, it is clear that at least the
observation he made can be predictable in our structure (21) in that –*lul*$_1$ is
different from –*lul*$_2$ on a structural basis.

As a final point, let us consider a possibility of narrowing down "heavy"
verbs: some *hata* verbs with unaccusative verbal nouns show similar prop-
erties with respect to NP–movement.[12]

(38) a. Chelswu–ka   (ilccik)   tochak–ha–ass–ta.
                       early   arrival
        'Chelswu arrived early.'

[12] I thank an anonymous reviewer for this point.

    b. *Chelswu–ka   (ilccik)   ha–n   tochak
                                 –rel   arrival
     'the arrival which Chelswu did early'

    c. *Tochak–ul   Chelswu–ka ha–ass–ta.
       arrival –acc
     'Arrival, Chelswu did it.'

    d. *Chelswu–ka   ha–n   kes–un   tochak–ita.
                            thing–top   –dec
     'What Chelswu did was arrival.'

However, other intransitive (unergative) verbal nouns behave as we concluded concerning (26): they behave like a regular full argument:

(39) a. Yenghi–ka   casal–ul   ha–ass–ta.
                 suicide
     'Yenghi committed a suicide.'

    b. Yenghi–ka   ha–n   casal
                  –rel
     'The suicide which Yenghi committed.'

    c. Casal–ul   ha–n   kes–un   Yenghi–ita.
                        person
     'The person who committed a suicide is Yenghi.'

    d. Yenghi–nom ha–n   kes–un   casal–ita.
                      thing–top
     'What Yenghi did is suicide.'

In sum, this means that intransitive unergative verbal nouns form "heavy" verbs, while unaccusative verbal nouns form true light verbs along with transitive verbal nouns.

4. Conclusion

The major conclusion of this paper is that among the alleged light verb constructions with *hata* in Korean, only those with transitive verbal nouns and those with unaccusative verbal nouns, which are full arguments, are the true case of light verb construction. On the other hand, other intransitive (unergative) verbal nouns are not full arguments and the *hata* with them belongs to the "heavy" verb. The observation of such data has been

repeatedly made in the literature on the subject. However, no theory has yet given a principled explanation to the phenomena. Under the minimal X′ —structure of Hale and Keyser (1993a, 1993b, among others) and the saturation theory of Higginbotham (1985), a principled explanation to the Korean *hata* constructions are made possible.

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ABSTRACT

A Study on the Light Verb Construction in English and Korean

Sun–Woong Kim

This paper is an attempt to analyze the light verb construction of Korean, based on the recent proposal of Hale and Keyser (1993a, 1993b, among others) regarding minimal X'–structure. This paper is primarily concerned with the grammatical difference found in the examples below:

(1) a. *Chelswu–ka   malwu–lul t_i ha–n   chengso$_i$
            –nom   floor–acc   do–rel   cleaning
        'lit: the cleaning that Chelswu did to the floor'
    b. Chelswu–ka   Yenghi–wa t_i ha–n   hapsek$_i$
            –nom   –with   do–rel   table–sharing
        'lit: the table–sharing that Chelswu did with Yenghi'

The relative clause (1a) is formed with the verb *chengsohata* 'to clean' and (1b) comes from *hapsekhata* 'to table–share', both of which consist of a verbal noun plus a verb *hata* 'to do'. Where does the difference come from? At first glance, it is obvious that *chengsohata* is a transitive verb while *hap-*

sekhata in an (unergative) intransitive verb. However, the distinction of transtivity itself cannot form any reason for the grammaticality difference shown in (1).

I argue that *chengso* is not a full argument, whereas *hapsek* is and that this distinction can be accommodated in the minimal X′–structure suggested in Hale and Keyser (1993a, 1993b) along with Higginbotham's (1985) theory of saturation. I also argue that the range of Korean true light verb should be narrowed down to the *hata* as in *chengsohata* (transitive verbal noun plus *hata*) and *tochakhata* (unaccusative verbal noun plus *hata*) and that the *hata* as in *hapsekhata* (unergative verbal noun plus *hata*) is a "heavy" verb.

Department of English
Kwangwoon University
447–1, Wolgye–dong, Nowon–gu
Seoul 139–701
Korea