

CATEGORIAL AND STRUCTURAL MISMATCHES IN THE LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTION IN KOREAN

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1. Introduction

So-called light verb constructions in Korean end in *ha-ta*, which consists of the stem *ha*, which literally means 'do', and the indicative mood marker *ta*. However, not all predicates that end in *ha-ta* behave the same, which necessitates a classification. In this paper, along with a classification of different types of *ha-ta* predicates, multi-modular representations of *ha-ta* constructions are provided. What I mean by multi-modular representations is that a given construction is viewed as simultaneous manifestation of morphological, syntactic and logico-semantic properties of each lexical item that forms the construction. The framework is called Autolexical Syntax (Sadock 1985, 1991, among others), in which syntax, logico-semantics and morphology exist as autonomous components and do not serve as input to one another. The lexicon plays a crucial role since it is the lexical entries that must include all the syntactic, logico-semantic and morphological information. Thus, lexical entries for different types of *ha-ta* predicates are also provided. Furthermore, some intriguing problems related to the possibility of categorial mismatch among different components will be brought up.

2. Classification

Classifying *ha-ta* predicates is not a simple matter since depending on what criteria one uses, different groupings are possible. For example, Ahn (1990) gives the classification in (1).

- (1) Type I:
wuntong-ha-ta 'exercise', kyelceng-ha-ta 'decide', sengkong-ha-ta 'succeed', salang-ha-ta 'love', cel-ha-ta 'bow', il-ha-ta 'work', etc.

Type II:
hoypfi-ha-ta 'avoid', philo-ha-ta 'be tired', kantan-ha-ta 'be simple', hayngpok-ha-ta 'be happy', ttatus-ha-ta 'be warm', etc.

Type III:
yak-ha-ta 'be weak', kwu-ha-ta 'seek', pyen-ha-ta 'change', phi-ha-ta 'avoid', tho-ha-ta 'vomit', hun-ha-ta 'be common', etc.

Ahn argues that Type I and Type II are derived by syntactic incorporation while Type III is derived by a word formation rule by showing that Type III *ha-ta* predicates cannot be separated by a focus particle such as *man* 'only', whereas that is possible for Type I and Type II *ha-ta* predicates. As Ahn notes, all the members of Type III are monosyllabic:

- (2) a. kongpwu-man ha-ta (Type I)
study-only do-Ind
'to study only'
- b. phikon-man ha-ta (Type II)
tiredness-only do-Ind
'to be tired only'

- c. * ceng-man ha-ta (Type III)
 decision-only do-Ind
 'to decide only'

On the other hand, Ahn asserts that Type II and Type III share a property in terms of not allowing the accusative case marker to intervene between *ha-ta* and the element that precedes it, which contrast with Type I:¹

- (3) a. kongpwu-lul ha-ta (Type I)
 study-Acc do-Ind
 'to study'
- b. * phikon-ul ha-ta (Type II)
 tiredness-Acc do-Ind
 'to be tired'
- c. * ceng-ul ha-ta (Type III)
 decision-Acc do-Ind
 'to decide'

Unlike Ahn, Park (1989) gives a different classification. He groups *ha-ta* predicates depending on whether or not a *ha-ta* predicate denotes action. Thus, as in (4), *ha-ta* predicates that denote action are grouped as Group 1 and those denote state as Group 2.

- (4) Group 1:
 yeyyak-ha-ta 'reserve', phi-ha-ta 'avoid', swuye-ha-ta 'award', sangtam-ha-ta 'consult',
 tochak-ha-ta 'arrive', cakkok-ha-ta 'compose', etc.

Group 2:
 kkaykkut-ha-ta 'be clean', ttokttok-ha-ta 'be clever', tantan-ha-ta 'be strong', yak-ha-ta 'be weak', etc.

Park also notes that if the element preceding *ha-ta* is monosyllabic, then no element can appear inside the *ha-ta* predicate. Park's classification is defective in many ways compared to Ahn's, but instead of enumerating the problems, I will provide my own classification, which is more elaborate than either Ahn's or Park's.

Ha-ta predicates can be classified into two groups depending on whether or not the element preceding *ha-ta* can appear independently without *ha-ta*. Thus, in Group I the element preceding *ha-ta* can stand alone without *ha-ta* as an independent noun as *kongpwu* 'study' in (5b) and (5c).

- (5) a. John-i kongpwu-ha-yess-ta.
 -Nom study-do-Pst-Ind
 'John studied.'
- b. John-i kongpwu-lul coh-a ha-n-ta.
 -Nom study-Acc like-Inf do-Prs-Ind
 'John likes studying.'
- c. kongpwu-ka elyep-ta.
 study-Nom be difficult-Ind
 'Studying is hard.'

Since the element that precedes *ha-ta* in (5a) can appear as an independent noun without *ha-ta*, it is called a verbal noun (VN) in the literature.

Within this group, a further bifurcation is possible using the criterion of whether the accusative case marker can intervene between the VN and *ha-ta*. Thus, Type A *ha-ta* predicates in (6) allow the accusative case marker to intervene between the VN and *ha-ta* as in (8a), whereas Type B *ha-ta* predicates in (7) do not as in (8b).

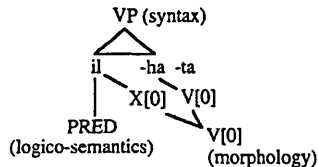
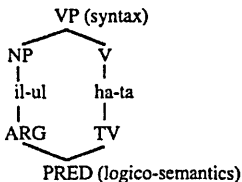
- (6) Group I - Type A:
kongpwu-*ha-ta* 'study', wuntong-*ha-ta* 'exercise', yenkwu-*ha-ta* 'research', salang-*ha-ta* 'love', il-*ha-ta* 'work', chil-*ha-ta* 'paint', etc.
- (7) Group I - Type B:
hayngpok-*ha-ta* 'be happy', philyo-*ha-ta* 'be necessary', pwuncwu-*ha-ta* 'be busy', philo-*ha-ta* 'be tired', kantan-*ha-ta* 'be simple', etc.
- (8) a. John-i il-ul ha-yess-ta
-Nom work-Acc do-Pst-Ind
'John did (some) work.'
- b. * John-i hayngpok-ul ha-yess-ta
-Nom happiness-Acc do-Pst-Ind
'John was happy.' (literally, 'John did happiness.')

The fact that the VNs of Type B in (7) and *ha-ta* cannot be separated by the accusative case marker correlates with the fact that *ha-ta* predicates in this class denote a property. That is, in (8) *ha-ta* functioning syntactically as a main verb and semantically as a two-place predicate requires an agentive argument, and while it is possible to perform an activity as in (8a), it is not possible to perform a property as in (8b). Nevertheless, Type B VNs, like Type A, can appear as a morphologically independent noun without *ha-ta* as in (9).

- (9) a. hayngpok-ul nukki-n-ta. b. philyo-ka eps-ta.
happiness-Acc feel-Prs-Ind necessity-Nom not be-Ind
'(I) feel happiness.' '(It) is not necessary.'

The difference between the construction with the intervening accusative case marker and the one without the accusative case marker can be illustrated by the multi-modular representations in (10a) and (10b).²

- (10) a. il-ul ha-ta
work-Acc do-Ind
'to do (some) work'
- b. il-ha-ta
work-do-Ind
'to work'



Type A and Type B VNs in (6) and (7), respectively, can participate in compounding as in *sihem kongpwu* 'exam studying' (a synthetic compound) and *kantan myenglyo* 'simple (and) clear' (a dvandva compound), which together with the fact that *ha-ta* can appear independently suggests that the members of Type A and Type B *ha-ta* predicates are formed by compounding. Thus, *ha* such as in *il-ha-ta* 'work' in (10b) can be described as morphologically a verb stem of a compound, although logico-semantically nil. The VN part in (10b) (i.e., *il* 'work') can be characterized as logico-semantically a predicate and morphologically a stem of a compound, the categorial status of which will be discussed later. Note also that while *il* 'work' is a noun phrase in syntax and an argument in logico-semantics in (10a), in (10b) I have not specified what it is in syntax yet.

The second group (Group II) includes *ha-ta* predicates in which the element preceding *ha-ta* can never appear as an independent noun. While the factor that precludes the insertion of the accusative case marker in Type B *ha-ta* predicates in (7) is a semantic one (i.e., Type B VNs denote a property), the fact that the insertion of the accusative case marker in Group II is not possible is predicted in terms of morphology since the element preceding *ha-ta* in this group can never stand alone. The members of Group II are either pure Korean, which all denote a property as in (11a),³ or monosyllabic Sino-Korean stems that have at least one bisyllabic Sino-Korean VN counterpart with a similar (but in most cases more concrete or narrower) meaning, which is either Type A or Type B depending on whether the VN denotes a property or not as in (11b).⁴

(11) Group II:

- a. ttatus-*ha-ta* 'be warm', kkaykkus-*ha-ta* 'be clean', tokttok-*ha-ta* 'be smart', hun-*ha-ta* 'be common', meng-*ha-ta* 'be absent-minded', etc.
- b. yak-*ha-ta* 'be weak' (yenyak-*ha-ta* (B))
 phyen-*ha-ta* 'be comfortable' (phyenan-*ha-ta* (B))
 kon-*ha-ta* 'be tired' (phikon-*ha-ta* (B))
 ceng-*ha-ta* 'decide' (kyelceng-*ha-ta* (A))
 pyen-*ha-ta* 'change' (pyenhwa-*ha-ta* (A))
 tho-*ha-ta* 'vomit' (kwutho-*ha-ta* (A))
 etc.

Ahn has excluded polysyllabic stems listed in my Group II, and listed only monosyllabic stems as his Type III as in (1). He ascribes this kind of grouping to the fact that the polysyllabic stems in my Group II allow the insertion of the focus particle *man* as in (12a), while that is not allowed with the monosyllabic stems as in (12b).

- (12) a. ttatus-*man ha-ta*. b. * yak-*man ha-ta*.
 warm-only do-Ind weak-only do-Ind
 '() is warm only.' '() is weak only.'

Ahn notes that such a distinction is sensitive to the syllabic structure. However, it is not the case that all monosyllabic *ha-ta* predicates disallow such an insertion. Note that in (13), in which the element preceding *ha-ta* is monosyllabic, all allow the insertion of the focus particle.

- (13) il/mal/cel/chil -*man ha-yess-ta*.
 work/talk/bow/paint -only do-Pst-Ind
 '() worked/talked/bowed/painted only.'

The VNs in (13) are classified as Type A, and the reason why the insertion of the focus particle is possible is that the VNs in Type A can be used independently, regardless of the syllabic structure.⁵ Therefore, in classifying *ha-ta* predicates, the question of whether the stem preceding *ha-ta* can

appear independently or not seems to have priority over the syllabic structure. Thus, polysyllabic stem *ha-ta* predicates and monosyllabic stem *ha-ta* predicates are grouped together in Group II in (11) since neither can appear independently nor do they allow the insertion of the accusative case marker. Nevertheless, it is still possible to sub-classify the *ha-ta* predicates in Group II into Type C and Type D depending on the syllabic structure as in (14) and (15).

- (14) Group II - Type C:
ttatus-ha-ta 'be warm', kkaikkus-ha-ta 'be clean', santtus-ha-ta 'be refreshing', ttokttok-ha-ta 'be smart', kwungkwum-ha-ta 'be anxious', etc.
- (15) Group II - Type D:
hun-ha-ta 'be common', meng-ha-ta 'be absent-minded', yak-ha-ta 'be weak', phyen-ha-ta 'be comfortable', kon-ha-ta 'be tired', ceng-ha-ta 'decide', pyen-ha-ta 'change', tho-ha-ta 'vomit', kwu-ha-ta 'rescue', phi-ha-ta 'avoid', etc.

The following preliminary classification of *ha-ta* predicates summarizes the above discussion:

- (16)
- | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| Group I (VN <i>ha-ta</i>) | | Group II (non-VN <i>ha-ta</i>) | |
| Type A | Type B | Type C | Type D (monosyllabic) |
| il-ha-ta
'work' | hayngpok-ha-ta
'be happy' | ttatus-ha-ta
'be warm' | ceng-ha-ta
'decide' |

However, there is a fact not reflected in the above classification. That is, although the stem preceding *ha-ta* of Type C cannot appear independently and therefore is grouped as non-VN *ha-ta* together with Type D, Type C must be grouped together with Type A and Type B with respect to allowing the insertion of the focus particle as seen in (12a). I will adopt Ahn's argument that the insertion of the focus particle serves as evidence for the syntactic reality of the stem that precedes *ha-ta*, proposing the following classification:

- (17)
- | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| Group I (VN <i>ha-ta</i>) | | Group II (non-VN <i>ha-ta</i>) | |
| Type A | Type B | Type C | Type D (monosyllabic) |
| il-ha-ta
'work' | hayngpok-ha-ta
'be happy' | ttatus-ha-ta
'be warm' | ceng-ha-ta
'decide' |
| Group III (syntactic) | | (non-syntactic) | |

3. Parts of Speech and the Syntactic Status

Although the insertion of the focus particle after the stem preceding *ha-ta* can be used as evidence for the syntactically independent status of the stem preceding *ha-ta* in Group III, there has been no clue as to what the syntactic category of the stem that precedes *ha-ta* is. Ahn asserts that the *ha-ta* predicates that allow the insertion of the focus particle (i.e., his Type I and Type II, which are included in my Group III) are formed by syntactic incorporation, specifically, NP incorporation. It is tempting to analyze the stem preceding *ha-ta* that allows the insertion of the focus particle as an incorporated nominal element since it can also appear as an independent noun in the object position, although it is only the stem of Type A *ha-ta* predicates that can appear as an accusative case-marked noun in the direct object position of *ha-ta* as in (10a). More crucially, the suffixation of the focus particle *man* is generally limited to nominal elements,⁶ and therefore the

fact that *ttatus-man ha-ta* in (12a) is possible strongly suggests that the stem preceding *ha-ta* in the compound form is a nominal element. Note that it is not possible to argue that the focus particle *man* in *ttatus-man ha-ta* in (12a) is suffixed to an independent noun since *ttatus*, which is a member of Type C *ha-ta* predicates, cannot stand alone.

While treating the stem preceding *ha-ta* in the compound form as a nominal element is one possibility, another possible way to analyze the stem is proposed by Park. Park treats *ha-ta* (in my Group III) as an incorporator as Ahn does, but unlike Ahn, he concludes that the stem preceding *ha-ta* belongs to the syntactic category of verb. By treating the stem preceding *ha-ta* as a verb, the issue of whether the incorporated element is a simple noun or a noun phrase, which Ahn raises, dissolves completely. Ahn claims that the incorporated element should be a noun phrase and not a noun since no external modification of the stem preceding *ha-ta* is possible as in (18a), whereas modification is possible when the stem preceding *ha-ta* is used independently as in (18b).

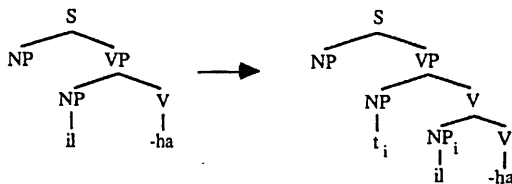
- (18) a. * John-i [motwu-ka silh-e ha-nun] il ha-yess-ta.
 -Nom all-Nom dislike-Inf do-Rel work do-Pst-Ind
- b. John-i [motwu-ka silh-e ha-nun] il-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -Nom all-Nom dislike-Inf do-Rel work-Acc do-Pst-Ind
 'John did the work that everyone dislikes.'

The fact that *il* 'work' cannot be modified as in (18a) definitely contrasts with the cases of noun incorporation in Southern Tiwa in (19) and West Greenlandic in (20), in which the incorporated element functions as a nominal element in syntax, and therefore allow a modification of the incorporated noun.⁷

- (19) Southern Tiwa (Allen et. al 1984:296)
 Yede a- diru- k'ar -hi.
 that Agr- chicken- eat -Fut
 'You will eat that chicken.'
- (20) West Greenlandic (Sadock 1985:406)
 Hansi nukappiaraq-u-voq miki-soq
 .Abs boy-be-3sg.Ind little-Nmz.Abs
 'Hans is a little boy.'

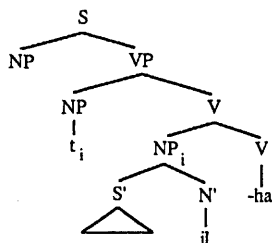
Note that if *il* in *il-ha-ta* in (10b) is an incorporated NP as Ahn claims, then there arises the question of whether the syntactic derivation in (21) is justifiable, in which a phrasal category is Chomsky-adjoined to a lexical category.

(21)



Another problem with such a proposal is that if the incorporated *il* is an NP, then it should be possible to incorporate the head noun and its modifier altogether as in (22).

(22)



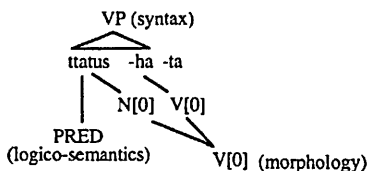
The structure in (22) should predict that the incorporated noun *il* 'work' should be able to be modified. However, such a sentence is not acceptable as seen in (18a). One cannot justify the unacceptability of (18a) by simply stating that no incorporated noun can be modified in Korean. The problem with such a constraint is that there exists a case in which a nominal modifier seems to be modifying an incorporated noun as in (23).⁸

- (23) John-un kongpwu-lul cal ha-nun haksayng-i-ta.
 -Top study-Acc well do-Rel student-be-Ind
 'John is a student who studies well.'

Nevertheless, when the incorporated stem of *ha-ta* predicate is analyzed as a verb as Park has proposed, it is a matter of course that the stem preceding *ha-ta* cannot be modified by an external nominal modifier.

Although Park's proposal seems to be appealing since a stem such as *ttatus* in (12a) seems intuitively far from being a nominal element semantically and since the question of whether the incorporated stem is a simple noun or a noun phrase does not arise, still the problem is that the focus particle *man* is never suffixed to a verb. Thus, the issue seems to boil down to the question of how to simultaneously capture the fact that the focus particle is suffixed to a nominal element and the intuition that the stem *ttatus* in (12a) is more or less like a predicate element semantically. Since each component is autonomous in Autolexical Syntax, the fact that the stem *ttatus* in (12a) can be suffixed with the focus particle can be expressed in the morphological component by treating the stem *ttatus* as a nominal element on the one hand, and on the other hand, as a predicate in the logico-semantic component as in (24).

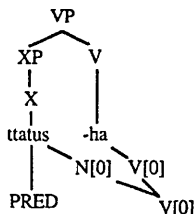
- (24) ttatus-ha-ta
 be warm-do-Ind
 'be warm'



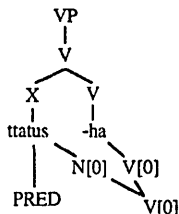
The difficult questions remaining are what the part of speech of the stem *ttatus* and the constituency of the VP in (24) are in syntax. I will discuss the latter question first.

The internal structure of the VP in (24) can be either of the structures given below:

(25) a.



b.



If one adopts the VP structure in (25a), it must be predicted that coordination of the XP is possible. However, that is not the case as shown in (26a). Only the entire *ha-ta* predicate can be conjoined as in (26b).

(26) a. * *nalssi-ka sensen-ko/-kwa/kuliko sangkhway-ha-ta.*⁹
 weather-Nom cool-Conj/Conj/and refreshing-do-Ind
 'The weather is cool and refreshing.'

b. *nalssi-ka sensen-ha-ko sangkhway-ha-ta.*
 weather-Nom cool-do-Conj refreshing-do-Ind
 (same as the above)

Although the coordination of the XP in (25a) is not possible, if we can find an independent reason for the unacceptability of (26a), then the structure of VP given in (25a) can still be valid. In fact, the unacceptability of (26a) can be attributed to the restriction that coordination is not allowed in compounds in Korean. Thus, the examples with a conjunction are either pretty bad or horrible in compounds:

(27) a. *kantan(*-kwa) myenglyo*
 simple-Conj clear
 'simple and clear.'

b. ?? *wupyo-wa tongcen swucip*
 stamp-Conj coin collect
 'stamp and coin collection'
 (OK as 'stamps and coin collection')

c. * *wupyo-wa tongcen swucip-ka*
 stamp-Conj coin collect-person
 'stamp and coin collector'
 (OK as 'stamps and a coin collector')

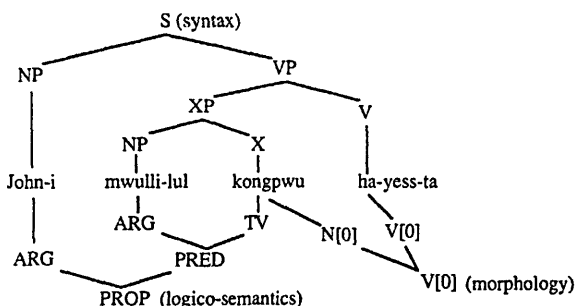
Since the stem preceding *ha-ta* and *ha* form a compound in morphology, regardless of the syntactic status of the stem and *ha*, the stem cannot participate in coordination. Thus, the unacceptability of (26a) does not serve as evidence against the VP structure in (25a), and if we adopt the structure in (25a), the fact that a focus particle can be inserted between the stem and *ha-ta* is explicable since

there is a major constituent boundary (viz., the XP) between the stem *ttatus* and the light verb *ha* in (25a).

If the structure of the VP in (25a) is correct, then when a VN takes its own direct object as in (28), the most plausible relationship between *mnulli-lul* (physics-Acc) and the stem *kongpwu* 'study' in the syntactic part of the representation given in (29) is that of direct object and verb as *mnulli* is suffixed with the accusative case marker. That is, the category of the stem preceding *ha-ta* (i.e., X in the structure in (29)) is most likely to be a verb, and the fact that the stem preceding *ha-ta* cannot be modified by a nominal modifier becomes explicable.

- (28) John-i mnulli-lul kongpwu-ha-yess-ta.
 -Nom physics-Acc study-do-Pst-Ind
 'John studied physics.'

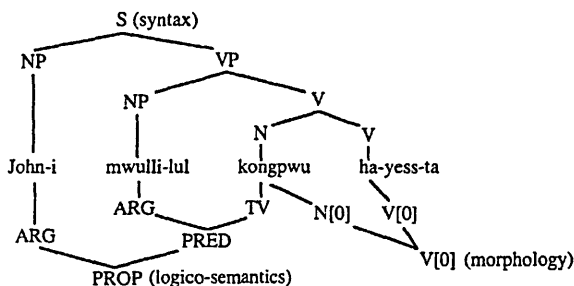
(29)



However, there arises the problem of how to justify the categorial mismatch between syntax and morphology. That is, if we adopt the VP structure in (29) (and analogously the one in (25a)), then the stem preceding *ha-ta* must be a verb in syntax, but it is a noun in morphology.

On the other hand, if we adopt the structure in (25b) treating the *ha-ta* predicate as a complex verb, then the categorial mismatch between syntax and morphology is avoidable as in (30).

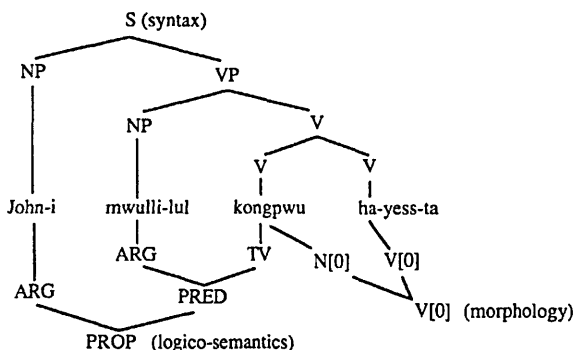
(30)



However, the syntactic structure in (30) is also problematic in that the fact that the focus particle can be inserted between the stem and *ha-ta* requires to be justified since there is no major constituent boundary between the stem and *ha-ta*, and also the fact that the stem cannot be modified by a nominal modifier remains unexplained.

The third possibility is to treat the stem as a verb in syntax as in (31).

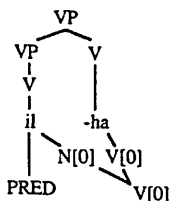
(31)



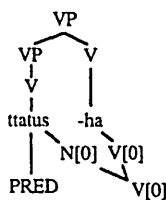
Although the structure in (31) would not be problematic with regard to the impossibility of nominal modification of the incorporated VN, it cannot explain how the focus particle can be inserted between the stem and *ha-ta*, and the problem of the categorial mismatch between syntax and morphology remains.

Although I was not able to provide definite answers for what the syntactic category of the stems in *ha-ta* predicates is and what the syntactic structure of *ha-ta* constructions is, based on the previous discussion, I consider the following multi-modular representations to be least problematic, leaving the categorial mismatch between syntax and morphology unjustified.¹⁰

(32) a. Type A *ha-ta* predicate



b. Type C *ha-ta* predicate



4. Lexical Entries

Type B *ha-ta* predicates, the stem of which can appear as an independent noun as in (9) like Type A, nevertheless cannot be separated by the accusative marker as in (3b), but can be separated by the focus particle as in (2b) like Type A and Type C *ha-ta* predicates. The fact that the stem of Type A or Type B *ha-ta* predicates can be used as independent nouns can be specified in the lexicon by listing the VNs as independent nouns as one entry as in (33a) and (34a),¹¹ along with another entry as in (33b) and (34b) that specifies that these VNs are morphological stems that will be combined with *ha-ta* in (36b).

(33) il 'work' (Type A)

a. syn = N[α F]
 morph = N[0]
 l-s = [ARG Q ___]

b. syn = [VP[α F] ___]
 morph = N[0, α F]
 l-s = PRED

(34) hayngpok 'happiness/be happy' (Type B)

a. syn = N
 morph = N[0]
 l-s = [ARG Q ___]

b. syn = [VP[α F] ___]
 morph = N[0, α F]
 l-s = PRED

(35) ttatus 'be warm' (Type C)

syn = [VP[α F] ___]
 morph = N[0, α F]
 l-s = PRED

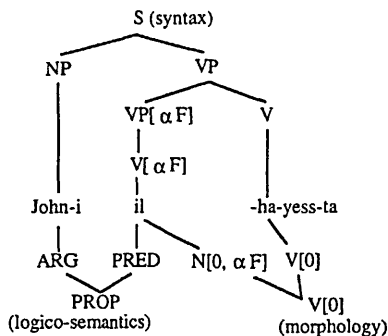
(36) ha 'do'

a. syn = [VP NP[α F] ___]
 morph = V[0]
 l-s = TV

b. syn = [VP VP[α F] ___]
 morph = [V[0] N[0, α F] ___]
 l-s = nil

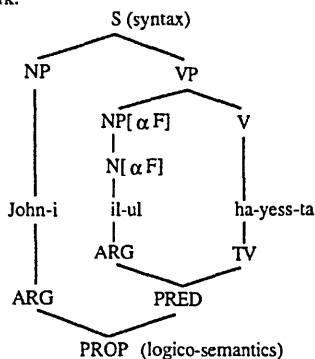
Note that since the stem of Type C such as *ttatus* in (35) is marked with [α F], it must be combined morphologically with *ha-ta* in (36b), and cannot be morphologically independent since, unlike Type A and Type B, it does not have another entry as an independent noun. A representative structure for Group III *ha-ta* constructions (i.e., Type A, Type B and Type C *ha-ta* constructions) is given below:

- (37) John-i il-ha-yess-ta.
 -Nom work-do-Pst-Ind
 'John worked.'



When the VN functions as an independent noun and *ha-ta* as an independent verb as in (38), *ha-ta* as listed in (36a) takes as its direct object a noun phrase specified with $[\alpha F]$.

- (38) John-i il-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -Nom work-Acc do-Pst-Ind
 'John did (some) work.'



Note that only Type A VNs will be marked with $[\alpha F]$ in the syntactic description for the nominal usage as in (33a), and Type B VNs are not marked with this feature in the syntactic description for the nominal usage as in (34a), which correctly excludes the example in (39), in which the accusative case marker is inserted in a Type B *ha-ta* predicate.¹²

- (39) * hayngpok-ul ha-ta
 happiness-Acc do-Ind

Having distinguished Group I (Type A and Type B) from Type C in the lexicon in terms of whether the element preceding *ha-ta* can appear independently or not, the distinction between Type

D, which has a monosyllabic stem and does not allow any insertion at all, and Group III (i.e., Type A, Type B and Type C), which allows the insertion of the focus particle between *ha-ta* and the stem preceding it, can be made by giving a lexical entry for Type D as a simple verb in syntax:

- (40) *hun-ha* 'be common' (Type D)
 syn = V
 morph = [_{V[0]} hun ha]
 l-s = PRED

The fact that the light verb *ha* in Type D is still recognizable as in other types of *ha-ta* predicates is reflected in the morphological description in (40) where the morphological internal structure is specified.

Before closing, I would like to present a possible exception to the classification of *ha-ta* predicates that I have made. I have characterized Type A *ha-ta* predicates as allowing the stem preceding *ha-ta* to appear as an independent noun and allowing the insertion of the accusative case marker and of the focus particle. However, the examples in (41) show that there is a case in which even though the element preceding *ha-ta* can appear as an independent noun as in (41b), the insertion of the accusative case marker or the focus particle is not possible as in (41c).

- (41) a. *ttus-ha-ta*
 mean-do-Ind
 'to mean'
- b. *ku ttus-ul al-ass-ta*
 the meaning-Acc know-Pst-Ind
 '(I) understood the meaning.'
- c. * *ttus-ul/man ha-ta*
 meaning-Acc/only do-Ind

Note that the stem *ttus* in (41) cannot be included in Group III, which consists of Type A, Type B and Type C, which do allow the insertion of the focus particle. Neither can it be classified as Type D, since although Type D *ha-ta* predicates include only monosyllabic stems and do not allow any insertion, Type D stems do not have the morphologically independent nominal usage. What can be done here is to list both the *ha-ta* predicate and the noun separately as in (42) and (43).

- (42) *ttus-ha* 'mean'
 syn = [_{VP} NP ____]
 morph = [_{V[0]} ttus ha]
 l-s = TV

- (43) *ttus* 'meaning'
 syn = N
 morph = N[0]
 l-s = [ARG Q ____]

The lexical entry for *ttus-ha-ta* in (42) is parallel to a Type D *ha-ta* predicate such as in (40) in that no syntactic segmentation is done, and thereby not allowing any insertion. On the other hand listing *ttus* separately as a noun as in (43) sanctions its independent appearance as a noun.

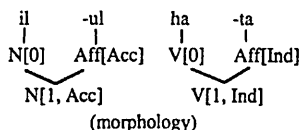
5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have classified *ha-ta* predicates in Korean into four different types, and provided multi-modular representations and lexical entries of *ha-ta* predicates. The light verb *ha* in Type A, Type B and Type C *ha-ta* compounds functions as a verb that takes a VP complement in syntax, morphologically as a verb stem that is the head, and logico-semantically nil. On the other hand, the stem of Type A, Type B and Type C *ha-ta* compounds can be best analyzed as a predicate element in logico-semantics and as the head of a VP in syntax, but as a non-head nominal stem in morphology, resulting in categorial and structural mismatches among different components.

NOTES

¹Ahn provides other arguments for grouping Type I and Type II together on the one hand, and Type II and Type III together on the other hand, which I will not repeat here.

²The morphological structure is omitted in (10a) since *il* 'work' and *ha* 'do' do not form a morphological unit, although the accusative case marker (*lul*) and the indicative marker *ta* must be represented in a proper morphological structure as in the following:



For the sake of simplicity, the case, the tense and the mood markers will be ignored in structural representations below.

³The fact that the pure Korean *ha-ta* predicates in Group II denote a property also precludes the insertion of the accusative case marker.

⁴Since the element preceding *ha-ta* in Group II cannot appear independently, unlike the VNs in Group I (i.e., Type A and Type B), the question of how the element preceding *ha-ta* in Group II must be treated in morphology arises. Note that although, for example, *ttatus* in *ttatus-ha-ta* 'be warm' in (11a) and *yak* in *yak-hata* 'be weak' in (11b) cannot stand alone, they can still be regarded as a stem, as *Sino* in *Sino-Japanese*, which does not occur independently, is nevertheless treated as a stem of a compound in Anderson (1992:298).

⁵Thus, the insertion of the focus particle in (13) can be viewed as an instance of suffixation of the focus particle to the morphologically independent nouns.

⁶See Kuno and Kim-Renaud (1987) for a different usage of the focus particle *man*, "which represents the speaker's emotive attitude toward the whole proposition", and such a usage of *man* "can potentially be attached to any major constituent of the sentence without noticeable difference in meaning; and (although such a construction is stylistically inelegant) *-man* can be attached to more than one element in the sentence" (Kuno and Kim-Renaud 1987:268). Thus, the example below from Kuno and Kim-Renaud includes one instance of *man* semantically, with triple realization:

cakkwu-man coy-eps-nun ttal-man yatan-man chi-n-ta.
 repeatedly-only fault-not exist-Rel daughter-only scolding-only hit-Prs-Ind

' () just keeps scolding his innocent daughter.'

Note that in the above example, *man* is suffixed to an adverb.

⁷That is, in (19) *yede* 'that' modifies the incorporated noun stem *diru* 'chicken', and in (20) *mikisoq* 'one who is small' modifies the incorporated stem *nukappiaraq* 'boy'.

⁸In (23), the relative clause *kongpwu-lul cal ha-nun* modifies *haksayng*, which is incorporated into the copula *i*.

⁹*Ko* is a suffixal conjunct attached to a verb, (*k*)*wa* is also suffixal but attached to a noun, and *kuliko* is an independent word.

¹⁰*Near* in English is a possible candidate for a lexical item that manifests a categorial mismatch. For example, in the sentence *John sat nearer the fire*, *nearer* occupies the position that is normally occupied by a preposition in syntax, but it inflects like an adjective.

¹¹The logico-semantic descriptions in (33a) and in (34a) say that Type A and Type B VNs become arguments when they are combined with a quantifier (either overt or zero).

¹²Note that (39) can also be ruled out by semantics. That is, as has been explicated before, due to the fact that *ha-ta* as an independent verb functions as a transitive verb, it requires an agentive subject that carries out the activity depicted by the VN, which is used as the direct object. Since Type B VNs denote a property and since one cannot perform a property, the suffixation of the accusative case marker on a Type B VN is not possible. Thus, the specification of [α F] in (33a) and (36a) may be redundant, but innocuously.

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