Verbal Nouns and Light Verbs in Korean

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One of the main purposes of this paper is to establish the identity of verbal nouns (VNs): they constitute a special sub-class of nouns which are responsible for both subcategorization and case-marking. They are neither verbs (even though they have some verbal properties) nor do they have the same properties as regular nouns. As for their lexical category, they are nouns because they show the morphological and distributional characteristics of typical nouns. They also exhibit some syntactic properties which are not shared by regular nouns. Another purpose here is to provide syntactic criteria to factor out VNs from the set of potential VNs. Some verbs can function both as a heavy verb and a light verb (LV). LVs need to be combined with VNs to become regular predicates. We can factor out VNs from other nouns by considering whether the noun in question has its own complements which can be verbally case-marked or not. This decision can be made on the basis of the subcategorization frames and/or the thematic roles of the verb under consideration when it functions as a heavy verb. If there are some complements in the clause which are not attributable to this heavy verb, they can be judged to come from some other source with verbal properties, which proves that the noun is a VN.

1. Introduction[1]

There is a set of nouns in Korean (and other languages) which have both nominal and verbal properties, i.e. "verbal nouns (VNs)". Morphological and distributional facts show that they are nouns as far as the lexical category is concerned. However, they also exhibit some phenomena which can be accounted for effectively only if we assume that they are "verbs of some sort".

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I will show, firstly, that VNs should be analyzed as a special subclass of nouns which are responsible for both subcategorization and case- marking. Among others, they can take subject phrases as their complements, which is not possible with (non-verbal) regular nouns. Secondly, I will provide a definition of VNs (mainly with reference to the verb *ha-*) by establishing a set of syntactic tests/criteria to distinguish VNs from regular nouns. It is not easy to differentiate between them because exactly the same string of [NP + *ha-*] can be analyzed either as [VN phrase + light verb (LV)] or as [regular NP + heavy verb]. I will also examine some VNs which cannot be combined with the LV *ha-* but with other LVs.

2. The Identity of Verbal Nouns

Many scholars have been interested in dealing with Korean (and Japanese) VNs. Most, however, focused on one particular type of construction, what is called the light verb construction (LVC)[2]:

(1) chelswu-ka enehak-ul KONGPU(-lul) ha-n-ta.
-Nom linguistics-Acc study-Acc do-Pres-Decl
'Chulsoo studies linguistics.'

This construction is characterized by the VN *KONGPU* and the LV *ha-*. Most of the controversies over its analysis center on the proper treatment of these elements.

Generally speaking, there are three broad approaches in dealing with VNs. The first approach, focusing on their verbal properties, argues that VNs are verbs rather than nouns (H-D. Ahn 1991, K. Park 1995). However, as is shown in H-R. Chae (1996a: 450-1), they cannot be analyzed as verbs. VNs combine with nominal "little elements" morphologically, and occur in the same positions as typical nouns distributionally. In addition, no verbal elements such as tense, aspect and modality markers can be attached to them. It is also very awkward to argue that a "verb" needs to be case-marked (J Yoon 1991: 442). Arguing that VNs are verbs against these strong counter-

[2] H-R Chae (1996a) argues that, in sentence (1), the VN *KONGPU* subcategorizes and case-marks the subject *chelswu-ka* and the object *enehak-ul* while the LV *ha-* is responsible for the subcategorization and case-marking of the VN *KONGPU(-lul)*. Notice that a VN can take its own subject without the help of the LV *ha-* as in (2).

evidences would amount to saying that there is no distinction between nouns and verbs in Korean.

Most scholars subscribe to the second approach, which assumes that VNs constitute a subclass of nouns. In general, they argue that the VN is the source of information for the subcategorization (and theta-role assignment), but that it is not responsible for the case-marking of complements in the clause (Grimshaw & Mester 1988, J-R. Kim 1993, M-K. Kim 1994, etc.). J. Yoon (1991: 442-3) explicitly argues against the idea that the VN is the source of case-marking. The case-assigning ability is assumed to come from the LV or some other "verbal elements".

However, when we look at a wider range of data than such LVC sentences as in (1), we have to assume that the VN itself is responsible for case-marking as well as for subcategorization (H-R. Chae 1996a, 1996b):

(2) a. [chelswu-ka mullihak-ul YENKWU cwung](-ey) ···
-Nom physics-Acc research process-at
'··· while Chulsoo was doing research on physics.'
b. [chelswu-ka mullihak-ul YENKWU cwung]-i-ta.
-Nom -Cop-Decl
'Chulsoo is (in the process of) doing research on physics.'

(3) hankwuk-i (yangtampay-lul SWUIP-ul) KAYPANG(-ul)
Korea-Nom Western tobacco-Acc import-Acc opening-Acc
ha-yess-ta.
do-Past-Decl
'Korea opened the tobacco market for imported tobaccos.'

The strings in the parentheses are not examples of LVCs because they do not contain the LV *ha-* or other LVs. However, the VNs have their own (verbally case-marked) NP-external complements. That is, in (2) the VN *YENKWU* is not associated with *ha-* at all but it has *chelswu-ka* and *mullihak-ul* as its complements. The VN *SWUIP* in (3) has nothing to do with *ha-* but has *yangtampay-lul* as its complement. In these examples, we cannot rely on the LV *ha-* even indirectly in accounting for the case-marking of complements[3]. Hence, we can conclude that the VN is

[3] For such data as in (2), one might propose that the prenominal form of *ha-* is deleted or that an (invisible) abstract LV is involved. However, these approaches do not seem to be reasonable (H-R. Chae 1996a: 467-9) because some VNs are not

responsible not only for the subcategorization but also for the case-marking of its complements.

In dealing with such data as those in (2), Y-S. Lee (1994: 183-7) assumes that the word *cwung* is a verbal ending (which belongs to the functional category "Infl" and has [-N] and [+V] features). She argues that the external case-marking of the VN's complements is triggered by this "verbal element". However, there is strong evidence illustrating that *cwung* is a noun rather than a verbal ending (H-R. Chae 1996a: 451-3)[4]. *Cwung* shows exactly the same morphological and distributional characteristics as typical nouns even though it cannot stand alone. In addition, it cannot combine with any regular verbal endings. It is a member of the "dependent nouns"[5], which abound in Korean. Granting that *cwung* is a verbal ending, we cannot account for the phenomena at issue in (3) because the string does not contain any such "verbal ending".

The scholars of the third approach group take it for granted that VNs are nouns, but they assume that it is not necessary to distinguish VNs from regular nouns. Y. No (1997), for example, assumes that VNs have exactly the same syntactic properties as regular nouns. VNs have their own complements just as some regular nouns can have their complements:

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compatible, for example, with *cwung*, while some non-verbal nouns, which cannot combine with *ha-*, are compatible with *cwung*. For the latter approach, it would be almost impossible to identify the nature of the abstract verb. To account for such examples as in (3), we can adopt a "reanalysis" approach which reanalyzes the string *SWUIP-ul KAYPANG(-ul) ha-* as a "complex predicate". We can, then, say that this new predicate assigns Acc-case to the object *yangtampay-lul* (J. Yoon 1992, J-M. Yoon 1997). Technically there seems to be no problem with this approach. However, the legitimacy of this approach hinges on the proper analysis of the following example:

i) [hankwuk-i yangtampay-lul SWUIP-ul KAYPANG hwu 'after'](-ey) ··· (cf. (3))
'after Korea opened the tabacco market for imported tobaccos, ··· '

I do not think we can handle this example under the reanalysis approach because the string *SWUIP-ul KAYPANG (hwu)* cannot be reasonably analyzed as a predicate.

[4] It is true that *cwung* and other "verbal elements" which combine with VNs usually show an "aspectual" meaning. However, the category of expression cannot be decided on the basis of meaning. Their aspectual meaning arises from the fact that such words can combine with VNs (i.e., those nouns which have verbal properties).

[5] Such dependent nouns as *cwung*, *cen* ('before') and *hwu* ('after') have to be combined with a relative clause or another noun, which can be analyzed as their (obligatory) complements.

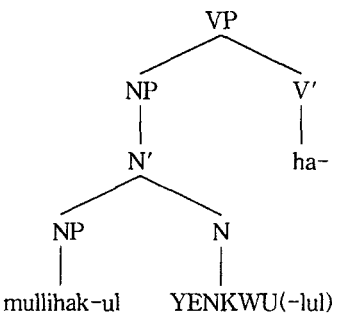
(4) a. chelswu-nun (swuhak-ey tosa)-Ø-ta.
-Top mathematics-at expert-Cop-Decl
'Chulsoo is an expert at mathematics.'
b. chelswu-nun (yenghi-hako tongkap)-i-ta.
-with same age-Cop-Decl
'Chulsoo is the same age as Younghee.'

The nouns *tosa* and *tongkap* are not VNs but take *swuhak-ey* and *yenghi-hako*, respectively, as their complements. From this point of view, it is assumed that *KONGPU* in (1), which takes *chelswu-ka* and *enehak-ul* as its complements, is not different from these regular nouns. The only difference between them is that each VN needs to be specified as to what kind of LVs it can combine with in the lexicon[6].

The arguments for the third approach are partly based on the idea that all the nominal expressions in (5a) have the structure in (5b):

(5) a. i) mullihak-ul YENKWU (cf. (2)), swuhak-ey tosa (cf. (4a))
ii) mullihak(-uy) YENKWU, chelswu hyeng
-Gen Chulsoo elder brother 'Chulsoo's elder brother'

b.



This structure conforms to the X′-schema that is generally assumed: the lexical head (N) combines with its complement to become an intermediate phrasal category (N′). In addition, some semantic facts would be accounted for more straightforwardly with this structure than with other structures

[6] Each VN has to be specified as to which LVs it can combine with, but we must note that in some cases VNs can occur alone without the help of LVs, as we can see in (2-3).

(e.g. the one in (10)). For example, it would be easy to capture the fact that the first noun is a semantic argument of the second noun in each of the examples in (5a). There is also a "semantic parallelism" among, for example, *mullihak-ul YENKWU, mullihak-uy YENKWU* and *mullihak YENKWU.*

However, there are strong pieces of evidence which illustrate that VNs are different from regular nouns in their syntactic behavior. To begin with, we must notice that the nominative marker *-i/ka* and the accusative marker *-ul/lul* are NP-external case markers in Korean (i.e., they are verbal case-markers). In no other structure does the accusative marker occur inside the noun phrase. This fact implies that the structure in (5b) is not correct for the string *mullihak-ul yenkwu.* Secondly, only VNs can take subject phrases as their complements without the help of any verbs (cf. (2a)). In the sentences in (4), the subject *chelswu-nun* is not the subject of the noun *tosa* or *tongkap*; it is the subject of the copula.

Thirdly, the complements of VNs can be realized both NP-externally and NP-internally (6), while the complements of regular nouns seem to occur only NP-externally (7):

(6) a. i) yekise-nun enehak-ul YENKWU(-lul) manhi ha-n-ta.
here-Top/Contr linguistics-Acc research-Acc much do-Pres-
'Here we do much research on linguistics.'
ii) yekise-nun [enehak-uy YENKWU(-lul)] manhi ha-n-ta.
-Gen much
b. i) wuli-nun ecey kicha-eyse ipangin-kwa
we-Top yesterday train-at stranger-with
[HAPSEK(-ul)] ha-yess-ta.
sitting together-Acc do-Past-Decl
'We sat together with a stranger on the train yesterday.'
ii) wuli-nun ecey kicha-eyse [ipangin-kwa-uy HAPSEK(-ul)]
ha-yess-ta.

(7) a. i) na-nun patwuk-ey tosa-ka toy-ko sip-ta.
I-Top go-at expert-Nom become-Compl want-Decl
'I want to become an expert at go (Oriental checkers).'
ii) ?* na-nun [patwuk-ey-uy tosa-ka] toy-ko sip-ta.
-Gen
b. i) chelswu-nun yenghi-wa/hako tongkap-i-ta.
-Top -with same age-Cop-Decl
'Chulsoo is the same age as Younghee.'

ii) ?* chelswu-nun [yenghi-wa/hako-uy tongkap]-i-ta.

Here, if one were to assume that there are no syntactic differences between VNs and regular nouns, one would have to argue that examples in (ii) of (6a-b) do not have any syntactic relationship with the corresponding examples in (i). However, it is generally accepted that there is a syntactic relationship between them (J. Yoon 1991, C-S. Hong 1993, etc.). If we are going to argue that *enehak-uy* is not a complement but an adjunct of *YENKWU* in (6aii), we have to assume that the VN in this example can never combine with its complement because it has an adjunct. Even though there proves to be no syntactic relationship between the examples (i-ii) in (6), we still have to account for the grammaticality difference between the examples in (6a-bii) and (7a-bii). The examples in (7a-bii) might not be totally ungrammatical. However, there is a clear contrast in acceptability between these examples and those in (6a-bii).

Fourthly, we can see that the structure in (5b) is problematic in accounting for the following data (cf. H-R. Chae 1996a: 463, fn. 61; 1996b: 106).

(8) a. [enehak-ul] chelswu-ka [*e*] KONGPU(-lul) ha-n-ta.
linguistics-Acc -Nom study-Acc do-Pres-Decl
'Chulsoo studies linguistics.'
b. ?* (enehak-ul KONGPU-lul) chelswu-ka (*e*) ha-n-ta.

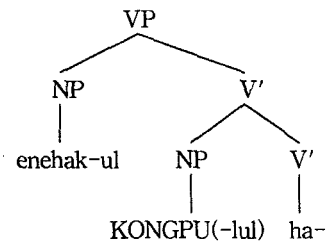
(9) a. chelswu-ka enehak-ul yelsimhi KONGPU(-lul) ha-yess-ta.
diligently Past
'Chulsoo studied linguistics very hard.'
b. chelswu-nun hankwuke-lul seymilha-n YENKWU-lul ha-yess-ta.
-Top Korean-Acc detailed research-Acc
'Chulsoo performed a detailed research on the Korean language.'

In sentence (8a) the object *enehak-ul* is extracted to the sentence-initial position, and in (8b) the string *enehak-ul KONGPU-lul* is extracted. In sentence (9a) the adverb *yelsimhi* modifies the V′ phrase containing the VN *KONGPU*, and in (9b) the prenominal modifier *seymilha-n* modifies *YENKWU*. The structure in (5b) cannot account for these data effectively. When we assume this structure, sentence (8a) is predicted to be ungrammatical because it violates all sorts of restrictions regarding extraction (such as "A-over-A Constraint" and "Complex-NP Constraint"). On the other

hand, sentence (8b) is expected to be grammatical because the NP just below the VP is extracted. As for sentence (9a), there is no plausible way of analyzing the adverb occurring in between two nominal expressions. Even an adjective is not expected to occur there because the VN is dominated by a lexical category N, but sentence (9b) is grammatical.

The data in (8-9) can be easily accounted for if we assume the following structure, which is posited for the strings with VNs in H-R. Chae (1996a, 1996b):

(10)



Sentence (8a) is grammatical because an NP which is immediately dominated by a VP is extracted, and sentence (8b) is expected to be ungrammatical because the extracted string is not a constituent. The data in (9) do not pose any problems, either. In (9a) the adverb modifies the following V' phrase rather than modifying the VN itself. In (9b) the VN can be modified by an adjective because it is dominated by an NP rather than an N.

One of the main motivations for adopting the structure in (5b) is that it is very easy to account for the "semantic parallelism" in the following set of data (cf. (5a)):

(11) a. chelswu-ka (enehak-ul KONGPU(-lul)) ha-n-ta.
-Nom linguistics-Acc study-Acc do-Pres-Decl
'Chulsoo studies linguistics.'
b. chelswu-ka [enehak KONGPU](-lul) ha-n-ta.

The word *enehak* in sentence (b) does not have the Acc-marker. The proponents of the third approach think that the strings *enehak-ul KONGPU(-lul)* and *enehak KONGPU (-lul)* have the same syntactic structure in accordance with semantic parallelism (I will call these strings S1 and S2, respectively). However, as we can see below, they do not have the same structure. Their syntactic properties are different in several respects.

Compare the following (a) examples with the corresponding (b) examples:

(12) a. chelswu-ka [caymi iss-nun enehak]-ul KONGPU(-lul) ha-yess-ta.
interesting
b. chelswu-ka [caymi iss-nun [enehak KONGPU]](-lul) ha-yess-ta.

(13) a. ?* enehak-ul KONGPU-lul chelswu-ka ha-yess-ta. (= (8b))
b. [enehak KONGPU]-lul chelswu-ka ha-yess-ta.

(14) a. chelswu-ka enehak-ul caymi iss-key KONGPU(-lul) ha-yess-ta.
interestingly
'Chulsoo studied linguistics interestingly.'
b. ?? chelswu-ka [enehak caymi iss-key KONGPU](-lul) ha-yess-ta.

(15) a. * chelswu-ka enehak-ul swukcey(-lul) ha-yess-ta.
homework
'Chulsoo did the homework of linguistics.' (Intended)
b. chelswu-ka [enehak swukcey](-lul) ha-yess-ta.
'Chulsoo did the linguistics homework.'

From a semantic point of view, the modifier *caymi iss-nun* modifies *enehak* in sentence (12a) while it modifies *(enehak) KONGPU* in sentence (12b). The data in (13) show that S1 cannot be extracted while S2 can. The data in (14) indicate that an adverbial expression cannot be inserted freely inside S2 while it can be inserted freely inside S1. The grammaticality difference in the sentences of (15) also comes from the difference between S1 and S2.

All the data in (12-15) show that S1 (*enehak-ul KONGPU(-lul)*) and S2 (*enehak KONGPU(-lul)*) are associated with different structures: S1 with structure (10), and S2 with structure (5b). Now we can see why there are two separate sets of data in (5a):

(5) a. i) mullihak-ul YENKWU, swuhak-ey tosa
ii) mullihak(-uy) YENKWU, chelswu hyeng

The expressions in (i) have the structure in (10) and those in (ii) have the structure in (5b). The following data corroborate the structural difference between these two categories of expressions:

(16) a. * kim kyoswu-nun mullihak-ul YENKWU-lul coh-a ha-n-ta.
professor-Top like -Pres-Decl
'Professor Kim likes doing research on physics.' (Intended)

b. ?* na-nun ecey [swuhak-ey tosa-lul] manna-ass-ta.
I-Top yesterday mathematics-at expert-Acc meet-Past-Decl
'I met an expert at mathematics yesterday.' (Intended)

(17) a. kim kyoswu-nun [mullihak-uy YENKWU-lul] coh-a ha-n-ta.
b. kim kyoswu-nun [mullihak YENKWU-lul] coh-a ha-n-ta.
c. yenghi-nun [chelswu hyeng-ul] salang ha-n-ta.
elder brother love -Pres-Decl
'Younghee loves Chulsoo's elder brother.'

We can see from these examples that the strings *mullihak-ul YENKWU* and *swuhak-ey tosa* are not constituents[7] while the strings *mullihak(-uy) YENKWU* and *chelswu hyeng* are constituents. Notice that the verbals *coh-a ha-*, *manna-* and *salang ha-* require only an NP object as its non-subject complement.

3. Syntactic Criteria for Verbal Nouns (and Light Verbs)

In the previous section we have seen that VNs form a unique subclass of nouns. They have their own syntactic properties that (non-verbal) regular nouns do not. It is necessary to distinguish VNs from regular nouns to account for these properties. There have not been many attempts to define VNs even though many linguists are interested in dealing with LVCs,

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[7] We have seen sufficient evidence for the structural difference between the strings *mullihak-ul YENKWU* and *mullihak YENKWU* from the data in (8-9) and (12-15). We can see similar kinds of evidence for the difference between the strings *swuhak-ey tosa* and *swuhak tosa*:

i) [swuhak-ey] chelswu-nun [*e*] tosa-Ø-ta.
mathematics-at -Top expert-Cop-Decl 'Chulsoo is an expert at math.'
ii) a. chelswu-nun swuhak-ey cengmal tosa-Ø-ta.
really
b. * chelswu-nun [swuhak cengmal tosa]-Ø-ta.
iii) a. chelswu-nun [caymi iss-nun swuhak]-ey tosa-Ø-ta.
interesting
b. chelswu-nun caymi iss-nun [swuhak tosa]-Ø-ta.

In sentence (i) *swuhak-ey* is extracted to the sentence-initial position (cf. (8)). From the sentences in (ii) we can see that *swuhak-ey tosa* is not an NP while *swuhak tosa* is (cf. (9) and (14)). In sentence (iiia) the modifier *caymi iss-nun* modifies *swuhak* while in sentence (iiib) it modifies *(swuhak) tosa* (cf. (12)).

whose essential components are VNs and LVs. Some scholars have talked about semantic criteria for VNs (C-S. Suh 1991). However, as we will see below, semantic criteria are not adequate for our purpose. Because no reasonable set of criteria has been postulated yet, we are not sure how many VNs and LVs we have in Korean. Some scholars speculate that we have only a few LVs, but C-S. Hong, et al. (1997) posits 99 LVs out of about 770 verbs.

LVs are generally defined as those verbs which have to be combined with VNs to become regular predicates because they are thematically incomplete. This definition seems to imply that the definitions of LVs and VNs depend on each other and, consequently, that the definition of one category follows automatically from that of the other category. However, we must note that VNs cannot be defined on the basis of LVs because some VNs can stand alone as we saw in (2). On the other hand, LVs can be defined on the basis of VNs because all LVs have to be combined with VNs. In this section, I will first provide a set of syntactic tests/criteria to define VNs, following H-R. Chae (1996a). The definition of LVs will then emerge naturally: LVs are those verbs which have to be combined with VNs to become complete predicates. Attention will be given mainly on those VNs which can combine with the LV *ha-* ('do'), which is the most extensively used LV in Korean.

Even though *ha-* is the most typical LV, not all nouns which can combine with it are VNs because *ha-* can also combine with regular nouns. When it combines with a non-verbal noun, it does not function as a LV but as a "heavy verb". The basic issue at hand is whether a string of [NP + *ha-*] should be analyzed as [VN phrase + LV] or as [regular NP + heavy V]. We can provide a correct analysis of the string only if there is an independent set of criteria to factor out the VNs from all the nouns which can combine with *ha-*.

C-S. Suh (1991) says that the LV *ha-* can combine only with "non-substantial" nouns. Only non-substantial nouns are assumed to function as VNs. The two major sub-types of non-substantial nouns are: those which indicate process and those which indicate states or properties. We will focus on the former, which combines with the LV *ha-* (the latter combines with the light adjective *ha-*). However, this semantic definition of VNs is inadequate. Firstly, there are some non-substantial nouns which cannot combine with LVs (e.g., *cayu* 'freedom' and *congkyo* 'religion'). Secondly, even substantial nouns can combine with LVs:

(18) a. halapeci-kkeyse songkosni-lul THULNI-lul ha-si-ess-ta.
grandfather-Nom canine tooth-Acc artificial tooth-Acc do-Honor-Decl
'(My) grandfather had a false tooth put in for his canine tooth.'
b. yenghi-nun ecey micangwen-eyse MELI-lul ha-yess-ta.
-Top yesterday beauty shop-at head/hair cut-Acc
'Younghee had her hair trimmed at a beauty shop yesterday.'

The nouns *THULNI* and *MELI* do not belong to the class of non-substantial nouns because they refer to specific entities in the physical world. However, these nouns should be analysed as VNs (see below). Thirdly, in some cases it is very difficult to determine whether a noun belongs to the non-substantial class or to the substantial class. For example, there seems to be no semantic criteria which can decide the status of *swukcey* ('homework') or *ppallay* ('laundry'). According to our syntactic criteria below, the former is a regular noun and the latter a VN.

One might try to employ other types of semantic criteria for the definition of VNs, but there seems to be no appropriate semantic criteria (H-R. Chae 1996a). Now we need to look at the problem of defining VNs from a different point of view to get out of the present difficulties. We need to realize that the syntactic behavior of VNs is more to the point than the semantic properties of the VNs themselves in deciding whether a noun in question is a VN or not. In this regard, we must remember that VNs can have verbally case-marked complements outside of the NP containing them. We can say that a noun is a VN when it has its own complements which can be verbally case-marked[8]. This definition itself is not very helpful if we do not have the specific syntactic criteria with which we can judge whether a complement comes from a VN or a heavy verb.

Let us consider what kinds of syntactic criteria we can provide by

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[8] Under the definition given above, both examples below contain VNs (and hence they are LVC sentences):

i) chelswu-ka mullihak-ul YENKWU(-lul) ha-n-ta.
-Nom physics -Acc research do-Pres-Decl
'Chulsoo does research on physics.'
ii) chelswu-ka [mullihak-uy YENKWU(-lul)] ha-n-ta.
-Gen

In sentence (ii), the object *mullihak* is not verbally case-marked. It occurs inside a noun phrase. However, it does have one phrase which is verbally case-marked, i.e. the subject phrase (cf. footnote 2).

examining different types of sentences with the [NP + *ha-*] string. First of all, we should note that the heavy verb *ha-*, which means 'someone does something', has an Agent subject and a Patient direct object as its complements (cf. (22a)). If the NP in the string is a regular noun phrase, it functions as the Patient object of the heavy verb *ha-*. The noun in the string can be seen as a VN only when the verb *ha-* proves not to be a heavy verb. Hence, it would be convenient for us to divide the range of data under consideration into the following four types, which are classified on the basis of the properties of the heavy verb *ha-*:

(19) a. when the subject is the only complement which the potential VN could have:
  i) when the subject has an Agent role.
  ii) when the subject has some other theta role.
 b. when the potential VN can take some other complements in addition to the subject:
  iii) when a Patient direct object ([NP-*ul/lul*]) is the only complement (except the subject).
  iv) when there is a non-direct-object complement (with or without a direct object).

In cases (i) and (iii), the noun can be either a VN or a regular noun as we can see below. On the other hand, we can safely assume that the noun is a VN in (ii) and (iv) because the *ha-* as a heavy verb can take only an Agent subject and a direct object:

(20) a. ku noin-i ecey SAMANG-ul ha-yess-ta.
  that old man-Nom yesterday dying/death-Acc do-Past-Decl
  'That old man died yesterday.'
 b. chelswu-nun yenghi-wa HAPSEK-ul ha-yess-ta.
  -Top -with sitting together-Acc
  'Chulsoo sat together with Younghee.'

In sentence (a) the subject phrase *ku noin-i* does not have an Agent role (H-D Ahn 1991: 20), and in (b) there is a non-direct-object complement *yenghi-wa*. In sentence (18b) we have assumed that the noun *MELI* should be analyzed as a VN even though it is a substantial noun. Now we can provide the reason for this analysis: the subject of the sentence does not

have an Agent role[9].

For case (iii), we can construct a "double accusative construction". If the resultant sentence is grammatical, the noun is a VN. Let us examine the following examples:

(21) a. ?* chelswu-ka yenge-lul swukcey-lul ha-n-ta.
-Nom English-Acc homework-Acc do-Pres-Decl
'Chulsoo does the homework of English.' (Intended)
b. yenghi-ka yangmal-ul PPALLAY-lul ha-n-ta.
socks washing
'Younghee washes her socks.'

Sentence (a) would be grammatical if *swukcey* were a VN because in that case *yenge-lul* would be the object of this VN. As the sentence is ungrammatical, we can judge that *swukcey* is not a VN and hence the verb *ha-* is a heavy verb. Notice that the heavy *ha-* cannot have two direct objects. On the other hand, sentence (b) is grammatical, showing that the noun *PPALLAY* is a VN. The direct object *yangmal-ul* is the complement of this VN and this VN is the complement of the LV *ha-*. We have said that *THULNI* is a VN in sentence (18a) because the sentence is grammatical with two NP-*ul/lul* phrases (cf. footnote 9).

Now we are left with the toughest case (i), where the subject is the only complement of the potential VN and it has an Agent role. The sentences of

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[9] Jeong-Me Yoon (p.c.) pointed out to me that the data in (18) should be analyzed in line with the following examples:

i) chelswu-nun onul meli-lul cal-ass-ta.
-Top today hair-Acc cut-Past-Decl
'Chulsoo had his hair cut today; ... cut his hair today.'
ii) chelswu-nun onul catongcha-lul kochi-ess-ta.
car repair-Past-Decl
'Chulsoo had his car repaired today; ... repaired his car today.'

These sentences are ambiguous. They can be given a causative reading and a non-causative agentive reading. Notice that the sentences in (18) could also be given either of these two readings. We may assume that the verbs in (i-ii) and the VNs in (18) have two different types of argument structures. The argument structure with the causative meaning has a non-Agent subject and that with the other reading has an Agent subject. We can now predict that the noun *MELI* in (18b) is a VN only when the sentence has a causative reading according to the non-Agent subject criterion. However, THULNI in (18a) is a VN in both readings because even the agentive reading satisfies the "double accusative construction" test.

*this type are the most difficult to handle because the heavy *ha-* sentences have exactly the same components:

(22) a. chelswu-nun yelsimhi ttek-ul ha-n-ta.
laboriously rice cake-Acc do-Pres-Decl
'Chulsoo makes (traditional Korean) rice cakes diligently.'
b. chelswu-nun yelsimhi IL-ul ha-n-ta.
work/working-Acc
'Chulsoo works hard.'

If the noun is a VN, the subject becomes the VN's complement. If it is not a VN, the subject becomes the complement of the heavy verb *ha-* and the phrase containing it becomes the direct object of *ha-*.

Although there seems to be no definite criterion that we can rely on here, we have a couple of structures/constructions to consider[10]:

(23) a. kim-taythonglyeng ecey kohyang-eyse IL
-President yesterday hometown-at work
'President Kim's working at his hometown yesterday'
b. * kim-taythonglyeng ecey kohyang-eyse ttek
rice cakes
'President Kim's making rice cakes at his hometown yesterday' (Intended)

(24) a. kim-kyoswu-nun enceyna IL-i-ya.
professor-Top always work-Cop-Decl
'Professor Kim is always working!'
b. * kim-kyoswu-nun enceyna ttek-i-ya.
'Professor Kim is always making rice cakes!' (Intended)

The string (23a) can stand alone in special contexts, especially as a newspaper headline, but the string (23b) cannot. This fact implies that the noun *IL* itself can function as a predicate in some sense, but the noun *ttek* cannot. We can now assume that *IL* is a VN while *ttek* is not. We have a (somewhat fixed) expression of the copula construction (24a), where a VN occurs just before the copula. There might be some problems with this criterion because not all VNs can occur in this construction. However, all

[10] Of course, the tests in (23) and (24) also apply to the other three cases (19ii-iv).

the nouns which can occur in this construction seem to be regarded as VNs.

In some cases conflicts arise between the results of two or more criteria. Examine the following examples:

(25) a. *yenghi-nun phama-lul MELI-lul ha-yess-ta.
-Top perm-Acc head/hair cut-Acc do-Past-Decl
'Younghee had a perm (on her hair).' (Intended)
b. yenghi-nun ecey micangwen-eyse MELI-lul ha-yess-ta.
-Top yesterday beauty shop-at head/hair cut-Acc
'Younghee had her hair trimmed at a beauty shop yesterday.'

(26) a. * chelswu-nun maykcwu-lul SWUL-ul ha-yess-ta.
-Top beer-Acc liquor-Acc
'Chulsoo drank beer.' (Intended)
b. ce noin-un enceyna SWUL-i-ya.
that old man-Top always liquor-Cop-Decl
'That old man always drinks alcohol!'

According to the "double accusative construction" test, both *MELI* and *SWUL* seem to be regular nouns. However, the result is different when we use other criteria: in (25b) (= (18b)) the subject has a non-Agent role, and in (26b) the noun occurs in the position of the VN in the copula construction (Kiyong Lee, p.c.). We can easily get out of this dilemma when we notice that VNs can also be "intransitive" just like verbs. Sentence (25b) clearly shows that *MELI* is an example of an intransitive VN[11], which has only

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[11] We have solved the problems arising from the conflict between the double accusative construction test and other tests with reference to *MELI* and *SWUL*. In the case of *MELI*, however, further conflicts seem to arise between different types of criteria (Jae-Hak Yoon, p.c.):

i) ?* yenghi-nun (yocuum) enceyna MELI-Ø-ya.
-Top nowadays always -Cop-Decl
'Younghee always has her hair trimmed (nowadays)!' (Intended)

In the face of this situation, we can conjecture that VNs need not have to satisfy all the criteria provided. Just one test would be enough to determine whether a noun is a VN or not.

There may be independent reasons for the ungrammaticality of sentence (i). Ki-Sun Hong (p.c.) pointed out to me that the sentence is awkward probably because the agentive reading of the string *MELI(-lul) ha-* is more salient than the causative reading in construction (i) (cf. footnote 9). This may be due to the absence of *ha-* in the construction. If this is the case, the noun *meli* in sentence (i) is not a VN

one non-Agent subject complement. The double accusative test simply shows that the VN is not "transitive".

This paper has provided some criteria/tests to judge the status of the noun (and the verb) in the [NP + *ha*-] string. There are some other verbs such as *toy*- ('to become'), *cwu*- ('to give') and *pat*- ('to receive') which can function as LVs (i.e., they have to combine with VNs to become regular predicates). Some VNs can combine with either *ha*- or other LVs, but other VNs can combine only with *ha*- or only with some other LVs. Hence, each VN in the lexicon has to be specified as to which LVs it can combine with.

The basic strategy for factoring out (non-*ha*-) LVCs from possible sentences seems to be the same as that of sentences with the [NP + *ha*-] string. We first noticed the syntactic behavior of *ha*- as a heavy verb. When the sentence in question has a complement and/or a thematic role which cannot be attributed to the heavy *ha*-, we can assume that the source of these entities is not a verb but a noun. This fact leads to the conclusion that the noun is a VN. Let's have a look at the following data:

(27) a. chelswu-ka pyenhosa-ka toy-ess-ta.
-Nom lawyer-Nom become-Past-Decl
'Chulsoo became a lawyer.'
b. chelswu-ka taythonglyeng-ey TANGSEN(-i)
-Nom President-at getting elected-Nom
toy-ess-ta.
become-Past-Decl
'Chulsoo was elected as President of the country.'

(28) a. chelswu-ka yenghi-eykey(se)/loputhe panci-lul pat-ass-ta.
-Nom from ring-Acc receive-Past-Decl
'Chulsoo received a ring from Younghee.'
b. chelswu-ka ku salam-uy phoakseng-ey CHWUNGKYEK-ul
-Nom that person-Gen brutality-at shock-Acc
pat-ass-ta.
receive
'Chulsoo got a great shock from the brutality of that man.'

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but a regular noun. Please remember that *MELI* is assumed to be a VN only when it has a causative reading.

Sentence (27a) exemplifies a usage of *toy-* as a typical heavy verb. The verb has a non-subject [NP-*i/ka*] phrase and a subject [NP-*i/ka*] phrase as its complements. It does not have any other complements. However, sentence (27b) has an additional complement *taythonglyeng-ey*, which cannot be attributed to the verb *toy-*. The only possible source of this complement is the noun *TANGSEN* (or the phrase *TANGSEN(-i) toy-*). Recapitulating the phenomenon here, the verb *toy-* is "incomplete" (and hence a LV) in the sense that it cannot account for all the complements in the clause. It can function as a regular predicate only after it combines with a noun which has its own complements (i.e. a VN). We can see exactly the same situation in (28). In sentence (a) the verb *pat-* functions as a heavy verb and in sentence (b) it functions as a LV. The latter sentence cannot have [NP-*eykey(se)/loputhe*] as its complement but it can have the new complement [NP-*ey*].

One might argue that the verb *toy-* in (27b) and the verb *pat-* in (28b) are not LVs but heavy verbs with a different subcategorization framework from that in example (a). However, this approach does not seem to be on the right track. First of all, it is very clear intuitively that *taythonglyeng-ey* in (27b) "is related to" the noun *TANGSEN* rather than to the verb *toy-*, and that *phoakseng-ey* in (28b) is related to the noun *CHWUNGKYEK* rather than to the verb *pat-*. Secondly, we would have to posit numerous different types of, for example, *toy-* if we were to assume that this verb could only function as a heavy verb:

(29) a. (chwuwi ttaymun-ey) sekyu-ka MAYCIN-i toy-ess-ta.
cold because of gas-Nom sellout-Nom become-Past-Decl
'Because of the cold the gasoline was sold out.'

b. kheyneydi taythonglyeng-i osuwaltu-eykey PHISAL toy-ess-ta
Kennedy President-Nom Oswald-by being killed
'President Kennedy was killed by Oswald.'

Even though the verb *toy-* in (27a) and (29a) has the same subcategorization framework, the verb is associated with subjects of different thematic roles in each sentence, Agent and Theme, respectively. Sentence (29b) has a new complement [NP-*eykey*]. In the end, considering all the sentences in (27) and (29), we would have to posit four different types of *toy-* and the number will increase when we consider more VNs that can combine with *toy-*. Then, we would lose a significant generalization that

each VN has its own subcategorization framework(s) (H-R. Chae 1996a).

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have established the identity of VNs: they form a special subclass of nouns. They are not verbs and they exhibit some syntactic properties which (non-verbal) regular nouns do not have. After showing that we need to know whether a noun is a VN or not to account for their syntactic properties, I provided some syntactic criteria to factor out VNs from the set of potential VNs, which comprise not only VNs but also regular nouns. I have focused on those VNs which can combine with the LV *ha-*, but I have also shown that we can apply basically the same strategy for factoring out those VNs which can combine with non-*ha-* LVs.

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