Chapter 6

HA constructions and Light Verb Constructions (LVCs)

6.1 Introduction

The HA constructions and the light verb constructions (LVCs) have drawn the broad attention of scholars who have attempted to account for case assignment, in particular, examples like (1) and (2) below.

(1) Chelswu-**ka** enehak-**ul** kongpwu-**lul** ha-n-ta.
C.-NOM linguistics-ACC study-ACC do-PRES-DEC
'Chelswu studies linguistics.'

(2) Cha-**ka** umciki-ci-**ka/lul** an-h-nun-ta.
Car-NOM move-CLM-NOM/ACC NEG-do-PRES-DEC
'It is not the case that the car moves.'
(*Cha* can be interpreted either as an undergoer or as an anthropomorphic actor)

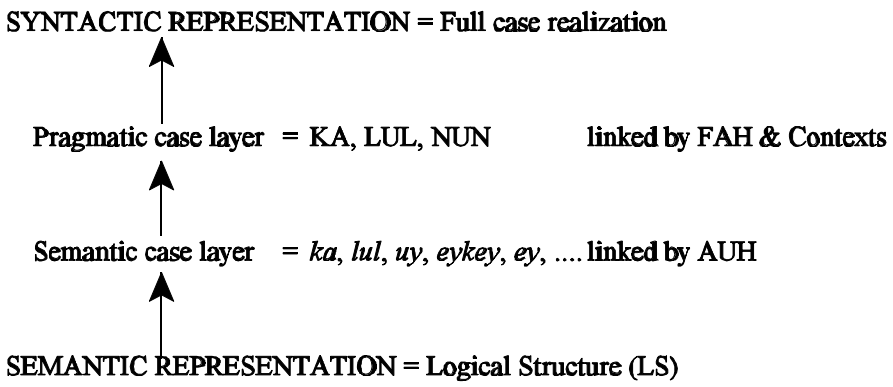
First, (1) displays ACC-marked NP *enehak* 'linguistics', which seems to have no 'host' if we construe the HA 'do' as a transitive verb in this sentence.[1] Second, in (2), the KA and LUL markers following the verb plus the clausal linkage marker, *umciki-ci* 'move-CLM' pose another puzzling question concerning the reason why they may occur in this position.

The fundamental stance which I take in dealing with the case markers in (1) and (2) is the 'Two Case Layers' hypothesis, which I apply to the analysis of case throughout this dissertation. That is, in order to account fully for the case markings in the HA construction,

[1]One could say that the HA in (1) may be semantically empty (light verb). However, as we will argue shortly, although the second ACC-marked NP *kongpwu* 'study' can be passivized, the first ACC-marked NP *enehak* 'linguistics' cannot, which tells us that the HA in (1) is not semantically empty.

we need to set apart two independently-motivated case tiers, one derived from semantic relations based on the A-U Hierarchy and the other derived from pragmatic relations based on the FAH and discourse contexts.

Figure 1: Two Case Layers



I will contend that the case markers in (1) are a combination of the 'Case Linking Algorithm' in the clause and in the NP according to the RRG framework. That is, the LS of the "composite predicate"[2] *kongpwu-lul ha* is composed of two LSs: that is, the main verb HA 'do' has, as its one component, the LS of the verb *kongpwu* 'study'. As a result, the LS of the verb HA is linked to the syntactic representation according to the 'Case Linking Algorithm in the Clause' and the LS of the verb *kongpwu* 'study' is linked to the syntactic representation according to the 'Case Linking Algorithm in the NP', since it is realized in the syntactic representation as a DN (Deverbal Noun) and not in the clause. In addition, my 'Pragmatic Case Linking Algorithm', which I proposed in chapter 4, will account for the first

[2]The term 'composite predicate' is borrowed from Cattel (1984). I use it to distinguish *make an offer* from the simple verb *offer* since the former has an accomplishment Aktionsart interpretation whereas the latter is a plain activity verb. For that matter, Korean acts in the same way.

ACC-marked NP *enehak* 'linguistics' in (1) and the KA and LUL marking on the verb complex *umciki-ci* 'move-CLM' in (2) in relation to the type of focus structure.

In this dissertation, I will employ the notion 'HA construction' exclusively to refer to sentences as in (1) and the LVC exclusively to refer to sentences as in (2). As I will explained in detail later, the reason for theses notions is that the final verb HA 'do' in (1) is a 'generalized activity transitive verb', [**do´** (x, y)] in the LS, whereas the final verb HA 'do' in (2) shows no such semantics, and functions as the sentence-final anchor point in the sentence.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 6.2 presents some data and the issues surrounding the HA constructions. Section 6.3 reviews previous studies while indicating some of their problems. Section 6.4 proposes my analysis of the HA constructions as well as some empirical evidence. Section 6.5 introduces the LVC *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do' along with some data at issue. Section 6.6 reviews previous studies of the LVCs. Section 6.7 proposes my analysis with some empirical evidence. Section 6.8 concludes this chapter.

6.2 HA constructions

6.2.1 Data and questions

As a first approximation, let us consider some problematic data concerning the HA constructions below. The sentence in (3) is a HA construction which involves three different types of case marking patterns for the DN *ceykong* 'offer' and its theme ARG *ton* 'money'. The sentence in (3a) illustrates a noun incorporation (NI) where the theme ARG *ton* 'money' is incorporated into the DN *ceykong* 'offer' forming NI, while the recipient NP *kyengchal*

'police' is dative-marked. By contrast, in (3b), the theme ARG *ton* 'money' is genitive-marked, and the recipient NP *kyengchal* 'police' is dative-marked. And lastly, in (3c), the theme ARG *ton* 'money' is ACC-marked while the recipient NP *kyengcahl* 'police' is dative-marked as in the other two previous examples.[3]

(3) a. Chelswu-ka kyengchal-**eykey** ton-ceykong-**ul** ha-ess-ta.
C.-NOM police-DAT money-offer-ACC do-PST-DEC
'Chelswu made an offer of money to the police.'

b. Chelswu-ka kyengchal-**eykey** ton-**uy** ceykong-**ul** ha-ess-ta.
C.-NOM police-DAT money-GEN offer-ACC do-PST-DEC
'Chelswu made an offer of money to the police.'

c. Chelswu-ka kyengchal-**eykey** ton-**ul** ceykong-**ul** ha-ess-ta.
C.-NOM police-DAT money-ACC offer-ACC do-PST-DEC
'Chelswu made an offer of money to the police.'

When we compare the Korean examples in (3) with the English analog in (4) and the Japanese analog in (5) below, it is immediately apparent that the case-marking patterns of these two languages are to some extent analogous to Korean in (3b) where the theme ARG *ton* 'money' is genitive-marked. Details aside, the recipient NP *police* of the English sentence in (4), is *to*-marked and the theme NP *money* of the DN *offer* is *of*-marked (genitive). In a

[3]Of these three options, the most common one is either the incorporated one or the ACC-marked one although the GEN-marked NP is acceptable. With respect to the genitive construction, (3b), H-J. Jeong (1997) made an interesting observation: i.e., in Korean deverbal nominal constructions, there is a hierarchical relation between thematic relations and grammatical coding (NI or GEN). That is, if an NP is interpreted as agent like (1), it is more likely mapped onto the syntactic representation as a GEN-marked NP, whereas if an NP is interpreted as theme like (2), it is more likely mapped as an incorporated noun (NI). But regardless of the NI or the GEN-marked NP, they can be reformed as the double ACC constructions as in (3c) in the text.

(1) Kemchal-uy cosa. (but, ??Kemchal-cosa)
prosecutor-GEN investigation. (prosecutor-investigation)
'The prosecutor's investigation'

(2) Swuhak-kongpwu (but, ??Swuhak-uy kongpwu)
math-study (math-GEN study)
'Math-study'

similar vein, the recipient NP *keisatsu* 'police' of the Japanese sentence in (5) is dative-marked, and the theme ARG *kinsen* 'money' of the DN *kyooyo* 'offer' is genitive-marked. In referring particularly to (4), Cattel (1984) mentions that neither *make* nor the noun *offer* is normally capable of taking an 'indirect object' with a meaning similar to that of a '*to*-phrase', but the verb *offer* is capable.[4]

(4) Harry made an offer **of** money **to** the police.

(5)

Taroo ga	keisatsu **ni**	kinsen **no**	kyooyo o	shi-ta
T. NOM	police DAT	money GEN	offer ACC	do-PST

'Taroo made an offer of money to the police.'

To this end, a question arises which can apply to all the sentences in (3) , (4), and (5): 'what licenses these case markers on each of the recipient NP *police*, and the theme ARG *money* of the DN *offer*, provided that there are two potential case assigners *make* (or HA or SURU) or the DN *offer* (or *ceykong* or *kyooyo*)?'

With respect to the Korean examples in (3), another major question arises regarding the occurrence of the MAC in (3c).[5] That is to say, why is there an ACC marker on the theme ARG *ton* 'money' in (3c)? Thus far, two major questions have been raised two: first, how do we account for the case markers in (3a), (3b), (4), and (5)? Second, what motivates the first ACC marker in (3c)?

Regarding to the MAC (multiple ACC construction) of the Korean sentence in (3c),

[4]Here, I assume *make* in English is a two-place predicate. But, of course, this is not so simple, since *make* could be construed as a three-place predicate in English. Nevertheless, at least as far as the *of*-marked NP *money* is concerned, there seems to be no doubt about what we need to account for.

[5]I treat the NI in (3a) as a variant of the genitive-marked NP in (3b). In regard to focus status, the incorporated noun could never be a focal element, but the genitive-marked NP is ambiguous between focus and topic statuses (see chapter 4). But, the LUL-marked NP in (3c) is always focal.

there is a good piece of evidence that shows that the first ACC-marked NP *ton* 'money' is not syntactically-licensed by the final main verb HA 'do': namely, it can never be the PSA (subject) of the passive counter-part of the sentence (3c). On the other hand, as displayed in (6a) below, the second ACC-marked NP *ceykong* 'offer' in (3c) becomes the PSA of the passive as shown in (6b) under the caveat that the first ACC-marked NP *ton* 'money' take the identical NOM marker, for which I will claim later that the NOM on the first NOM-marked NP *ton* 'money' is the neutral focus marker KA.

(6) a.* Chelswu-eyuyhayse kyengchal-eykey ton-i ceykong-ul
C.-by police-DAT money-NOM offer-ACC
toy-ess-ta.
do.PASS-PST-DEC

b. Chelswu-eyuyhayse kyengchal-eykey ton-i ceykong-i
C.-by police-DAT money-NOM offer-NOM
toy-ess-ta.
do.PASS-PST-DEC
'An offer of money was made to the police by the police.'

At this point, it will be helpful to obtain a more complete picture of Korean HA constructions, especially if we examine other types of HA constructions. An abundance of proposals have been given for categorizing *ha* 'do' verbs. In principle, there appears to be a broad range of grammatical categories in which HA 'do' can occur. For example, we have the main (transitive) verb HA, the verbal suffix -HA, and the light verb HA.

(7) The normal transitive verb HA

a. Chelswu-ka pap-ul **ha**-n-ta.
C.-NOM rice-ACC do-PRES-DEC

‘Chelswu cooks the rice.’

b. Salamtul-i enehak-ul kongpu-lul **ha**-n-ta.
people-NOM linguistics-ACC study-ACC do-PRES-DEC
‘People study linguistics.’

(8) The semantically-empty light verb HA

a. Cha-ka ka-ci-ka/lul an-**h**-nun-ta.
car-NOM go-CLM-NOM/ACC NEG-do-PRES-DEC
‘It is not true that the car goes.’

b. Chelswu-ka ka-ci-lul/*-ka an-**h**-nun-ta.
C.-NOM go-CLM-ACC/*-NOM NEG-do-PRES-DEC
‘It is not true that Chelswu goes.’

(9) The suffix -HA (verbalizer)

a Chelswu-ka suhak-ul kongpu**ha**-n-ta.
C.-NOM math-ACC study-PRES-DEC
‘Chelswu studies mathematics.’

b. Chelswu-ka phikon**ha**-ta.
C.-NOM tiresome-DEC
‘Chelswu is tiresome.’

The HA in (7a) is a normal transitive verb which subcategorizes for the actor ARG *Chelswu* and the undergoer ARG *pap* ‘cooked rice’. There is virtually no difference between (7a) and (7b) in terms of the verb HA’s being able to have two independent arguments; that is, the HA in (7b) has two syntactic ARGs *salamtul* ‘people’ and *kongpwu* ‘study’. Additionally, the NP *enehak* ‘linguistics’ is the direct core ARG of the verb *kongpwu* ‘study’ which as the form of DN happens to be the second macrorole (undergoer) of the verb HA. This undergoerhood of *enehak* ‘linguistics’ can be evidenced by the grammaticality of the passive construction in (10) below.

(10) Salamtul-eyuyhayse enehak-i kongpwu-ka toy-koiss-ta.
people-by linguistics-NOM study-NOM do.PASS-PROG-DEC
'A study of linguistics is being done by people.'

However, this generalization of HA as a transitive verb cannot apply to the LVCs in (8). This is the case because, first, the accomplishment test[6] *hansikanmaney* 'in an hour' works only for the ACC-marked verbal complexes like *ka-ci-lul* 'go-CLM-ACC' as seen in (11a) and (11b) below.[7]

(11) a. Cha-ka hansikanmaney ka-ci*-ka/-lul an-h-ass-ta.
car-NOM in.an.hour go-CLM-NOM/-ACC NEG-do-PST-DEC
'The car did not go in an hour.'

b. Salam-tul-i hansikanmaney ka-ci*-ka/-lul an-h-ass-ta.
C.-NOM in.an.hour go-CLM-NOM/-ACC NEG-do-PST-DEC
'People stop going in an hour.' (lit. 'People did not go in an hour.')

Second, the ACC-marked verbal complex *ka-ci-lul* 'go-CLM-ACC' in both (11a) and (11b) can never be passivized as illustrated below in (12a) and (12b), which is, in turn, contrary to (10) above where the normal transitive verb HA 'do' is passivized.

(12) a.* Cha-hanthay ka-ci-ka an-h-eci-ess-ta.
car-by go-CLM-NOM NEG-do-PASS-PST-DEC
b.* Chelswu-hanthay ka-ci-ka an-h-eci-ess-ta.
C.-by go-CLM-NOM NEG-do-PASS-PST-DEC

Third, semantically, it would be far-fetched to claim that the verb *ka-* 'go' is the undergoer of the verb *an-h* 'NEG-do' given the fact that the scope of the CLM *-ci* always spans over

[6]See chapter 2.2.1 'Verb classification' in RRG.
[7]Yang (1994) also provides an Aktionsart test in the Korean verb classification.

the core, and it is unable to function as a nominalizer.[8]

The last category of HA is the suffix -HA (verbalizer) that changes a DN into a verb such as *kongpwu-ha* 'study-do' in (9a) and *phikon-ha* 'tiresome' in (9b).[9]

6.2.2 Previous studies

One of the most known account about HA 'do constructions is of Grimshaw and Mester (1988) based on "argument transfer." That is, there is a form of ARG-S composition (transfer) from the deverbal nominal argument to the main light verb. For light verbs[10] like *give* in (13a) and (13b), Kearns (1988) suggests that the ARG-S is stripped down to a skeleton of its usual self as seen (14b). In her representation of the ARG-S of the LV, Kearns places numbers where the ARGs ordinarily sit, but, these numbers behave like place-holders and must be combined with the actual ARGs of Deverbal Nominal (DN) in order for the LV to subcategories for the actual ARGs.

(13) a. John gave the floor a sweep.

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[8]The (gerundive) nominalizer, which derives a noun from a verb, is *-ki* in Korean.

(1) Na-nun mek-ki-lul sicakha-ess-ta.
I-TOP eat-NMZ-ACC start-PST-DEC
'I started eating.'

[9](9b) is worth mentioning. Park (1994:114) mentions, "the reason why *phikonha-* 'tiresome' cannot compose the composite predicate *phikon-ul ha* is because it does not have 'accomplishment semantics'." His claim is based on the assumption that the first ACC-marked NP *enehak* 'linguistics' in (7b) is the real undergoer of the verb HA 'do' and the second ACC marker on *kongpwu* 'study' is a semantic (accomplishment) case. But as (10) gives evidence, for there is no reason not to believe that the second ACC-marked NP *kongpwu* 'study' in (10) is the real undergoer of the HA. Accordingly, the reason why *phikonha-* 'tiresome' cannot compose the complex predicate *phikon-ul ha* 'tiresome-ACC do' is because HA is either an activity or an accomplishment, but never a state verb.

[10]Although I use the word 'light verb' in this context following Kearns (1988), I am not espousing the idea that the two *give* verbs in (13a) and (13b) are semantically-empty. Instead, I say that they have syntactic ARGs as well as semantic meaning, but one of their ARG is the LS of the verb *sweep* in (13a) and the LS of the verb *groan* in (13b).

b. John gave a groan.

a´. heavy *give*: (1x, 2y, 3x, e)[11]
b´. light *give*: (1, 2, 3, e)

Like Grimshaw and Mester (1988), Kearns suggests that the skeletal ARG-S of the LV *give* cannot assign ARGs without first combining with the true ARGs of the DN. Hence, one of the objects of *give* must be an ARG-taking nominal -- *sweep* in (13a) and *groan* in (12b). The ARGs of the nominal combine with the degenerate (uncombined) ARGs of the LV to form a complete ARG-S, as indicated in (14) below.

(14) give (1, 2, 3, e) + sweep (x, y, e) → (1x, 2y, 3, e)
give (1, 2, 3, e) + groan (x, e) → (1x, 2, 3, e)

Kearns proposes that the only ARGs of the LV that license phrases in the syntax are those that have composed with an ARG from the nominal. However, she must allow the third degenerated ARG of the LV to license the nominal itself because *give* in (13a) is a ditransitive verb, and *give* in (13b) is a transitive verb. To handle this problem, she follows again Grimshaw and Mester (1988) in assuming that "any item that participates in the theta assignment need not be theta-marked itself." Thus, the nominal, by virtue of transferring its ARGs to the LV, is participating in the licensing of ARGs and therefore does not require licensing itself. Besides, the third degenerated ARG of the complex ARG-S, any other degenerated ARGs simply drop out because they cannot license ARGs in the syntax. Therefore, they have no effect on the sentence structure.

[11]The <e> here is the INFL index.

If Kearns' account were accepted, there would be no theta-role assigned to the DN *offer* of (15a) below to which the Korean example in (15b) is equivalent.

(15) a. Harry made an offer of money to the police.

b. Chelswu-ka kyengchal-ekey ton-ul ceykong-ul ha-ess-ta.
C.-NOM police-DAT money-ACC offer-ACC do-PST-DEC
'Chelswu made an offer of money to the police.'

But surely, we can make a passive of each sentence as demonstrated in (16) below, which evidently tells us that the DN *offer* in (16a) and *ceykong* in (16b) have a thematic role, that is to say, theme.

(16) a. An offer of money was made to the police by Harry.[12]

b. Harry-eyuyhayse kyengchal-eykey ton-i ceykong-i toy-ess-ta.
-by police-to money-NOM offer-NOM do.PASS-PST-DEC

Park (1994) claims that, in (17) below, the first ACC-marked NP *yenge* 'English' is the true macrorole (undergoer) of the verb HA, and the second ACC on the *kongpwu* 'study' is an accomplishment semantic case.

(17) Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-ess-ta.
S.-NOM English-ACC study-ACC do-PST-DEC
'Swuni studied English.'

In order to support his claim, he proposes three tests: clefting, relativization, and scrambling in that order.

[12]However, the sentence, *An offer of money to the police was made by Harry* is not acceptable to many native speakers of English. This and other examples have been examined by native speakers of both the languages.

(18) a. Swuni-ka konpwu-lul ha-n[13] ket-un yenge-i-ta.
S.-NOM study-ACC do-REL thing-TOP English-be-DEC
'What Swuni studied is English.'

b.* Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-n ket-un kongpwu-i-ta.
S.-NOM English-ACC do-REL thing-TOP study-be-DEC
'What Swuni did to English was study it.'

(19) a. Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-n yenge
S.-NOM study-ACC do-REL English
'English which Swuni studied'

b.* Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-n kongpwu
S.-NOM English-ACC do-REL study
'Study which Swunhi did of English'

(20) a. Yenge-lul Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-ess-ta.
English-ACC S.-NOM study-ACC do-PST-DEC
'Swuni studied English.'

b.* Kongpwu-lul Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-ess-ta.
study-ACC S.-NOM English-ACC do-PST-DEC
'Swuni studied English.'

The sentences in (18) are examples of cleft sentence where only (18a) is acceptable and (18b) is not. Based on the unacceptability of (18b), Park contends that the true macrorole is *yenge* 'English', not *kongpwu* 'study'. However, there seem to be three kinds of possible counter-evidence. First, the acceptability of (18a) does not guarantee the macrorolehood of *yenge* 'English' in (17) because, as we can see in (21) below, we can have an adverb such as *ecey* 'yesterday' clefted.

(21) Swuni-ka yegne-lul konpwu-lul ha-n ket-un ecey-i-ta.
S..-NOM English-ACC study-ACC do-REL thing-TOP yesterday-be-DEC
'It is yesterday when Swuni studied English.'

[13]The relativizer *-n* 'REL' here has past tense, whereas *-lul* 'REL' future tense in Korean.

Instead, as I demonstrated in chapter 3 in the section 3.5 entitled ‘A taxonomy of information packaging in Korean’, the function of the cleft construction is moving the focal element (PU) to sentence-final position. Second, the reason why (18b) is unacceptable is not because *kongpwu* ‘study’ is not the true macrorole, but because *yenge* ‘English’ is not the true macrorole of the verb HA ‘do’. Later I will argue that the LUL on *yenge* ‘English’ was originally an NI (or genitive) which was case-shifted to the LUL-marked *yenge* ‘English’. Third in (22a) below, we have a sentence which demonstrates that the first ACC-marked NP *yenge* ‘English’ cannot be passivized unless both the ACC-marked NPs are NOM-marked as in (22b).

(22)	a.*	Swuni-eyhayse,	yenge-ka	kongpwu-lul	toy-ess-ta.
		S.-by	English-NOM	study-ACC	do.PASS-PST-DEC
		‘English was studied by Swuni.’			
	b.	Swuni-eyhayse,	yenge-ka	kongpwu-ka	toy-ess-ta.
		S.-by	English-NOM	study-NOM	do.PASS-PST-DEC

The sentences in (19) exemplify relativization from which Park (1994) bases his argument that *konpwu* ‘study’ in (17) is not the true macrorole. However, once again, the reason why (19b) is ruled out is not because *kongpwu* ‘study’ is not the true macrorole of HA ‘do’, but rather it is because *yenge* ‘English’ is not the true macrorole of the verb HA ‘do’.

The sentences in (20) display two examples of scrambling. Park (1994) argues that because scrambling is unacceptable, under the assumption that the ‘object’ in Korean can

normally scramble freely, *kongpwu* ‘study’ is not the true macrorole. However, as I argued in chapter 4 under the name of the ‘Word order constraint in the MNC, and MAC’, the word order of the MAC must conform to the FAH.

Nakamura (1977) provides a piece of counter-evidence for the ascension analysis while making reference to Choi (1988). He mentions “Choi (1988)’s proposal to apply ascension to specifiers in general makes a wrong prediction that (23b) below may be derived from (23a).”

(23) a. Apeci-ka catongcha-kongcang-ul ha-si-n-ta.
father-NOM automobile-factory-ACC do-HON-PRES-DCE

b.* Apeci-ka catongcha-lul kongcang-ul ha-si-n-ta.
father-NOM automobile-ACC factory-ACC do-HON-PRES-DCE

‘Father does (runs) an automobile factory.’

Unfortunately, however, this sentence is irrelevant to arguing against the ascension analysis, since *kongcang* ‘factory’ here is not a DN.

6.2.3 A proposal

The two above mentioned questions will be dealt with in this subsection with respect to the HA construction: i) how to account for the case marking assignments in (24a), (24b), (25a.b.c) below and ii) what motivates the first ACC marker in the MAC in (26) given that HA is a generalized activity transitive verb.

6.2.3.1 Case linking algorithm in HA constructions

To answer the first question, let us start with forming the LSs of the complex predicates *make an offer* in (24a) below in English; *kyooyo o suru* in (24b) in Japanese; and *ceykong-ul ha* in (25a) and (25b) in Korean.

(24) a. Harry made an offer of money to the police.

b. Taroo ga keisatsu **ni** kinsen **no** kyooyoo o shi-ta
T. NOM police DAT money GEN offer ACC do-PST
'Taroo made an offer of money to the police.'

(25) a. Chelswu-ka kyengchal-eykey ton-ceykong-ul ha-ess-ta.
C.-NOM police-DAT money-offer-ACC do-PST-DEC

b. Chelswu-ka kyengchal-eykey ton-uy ceykong-ul ha-ess-ta.
C.-NOM police-DAT money-GEN offer-ACC do-PST-DEC

c. Chelswu-ka kyengchal-eykey ton-ul ceykong-ha-ess-ta.
C.-NOM police-DAT money-ACC offer-do-PST-DEC

'Chelswu made an offer of money to the police.'

(26) Chelswu-ka kyenghchal-eykey ton-ul ceykong-ul ha-ess-ta.
C.-NOM police-DAT money-ACC offer-ACC do-PST-DEC
'Chelswu offered money to the police.'

To correctly form the LSs of these sentences, there is a couple of matters to consider. First, with respect to the English example in (24a), which makes use of the composite predicate *make an offer*, it is generally accepted among native speakers that there exists a causative accomplishment ([+bound]) interpretation as contrasted to the simple verb form as in *Harry offered money to the police* which does not show this interpretation. Second, theoretically, there would be no problem in posing the idea that the LS of the verb *make* can contain the LS of the verb *offer* since the LS in RRG is a 'pure' semantic structure, not a

syntactic structure. Reflecting on these observations, we may set up the LS of (24a) like [**do´** (Harry, [**make´** (Harry, offer)]) CAUSE [BECOME **exist´** (x)]], which says that 'That Harry makes an offer causing a change-of-state (BECOME exist´ (x))', and *x* (= $offer_N$) is then embedded with the LS of the verb *offer*, [**do´** (Harry, Ø) CAUSE [BECOME **have´** (police, money)]], which is the secondary LS of this composite predicate *make an offer*.

This analysis of the English composite predicate *make an offer* in (24a) can also apply to the Japanese in (24b) and the Korean analogs (25a) and (25b). That is to say, the composite predicates *ceykong-ul ha* 'offer-ACC do' in (25a) and (25b) evoke the accomplishment interpretation whereas the simple verb *ceykong-ha* 'offer-do' in (25c) does not show that reading, but rather the activity Aktionsart interpretation. Hence we may offer the following LSs for (24a), (24b), and (25a,b) as follows.

(24a´) LS of English composite predicate *make an offer*:

[**do´** (Harry, [**make´** (Harry, offer)]) CAUSE [BECOME **exist´** ($offer_N$)]]

[**do´** (Harry, Ø) CAUSE [BECOME **have´** (police, money)]]

(24b´) LS of Japanese composite predicate *kinsen no kyooyo*:

[**do´** (Taroo, [**make´** (Taroo, kyooyo)]) CAUSE [BECOME **exist´** ($offer_N$)]]

[**do´** (Taroo, Ø) CAUSE [BECOME **have´** (keisatsu, kinsen)]]

(25a.b´) LS of Korean composite predicate *ceykong–ul ha-*:

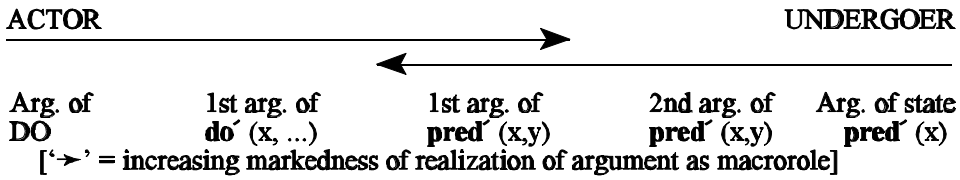
[**do´** (Chelswu, [**make´** (Chelswu, ceykong)]) CAUSE [BECOME **exist´** ($offer_N$)]]

[**do´** (Chelswu, Ø) CAUSE [BECOME **have´** (kyengchal, ton)]]

For the next step, what we need is the Case Linking Algorithm to map these arguments onto each of the syntactic representations: (24a), (24b) and (25a.b) respectively. As I mentioned beforehand, there are two independent case linking algorithm needed in order to fully assign case markers in (24a), (24b) and (25a.b). One is the Case Linking Algorithm in the Clause for Korean in (27) below and the other is the Case Linking Algorithm in the NP in (28).[14]

(27) (Semantic) case linking algorithm in the clause
Assign the core arguments the appropriate case markers/postpositions.
Accusative (language) privileged syntactic argument selection: default = Actor

1 Highest ranking macrorole following the AUH in figure 2 takes nominative.
Figure 2



2 The other macrorole argument takes accusative case.
3 Non-macrorole arguments take dative as their default case.

(28) (Semantic) case linking algorithm in the clause in the NP
1 The single direct $core_N$ argument takes genitive case.
2 If the NP is headed by a deverbal nominal (DN), then assign genitive case (*-uy*) or incorporate it to the DN, following Direct-$Core_N$-Argument linking Hierarchy

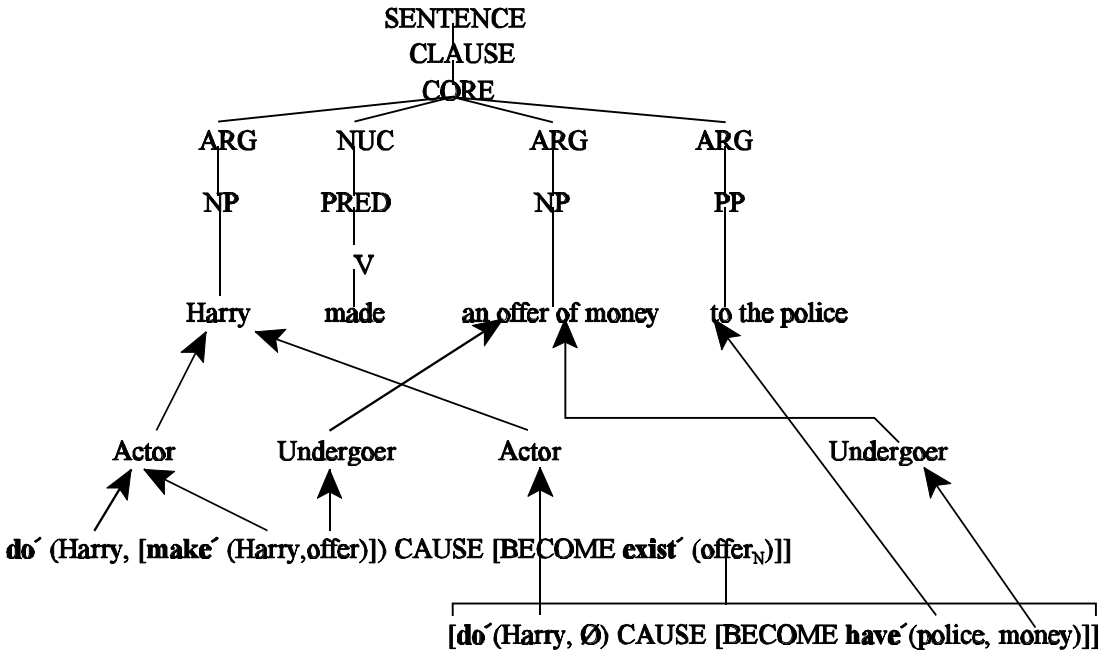
[14]The justification for these two case Linking Algorithms within the RRG framework is provided in chapter 2. In particular, I have introduced and discussed the Direct-Core-Argument Hierarchy of Nunes (1994)'s concerning the Case Linking Algorithm in the NP with respect to the genitive construction in chapter 4.

(Undergoer > Actor). (genitive *no* for Japanese and *of* for English.)

3 Assign NPs appropriate cases or postpositions following the same rules as the in clause.
   a. non-macrorole arguments take dative as their default case. (It is the same for both Korean and Japanese, but it is *to*-marked in English.)
   b. actor is *eyuyhayse*-marked ('by')

Together, these two case linking algorithms can account for the case markers in (24a), (24b), and (25a-c). If we examine it in detail, as for (24a), based on the LS of the composite predicate *make an offer* in (24a´) above, the ARG *Harry* of the predicate **make´** would be the actor and the DN *offer* would be the undergoer, following the AUH. Furthermore, since the LS of the verb *offer* is now in the LS of the composite predicate *make an offer*, and it is realized at the syntactic representation as an NP but not as a clause, the case marking rule should apply in terms of (28). According to the AUH, *money* is the undergoer, which is the single direct $core_N$ argument; and *Harry* is the actor. Next, according to (28.2), *money* takes the genitive *of*-marker in (24a) in English; the genitive marker *no* in (24b) in Japanese; the NI in (25a) or the genitive -*uy* in (25b) in Korean, respectively. Also the non-direct $core_N$ argument *police* is realized as a *to*-marked NP in English, but as a dative-marked NP in Korean and Japanese. Finally, the remaining actor *Harry* is linked to the syntactic representation under identity with *Harry* at the clausal level.

(29) Case Linking Algorithm of composite predicate *make an offer* in (16a)



6.2.3.2 The pragmatic case linking of the MAC in HA constructions

6.2.3.2.1 Some empirical evidence for the neutral focus marker LUL

Now let us discuss the aforementioned second major question regarding the MAC, (26) which is reproduced below as (30): how could we account for the first ACC-marked NP.

(30)	Chelswu-ka	kyengchal-eykey	ton-ul	ceykong-ul	ha-ess-ta.
	C.-NOM	police-DAT	money-ACC	offer-ACC	do-PAT-DEC

'Chelswu offered money to the police.'

There are several pieces of empirical evidence which demonstrate that the first ACC is the neutral focus marker LUL which is, I would claim, case-shifted from the NI in (25a) or it genitive counterpart in (25b).

The first piece of evidence comes from the alternative (information) question which

necessarily places focus on the final verb as displayed in (31) below.

(31) a. Chelswu-ka swuhak-kongpwu-lul HA-ESS-NI AN-H-ESS-NI?
C.-NOM math-study-ACC do-PST-Q NEG-do-PST-Q
'Did Chelswu study math or not?'

b.# Chelswu-ka swuhak-ul kongpwu-lul HA-ESS-NI AN-H-ESS-NI?
C.-NOM math-ACC study-ACC do-PST-Q NEG-do-PST-Q

The NI form of the NP in (31a) is felicitous with the alternative question, whereas the MAC form in (31b) is not acceptable in this context. What (31b) tells us is that the first ACC-marked NP *swuhak* 'math' cannot occur if it is in the scope of the topic domain.

The second piece of evidence has to do with the nuclear negation particle *an* which has scope (equal to the actual focus domain (AFD)) only on the final verb (V^0). Here again, the unacceptability of (32b) shows that the first ACC-marked NP *swuhak* 'math' is now in the scope of the AFD. In contrast, the NI form shows that this is acceptable in this context.

(32) a. Chelswu-ka swuhak-kongpwu-lul an HA-ESS-TA.
C.-NOM math-study-ACC NEG do-PST-DEC
'Chelswu did not study math.'

b.# Chelswu-ka swuhak-ul kongpwu-lul an HA-ESS-TA.
C.-NOM math-ACC study-ACC NEG do-PST-DEC

The third piece of evidence comes from the *wh*-words which are inherently focal and function as the primary focal element within the NFS. The contrast between (33a) and (33b) shows that the wh-word *mwuet* 'what' is acceptable when it is the first ACC-marked NP, but it is not acceptable when it is the second ACC-marked NP. That is, the first ACC-marked NP is sensitive to focus status.

(33) a. Chelswu-ka mwuet-ul kongpwu-lul ha-ess-ni?
C.-NOM what-ACC study-ACC do-PST-Q
'What did Chelswu study?'

b.# Chelswu-ka swuhak-ul mwuet-ul ha-ess-ni?
C.-NOM math-ACC what-ACC do-PST-Q
'What did Chelswu do about math.'

The fourth piece of evidence comes from factive verbs such as *-yukamsulep* 'be regretable, *pikuki* 'be a tragedy', *conkyengslep* 'be admirable', or *cwungyoha* 'be significant'; whose sentential complements are inherently activated (or presupposed) propositions.[15]

(34) a. Chelswu-ka kyengchal-eykey **ton-ceykong-ul**
C.-NOM police-DAT money-offer-ACC
ha-n-ket-un yukamsulup-ta.
do-REL-thing-TOP be.regrettable-DEC
'It is regrettable that Chelswu made an offer of money to the police.'

b.# Chelswu-ka kyengchal-eykey **ton-ul** **ceykong-ul**
C.-NOM police-DAT money-ACC offer-ACC
ha-n-ket-un yukamsulup-ta.
do-REL-thing-TOP be.regrettable-DEC
'It is regrettable that Chelswu made an offer of money to the police.'

As seen above, the NI construction in (34a) is acceptable with the factive verb *yukamsulup* 'be regrettable', but the MAC in (34b) is not acceptable in that context.

6.2.3.2.2 The formal representation of the MAC in HA constructions

Having argued that the first ACC marker is the neutral focus marker LUL, now let us discuss the actual case linking algorithm as well as its formal representation within the RRG

[15]These verbs normally optionally occur with NUN.

framework.

In chapter 4, based on the 'Two Case Layers' hypothesis, I have claimed that the case-shifting from (semantic) genitive case to the (pragmatic) cases NUN, KA, and LUL is a kind of topic-/focalization motivated by a certain type of focus structure. Following the same generalization, I will claim that the MAC in (36) is case-shifted from the genitive or the NI construction to LUL for the purpose of focus structure. That is, the LUL-marked PU *swuhak* 'math' in (36) is now in the scope of the AFD whereas the incorporated noun *swuhak* 'math' in (35a) and the genitive-marked NP *swuhak* 'math' in (35b) is not.

(35) a. Chelswu-ka swuhak-konpwu-lul ha-n-ta.
C.-NOM math-study-ACC do-PRES-DEC

b. Chelswu-ka swuhak-uy konpwu-lul ha-n-ta.
C.-NOM math-GEN study-ACC do-PRES-DEC

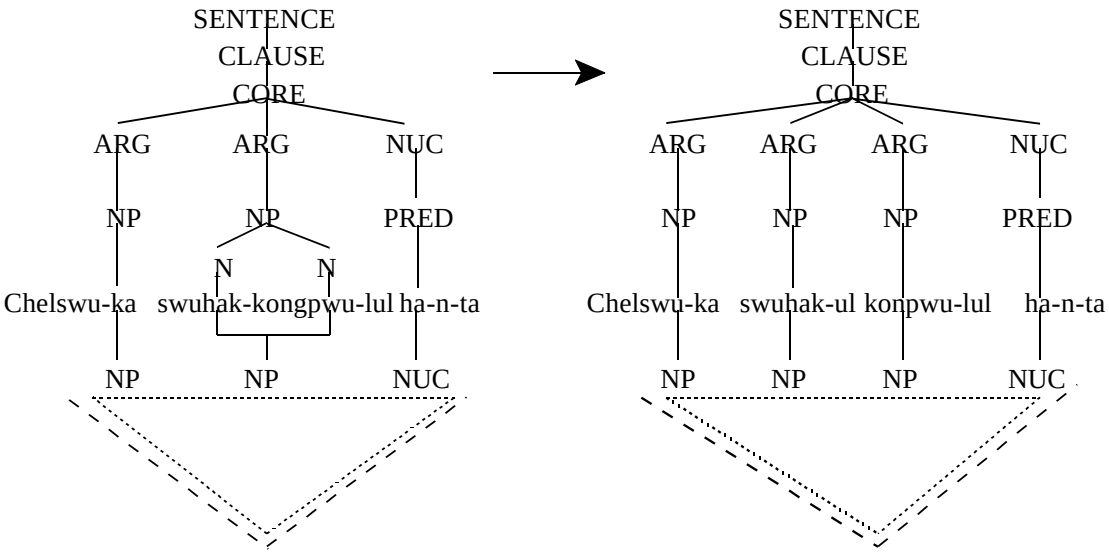
'Chelswu studies math.'

(36) Chelswu-ka swuhak-ul konpwu-lul ha-n-ta.
C.-NOM math-ACC study-ACC do-PRES-DEC
'Chelswu studies math.'

The sentence in figure 4 below are the formal representations of (35a) which is the NI construction, and of (36) which is the MAC. The crucial difference between the two is that the former has only two pragmatic units (PU), whereas the latter has three, so that it is only possible for (36) where the first LUL-marked NP *swuhak* 'math' can be focused.[16]

[16]I have discussed in detail how the genitive-marked NP (or NI) can be shifted into LUL in chapter 4. Furthermore, I have proposed the notion of 'pragmatic unit' in contrast to that of 'syntactic argument'. For instance, (1) below is acceptable because both the first-ACC marked NP *swuhak* 'math' and the second ACC-marked NP *kongpwu* 'study' are PUs such that another PU (adverbial phrase) *ecey* 'yesterday' can occur between the two PUs. In contrast, the NP operators such as adjective *elyeywun* 'difficult' in (2) cannot occur between the two PUs since it is not a PU (phrase). See chapter 4 for more details.

Figure 4: The formal representations of (35a) and (36)



6.3 The Light Verb Constructions (LVCs): *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do'

As aforementioned in (8), the HA 'do' of the long form of negation *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do' is a genuine light verb, that is, semantically empty. As a piece of evidence, I provided a passive sentence in (12) which tells us that the ACC attached to the verbal complex *V-ci-lul* 'V-CLM-ACC' is not semantically-motivated, not to mention the NOM attached to the same verbal complex. In this subsection, I will argue that those two case markers are pragmatic cases which are motivated by focus structure.

6.3.1 Data and questions

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(1)	Chelswu-ka	swuhak-ul	ecey	kongpwu-lul	ha-ess-ta.
	C.-NOM	math-ACC	yesterday	study-ACC	do-PST-DEC
	'Chelswu studied math yesterday.'				
(2) *	Chelswu-ka	swuhak-ul	elyeywun	kongpwu-lul	ha-ess-ta.
	C.-NOM	math-ACC	difficult	study-ACC	do-PST-DEC
	'Chelswu studied a difficult math (problem).'				

With respect to the case markings of the LVC *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do', apparently there seems to exist a clear-cut distinction between state verb sentences on the one hand and activity, accomplishment verb sentences on the other hand.[17] The former can occur with both KA and LUL, but the latter can only occur with LUL.[18]

(37) Activity sentence[19]

a. Chelswu-ka ka-ass-ta.
C-NOM go-PST-DEC
'Chelswu went.'

b. Chelswu-ka ka-ci-lul an-h-ass-ta.
C.-NOM go-CLM-ACC NEG-do-PST-DEC
'Chelswu did not go.'

c.* Chelswu-ka ka-ci-ka an-h-ass-ta.
C.-NOM go-CLM-NOM NEG-do-PST-DEC
'Chelswu did not go.'

(38) Accomplishment sentence

a. Chelswu-ka kay-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta.
C.-NOM dog-ACC kill-CAU-PST-DEC
'Chelswu killed a dog.'

b. Chelswu-ka kay-lul cwuk-i-ci-lul an-h-ass-ta.
C.-NOM dog-ACC kill-CAU-CLM-ACC NEG-do-PST-DEC
'It is not the case that Chelswu killed a dog.'

c.* Chelswu-ka kay-lul cwuk-i-ci-ka an-h-ass-ta.
C.-NOM dog-ACC kill-CAU-CLM-NOM NEG-do-PST-DEC
'It is not the case that Chelswu killed a dog.'

---

[17]With respect to this dichotomy, achievement verb sentence seems to belong to the first category; that is state. As seen in (1) both LUL and KA can occur after the verbal complex *cwuk-ci* 'die-CLM'.

(1) Chelswu-ka cwuk-ci-lul/-ka an-ass-ta.
C.-NOM die-CLM-ACC-NOM NEG-PST-DEC
'It is not the case that Chelswu died.'

[18]Importantly, though, when a state verb sentence occur with LUL at the clausal level, it must be interpreted as an accomplishment verb sentence.

[19]Verbs are chosen from Yang (1994) where he provided the test for the verb-classification.

(37a) displays a typical intransitive activity sentence where the PSA (subject) *Chelswu* is NOM-marked. (37b) and (37c) exhibit the LVCs, the LUL can occur on the verbal complex *ka-ci* 'go-CLM', but KA cannot occur in this position. On the other hand, (38a) is a typical accomplishment sentence where the PSA *Chelswu* is NOM-marked, and the second macrorole *kay* 'dog' is ACC-marked. In a similar line, the LUL can occur on the verbal complex *cwuk-i-ci* 'kill-CAU-CLM' as seen in (38b), but KA cannot occur on *cwuk-i-ci* 'kill-CAU-CLM' in (38c). To compare, now, take a look at state verb sentences as below.

[State Verb Sentences]

(39) a. Cha-ka ka-ess-ta.
Car-NOM go-PST-DEC
'The car went.'

b. Cha-ka ka-ci-lul an-ha-ess-ta.
car-NOM go-CLM-ACC NEG-do-PST-DEC
'It was not the case that the car goes.'

c. Cha-ka ka-ci-ka an-ha-ess-ta.
car-NOM go-CLM-NOM NEG-do-PST-DEC
'It was not the case that the car goes.'

(40) a. Chelswu-uy cha-ka ka-ess-ta.
C.-GEN car-NOM go-PST-DEC
'Chelswu's car went.'

b. Chelswu-uy cha-ka ka-ci-lul an-h-ess-ta.
C.-GEN car-NOM go-CLM-<u>ACC</u> NEG-do-PST-DEC
'It is not the case that Chelswu's car goes.'

c. Chelswu-uy cha-ka ka-ci-ka an-h-ess-ta.
C.-GEN car-NOM go-CLM-<u>NOM</u> NEG-do-PST-DEC
'It is not the case that Chelswu's car goes.'

(41) a. Chelswu-ka cha-ka ka-ess-ta.
C.-NOM car-NOM go-PST-DEC
'It was Chelswu's car that goes.'

b. Chelswu-ka cha-ka ka-ci-lul an-h-ess-ta.
C.-NOM car-NOM go-CLM-ACC NEG-do-PST-DEC
'It was not the case that Chelswu's car goes.'

c. Chelswu-ka cha-ka ka-ci-ka an-h-ess-ta.
C.-NOM car-NOM go-CLM-NOM NEG-do-PST-DEC
'It was not the case that Chelswu's car goes.'

The sentences in (39) are state (or better known an unaccusative) verb sentences, where the PSA *cha* 'car' may be interpreted either as undergoer or anthropomorphic actor. Unlike the activity and accomplishment verb sentences in (37) and (38), the sentences in (39b) and (39c) shows that both KA and LUL can occur on the verbal complex *ka-ci* 'go-CLM'. The sentences in (40) show the genitive counterpart of those in (39) where KA and LUL can occur on the verbal complex *ka-ci* 'go-CLM' as well. Finally (41) tells us that the genitive can be shifted to the MNC, and here again KA and LUL can also occur on the verbal complex *ka-ci* 'go-CLM'.

The last point of importance for an analysis of these sentences is that, in effect, the PSA *cha* 'car' in (39), (40), and (41) can be interpreted either as undergoer or as an anthropomorphic actor. These two different interpretations may bring about two different types of verb classification: state and activity, accomplishment Aktionsart respectively.

Table 1

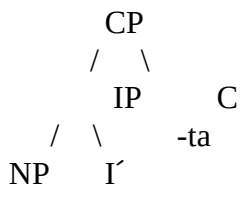
Pragmatic case	(Cooccurring) Aktionsart types
KA	State (or possibly achievement)
LUL	Activity or accomplishment

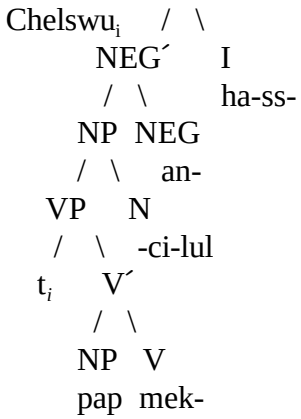
6.3.2 Previous studies

To explain the seemingly puzzling case markings on (37)-(41), a variety of proposals have been provided. In particular, scholars from the Principles & Parameters tradition have tried consistently to account for the MNCs and MACs strictly in terms of 'Structural Case'. From that perspective, since the Subject and the Object must be determined by their structural position, i.e, [Spec, IP] and [Comp, VP], it is natural that KA and LUL in the LVC also need to be licensed by those structures syntactically.

Let us briefly go over three approaches regarding the LVCs: H.-S. Han (1991), M.-Y. Kang (1992), and H.-D. Ann (1992). H.-S. Han (1991) adopts a similar line of approach to the English 'do-support' construction. As in the 'do-support', the dummy verb *ha* 'do' is supported by the INFL position because of the intervention of another head (NEG), blocking the Head-Movement of the main verb *mek-* 'eat' from attaching to the INFL as illustrated in (42). Here, this movement occurs at Surface-Structure.

(42) Chelswu-ka pap-ul mek-ci-lul an-ess-ta.
C.-NOM rice-ACC eat-CLM-ACC NEG-PST-DEC
'It is not the case that Chelswu ate the (cooked) rice.'

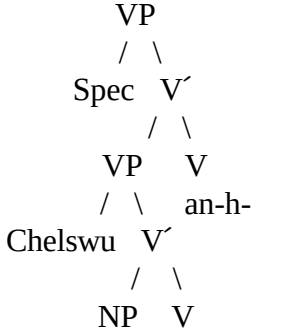




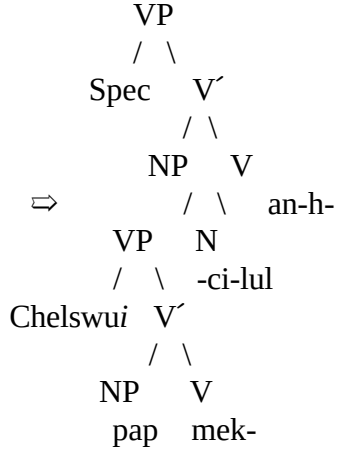
The analysis of M.Y. Kang (1992) illustrated in (43) also follows a similar reasoning, but it includes a VP-shell structure in D-S, and the verbal complex V-*ci* is newly formed between the inner VP and its upper shell because of the case requirement of the transitive verb HA 'do.'

(43) Chelswu-ka pap-ul mek-ci-lul an-ess-ta.
C.-NOM rice-ACC eat-CLM-ACC NEG-PST-DEC
'It is not the case that Chelswu ate the (cooked) rice.'

a. Deep-Strucutre



b. Surface-Structure



As shown from the trees there, two scholars share the assumption that the dummy verb HA is capable of transferring all or some of the preceding main verb's (semantic) arguments. Thus, HAs of (42) and (43) are transitive verbs which can assign Object Case to

their Complement. In a parallel manner, if the main verb is an intransitive like the verb *ka-* 'go' in (39), then the HA is assumed to be an intransitive verb.

However, this explanation leaves behind the unsolved problems of (39b), (40b), and (41b) where the intransitive verb HAs licenses ACC; namely, state verb sentences equally sanction ACC as well as NOM in this Object Case position. So the generalization that HAs are intransitive verb in (39) - (41) simply fails. With respect to these puzzling case-marking patterns, H.-D. Ahn (1992) comes up with two different kinds of ACCs; Strong ACC and Weak ACC. Both Cases can be assigned in the $[[XP\ V^0]_{V'}]$ position, but only Strong ACC can have a θ-role, whereas Weak ACC assigned by the verb HA cannot bear a θ-role. Since Weak ACC must not be treated in terms of Burzio's generalization. H.-D. Ahn (1992) introduces the following revised version of Burzio's generalization in (44).

(44) The revised Burzio's Generalization
A verb assigns an external θ-role if it assigns Strong-Case.

However, it would be fair to ask at this point what we really gain from these structural accounts in order to capture the native speaker's intuitions. For instance, why is the following question-answer pair not a felicitous exchange or acceptable whereas that of (45) is acceptable in the Yes-No question context.

(45) Q: Chelswu-ka ka-ci#-lul an-h-ass-ci?
C.-NOM go-CLM-ACC NEG-do-PST-Q
'Was it not the case that Chelswu went?'

A: Yey.
'Yes.'

(46) Q: Chelswu-ka ka-ci-nun an-h-ass-ci?
C.-NOM go-CLM-TOP NEG-do-PST-Q
'Was it not the case that Chelswu went?'

A: Yey.
'Yes.'

Since Yes-No questions normally require the information to be topical, which is contained in the questions in (45Q) and in (46Q), the neutral focus marker LUL on the verbal complex *ka-ci* 'go-CLM' cannot occur in this position, whereas the question in (46Q), which does not contain LUL but NUN, is felicitous.

6.3.3 A proposal

The fundamental contentions of this chapter with respect to KA and LUL attached to the verbal complex *V-ci* 'V-CLM' in the LVCs are: i) they are pragmatic cases assigned to Pragmatic Units (phrases). ii) The pragmatic case alternation between KA and LUL in (37) - (41), is due to their two different types of verb classifications. That is to say, the neutral focus marker KA is used when a verb is construed as a state Aktionsart in contexts, but the neutral focus marker LUL is used when a verb in question is construed as either activity or accomplishment Aktionsart.[20] iii) The sentence-final verb HA in the LVCs is semantically-empty; it does not subcategorize for any syntactic ARG(s) as I claimed in (11) and (12) in section 6.2.

The formal representations of the layered structures of (47) and (48) along with their focus projections are provided in (47´) and (48´) respectively. What is important to capture

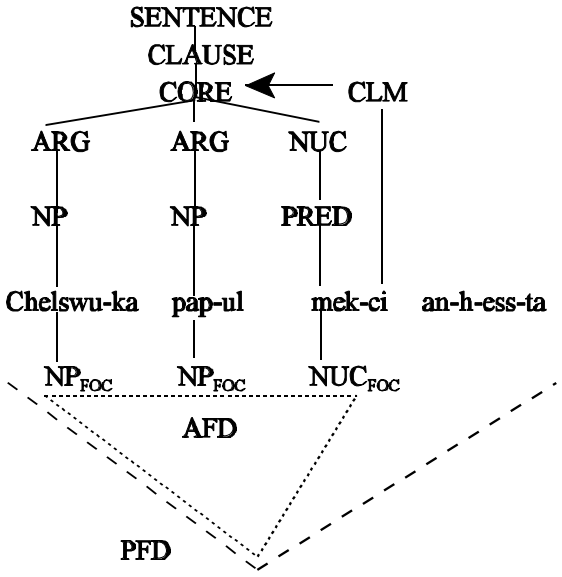
[20]Again, an achievement verb sentence behaves like a state verb sentence.

between these two trees is the scope of the AFD (actual focus domain); that is, in (47´) the AFD spans over the preceding core so that it is equal to the scope of the negation; but in (48´) the AFD is restricted into the verbal complex *mek-ci-lul* 'eat-CLM-ACC' rendering it a NFS (narrow focus structure).

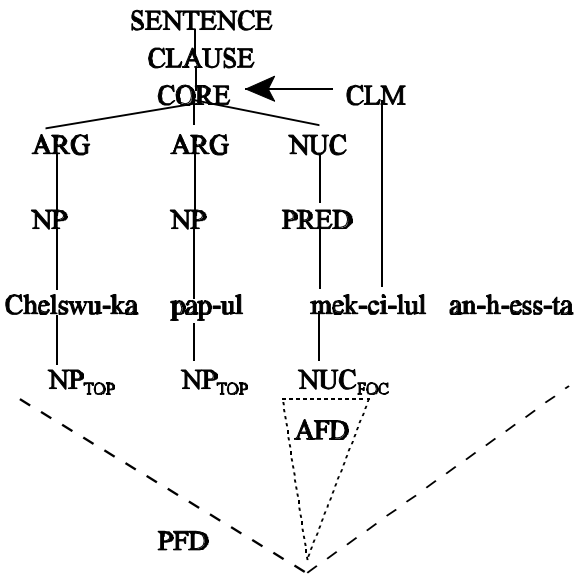
(47) Chelswu-ka pap-ul mek-ci an-h-ass-ta.
C.-NOM rice-ACC eat-CLM NEG-do-PST-DEC
'It is not the case that CHELSWU ATE THE (COOKED) RICE.'

(48) Chelswu-ka pap-ul mek-ci-lul an-h-ass-ta.
C.-NOM rice-ACC eat-CLM-ACC NEG-do-PST-DEC
'It is not the case that Chelswu ATE the (cooked) rice.'

(47´) The formal representation of the layered structure of (47)



(48´) The formal representation of the layered structure of (48)



6.3.3.1 Empirical evidence for the pragmatic cases in the LVCs.

Let us take a look at some empirical evidence which supports my claim. The first piece of evidence is the Yes-No question which I have provided in (45) and (46) above and reproduced below (45).

(45) Q: Chelswu-ka ka-ci#-lul an-h-ass-ni?
C.-NOM go-CLM-ACC NEG-do-PST-Q
'Was it the case that Chelswu went?'

A: Yey.
Yes.

The unacceptability of (45Q), with ACC on the verbal complex *ka-ci-lul* 'go-CLM-ACC' in this Yes-No question context tells us that the LUL marker is inappropriate in the topic domain since it is normally taken for granted that the information contained in (45Q) is topical (activated) for the speaker and the addressee in this context.

The second piece of evidence comes from factive verbs such as *yukamsulep* 'be

regretable, *pikuki* 'be a tragedy', *conkyengslep* 'be admirable', or *cwungyoha* 'be significant'; that is, the sentential complements of these verbs are inherently presupposed (activated or given) propositions.

(49) [Ku cha-ka ka-ci#-ka/#-lul an-h-un ket]-un pikuki-ta.
that car-NOM go-CLM-NOM/ACC NEG-do-REL thing-TOP tragedy-DEC
'That the car did not go is a tragedy.'

As seen in (49), either KA or LUL on the verbal complex *ka-ci* 'go-CLM' are unacceptable in this topic domain.

The third piece of evidence bears on the *wh*-word in relation to quantifier scope. Let us consider the *wh*-question-answer in the question-answer pair below.

(50) Q: Icwung-ese ETTEN CHA-KA Seoul-lo ka-pnikka?
these-among which car-NOM Seoul-LOC go-Q
'Which of these cars is going to go to Seoul?'

A: [TA]$_{FOC}$ [Seoul-lo ga-ci*-ka/?lul an-h-sspnita.]$_{TOP}$
every Seoul-LOC go-CLM-NOM/ACC NEG-do-DEC
'EVERY CAR will not go to Seoul.'

Since the focus of the answer in (50) must fall on *ta* 'every' in this sentence due to the *wh*-word *etten* 'which' in (50Q), other parts of the answer in (50) would automatically fall under the topic domain. Now, both KA and LUL, although the first is the worst, are not acceptable in this context. This example shows that KA and LUL are inappropriate in the topic domain because they are focus markers.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I investigated Korean HA ‘do’ constructions such as in the verb *kongpwu-lul ha* ‘study-ACC do’ and the LVC *-ci an-h* ‘NEG-do’. I have argued that the HA construction is a kind of composite predicate which is composed of two LSs: that is, the main verb HA has, as its one part, the LS of the verb *kongpwu* ‘study’, and these two LSs link their ARGs according to two case linking algorithms: one for the clause and the other for the NP. In addition, I provided some empirical evidence that showed that the first ACC-marked NP in the MAC of the HA ‘do’ construction is in the scope of the AFD and that the ACC is the neutral focus marker LUL. In addition, with respect to the LVC, *ci an-h* ‘NEG-do’, I argued that KA and LUL, attached to the verbal complex *V-ci*, are pragmatic cases which may occur in order to extend the previous AFD *via* marking LUL or KA on the verbal complex *V-ci* depending on the sentence type (a state versus an activity/accomplishment sentence).

Final Remark:

The second point is that, adopting A. Kim (1985)'s Preverbal Focus Universal Hypothesis for Korean, a verb and adjacent preverbal elements (argument) are in the scope of predicate focus although it is marked by the neutral (unstressed) NOM[21]. Therefore, following my previous hypothesis, the second NOM is now superimpose the secondary actual predicate focus structure, where the predicate being the whole sentence as below.

Preverbal Focus Universal Hypothesis.

> If a language is SOV in basic word order, and postpositional, and has the properties that the adjective precedes the noun and the genitive precedes the noun, then, the language has a Preverbal Focus mechanism in its grammar.

A Light Verb Formation (if a nuclear inheritance rule)
$make_1$ (heavy) + Ø (light verb suffix) → $make_2$ (light verb)
[do´ (Harry, [offer´ (Harry, money)] ∧ [BECOME have´ (police, money)])]
→ [do´ (Harry, Ø) CAUSE [BECOME have´ (police, [offer, money])]]

Harry offered the police money. / Harry offered money to the police.
Harry made an offer of money to the police.

(1) single vs. double LS hyphotheses
(1) How many on earth light verb 'make's do we have to remember?
(1) we don't know whether or not the lexical verb 'make' is a light or a heavy verb until an input verb is decided. This fact makes me hesitant to turn aside to the lexical rule approach.
(2) Probably, instead of *make* (light), *make an offer* could be a verb, beacuse it is more likely correspond to a native speaker's intuition.
(1) do I need a zero morpheme Ø for the lexcial word formation?

An RRG Linking semantics and syntax in Englsih Light Verb Constructions
(1) Harry made an offer of mony to the police.

1 Lexicon
There is no need to set out a separated or an intermediate stage of Logical Structure for the light verb *make*. That is, in the lexicon, only the LSs of two verbs are there; $make_V$, **do´** (x, [**make´** (x, y)])[22] and $offer_V$, [**do´** (x, Ø) **CAUSE** [**BECOME have´** (z, y)]]. Besides these two LSs, there is a lexical redundancy rule, following Nunes (1993), that expresses the relationship between the verb $offer_V$ and the derived nominal $offer_N$; [**do´** (x, Ø) **CAUSE** [**BECOME have´** (z, y)]] → $offer_N$ (x,y,z).

[21]It is mostly the case of passive sentences in Korean, which I will deal with in my paper in this regard.
[22]Of course, *make* can have more than one LS such as *Harry made an offer to the police of money*. I'll talk about it, in doing *give*-type sentence.

The Light Verb construction, (1), occurs when the heavy verb *make*$_V$ takes as one of its arguments the deverbal nominal *offer*$_N$; in other words, *make*$_V$, **do´** (x, [**make´** (x, y)]) becomes **do´** (x, [**make´** (x, offer$_N$)]). At this point, however, since the DN offer$_N$ itself has its own LS derived from *offer*$_V$, its inner LS would be ended up something like **do´** (x, [**make´** (x, offer$_N$[**do´** (x, Ø) **CAUSE** [**BECOME have´** (z, y)]])]).

do´ (Harry, [**make´** (Harry, offer$_N$[**do´** (Harry, Ø) **CAUSE** [**BECOME have´** (police, money)]])])

2 The Linking processes of example (1)

(1) Following the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy, the actor is *Harry*.
(2) default = Actor, because of its the accusative privileged syntactic argument selection, so *Harry* gets the Nom case marking.
(3) the second macrorole = offer$_N$, it gets the ACC case marking.
(4) if a derived nominal is used as an argument of a matrix verb, then link its all arguments onto the syntactic template as per the derived nominal linking rule (Nunes, 1993)
a. Assign the lowest macrorole of a DN to the *of*-marked core$_N$ argument.
b. Assign other non-macrorole arguments, if any, to their appropriate case markers/preposition.

give: [**do´** (x, Ø)] **CAUSE** [**BECOME have´** (y,z)]
a. Harry demonstated the new technique to the class.
b. Harry gave a demonstation of the new technique to the class
[**do´** (H,Ø)] **CAUSE** [**BECOME have´** (Ø,demonstation$_N$ [**do´**(H,Ø)] **CAUSE** [**BECOME demonstated´** (class, technique)]
c. Harry kicked the ball.
d. Harry gave the ball a kick.
[**do´** (H,Ø)] **CAUSE** [**BECOME have´** (Ø,kick$_N$ [**do´** (H, [**kick´** (H, ball)])]
e. Harry coughed.
f. Have gave a cough.
[**do´** (H,Ø)] **CAUSE** [**BECOME have´** (Ø, kick$_N$ [**do´** (H, [**kick´** (H)])])]

the LS of *offer*$_V$ is inserted into the second ARG slot of the *make*$_V$; **do´** (x, [**make´** (x, [**do´** (x, Ø) **CAUSE** [**BECOME have´** (z, y)]])]). Now it is this LS that to be linked onto the syntactic representation (1).

Give the secondary LS
[**do´** (Harry, [**make´** (Harry, offer)]) CAUSE [BECOME **exist´** (offer$_N$)]] |
Qulia[....[([**do´** (Harry, Ø) **CAUSE** [**BECOME have´** (police, money)]])]..]