

Three Types of Verbal Noun Constructions: Evidence against Incorporation

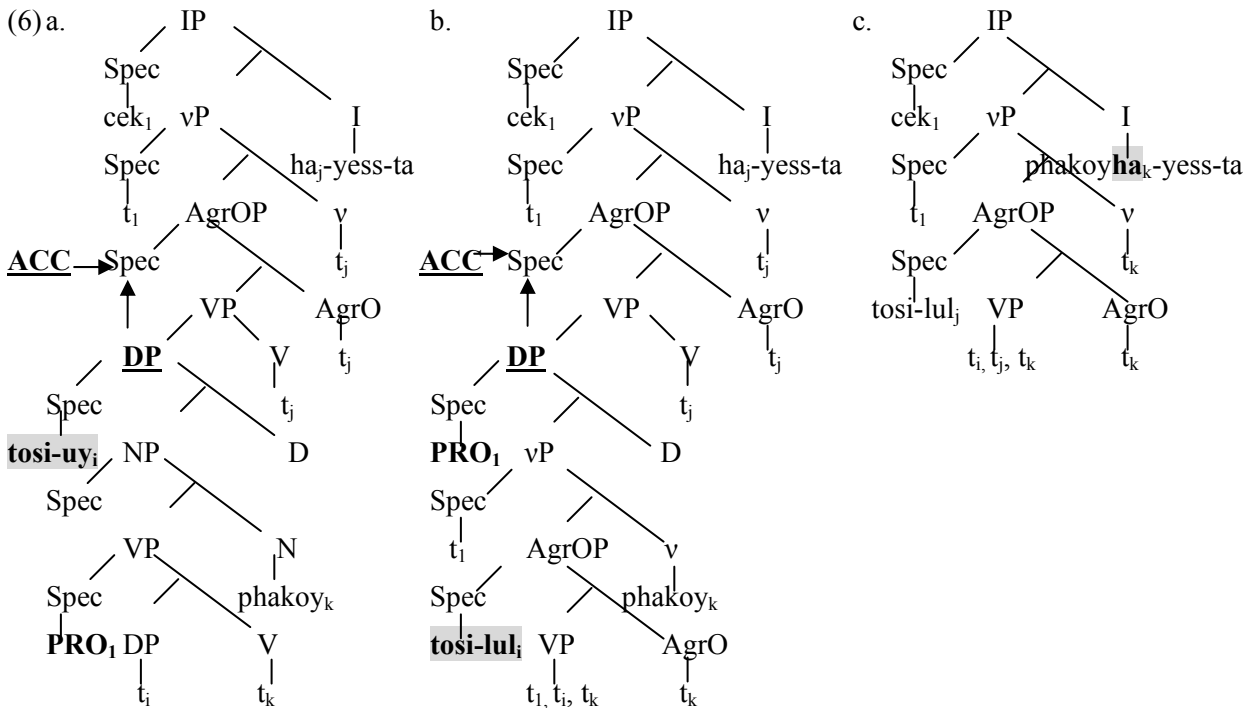
Goals: Verbal noun (VN, henceforth) constructions exhibit a mismatch between Case-marking and theta-licensing. In Korean sentences (1b) and (1c), *tosi* ‘city’, which is assigned a thematic-role by *phakoy* ‘destruction’, is accusative-marked rather than genitive-marked. In order to account for this peculiarity, most studies have relied on incorporation: VNs, as a genuine theta-marker, are assumed to incorporate into a so-called light verb by virtue of head-raising and to form a complex predicate at some level of grammar (lexicon, syntax, or LF), whereby an argument outside its VN domain can get a thematic-role (Grimshaw & Mester 1988, Ahn 1989, Chae 1996, Saito & Hoshi 2000, and many others). However, I argue against any versions of incorporation accounts, and propose an alternative analysis which dispenses with incorporation. The main claims are as follows: first, there is evidence against incorporation. Second, VNs can take a derived nominal structure (1a/5a) or a gerund structure (1b/5b). Third, VNs are categorially verbs (1c/5c).

Problems of Incorporation Accounts: First of all, given the observation that focus particles block head-raising (Miyagawa 2001), the incorporation accounts wrongly predict that the sentences in (2) would be ungrammatical, because there is no way for the arguments outside the VN domain to get thematic-roles. Second, the identity of accusative Case on VNs is not clear under the incorporation accounts. If a VN indeed incorporates into a light verb in spite of the presence of accusative Case on the VN, this means that the accusative Case on VNs is ‘fake’ Case, presumably appended at PF. The accounts, therefore, predict that the presence of accusative Case on VNs should not be relevant to any morpho-syntactic derivation, contrary to the fact, as exemplified in (3). Finally, the incorporation accounts predict that sentence (4b) would be ungrammatical, same as (4a), because a VN is separated from the light verb host in both cases. However, (4b), where an argument of the VN joins scrambling, is grammatical, in contrast to (4a). In sum, incorporation cannot take place in VN constructions, and we are forced to abandon the incorporation accounts.

Proposal: Based on the assumption that VNs take a nominal structure embedding a syntactic VP (Hazout 1995, Fu, Roeper & Borer 2001), I claim that VN constructions take a derived nominal structure as in (5a)/(6a), or a gerund structure as in (5b)/(6b). In (6a), I propose that raising up to N-head triggers the absorption of accusative Case similar to the function of passive morpheme *-en* (Baker et al. 1989). Thus, the theme argument *tosi* ‘city’ moves to Spec of DP to get Case. The PRO controlled by an agent argument remains inside the lower VP. The head VN *phakoy* ‘destruction’ and its theme argument form a constituent DP, which is, in turn, assigned accusative Case by moving up to Spec of AgrOP. In (6b), on the other hand, there is no N-head and a DP directly embeds a VP structure (Abney 1987, Alexiadou 2001). The argument *tosi* ‘city’ is assigned accusative Case by AgrOP inside the VN, and the PRO, controlled by the subject, moves to Spec of DP via Spec of vP. The whole gerund DP raises to Spec of AgrOP in order to get Case. In sharp contrast to the incorporation accounts, the accusative-marked theme argument, in my analysis, is claimed to be ‘inside’ the VN domain, in parallel with the genitive-marked argument. Finally, I argue that VNs are in fact verbs not nouns, evidenced from their morpho-syntactic peculiarities. The dummy verb *Ha-* ‘do’ is inserted for phonological reasons at PF, as shown in (5c/6c). My analysis, thus, doesn’t have any need for ‘argument transfer’ or head-raising.

Consequence: This analysis resolves all the problems of incorporation accounts addressed before, and gives a clear explanation of adjunct-licensing within a VN domain. This analysis further provides a correct account of temporal affix constructions, which have remained problematic for incorporation approaches. The VNs in these contexts are claimed to take a bare gerund phrase rather than an IP, as presented in (7), in contrast to Hoshi (1994, 1997) and Saito & Hoshi (2000). My analysis without incorporation can account for VN constructions without making stipulations.

- (1) a. cek-i tosi-uy phakoy-lul ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-nom city-GEN destruction-acc do-past-decl ‘The enemy destroyed the city.’
 b. cek-i tosi-lul phakoy-lul ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-nom city-ACC destruction-acc do-past-decl
 c. cek-i tosi-lul phakoy-ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-nom city-ACC destruction-do-past-decl
- (2) a. hoysa-ka ku-eykey [DP sangphwum-uy swuye]-man ha-yess-ta.
 company-nom he-DAT prize-gen award-only do-past-decl. ‘The company awarded a prize to him’
 b. hoysa-ka ku-eykey sangphwum-ul [DP swuye]-man ha-yess-ta.
 company-nom he-DAT prize-ACC award-only do-past-decl
- (3) a. cek-i tosi-lul phakoy-lul (chelcehakey) ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-nom city-acc destruction-ACC completely do-past-decl ‘The enemy destroyed the city completely’
 b. cek-i tosi-lul phakoy (*chelcehakey) ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-nom city-acc destruction completely do-past-decl
- (4) a. *[phakoy]-lul cek-i tosi-lul/-uy ha-yess-ta.
 destruction-acc enemy-nom city-acc /-gen do-past-decl
 b. [tosi-lul/-uy phakoy]-lul cek-i ha-yess-ta.
 city-ACC/GEN destruction-acc enemy-nom do-past-decl
- (5) a. cek-i [DP tosi-uy phakoy]-lul ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-nom city-GEN destruction-acc do-past-decl ‘The enemy destroyed the city.’
 b. cek-i [DP tosi-lul phakoy]-lul ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-nom city-ACC destruction-acc do-past-decl
 c. cek-i tosi-lul phakoy-ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-nom city-ACC destruction-do-past-decl



- (7) a. nongpwu-ka [path-ul kyengcak]-cwung-ey posek-ul palkyenha-yess-ta.
 Farmer-nom field-acc cultivation-during-temp jewel-acc discover-past-decl
 ‘The farmer discovered a jewel while cultivating the field.’
- b.