Argument and Event Structures of Serial Verb Constructions in Korean:
the Case of 'V-*e ka-/o-*' and 'V-*e cwu-*'

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The serial verb constructions [SVC] with 'go/come' and 'give' have attracted much cross-linguistic and typological study in the literature (Sebba 1987, Aikenvald 2006, among others), but their syntactic/semantic behavior has not been clearly accounted for in terms of their argument/event structures [AS/ES] composition. This paper contributes to the typological studies on SVCs and proposes a new compositional perspective on the correlation between syntax and semantics of SVCs in languages like Korean.

This paper gives a fine-grained syntactic/semantics description of major SVCs in Korean, i.e., 'V-*e ka-/o-*' (go/come) and 'V-*e cwu-*' (give). First, the paper aims to identify the patterns of syntactic and semantic composition of the two consecutive verbs in the SVCs. It also captures the syntactic and semantic correlation in the composition of V1 and V2. The composition patterns of their event structures clearly reveal the syntactic configuration of the SVC.

The Korean multi-verb constructions 'V-*e ka-/o-*' (go/come) and 'V-*e cwu-*' (give) have been often treated as a light/auxiliary verb construction. However, 'V-*e ka-/o-*' (go/come) and 'V-*e cwu-*' (give) follow the composition patterns of a typical SVC based on the syntactic/semantic contribution of the second verbs ('*ka-/o-*' and '*cwu-*'). Especially, they can be characterized as SVCs in that the two juxtaposed verbs represent a single unitary event, sharing at least one argument. When the AS/ES of two verbs (i.e. V1 and V2) are combined, a subject-AGENT argument is shared in '*V-e ka-/o-*', and an object-THEME as well as a subject-AGENT argument are shared in the case of '*V-e cwu-*'.

This paper is mainly concerned about Korean SVCs with '*ka-/o-*' (go/come) and '*cwu-*' (give) in which they carry their lexical meaning, a 'change of location' as main verbs. When '*ka-/o-*' (go/come) and '*cwu-*' (give) combine with V1, they all take a GOAL argument in such a construction. The composition types of the AS/ES heavily depend on the behavior of the GOAL argument. The paper, based on the extensive description (including more than 400 verbs combining with *ka-/o-/cwu-*), derives a typology and constraints of AS/ES composition with '*ka-/o-*' (go/come) and '*cwu-*' (give). In the cases of '*ka-/o-*', the types of AS/ES composition and the constraint are characterized in terms of the result-state of location change. The composition type with '*cwu-*' (give), with respect to the realization of its GOAL argument, is determined by the following factors: i) whether V1 requires a GOAL as its argument; ii) whether the theme of V1 has the possibility of physical movement or possession transfer.

When V2 '*ka-/o-*' (go/come) as a main verb is combined with V1, the sentence denotes an 'accomplishment' event composed of two subevents: the causing event (or preparatory process) and the caused event (i.e., result-state). An achievement verb is hard to combine with '*ka-/o-*' (go/come) due to the fact that the subevent of achievement with punctual property is difficult to be extended as preparatory process. However, a type of achievement which denotes a change of state (*ex.* '*cwuk-e ka-*' (be dying)) can combine with '*ka-/o-*' (go/come). In such a construction, V2 '*ka-/o-*' (go/come) has been analyzed as auxiliary verb in traditional works. Thus, we will not cover it in this paper.

The paper identifies three types of AS/ES compositions of SVCs with '*ka-/o-*' and '*cwu-*': (i) Summation, (ii) Unification, (iii) Mixed Composition. In the 'summation' type, further sub-classifiable into 'partial' and 'adjunctive' summation, the AS and ES of two verbs are summed in parallel. Thus, the GOAL argument is required in the resulting AS, and at the same time the result-state of a THEME (i.e., <BE-AT___>) is introduced in the ES composition. In contrast, the 'unification' type, further sub-classified into 'total',

'embedding', and 'absorption' types, is an instance in which two verbs share a locative argument with the identical result-state denoting a location change. Finally, in the 'mixed composition' type, both V1 and V2 have a locative argument but they show different behavior in composing the result-state of location change. In addition, some arguments which were not originally introduced by V1 are newly introduced into the argument and event structure by the verb form which is combined with V2.

DATA:

(1) Summation Type: e.g., *kel-e ka-* (walk-go), *mantul-e cwu-* (make-give), etc.

    a. Chelswu-ka   hakkyo-ey   kel-e   ka-ss-ta.
       Chelswu-Nom   school-to   walk-E   go-Past-Decl
       'Chelswu walked to school.'

- **ES** (Event Structure): V1: $[e_1(\ldots x \ldots)]$
  V2: $[[e_2(\ldots x \ldots)]$ CAUSE $[x$ BECOME $<$BE-AT **PLACE**$>]]$
  V1+V2: $[[e_1(\ldots x \ldots)]$ CAUSE $[x$ BECOME $<$BE-AT **PLACE**$>]]$

- **AS** (Argument Structure): N1-ka + V1 → N1-ka + N2-ey[goal] + [V1+V2]

(2) Unification Type: e.g., *kenne-e ka-* (cross-go), *kenney-e cwu-* (hand.over-give), etc.

    a. Chelswu-ka   tali-lul   kenne-e   ka-ss-ta.
       Chelswu-Nom   bridge-Acc go.across-E go-Past-Decl
       'Chelswu crossed a bridge.'

- **ES**: V1: $[[e_1(\ldots x \ldots)]$ CAUSE $[x$ BECOME $<$BE-AT **PLACE$_1$**$>]]$

  [+ Change of Location]

  V2: $[[e_2(\ldots x \ldots)]$ CAUSE $[x$ BECOME $<$BE-AT **PLACE$_2$**$>]]$
  V1+V2: $[[e_1 \sqcap e_2(\ldots x \ldots)]$ CAUSE $[x$ BECOME $<$BE-AT $P_1 \sqcap P_2>]]$ where, $e_1 \sqcap e_2 = e_1$, $P_1 \sqcap P_2 = P_1$

- **AS**: N1-ka + N2-lul[Path] + V1 → N1-ka + N2-lul[Path] + [V1+V2]

(3) Mixed Composition Type: e.g., *chiwu-e-cwu-* (remove-give), *tol-a ka-* (go.around-go), etc.

    a. Chelswu-ka   Yenghuy-uy   chayksang-eyse chayk-ul chiwu-e   cwu-ess-ta.
       Chelswu-Nom   Yenghuy-Gen   desk-from   book-Acc remove-E give-Past-Decl
       'Chelswu removed a book from Yenghuy's desk for her (or instead of her).'

- **ES**: V1: $[[e_1(\ldots x \ldots)]$ CAUSE $[y$ BECOME **NOT** $<$BE-AT **PLACE$_1$**$>]]$

  $\nparallel$

  V2: $[[e_2(\ldots x \ldots)]$ CAUSE $[y$ BECOME $<$BE-AT **PLACE$_2$**$>]]$
  V1+V2: $[[e_1(\ldots x \ldots)]$ CAUSE $[y$ BECOME **NOT** $<$BE-AT **PLACE$_1$**$>]]$
  $\Rightarrow [[[e_1(\ldots x \ldots)]$ CAUSE $[y$ BECOME **NOT** $<$BE-AT **PLACE$_1$**$>]]$ BECOME BENEFACTIVE TO z]
  $\nRightarrow [[e_1(\ldots x \ldots)]$ CAUSE $[[y$ BECOME **NOT** $<$BE-AT **PLACE$_1$**$>]$ **&** $[y$ BECOME $<$BE-AT **PLACE$_2$**$>]]]$

- **AS**: N1-ka + N3-eyse[source] + N2-lul + V1 → N1-ka + N3-eyes[source] + N2-lul + [V1+V2]
  $\nrightarrow$ N1-ka + N4-eykey[goal] + N3-eyse[source] + N2-lul + [V1+V2]

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