

THE EVENT STRUCTURE OF LIGHT VERBS

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This dissertation systematically investigates how light verbs contribute to event structure across three, typologically different languages: English, Hindi-Urdu, and Korean. I first show that light verbs across the three languages vary in their structural position and function. English light verbs *take* and *give* remain low in the structure, in VP, while the Hindi-Urdu light verb *le* ‘take’ occupies an intermediary (Inner) Aspect head just below the head that introduces the external argument, *v*P. The Korean light verb *pe sits even higher in the structure, in an aspect head above *v*P. This structural variation is reflected in the effect that the light verbs have on the lexical aspect of the predicate. Light verbs in all three languages make the event telic, regardless of the type of event the light verb combines with. In summary, this dissertation provides a brief typological overview of the syntactic function and semantic role of light verbs, providing new insights into how light verbs contribute to event structure.*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Frances grew up in mid-Michigan. She attended the University of Michigan for her undergraduate studies, where she received a B.A. in Linguistics and a Minor in Music. She is graduating from Cornell University with a Ph.D. in Linguistics and a Graduate Minor in American Indian and Indigenous Studies.

to 22-year-old Fran, who would be proud

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
.	grammatical information included in the morpheme
-	morphological boundary
=	case marker, following Butt & Ramchand 2005
()	optional
ACC	accusative
ADN	adnominal
APPL	applicative
DAT	dative
DEC	declarative
DIR	directive
ERG	ergative
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
IMPRF	imperfective aspect
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental case
M	masculine
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive

PST	past tense
PERF	perfective aspect
PRES	present tense
PL	plural
PROG	progressive aspect
SG	singular
TOP	topic marker

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: AN OVERVIEW OF LIGHT VERBS

1.1 Introduction

The goals of this chapter are to (i) present an overview of the existing literature on the event structure of light verbs (LVs) and (ii) outline the predictions and contributions of the following chapters. In Section 1.2, I outline the relevant structural properties and analyses of light verbs, focusing on the languages that I investigate in future chapters. In Section 1.3, I turn to the reported semantic properties of light verbs, and their notable effect on the interpretation of the event. Finally, in Section 1.4, I outline the research questions guiding this dissertation and introduce the foci of subsequent chapters.

1.1.1 LV and labels

The first observation of light verbs is often attributed to Jespersen 1965, who notes that some verbs in English appear to have little to no lexical semantics. Since then, light verbs (LVs) have been identified, observed, and analyzed under many different names across the literature (see Butt 2003 for a nice overview): light verb, semi-lexical verb (Butt & Geuder 2001), a subset of control verbs (Bruening 2016), verbal prefixes in the Salish literature (Kroeber 1999, Gerdts & Hukari 2008, Sobolak 2021), and coverbs in some Algonquian language (Leman 1980).

The range of what qualifies as a light verb is therefore unbounded. For the purposes of this dissertation, I consider a verb to be ‘light’ if it changes the as-

pectual properties of the event and has no theta-roles or predetermined argument structure. The functionality of the light verb varies both across languages and within a language. The next two sections outline common syntactic and semantic properties of light verbs that fit under this defined scope of what a light verb is.

1.2 Syntactic properties of light verbs

One common, cross-linguistically property of LVs is that they don't assign theta-roles (Grimshaw & Mester 1988). Consider the difference between *give* in (1) and (2). In (1), the main verb *give* assigns two theta-roles: THEME to *toy* and GOAL to *Lennon*. In (2), the light verb *give* is not assigning a theta-role to its complement—*a sigh* is not a theme or patient of the event. Additionally, adding the second internal argument *Lennon* is ungrammatical. This reduced, in fact absent, theta-role assignment is a hallmark of light verbs.

(1) Katherine gave a toy to Lennon.

(2) Katherine gave a sigh (*to Lennon). \approx Katherine sighed.

There has been extensive work on characterizing light verbs as a separate syntactic class—namely, separate from auxiliaries. Butt 2003 outlines key syntactic properties that define a light verb constructions in a way that separates them from auxiliaries.

However, Bruening 2016 argues that at least light verbs in English do not warrant a separate syntactic class and instead are simply a sub-category of control verbs. Bruening points out that one of the hallmarks of light verbs—reduced argument structure—is not actually true in some cases. For example, in *She gave him*

a sigh, the light verb *give* still has two objects: *him* (indirect object) and *a sigh* (direct object). However, the semantic role of these two ‘internal’ arguments is not clear. *Sigh* is still not a theme of the verb. Additionally, ordering the two internal arguments differently results in ungrammaticality: **She gave a sigh to him*. Therefore, there is still clearly still some reduced argument structure in light verb constructions.

Butt 2003, 2010 provide a nice cross-linguistic overview of general light verb characteristics and diagnostics. Perhaps the most cited area of light verb syntax is that of complex predicates. When light verbs combine with a verbal predicate, they do not form a biclausal construction, or control or raising structures. Instead, a light verb is part of a monoclausal, complex predicate. Evidence for this is quite robust and cross-linguistic (e.g. see Butt 1995 for Hindi, Rosen 1989 for French, Choi 2002 for Korean). In Chapters 4-5, I provide an overview of the monoclausal properties of Hindi-Urdu and Korean light verb constructions.

The literature shows little variation in the syntactic position of light verbs. In general, people seem to agree that light verbs are situated in a higher projection than the main (lexical) VP.¹ This is for two reasons: (i) to reflect the light verb’s ‘lighter’ syntactic requirements (namely, reduced argument structure) and semantic bleaching, and (ii) make the light verb interact with other verbal-related heads like Inner Aspect. For Yiddish, Diesing 1998,2000 place the light verb in its own projection (Light Verb Phrase) just above the Inner Aspect Phrase. Butt & Ramchand 2005 assume an extended verbal projection (see Ramchand 2008), where the light verb sits in one of two (or both) heads situated immediately above the VP: V_{PROCESS} and/or V_{CAUSE} .

¹One notable exception to this is Bruening 2016 for English.

Hale & Keyser 1993 propose a structural analysis of English LVs that captures the relationship between light verb constructions (LVCs) and certain unergative constructions, called denominals. Hale & Keyser propose that English denominal verbs (like *laugh*, *dance*, etc.) are formed by movement of the noun (*laugh*, *dance*) into a covert light verb head. This movement verbalizes the noun, and results in the unergative verbs *laugh*, *dance*. This proposal of a covert light verb in English is partially motivated by the presence of overt light verbs forming unergatives with nouns, like in Basque: *negar egin* [tear + make] ‘cry’ (see Oyharçabal 2003).

Some languages allow light verbs to co-occur with other functional heads. Butt & Ramchand 2005 show this for Hindi-Urdu, where the an additional functional verb *de* can stack on top of the light verb *le* (3). In this context, *de* is a permissive control verb that takes an infinitival complement, which is headed by the light verb *le*. As we’ll see in Chapter 2, this stacking can reveal relative location of the light verb in the verbal spine.

- (3) Nadya=ne Saddam=ko xat lik^h le-ne
 Nadya.F.SG=ERG Saddam.F.SG=DAT letter.M.NOM write take-INF.OBL
 di-ya
 give-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya let Saddam write a letter (completely).’ [Urdu; Butt 2003:21]

In summary, the cross-linguistic literature on LVs tends to identify the following structural properties associated with light verbs:²

- reduced argument structure
- don’t assign theta-roles
- are situated in a functional head

²Again, excluding English. Hale & Keyser 1993 and Bruening 2016 maintain that English light verbs remain low, in VP.

1.3 Semantic properties of light verbs

Perhaps the most reported feature of LVs cross-linguistically is their effect on the interpretation of the event. For example, consider the difference in meaning between (4) and (5). The event in (4) is an activity in terms of lexical class (see Vendler 1967 for lexical aspect classification system). This classification as activity is due to two aspectual properties: atelic and durative. The event lacks an inherent endpoint (atelic) and takes place over time (durative). The event in (5), however, is telic—the event has a clear endpoint, which is one loop around the block. This change in event is due to the presence of the light verb *took*.

(4) They walked (and walked and walked endlessly...)

(5) They took a walk (around the block).

This effect is context-dependent. The verb *walk* can refer to both an atelic and telic event, given the right context and the properties of the VP. For example, in response to the question "How did they get to the store?" one could answer with (6), in which case *walked* is referring to a telic event of walking to the store.

(6) They walked.

The effects of light verbs on lexical aspect is well-studied, and is often related to telicity. Butt 2003 observes that, in Hindi-Urdu, the addition of the light verb creates a bound event, shown in the English translation by the addition of the adverb 'completely' (7-8).

(7) Nadya=ne xat lik^h-a
Nadya.F=ERG letter write-PERF.F.SG
'Nadya wrote a letter.'
[modified from Butt 2003]

- (8) Nadya=ne xat lk^h li-ya
 Nadya.F=ERG letter.M.NOM write take-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya wrote a letter (completely).’ [Urdu; Butt 2003:21]

In Korean, LVs like *pe-* ‘discard’ and *me*k** ‘eat’ create a bound, irreversable’ event (Cho & Whitman 2020) (9-10). Cho & Whitman translate the contribution of the LV as ‘went and went’ or ‘went and forgot,’ but note that these are not biclausal constructions.

- (9) Chelswu=ka hakkyo=ey ka peli-ess-ta.
 Chelswu=NOM school=DIR go discard-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu went and went to school.’ [Cho & Whitman 2020:199]

- (10) Swumi=ka Thaymin=uy ilum=ul ic-e [peli-/mek-]ess-ta.
 Sumi=NOM Taymin=GEN name=ACC forget-e discard-/eat-PST-DEC
 ‘Sumi went and forgot Taemin’s name.’ [Cho & Whitman 2020:201]

Diesing 1998, 2000 perhaps is one of the few extensive looks at how light verbs systematically affect the event. Light verbs in Yiddish occur in what Diesing calls stem constructions. The difference in interpretation between ‘regular’ constructions and stem constructions is that stem constructions denote an event minimized in time. The exact way in which the event is minimized is dependent upon the original event. For example, serial predicates become semelfactive—cf. (11) and (12)—and non-iterative predicates become diminutivized—cf. (13) and (14).

- (11) Zi glet di kats.
 She pets the cat
 ‘She pets the cat.’ [Diesing 2000:234]

- (12) Zi git a glet di kats.
 She give a pet the cat
 ‘She gives the cat a pet.’ [Diesing 2000:234]

- (13) Ikh vel arbetn.
 I will work.INF
 ‘I will work.’ [modified from Diesing 2000:235]

- (14) Ikh vel an arbet ton.
 I will a work do
 ‘I will work a little bit.’ [Diesing 2000:235]

Light verbs can have semantic selection requirements. Butt 2003 notes that some light verbs can only occur with unaccusative predicates while others can never occur with unaccusative predicates (see also Butt 1995). The unaccusative LV *ga* ‘go’ cannot occur with a transitive predicate in (15).

- (15) *Nadya xat lk^h ga-ya
 Nadya.F.NOM letter.M.NOM write go-PERF.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Nadya wrote a letter (completely).’ [Butt 2003:11]

Similarly, in Amharic, the LV *alə* cannot occur with unergatives, but LV *adərrəgə* can (16).

- (16) a. č’əffərə ‘dance’ [Amberber 2010:313]
 b. *č’əffərə alə
 c. č’əffərə adərrəgə

English LVCs also have selectional requirements: light verbs are incompatible with unaccusative verbs (17). I discuss this further in the English analysis section of Chapter 2.

- (17) a. The cup broke.
 b. *The cup gave a break.

In summary, commonly reported semantic properties of light verbs are:

- they create a bound event
- they create a minimized event
- they have semantic selectional requirements

1.4 Outline of the dissertation

In Chapters 2–5, I explore structural and aspectual properties of light verbs in three languages: English, Hindi-Urdu, and Korean.³ Since these languages are all typologically different (different language families, varying word order and headedness) they present a nice opportunity to explore similarities and differences in light verb constructions across languages. I worked with two native speakers of Korean from South Korea and one native speaker of Urdu from Pakistan.⁴ Most of the Urdu examples are the same for Hindi, though there are some small difference in judgements, specifically for the light verb *jaa* that identify one of the ways in which Urdu and Hindi differ (see also Kidwai & Sobolak *forthcoming*). The English judgements are my own.

In Chapter 2, I present the structural features of light verbs in the three languages. I show that the light verbs are located in different syntactic heads for all three languages, highlighting the cross-linguistic variation. In Chapter 3, I show

³An enormous thank you to my consultants. This research project would not exist if not for the time, patience, and kindness of Young-Hoon, Youngdong, Shohini, and Sana.

⁴Although it is common to use the umbrella term ‘Hindi-Urdu’ in the literature, I refrain from doing so throughout the dissertation, unless when citing others who report on Hindi-Urdu, as the judgements reported in this dissertation are from Urdu speakers only, and there is some micro-variation between Hindi and Urdu, including in their use and judgements of light verbs (see Kidwai & Sobolak *forthcoming*). The dialect reported in this paper is from the ‘Urdu-speaking’ community in Karachi.

that English LVs *take* and *give*, representative of most light verbs in the language, can only occur with certain, nominalized predicates. This restricts the types of events the LV can combine with. Regardless, the English makes the event telic, even when combined with an atelic predicate like an activity. In Chapter 4, I turn to the Urdu LV *le* ‘take’, which takes VP complements and can combine with all lexical classes. Like English, *le* makes the event telic, regardless of whether the predicate it combines with is an atelic event. In Chapter 5, I show that Korean Lv *pehi* similarly combines with VPs and makes the event telic. Additionally, in Urdu and Korean, there are some non-durative effects of the light verb. In Chapters 3–5, I analyze the effects of light verbs in all three languages by utilizing a semantic function on an (Inner) Aspect head. This aspect head modifies the event argument of the predicate, accounting for the telicizing, and some other, effects on the interpretation of the event. In Chapter 6, I summarize the findings of this dissertation and note some unresolved points for future research.

CHAPTER 2
LIGHT VERBS AND CROSS-LINGUISTIC STRUCTURAL
VARIATION

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the foundational structure of LVCs in English, Hindi-Urdu, and Korean. I show that LVs across the three languages have distinct structural properties—namely, their location in the extended verbal spine. I argue that English LVs are simply lexical verbs in VP with no argument structure or theta-roles (similar to Bruening 2016)—they receive their argument structure from the eventive nouns that they combine with. I show that, in contrast, the Hindi-Urdu LV *le* ‘take’ is a realization of an (Inner) Aspect head and the Korean LV *pe ‘discard’ is situated in a higher aspectual head, above the *v*P. The structures in this chapter lay the foundation for the next three chapters, in which I explore aspectual properties of the LVCs in the three languages in relation to their structural properties.*

In Section 2.2, I present the properties of English LVCs. Section 2.2.1 explores the parallel between denominal verbs and light verb constructions. In Section 2.2.2 I establish the structural properties of LVCs, highlighting some interesting constituency patterns. In Section 2.2.3 I account for the constituency and other structural behaviors with the process of Argument Transfer. Lastly, in Section 2.2.4 I present the analysis for English LVCs.

In Section 2.3, I turn to Hindi-Urdu and present Butt & Ramchand’s 2005 analysis of Hindi-Urdu LVs. Given the semantic restrictions of *le*, I propose that

le is an (Inner) Aspect head located between *vP* and *VP*. In Section 2.4 I turn to Korean LVCs. I first overview the canonical LVCs in Korean with *ha*. Then, I turn to the more aspectual LV *pehi* and show that it is situated higher than *v*, in some higher aspectual head above *vP*.

2.2 Light verb constructions in English

English LVCs are composed of a light verb as the main/only verb in the sentence and a which takes a nominal, DP complement, as first reported by Jespersen 1965 (19).¹

The LV also doesn't assign a theta-role to its internal argument. In (19), *a sigh* is not a theme or patient of a *giving* event.

(19) Lennon gave [_{DP} a sigh].

LVs in English cannot occur with unaccusative, nominal complements. Even though the event of breaking can be expressed as a DP in (20), the event cannot combine with a LV.

- (20) a. The cup broke.
b. *The cup gave a break.

Lastly, LVCs tend to have an unergative counterpart (21). Given the parallel between the noun *sigh* and the verb *sigh*, Hale & Keyser 1993 develop an analysis

¹While it is common to assume that English LVs can only take a DP complement (Kearns 1988;2002), this is not true. Habitual readings with a bare plural are sometimes available (18a), as are various determiners and demonstratives (18b).

(18) a. They take walks around the neighborhood usually.
b. The toddler gave the biggest sigh of the century.

of these unergatives which derives the unergatives from an underlying transitive structure.

- (21) a. Lennon gave a sigh ← Lennon sighed
b. Lennon took a walk ← Lennon walked

2.2.1 LVCs as unincorporated denominals

Hale & Keyser 1993 propose that LVCs in English are the unincorporated counterpart to denominal constructions. A denominal verb is a verb that appears to be derived from a noun (22). Generally these verbs tend to be unergative or ‘true intransitives.’

- (22) a. Fran laughed ← [N laugh]
b. She sneezed ← [N sneeze]

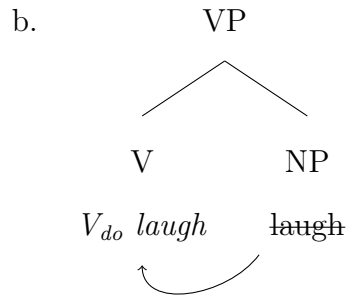
Given this relationship, Hale & Keyser 1993 propose a structural analysis that removes the need for two lexical entries. They observe that some languages compose unergatives with a overt LV and a noun (i.e. *do-sleep*) and suggest that same process occurs in English but with a covert LV ‘do,’ which I represent as V_{do} to disambiguate from the overt verb (23). The underlying structure, then, is the same as light verb constructions like *make trouble*, *do a jig*. For Hale & Keyser, these LVs *do*, *make*, *etc.* are ‘light’ in the sense that they don’t contribute any semantic information (lexical content or theta-roles), but are still generated in the main V head.

(23) [V V_{do} [N *laugh*]] ← [N *laugh*]

Hale & Keyser suggest that denominals like *laugh* are actually composed of a covert light verb head and a nominal complement (25), which are combined via Incorporation (Baker 1988).² The derivation of their analysis of the denominal *laugh* is outlined below (24-25):

- (24) a. [N *laugh*] merges into the syntax
 b. a covert light verb V_{do} merges into V
 c. [N *laugh*] incorporate into the V head—resulting in the denominal verb *laugh*

(25) a. Fran laughed ← Fran (did/had a) laugh

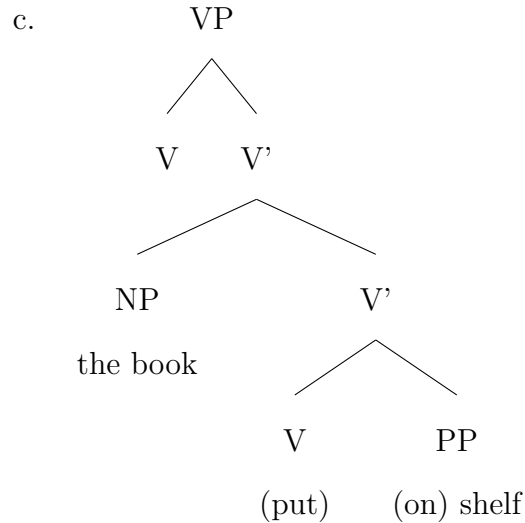


This analysis is supported by the fact that the formation of denominal verbs is restricted by syntactic rules. The Head Movement Constraint, which states that “An X⁰ may only move into the Y⁰ that properly governs it,” prohibits heads/arguments higher than the verb to incorporate into the verb (Travis 1984, Baker 1988). Hale & Keyser show this is true for denominals of underlying ditransitive constructions, where the higher internal argument *book* cannot incorporate

²In fact, there have been many analyses of LVs that involve Incorporation: Öztürk 2009, Barrie & Mathieu 2016, Diesing 1998, and more.

into the lower V, but the lower argument *shelf* can, forming a denominal like *shelve* (26). See Larson 1988 for the structure of internal arguments in ditransitives.

- (26) a. She shelved the book ← She put the book on the shelf
 b. *She booked on the shelf



The Empty Category Principle states that “an empty category must be properly governed” (Chomsky 1981). Hale & Keyser show that denominals obey this principle, as denominals cannot be formed via Incorporation of a subject into a V head (27).

- (27) *It cowed a calf ← A cow had a calf

Therefore, there is syntactic motivation for deriving these unergatives from a LVC with a nominal complement, instead of simply having a verb *laugh* in the lexicon. Hale & Keyser’s analysis for denominals crucially depends on the assumption that these denominal verbs start off as a noun and then moves into V to be verbalized: [V [N laugh]]. According to Hale & Keyser, the unincorporated version of these constructions are light verb constructions. Therefore, the main

distinction between denominals and LVCs, in English, is whether or not the LV is overt. In denominals, the LV is covert and the result is an intransitive/unergative. In LVCs, the LV is overt and the result is a transitive construction.

In the next section, I present the constituency properties of LVCs, showing that the structure proposed by Hale & Keyser 1993 doesn't reflect the constituency patterns.

2.2.2 LVC structural properties

If the LVC is simply the denominal construction without incorporation, then the LV and its complement would form a constituent. This is true, see Table 2.1. The sequence *took a look/walk* passes constituency tests. For example, constituents can be fragment answers to questions (28a) whereas non-constituents cannot.

- (28) What did Susan do yesterday?
- a. Took a walk. [constituent]
- b. *She took. [not a constituent]

Constituent test:	Example	LVC passes?
fragment	What did Susan do? [Take a walk.]	✓
coordination	Mary [took a look] at a painting and Susan - a sculpture.	✓
pronoun substitution	Susan [gave a sigh]. It was annoying.	✓
VP ellipsis	Will Susan [take a look] at the painting? No, Mary will -.	✓

Table 2.1: Constituency tests for *take a look/walk*.

However, if the DP in LVCs was a regular object of a lexical verb, then the DP should also pass constituency tests by itself. Table 2.2 shows this is not the

case-DPs like *a look/a walk* do not pass most constituency tests in LVCs. Whereas in (28) it is acceptable to answer the question with a fragment including the LV and its complement, it is unacceptable to answer the question in (29) with just the DP.

(29) What did Susan take?

a. *A walk. [not a constituent?]

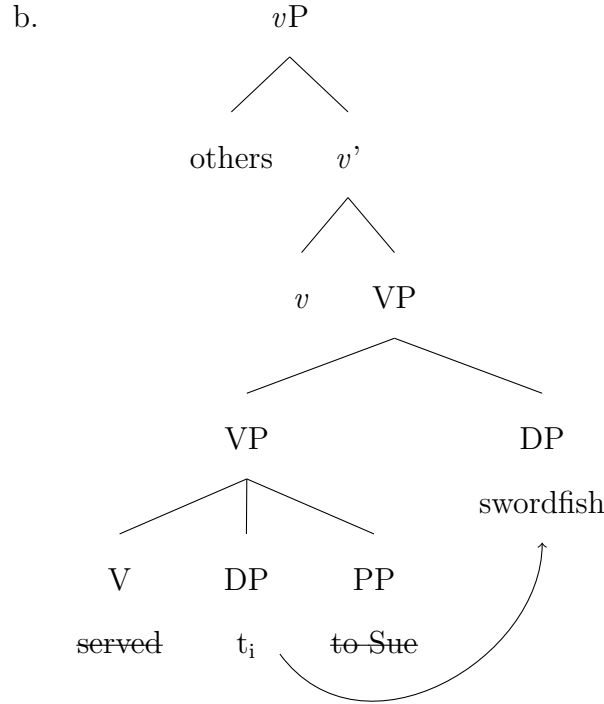
The sentence becomes ungrammatical when the DP moves away from its original position, in all cases except the gapping structure. I return to this anomaly in Section 2.2.3.

Constituent test:	Example	DP passes?
right-node raising	*Mary took _ and Susan had _ [a look]	×
fragment	What did Susan take? #[A walk.]	×
coordination	?Mary took a look and Susan _ [a walk].	×
gapping	Mary took a look at the painting and Susan _ a look at the sculpture.	✓
pseudo-gapping	*Mary has taken a look at the painting and Susan has _ [a look] at the sculpture.	×
DP ellipsis	*What will Susan take at the painting? [A look.]	×

Table 2.2: Constituency tests for DPs.

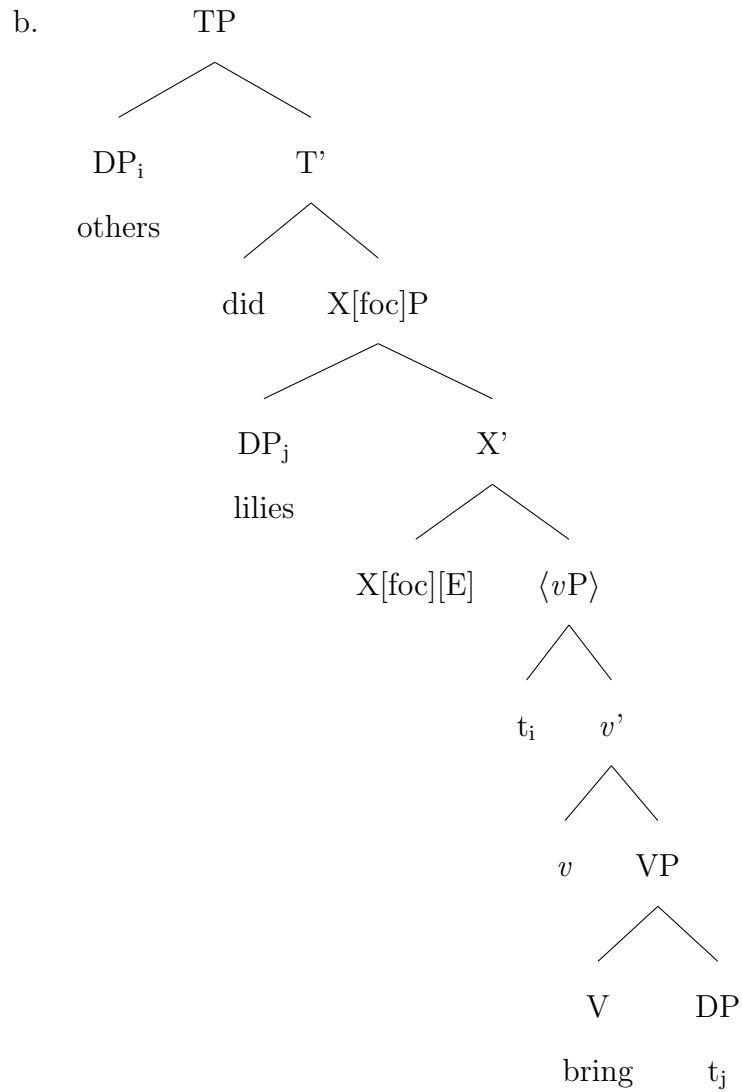
DPs are clearly constituents, so what does it mean that the DP can no longer move away from its original position? Additionally, there is an interesting contrast between the gapping and pseudo-gapping contexts. While the two constructions look similar on the surface, they have distinct structures. Gapping is assumed by Johnson (2009) to involve low *vP* coordination (coordination of *vPs*) and Heavy NP shift to the right specifier of VP. The tree in (30b) represents the second *vP* conjunct in (30a).

- (30) a. Some have served mussels to Sue and [_{vP} **others swordfish**].
 [modified from Johnson 2009:296]



In contrast, pseudo-gapping does not involve low *vP* coordination and the object is argued to raise to a high, focus position above *vP*, as shown in (31) (Merchant 2008). Merchant labels the higher position as X[foc]P, the head of which has an [E]llipsis feature. Following Merchant, I denote the elided material by using angle brackets on the highest node $\langle vP \rangle$.

- (31) a. Some brought roses, and [_{TP} **others did lilies**]. [Merchant 2008:174]



The fact that the LVC is grammatical in a gapping context and ungrammatical in a pseudo-gapping context is an interesting contrast. I discuss the implications of this contrast in the next section, in relation to Argument Transfer in light verb constructions. The additional constituency patterns can also be accounted for with the help of Argument Transfer.

2.2.3 Argument Transfer

In order to account for the above constituency test results, I adopt the process of Argument Transfer. As first proposed by Grimshaw & Mester 1988 to account for case marking patterns in Japanese light verb *suru* constructions, Argument Transfer is the process by which a light verb absorbs argument structure from its eventive noun complement. For example, the Japanese eventive noun *keikoku* ‘warning’ requires an AGENT, GOAL, and THEME (32a). In a LVC, the AGENT and GOAL arguments get transferred to the underspecified light verb *suru* (32c), leaving *keikoku* to retain just the THEME argument (32).

- (32) a. *keikoku* (AGENT (GOAL (THEME)))
b. *suru* ()
c. *suru* (AGENT (GOAL)) via Argument Transfer

Because the LV receives argument structure from the eventive noun, the LV is able to theta-mark the AGENT and GOAL arguments. Note that not all arguments are transferred to the LV—Grimshaw & Mester show how only the AGENT argument plus one other argument gets transferred, and there is a hierarchy of arguments such that the AGENT is the first to get transferred, then the GOAL. There is also a locality restriction on Argument Transfer—it can only happen locally.

Following Grimshaw & Mester 1988, I propose English LVs have an underspecified argument structure, and receive arguments from the eventive noun via Argument Transfer³ In (33), the noun *walk* requires an AGENT and in (34) the

³Grimshaw & Mester 1988 actually propose that English LVs differ slightly from the Japanese LV *suru* in that they propose English LVs seem to have partially specified argument structure, at the clausal level. For example, the LV *give* can sometimes combine with predicates that take Goals: *give (him) a sigh* but not *gave a sigh to him*. I leave this point of variation to further

noun *sigh* requires an AGENT and an optional GOAL.

(33) *She took a walk.*

a. *walk* (AGENT)

b. *took* ()

c. *took* (AGENT)

via Argument Transfer

(34) *He gave (them) a sigh.*

a. *sigh* (AGENT (GOAL))

b. *give* ()

c. *give* (AGENT (GOAL))

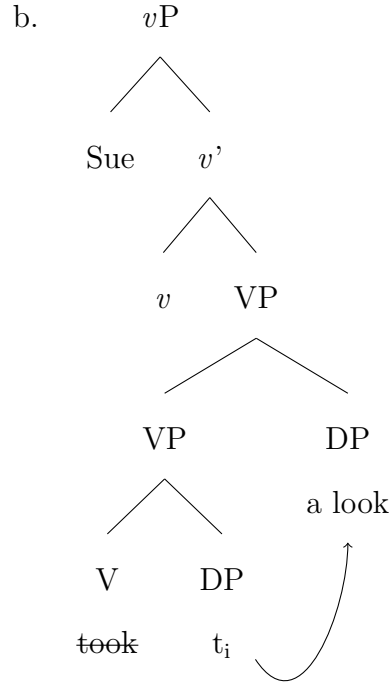
via Argument Transfer

Without Argument Transfer, the external argument in the above constructions remains without a theta-role, and there is the unassigned AGENT role from the noun. The constituency patterns in Section 2.2.2 can therefore be explained by Argument Transfer—the DP must remain local enough to the LV in order to transfer its arguments. If the DP is moved away (i.e. becomes non-local) like in the constituency tests in Table 2.2, then the noun is unable to transfer its arguments to the LV, and the structure is ungrammatical.

The locality condition on Argument Transfer also explains the contrast between the gapping and pseudo-gapping contexts. In the gapping construction, the object remains within the VP and therefore can still transfer its argument to the LV, even though it shifts to the specifier position. This is shown in (35), where the DP *a look* remains local enough to transfer its AGENT theta-role to the light verb.

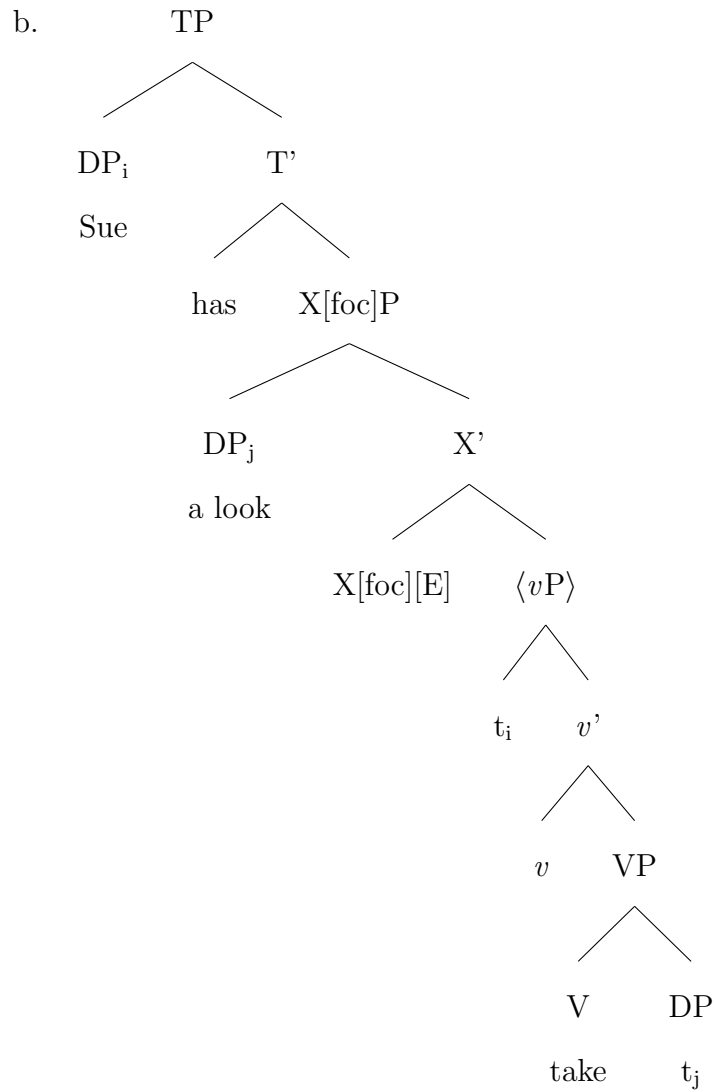
research, since it doesn't affect the major points of my analysis.

- (35) a. Mary took a look at the painting and [_{vP} Sue ~~took~~ a look at the sculpture.]



In the pseudo-gapping construction, the object moves too high to be local to the LV and thus Argument Transfer can't occur, leaving the external argument without its AGENT theta-role. This is demonstrated in (36), where the DP *a look* has moved to the specifier of X[foc]P, and is thus unable to transfer its arguments to the the light verb.

- (36) a. *Mary has taken a look at the painting and [_{TP} Sue has _ a look at the sculpture].

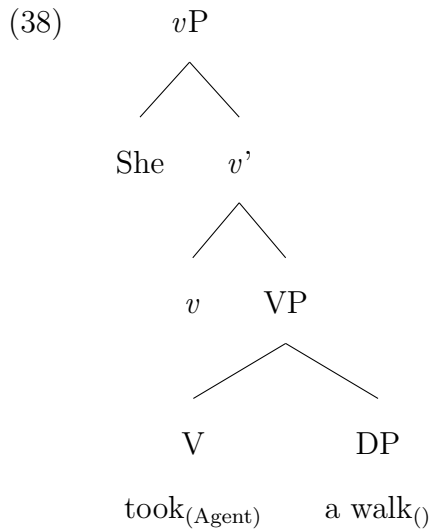


Argument Transfer also explains why LVs cannot occur with unaccusative predicates (37). An unaccusative predicate like *break* will not subcategorize for an Agent argument. Therefore, no Argument Transfer of an Agent role will be transferred to the LV, leaving the external argument unassigned.

(37) *The cup gave a break.

2.2.4 Deriving the LVC

Now that the constituency facts are accounted for, I return to basics of the structure; namely, which head is the LV in? As initially proposed by Hale & Keyser 1993, English LVs appear to simply be V(P) lexical verbs, albeit with no defined argument structure. Bruening 2016 proposes a similar approach to English LVs, showing that they don't have any functional properties that would warrant their position higher than VP.⁴ Given the locality condition for Argument Transfer presented in Section 2.2.3, the light verb and its complement must be local in order to transfer arguments to the light verb. I represent Argument Transfer in the below, and subsequent structures, as subscripts on the light verb and noun (38): *took*_(Agent), *walk*₍₎.



Finally, consider the properties of the DP. In LVCs, the noun in the DP com-

⁴There are some opposing analyses. For example, Bak 2011 proposes that English LVs are situated in *v*.

the block is modifying the walking, not *took*, just like in (39b).⁶

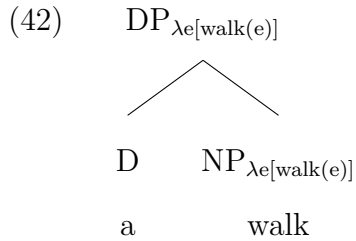
(41) Fran took a walk around the block.

Therefore, the eventive nouns in LVCs must have an event argument. They are not the usual $\langle e, t \rangle$ type nouns. Parsons 1990 proposes that what he calls ‘verbal event nouns’ have the same underlying logical form as their verb counterpart. For example, the verb *sing* in *Mary sings* and gerund *singing* in *Every singing...* are both underlyingly $\lambda e[\text{sing}(e)]$. He then extends this analysis to include other nouns like *accident*, *destruction*, as well as ‘derived nominals’ like *jump* and *laugh*. These derived nominals are the ‘eventive nouns’ in LVCs. The eventive noun, not the LV, contributes the event argument in these LVCs.

The derivation of the LVC starts off with the eventive noun, which combines with a vacuous indefinite article (42).⁷ I assume that the indefinite article is vacuous and combines with the eventive noun via predicate modification. The predicative use of the indefinite article, like in *Kaline is a cat*, occurs with predicate nominals (Heim & Kratzer 1998). Here, the indefinite article is assumed to have the same semantic type as the predicate nominal: $\langle et \rangle$. I extend this idea to the DPs in LVCs, where the eventive noun denotes a predicate of events. Therefore, the DP denotes the same semantic type as the eventive noun: $\langle st \rangle$. These eventive DPs exist elsewhere in the language, too: *A walk around the park is tiring*.

⁶Bruening 2016 has some interesting examples of conflicting adverbs occurring in a LVC that suggest the LV and its eventive DP can be separately modified.

⁷Semantic types: e=individual, s=eventuality, t=truth value. Variables: e=event, x=individual

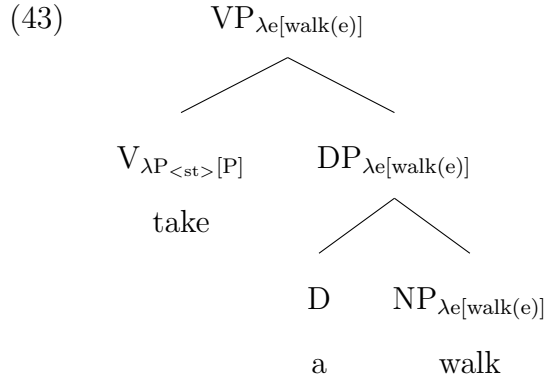


Note that by having *walk* denote a predicate of events is perhaps at odd with the assumptions outlined in Section 2.2.3 where the noun *walk* specifies for an AGENT. In order to remedy this, I assume that the AGENT argument of *walk* specified in the lexicon (as outlined in Section 2.2.3) is an implicit agent—it is not encoded as a variable in its logical form. I follow the framework for introducing external arguments introduced by Kratzer 1996, where an unergative doesn't have an explicit variable for its agent in its denotation. The denotation for *walk* in *She walked* is $\lambda e[\text{walk}(e)]$, not $\lambda x\lambda e[\text{walk}(e,x)]$. The agent argument gets introduced by a later head, Voice/*v*. Therefore, because the implicit agent argument gets transferred to the LV via Argument Transfer, the noun *walk* in the DP no longer has its implicit agent. This is important, as it allows the DP to remain open/unsaturated.

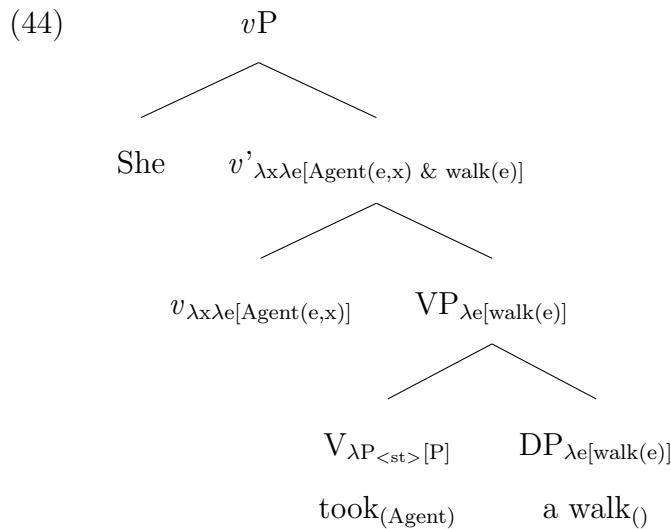
If the AGENT role was to remain with *walk* then, at the DP level, the external argument would be saturated implicitly, thus closing off the DP and making the event argument inaccessible for future operations; namely, Event Identification (see below discussion around (44)). This treatment of the DP is in line with generative treatment of the D head as parallel to functional heads in the verbal domain; see Abney 1987 for original discussion of the 'DP Hypothesis' and Alexiadou et al. 2007's discussion on argument structure in nominals.

Next, the DP combines with the LV *take*, which doesn't have any lexical semantics and is represented simply as function that takes a predicate of event as its

input and outputs the same predicate (43). At this point, the semantics of *take a walk* are the same as if it were an unergative predicate like *Fran walked*.



Lastly, following Kratzer 1996 the VP combines with the *v*/Voice head that introduces the external argument. This process is achieved through Event Identification, which combines the VP denotation with the external argument in *v* (44).



This then allows the LV to theta-mark the external argument. Additionally, by transferring the AGENT role from the noun to the LV, the DP is able to remain open so that the event argument is accessible for Event Identification at the VP level.

If the implicit agent of *walk* remained with the noun, then the argument would implicitly be saturated at the DP level, making the event argument inaccessible later on in the derivation.

This analysis will be further built in Chapter 3, where I show how the LV then requires an Inner Aspect projection immediately above the VP.

What happens if the noun doesn't transfer its agent?

The analysis above proposes that the eventive noun *walk* transfers its AGENT role to the LV so that the external argument can be theta-marked. What happens if there isn't a LV to transfer the theta-role to? First, consider the gerund *every singing* in (45a), which has an implicit agent even if not explicit in the structure, as shown by the optional parentheses around the *by*-phrase.

- (45) a. Every singing of “Bring Him Home” (by Colm Wilkinson) brought the audience to tears.
- b. A singing of “Bring Him Home” by Colm Wilkinson is better than a singing by Fran.

Similarly, the eventive noun *walk* has an implicit agent when in subject position (without the presence of the LV to transfer the AGENT argument to). *Walk* keeps its AGENT role, shown by the fact that there is an implicit agent in (46a), in optional parentheses.⁸

- (46) a. Every walk around the park (by Lennon) made the squirrels nervous.
- b. A walk around the park by Lennon scares the squirrels more than a walk

⁸For context, Lennon is a 90 pound pit bull whereas Kingston is a corgi.

by Kingston.

When there is no LV to transfer its AGENT argument to, like when *walk* is in subject position, then *walk* retains its implicit agent.

2.3 Light verb complex predicates: Urdu

Hindi-Urdu LVs differ from English LVs in that they select VPs, not DPs, forming a complex predicate. Butt & Ramchand 2005 define a LV complex predicate as a monoclausal phrase where both the main verb and LV have the same external argument. The main verb contributes the general meaning and theta-roles, and then LV contributes additional aspectual properties. In this section, I present the structure for Urdu LV *le* ‘take.’⁹ I argue that, whereas in English where the LV is in *v*, LV *le* in Urdu is in (Inner) Aspect.

Urdu has a LV *le* ‘take’ that appears to be similar to the English LV *take*. However, the most obvious difference is that the Urdu *le* selects for verbal complements, not nominal. For example, in (47), the LV *le* selects for the VP *kitab paRh* ‘read a book’ and adds a sense of completion to the event.¹⁰

- (47) Sana=ne kitab paRh li
Sana=ERG book read take.PERF.F.SG
‘Sana read a book (completely).’ [SK_012023]

The LVC in (47) is monoclausal based on agreement patterns, the construction’s

⁹Although it is common to use the umbrella term ‘Hindi-Urdu’ in the literature, I refrain from doing so, as the judgements reported in this dissertation are from Urdu speakers only, and there is some micro-variation between Hindi and Urdu, including in their use and judgements of light verbs (see Kidwai & Sobolak *forthcoming*). The dialect reported in this paper is from the ‘Urdu-speaking’ community in Karachi.

¹⁰I follow Butt & Ramchand 2005’s translation the LV with the parenthetical ‘(completely).’

adverbial control, and anaphora properties (Butt 1995, Butt & Ramchand 2005). LVCs have the same object agreement patterns as in simple (monoclausal) clauses. The verb agrees with the highest nominative argument in both simple clauses and the LVC. In the simple clause, the verb agrees with the highest nominative argument, which in (48a) is the masculine subject and in (48b) is the feminine object. In the perfective aspect, when there is no nominative argument, default masculine singular agreement appears (48c).

- (48) a. *adnan* *gari* *cala-ta* *he*
 Adnan.M.NOM car.F.NOM drive-IMPRF.M.SG be.PRES.3.SG
 ‘Adnan drives a car.’ [Butt & Ramchand 2005:7]
- b. *adnan=ne* *gari* *cala-yi* *he*₁
 Adnan.M=ERG car.F.NOM drive-PERF.F.SG be.PRES.3.SG
 ‘Adnan has driven a car.’ [Butt & Ramchand 2005:7]
- c. *Nadya=ne* *gari=ko* *cala-ya* *he*
 Nadya.F=ERG car.F=ACC drive-PERF.M.SG be.PRES.3.SG
 ‘Nadya has driven a car.’ [Butt & Ramchand 2005:8]

Agreement patterns in LVCs are the same. In (49a), the verbal agreement matches the highest nominative argument, *Adnan*. In (49b), the verbal agreement matches the highest nominative argument, *gari*. In (49c), default agreement occurs.

- (49) a. *adnan* *gari* *cala li-ta* *he*
 Adnan.M.NOM car.F.NOM drive take-IMPRF.M.SG be.PRES.3.SG
 ‘Adnan drives a car (completely).’ [modified, Butt & Ramchand
 2005:7]
- b. *adnan=ne* *gari* *cala li-yi* *he*₁
 Adnan.M=ERG car.F.NOM drive take-PERF.F.SG be.PRES.3.SG
 ‘Adnan has driven a car (completely).’ [modified, Butt & Ramchand
 2005:7]

- c. Nadya=ne gari=ko cula li-ya he
 Nadya.F=ERG car.F=ACC drive take-PERF.M.SG be.PRES.3.SG
 ‘Nadya has driven a car (completely).’ [modified, Butt & Ramchand
 2005:8]

In contrast, an internal argument of one verb cannot trigger agreement on a different verb in biclausal constructions. The nominative argument in (50) doesn’t trigger feminine agreement on the matrix verb. Because the LVC has the same agreement patterns as simple, monoclausal constructions, the LVC must also be a monoclausal structure.

- (50) anjum=ne saddaf=ko [ciṭṭ^hi lik^h-ne]=ko
 Anjum.F=ERG Saddaf.F=DAT note.F.NOM write-INF.OBL=ACC
 kah-a
 say-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Anjum told Saddaf to write the note.’ [Butt & Ramchand 2005:7]

LVCs also pattern like monoclausal predicates with respect to adverbial ‘having’ clauses—these adverbials can only be controlled by the matrix subject. In both (51a-51b), there is only one subject, *Anjum*, available to control the adverbial.

- (51) a. Anjum=ne_i Saddaf=ko_j [–_i,*_j darvaza k^hol kar]
 Anjum.F=ERG Saddaf.F=ACC [– door.M.SG.NOM open having]
 andar bula-ya
 inside call-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Anjum, having opened the door, called to Saddaf to come in.’ [modified,
 Butt & Ramchand 2005:8]

- b. Anjum= ne_i Saddam= ko_j [$[-i,*j]$ darvaza k^hol kar]
 Anjum.F=ERG Saddam.F=ACC [-- door.M.SG.NOM open having]
 andar bula- li-ya
 inside call take-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Anjum, having opened the door, called (completely) to Saddam to come
 in.’ [modified, Butt & Ramchand 2005:8]

In contrast, ‘having’ adverbial clauses are ambiguous in biclausal constructions—
 the adverbial phrase in (52) could be referring to either Anjum or Saddam.

- (52) Anjum= ne_i Saddam= ko_j [$[-i,j]$ darvaza k^hol kar]
 Anjum.F=ERG Saddam.F=DAT [-- door.M.NOM open having]
 saman= ko andar rak^h-ne= ko kah-a
 luggage.M=ACC inside put-INF.OBL=ACC say-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Anjum told Saddam to put the luggage inside, after having opened the door.’
 [Butt & Ramchand 2005:8]

Lastly, simple clauses and LVCs behave as if there is only one antecedent for
 the subject oriented reflexive *apn-* ‘self.’ In (53a-53b), the reflexive can only refer
 to *Anjum*.

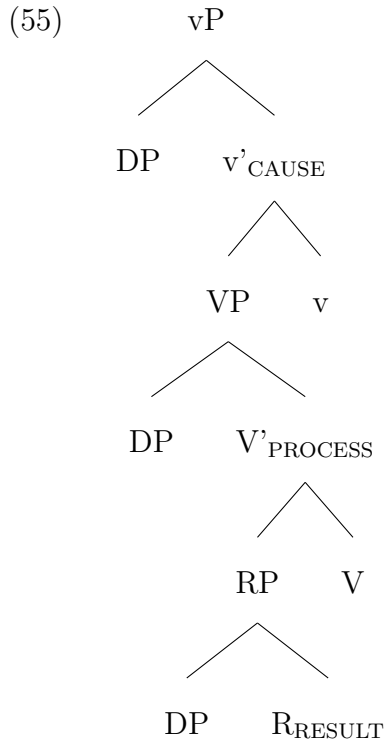
- (53) a. Anjum= ne_i Saddam= ko_j apn- $e_i,*j$ g^har ke andar
 Anjum.F=ERG Saddam.F=ACC self-OBL house.M GEN.OBL inside
 bula-ya
 call-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Anjum asked Saddam into self’s (Anjum’s) house.’ [modified, Butt &
 Ramchand 2005:9]

- b. Anjum= ne_i Saddaf= ko_j $apn-e_i,*_j$ $g^h ar$ ke andar bula
 Anjum.F=ERG Saddaf.F=ACC self-OBL house.M GEN.OBL inside call
 li-ya
 take-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Anjum asked Saddaf into self’s (Anjum’s) house (completely).’ [modified, Butt & Ramchand 2005:9]

In contrast, the reflexive has two possible antecedents in biclausal constructions. The reflexive in (54) can refer to either Anjum or Adnan.

- (54) Anjum= ne_i adnan= ko_j [$apn-i_{i,j}$ $gari$ $cala-ne$]= ko
 Anjum.F=ERG Adnan.M=DAT self-F.SG car.F.SG.NOM drive-INF.OBL=ACC
 kah-a
 say-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Anjum told Adnan to drive self’s car.’ [modified, Butt & Ramchand
 2005:9]

Butt & Ramchand 2005 incorporate these monoclausal properties into their structural analysis for LVCs with *le*, as well as other LVs in Hindi-Urdu. Their proposal is based on the extended verbal spine shown in (55), similar to the framework proposed in Ramchand 2008. The lowest RP is the root lexical item, the middle VP is a functional head, and the highest *v*P is the head that introduces the external argument.



Butt & Ramchand 2005 propose that Hindi-Urdu LVs vary in which functional heads they occupy: V or *v*. This proposal is based largely on the fact that LVs and other functional verbs can only co-occur in certain orders. For example, the stacking of functional heads *le* and *di* in (56) is possible because *le* occupies V and *di* occupies *v*—these two functional heads can co-occur because they occupy different heads.

- (56) Nadya=ne Saddaf=ko khat lik^h_{RP}] **le**-ne_{VP}] **di**-ya_{VP}].
 Nadya=ERG Saddaf=DAT letter write take-INF give-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya let Saddaf write a letter (completely).’ [Butt & Ramchand 2005]

Stacking two functional or light verbs that occupy the same head should be ungrammatical, then. In (57), stacking two *di* heads is ungrammatical because they are both *v* heads. Stacking LVs *paR* ‘fall’ and *jaa* ‘go’ together in either order

is ungrammatical, as they are both *v* LVs that introduce the external argument
 (58) (Kidwai & Sobolak *forthcoming*).

(57) *Nadya=ne Saddaf=ko khat lik^h-ne_{RP]} **de**_{vP]} **di**-ya_{vP]}.
 Nadya=ERG Saddaf=DAT letter write-INF give give-PERF.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Nadya completely let Saddaf write a letter.’ [Butt & Ramchand
 2005]

(58) a. *Ahmed gir_{RP]} **paR**_{vP]} **gya**_{vP]}.
 Ahmed.NOM fall paR jaa.PERF.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Ahmed fell [suddenly and completely, accidentally].’
 b. *Ahmed gir **jaa paR-a**. [Kidwai & Sobolak 2023]

Returning to *le*, it can combine with *v* functional heads *di* and *jaa* as long
 as *le* is below the *v* head (59). This shows that *le* is situated below the external
 argument introducing head *v*.

(59) a. Nadya=ne Saddaf=ko khat lik^h **le**-ne **di**-ya.
 Nadya=ERG Saddaf=DAT letter write take-INF give-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya let Saddaf write a letter (completely).’ [Butt & Ramchand
 2005]
 b. Sana=ne xat paRh le gya
 Sana=ERG book read take go.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Sana read a book (and then went) away.’ [SD_032023]

Following Butt & Ramchand 2005, I maintain that the LV *le* is in the middle
 verbal projection, just below the head that introduces the external argument. In
 Minimalist terms, this intermediary head in the verbal projection is akin to the
 verbalizing head *v* or the (Inner) Aspect head (see Travis 2010). Chapter 4 explores
 the systematic affect of LV *le* on the aspectual properties of the Event, further
 supporting that the (Inner) Aspect head is a viable spot for the LV.

In addition to the aspectual properties discussed in Chapter 4, further supportive evidence that LV *le* is an (Inner) Aspect head comes from its semantic restrictions. LV *le*, along with other LVs, is semantically incompatible with stative or unaccusative verbs (Butt 1995)—in (60), the LV *le* is incompatible with the main verb *gir* ‘fall.’

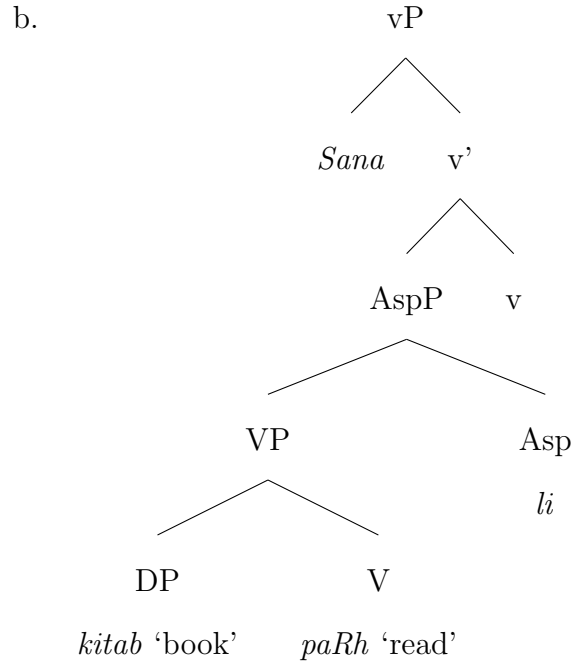
- (60) *Sana gir le
 Sana.NOM fall take
 Intended: ‘Sana fell (completely).’ [SK_042023]

In general, what Butt 1995 calls ‘aspectual complex predicates’ signal either the inception or result of the event and therefore are pragmatically odd when combined with stative or unaccusative predicates. This aspectual signal also accounts for why most LVs are incompatible with the progressive aspect. While *chal* ‘walk’ is compatible with the progressive in (61a), when the LV *le* is added the sentence becomes ungrammatical (61b).

- (61) a. Nadya chal rah-i thi
 Nadya.F=ERG walk PROG-PERF.F.SG be.PST.F.SG
 ‘Nadya was walking.’ [SK_012023]
- b. *Nadya chal le rah-i thi
 Nadya.F=ERG walk take PROG-PERF.F.SG be.PST.F.SG
 ‘Nadya was walking (completely).’ [SK_012023]

Given the structural and semantic properties of LV *le*, I adopt Butt & Ramchand’s 2005 proposal with a small modification as I adopt a Minimalist verbal spine—LV *le* is situated in the intermediary (Inner) Aspect head between the lexical head and the head that introduces the external argument.

- (62) a. Sana=ne kitab paRh li
 Sana=ERG book read take.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Sana read a book (completely).’ [SK_012023]



2.4 Korean light verb constructions

In this section, I show that the aspectual LV *pe-* ‘discard’ is even higher than *v*, and is situated in some higher aspectual head, distinct from grammatical aspect. There has been some descriptive work on *pe-*, mainly noting its form and contribution to the interpretation (Cho & Whitman 2020). Most of the descriptive and theoretical work on Korean LVs, however, is focused on the LV *ha* ‘do’ (Choi & Weschler 2002; Chae 1996, 2002; J.H. Wang 2022; Bak 2011; Ahn 1990, 1991). Before addressing the structural properties of *pe-*, I will first outline a brief literature overview of the structural properties of the more reported on LV *ha*. Then, in Section 2.4.2, I will show how *pe-* doesn’t have the same structural properties or function as *ha*

and instead sits higher in the structure.

2.4.1 The LV *ha* ‘do’

Korean LV *ha* is well-described and commonly analyzed under HPSG/PSG frameworks, largely in response to Grimshaw & Mester 1988’s analysis of the Japanese light verb *suru* ‘do’. A LVC with *ha* consists of *ha* as the main/only verb in the sentence and an eventive noun complement; *phakoy* ‘destruction’ in (63a-63b).

- (63) a. cekkwun-i tali-lul phakoy ha-ess-ta
enemy-NOM bridge-ACC destruction do-PST-DEC
‘The enemy destroyed the bridge.’ [Bak 2011:73]
- b. cekkwun-i tali-lul phakoy-lul ha-ess-ta
enemy-NOM bridge-ACC destruction-ACC do-PST-DEC
‘The enemy destroyed the bridge.’ [Bak 2011:73]

As a LV, *ha* cannot take VP complements, as shown in (64). There are many functions of *ha* in which it can take VP complements, including in causative and negation constructions (see Bak 2011 for an overview, as well as Ahn 1991;2002). However, as a light verb, it only takes nominal complements.

- (64) *John-i chayk-lul ilk-e ha-ess-ta
John-NOM book-ACC read-e do-PST-DEC
Intended: ‘John read a book.’ [YHK_082022]

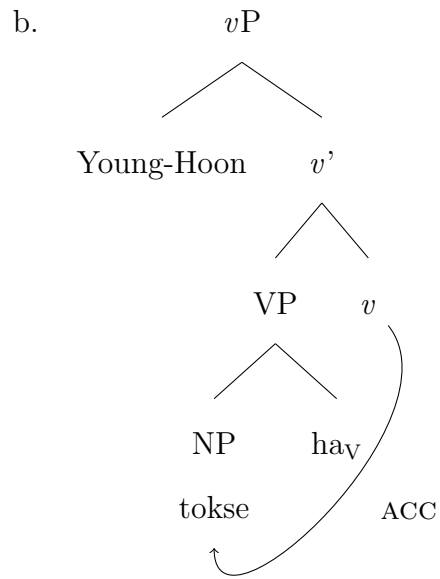
LV *ha* constructions must always be in the active voice—a counterpart LV *toy* is used to form LVCs in the passive voice (compare 65a-b). The fact that LV *ha* can only occur in the active voice will become an important property when compared to the structural properties of *pe.li*.

- (65) a. *kicha-uy tochak-i ciyen-(ul) ha-yess-ta
 train-GEN arrival-NOM delay-ACC do-PST-DEC
 ‘arrival of the train was delayed.’ [Choi & Wechsler 2002:109]
- b. kicha-uy tochak-i ciyen-(i) toy-ess-ta
 train-GEN arrival-NOM delay-ACC toy-PST-DEC
 ‘arrival of the train was delayed.’ [Choi & Wechsler 2002:109]

Most analyses of *ha* as a LV commit to explaining the variation between *phakoy* in (63a) and *phakoy-ACC* in (63b). Early analyses of the Japanese LV *suru* (counterpart to Korean *ha*) propose that when the eventive noun is not case-marked, it is incorporated into *suru* (Poser 1980; Miyagawa 1987, 1989; Grimshaw & Mester 1988). Therefore, when the object is marked ACC no incorporation occurs. (See Baker 1988 for the mechanics of Incorporation.) The structure in (66) shows *ha* with an accusative-marked object, while the structure in (67) shows *ha* with an incorporated object that doesn’t bear accusative marking.

(66) *ha* with ACC-marked object

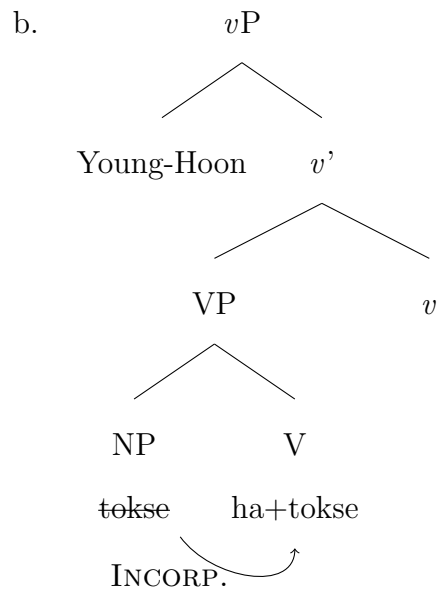
- a. Young-Hoon-i tokse-lul ha-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM book.reading-ACC do-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon read a book.’ [YHK_022022]



(67) *ha* with incorporated object

- a. Young-Hoon-i tokse ha-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM book.reading do-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon read a book (book-read).’

[YHK.022022]

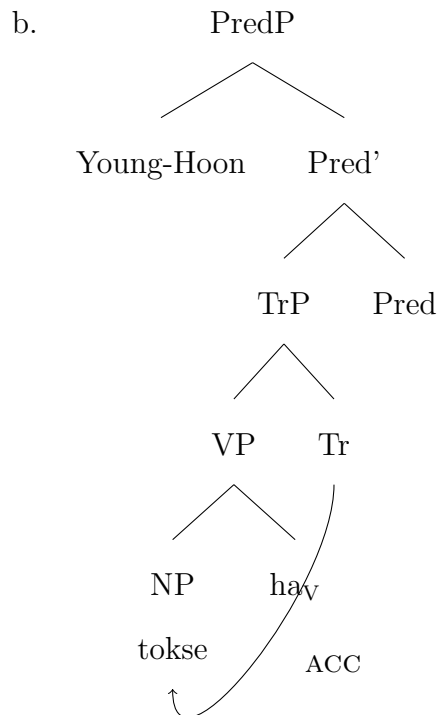


Even proposals that reject an incorporation analysis maintain an analysis of LV *ha* that relies on homophony. Bak 2011 adopts a split-*v*P structure (following the framework in Bowers 2003): PredP introduces the external argument and TrP assigns accusative case.¹¹ When *ha* occurs with an accusative-marked eventive noun, like in (68), *ha* is in V and projects a TrP that assigns accusative case to the noun. The absence of the accusative in (69) is simply attributed to the optional projection of TrP—when TrP isn’t projected, there isn’t accusative marking on the noun. For Bak, in both cases the LV *ha* is low in V/VP.

(68) *ha* with TrP

- a. Young-Hoon-i tokse-lul ha-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM book.reading-ACC do-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon read a book.’

[YHK_022022]

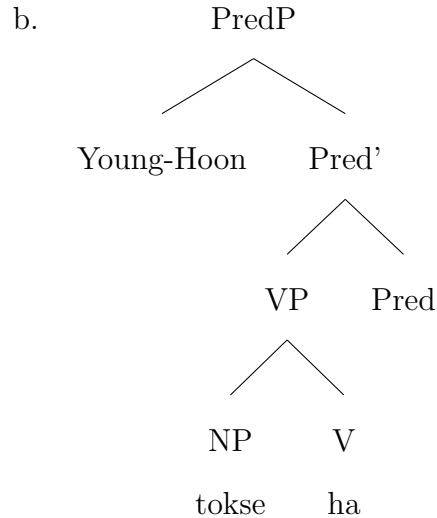


¹¹See also Harley 2017 for a Minimalist approach for splitting the function of *v*.

(69) *ha* without TrP

- a. Young-Hoon-i tokse ha-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM book.reading do-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon read a book.’

[YHK.022022]



Even more recent work has proposed the homophonous light and lexical *has* occupy different heads—V when a lexical verb and *v* when a light verb (Sobolak 2022b for Korean *ha* and Brady *forthcoming* for Japanese *suru*). Regardless of the specifics of each analysis, the general properties of *ha* positions it low in the structure. It interacts with Case assignment and must occur in active Voice. The next section explores structural properties of *pe-* in relation to *ha*, revealing that *pe-* is much higher in the structure.

2.4.2 *pe-* ‘discard’

To my knowledge, no analysis for LV *ha* has ever been discussed in relation to or extended to other light verbs like *pe-*. There has been some descriptive work

on *pe-*, mainly noting its form and contribution to the interpretation (Cho & Whitman 2020). As a main verb, *pe-* means ‘to discard’ and takes a nominal complement (70).

- (70) Young-Hoon-i chayk-ul peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM book-ACC discard-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon discarded a book.’ [YHK_032023]

As a light verb, *pe-* forms a monoclausal complex predicate with a main verb, which determines the argument structure (71-72).¹² For now, I translate the effect of *pe-* as (*away*), not to be confused with the English (*away*) construction. In the literature, the effect of *pe-* on the event is sometimes translated as ‘went and X’ to indicate the sense that the event was completed with maybe a negative connotation (Cho & Whitman 2020). In Chapter 5, I zero in on the interpretation of *pe-* more explicitly.

- (71) John-i cip-ul cis-e peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM house-ACC build-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘John built (away) a house .’

- (72) Young-Hoon-i nol-e peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM play-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon played (away).’

To show these LVCs are monoclausal, the LV *pe-* cannot be negated separately from the main verb showing a monoclausal predicate (73) with either pre- or post-verbal negation.¹³ Negation must scope over both the main verb and light verb

¹²Unlike Urdu, the main verb here is not in complete bare root form; it has the linking/infinite *-e* attached (Hwang & Whitman 2021), though the term “infinitive” is misleading. *Peli-* does not pass any test for a higher verb taking a clausal complement; for example, it can’t be separately negated. It also doesn’t pattern with any kind of phrasal verb, like a particle verb or serial verb construction.

¹³The () in (73) are misleading—pre- and post-verbal negation together are not grammatical.

(Cho & Whitman 2020).

- (73) a. John-i chayk-ul (an-)ilk-e (an-)peli-ess-ta
John-NOM book-ACC (NEG-)read-e (NEG-)discard-PST-DEC
'John didn't read (away) a book.' [YHK_022022]
- b. John-i chayk-ul ilk(-anh)-e peli(-anh)-ess-ta
John-NOM book-ACC read(-NEG)-e discard(-NEG)-PST-DEC
'John didn't read (away) a book.' [YHK_022022]

Just like in Urdu and main verb *ha*, the main verb in these Korean LVCs, not the LV, contributes the main meaning and theta-roles to the event. However, beyond that, *peli* doesn't have the same structural properties as LV *ha*. As mentioned above, *peli* as a light verb can only combine with VPs, not nominal complements. When *peli* combines with non-eventive nouns, it must act as a main verb (70). *Peli* cannot combine with eventive nominals (74). In contrast, LV *ha* can only take nominal complements (see above, (64)).

- (74) *tokse-lul peli-ess-ta
book.reading-ACC peli-PST-DEC
Intended: 'read away a book/did a book-reading.' [YHK_022022]

In fact, *peli* and *ha* can co-occur in a stacked construction (75), showing that they do not occupy the same syntactic head.

- (75) John-i tokse-lul ha-e peli-ess-ta
John-NOM book.reading-ACC do-e discard-PST-DEC
'John read away a book.' [YHK_022022]

LV *peli* doesn't seem to affect the Case of the object (76).¹⁴

¹⁴Some speakers don't like to drop the ACC on the object when *peli* is present.

- (76) a. John-i chayk(-ul) ilk-ess-ta
 John-NOM book(-ACC) read-PST-DEC
 ‘John read a book.’ [YHK_022022]
- b. John-i chayk(-ul) ilk-e peli-ess-ta.
 John-NOM book(-ACC) read-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘John read away a book.’ [YHK_022022]

Additionally, LV *peli* constructions can passivize, and don’t have to only appear in active voice, unlike LV *ha*.¹⁵ The passive is grammatical when attached to the main verb (77b). The passive is ungrammatical when only attached to *peli* (77a). This seems to suggest that the entire passivization process all happens lower than *peli*.

- (77) a. *Chayk-i ilk-e peli-eci-ess-ta
 book-NOM read-e peli-PASS-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘The book was read (away).’ [YHK_042023]
- b. Chayk-i ilk-eci-e peli-ess-ta
 book-NOM read-PASS-e peli-PST-DEC
 ‘The book was read (away).’ [YHK_042023]

Additional evidence that *peli* doesn’t have anything to do with *v* functionality is the fact that *peli* can occur with unaccusative predicates (78).

- (78) Young-Hoon-i cwuk-e peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM die-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon died away.’ [YHK_102022]

Lastly, the relation of *peli* to other functional heads shows its general position in the structure. The high applicative head *cwu* is generated just below the external-

¹⁵*Peli* passivize constructions may be a little degraded for some speakers, but generally are reported as grammatical—perhaps just a little unnatural/low frequency.

argument-introducing Voice/*v* head (Cha 2015, Hwang & Whitman 2021). *Peli* must occur higher than this applicative morpheme (79).

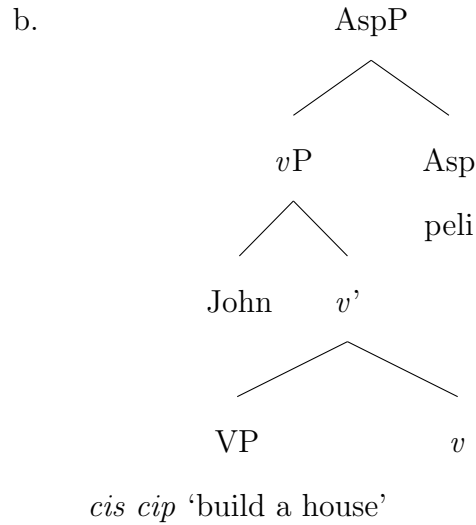
- (79) a. John-i Tom-eykey chayk-ul ilk-e_{VP}] cwu-e_{APPLP}] peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM Tom-DAT book-ACC read-e APPL-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘John read away a book to Tom.’ [YHK_092022]
- b. *John-i Tom-eykey chayk-ul ilk-e peli-e cwu-ess-ta
 John-NOM Tom-DAT book-ACC read-e discard-e APPL-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘John read away a book to Tom.’ [YHK_092022]

Peli must also occur lower than TAM (Tense-Aspect-Mood) morphemes that are always located higher than *v*. In (80), *peli* occurs lower than both the perfective aspect morpheme (-*ess*) and the tense morpheme (-*ess*).

- (80) chayk-ul ilk-e peli-ess-ess-ta
 book-ACC read-e peli-PERF-PST-DEC
 ‘had read (away) a book’ [YHK_042023]

Therefore, *peli* occupies some head higher than high applicatives and lower than TAM. Based on the different properties of *ha* and *peli*, it is clear that these two LVs occupy different syntactic heads. Given that passivization takes place below *peli*, it must be higher than the *v*P projection in an Aspect head, distinct from grammatical aspect. Chapter 5 will show aspectual properties of *peli* that support this higher position in the syntax.

- (81) a. John-i cip-ul cis-e peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM house-ACC build-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘John built away a house.’



2.5 Conclusion

In summary, English LVs *take* and *give* appear to simply be verbs in V/VP, just with no lexical semantics or argument structure. Hindi-Urdu LVs occupy different functional heads within the verbal spine, above the lexical VP. The Urdu LV *le* ‘take’ specifically appears to be in some (Inner) Aspect head just below the Voice/*v* head that introduces the external argument. Lastly, Korean LVs also occupy different heads. The canonical LV *ha* appears to remain low in the structure, while the LV *pe-* occurs much higher in the structure, above the *v*P in some higher aspectual head.

The investigation of this chapter present a small, cross-linguistic overview of the structure of LVs and their place in the syntax. The large generalization is that not all light verbs have similar or parallel position or function in the syntax, both across and within languages. The following chapters explore the semantic and aspectual contribution of the light verb in English, Urdu, and Korean. Given

the structural variation shown in this chapter, might we expect similar or different aspectual contributions?

CHAPTER 3

ENGLISH LIGHT VERBS MAKE THE EVENT TELIC

3.1 Introduction

The observation that English light verbs have some effect on the interpretation of the event is well-established (Cattell 1984, Kearns 1988). However, the systematic ways in which light verbs contribute to event structure is, to my knowledge, not yet investigated. I begin this chapter with the observation that English LVs can only take indefinite predicates (*a walk, a sigh*) (Kearns 1988;2002). In Section 3.2, I show that only activities and semelfactives can nominalize with an indefinite article, making them the only predicates compatible with a LV's categorical selection properties. In Section 3.3, I then show how the LV selects for these nominal predicates and modifies the interpretation of the event to be telic. Crucially, I show that these modifications of the event aren't random. The LV makes the resulting event telic. In Section 3.4 I represent this with the help of an Inner Aspect head that modifies the event argument of the predicate. I conclude in Section 3.5 and make predictions for the other languages discussed in later chapters.

3.2 Lexical classes and nominalization

3.2.1 Nominal predicate properties

I follow a three-way, binary system of describing lexical classes in English: +/- dynamic, +/- durative, +/- telic (Smith 1991). Dynamicity separates Events (which

have an event argument e) and States (which do not have an event argument, but have a state argument). Durativity separates Achievements and Semelfactives from the rest, as these events do not occur over time. Telicity separates Accomplishments and Achievements from the rest, as these events have a natural end point. Table 3.1 shows the feature distribution of the lexical classes.

	Dynamic	Durative	Telic	Example
Accomplishment	+	+	+	<i>draw a circle</i>
Activity	+	+	-	<i>walk</i>
Achievement	+	-	+	<i>arrive</i>
Semelfactive	+	-	-	<i>wink</i>
State	-	+	-	<i>know</i>

Table 3.1: English lexical classes and their features.

English light verbs are reported to only occur with nominalized predicates, with an indefinite article (Kearns 1988;2002). Therefore, we must first consider which lexical classes can be nominalized in a DP and occur with an indefinite article. This will inform us what kinds of predicates are even available to occur with a light verb. Some events can be represented in a DP with the indefinite article; namely, as activities, semelfactives, and some achievements (82-84).¹ Crucially, however, note that activities and semelfactives have zero-derived nominalizations, unlike achievements (*arriv-al, depart-ure*).

(82) a walk, a run activity DP predicates

(83) a wink, a sigh semelfactive DP predicates

(84) an arrival, a departure achievement DP predicates

¹Kearns distinguishes between ‘progress’ achievements (84) and ‘lucky’ achievements. That might be relevant here, since not all achievements can nominalize with the indefinite article: *a leave of absence, a win is a win, ?a recognition, *a notice*.

States and accomplishment predicates cannot occur as zero-derived nominalizations. In fact, perhaps they are so low frequency that they may even be ungrammatical for some speakers. Consider (85-86). You can maybe imagine a context where the accomplishment is OK: You are at an art fair and each stall has demonstrations of artists creating their work. One stall has an artist giving a demonstration on how to draw a perfect circle. Later, your friend asks you what you saw at the art fair, and you say *I saw a drawing of a circle*. However, this reading is in line with what Cattell 1984 calls ‘give a performance’ construction, which has slightly different properties from other light verb constructions.

(85) Know: */?a knowledge

(86) Draw a circle: ?a drawing of a circle

Regardless, states and accomplishment predicates are not compatible with a LV. In fact, only nominalized activity and semelfactive predicates are compatible with English LVs (87-91).

(87) Accomplishment: */?*She gave the circle a drawing, gave a drawing of the circle*

(88) Activity: *She took a walk*

(89) Achievement: **She gave/took an arrival*

(90) Semelfactive: *She gave a sigh*

(91) State: */?*She took a knowledge of dogs*

Therefore, the first contributions of this chapter are an elaboration of Kearns’ original observations about a LV’s selection properties. Not only do English LVs

categorically only select for indefinite DPs, the predicate noun in the DP must be zero-derived. Additionally, these indefinite DPs must be activity or semelfactive predicates. Another way of putting it is that LVs select for only zero-derived predicates, and zero-derived predicates are always activities or semelfactives. Table 3.2 summarizes.

Lexical class:	Nominalization:	Zero-derived?	compatible with a LV?
Accomplishment	?a drawing of a circle	×	×
State	?a knowledge	×	×
Achievement	an arrival	×	×
Activity	a walk	✓	✓
Semelfactive	a wink	✓	✓

Table 3.2: Showing which nominalized predicates are zero-derived, and therefore compatible to occur as the complement of a LV.

3.2.2 The interpretation of the nominal

Before we see how the LV changes the interpretation of the event, we must first consider how the nominalization and indefinite article interact with the predicate. In the above section, I identified nominalized activities and semelfactives as categorically compatible with light verbs. In this section, I show what the event properties of these nominalized activities and semelfactives are.

I apply the classic *for*-adverbial and *in*-adverbial diagnostics to test for properties of the predicate. Durative predicates take *for*-adverbials, while telic predicates take *in*-adverbials. While these tests are typically used to identify properties of verbal predicates, they should be able to apply to eventive noun predicates too. Table 3.3 shows the results of the two tests. The diagnostics are listed below as

(92-95).

DP	<i>for</i> -adverbial	<i>in</i> -adverbial	lexical class
a walk	✓	#	activity
a drive	✓	#	activity
a sigh	*	#	semelfactive
a wink	*	#	semelfactive

Table 3.3: Nominalized predicates and their aspectual properties.

- (92) a. A walk for ten minutes was a good idea. [+durative]
 b. #A walk in ten minutes was a good idea. [-telic]
 (where *in ten minutes* refers to taking ten minutes to complete the walk, not *ten minutes in the future, the walk will begin*)
- (93) a. A drive for ten minutes was a good idea. [+durative]
 b. #A drive in ten minutes was a good idea. [-telic]
- (94) a. *A sigh for one minute was a good idea. [-durative]
 b. #A sigh in one minute was a good idea. [-telic]
- (95) a. *A wink for one minute is doable. [-durative]
 b. #A wink in one minute is doable. [-telic]

The ‘lexical class’ column in Table 3.3 indicates the lexical class of the indefinite nominalization. Nominalizations of activity predicates remain activities and semelfactives predicates remain semelfactives. While we might expect the indefinite article to change the meaning, and it probably does, the indefinite article doesn’t seem to change the aspectual properties of the event, which is what I am focusing on.

Also note that because the aspectual properties of an event are determined compositionally, a DP or verb can be used in multiple contexts with different properties. The canonical example is with an activity verb like *run*, which can indicate an accomplishment simply by adding an object measuring the length: *run two miles*. Therefore, while the above aspectual properties of *a walk* show it to pattern as an activity predicate, *walk* is compatible with other lexical class interpretations such as *walk to the store* (accomplishment).

3.3 Adding the light verb

In this section, I apply the same adverbial diagnostics to determine the properties of the light verb construction. I then compare the resulting properties with the properties of the nominal predicates, seeing how the light verb modifies the event.

I use the same *for-* and *in-*adverbial phrases to test for durativity and telicity, respectively. The results are displayed in Table 3.4, and the diagnostic sentences are listed below. The second and third rows show the results for nominalized activities. The fourth and fifth rows show the results for nominalized semelfactives. As shown in the ‘lexical class’ column, light verb constructions with nominalized activities end up as accomplishments, while light verb constructions with nominalized semelfactives remain semelfactives.

LVC	<i>for</i> -adverbial	<i>in</i> -adverbial	lexical class
take a walk	✓	✓	accomplishment
take a drive	✓	✓	accomplishment
give a sigh	*	#	semelfactive
give a wink	*	#	semelfactive

Table 3.4: Light verb construction properties.

- (96) a. She took a walk for an hour. [+durative]
b. She took a walk in an hour. [+telic]
- (97) a. She took a drive for an hour. [+durative]
b. She took a drive in an hour. [+telic]
- (98) a. *She gave a sigh for a minute. [-durative]
b. #She gave a sigh in a minute. [-telic]
- (99) a. *She gave a wink for a minute. [-durative]
b. #She gave a wink in a minute. [-telic]

The generalization for activity predicates is clear: LVCs are telic while their non-LV counterpart is atelic.² However, the diagnostics for semelfactives yield no difference between ‘regular’ and LV predicates, so that diagnostic doesn’t show us whether the LVC has different aspectual properties than a regular semelfactive predicate. However, a quick look at the possible readings of the semelfactive LVCs reveals the difference. A semelfactive is often interpreted as an iterative activity. For example, *Fran coughed* can mean either (i) she coughed once or (ii) she coughed

²Kearns 2011, Dowty 1979, Levin all list other diagnostics that reveal a predicate’s properties. For example, *She finished taking a walk* further shows that a LVC with a nominalized activity ends up as an accomplishment.

a few times in a row (100). However, the LVC can only refer to the non-iterative reading (101).

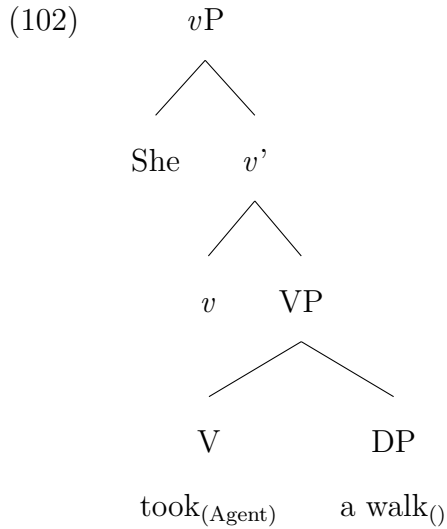
- (100) a. Fran coughed (over and over again) ✓ iterative
b. Fran coughed (once) ✓ non-iterative
- (101) a. #Fran gave a cough (over and over again) × iterative
b. Fran gave a cough (once) ✓ non-iterative

The LV semelfactive predicates can no longer refer to a potentially unbounded sequences of events—*gave a cough* refers exactly to one cough, not a potentially unbounded series of coughs. The non-iterative reading of the semelfactives makes the event telic.

Therefore, both activities and semelfactives predicates end up telic in a LVC. In the next section, I formalize these generalizations.

3.4 An Inner Aspect head makes the event telic

Consider the structure of a light verb construction in (102). As outlined in Chapter 2, I assume the light verb in the head of VP, albeit with no argument structure or lexical semantics. The LV selects a DP with an eventive noun, which transfers arguments to the LV via Argument Transfer; the transferring of the argument in (102) is represented by subscripts on the LV and noun. This current structure needs to be modified to account for the telicizing effect of the LV on the interpretation of the event.



Diesing 2000 proposes an analysis for Yiddish LVCs with an aspectual function that accounts for the telicizing and nondurative effects of Yiddish LVs. A Yiddish LVC, similar to English, yields a telic and somewhat diminutivized event (compare 103a-103b).

- (103) a. Zi glet di kats
 she pets the cat
 ‘She pets the cat.’ [Diesing 2000:234]
- b. Zi git a glet di kats
 she gives a pet the cat
 ‘She gives the cat a pet.’ [Diesing 2000:234]

This is achieved by an aspect head, which Diesing proposes is obligatorily projected in light verb constructions. The semantics of this Aspect head is shown in (104). This aspect head takes a predicate and outputs a predicate with telic qualities. The first conjunct makes sure that the event is not some subpart of a larger event, which makes iterative predicates like ‘jump’ only refer to a single iteration. The second conjunct modifies the event through the use of a function $\text{Small}(P)$,

which determines what is the contextually minimal event of the predicate. This minimal event will, by consequence, be a bound event. For example, $\text{Small}(\textit{walk})$ denotes a minimal event of walking, which depending on the context, could be a short walk around the block instead of a casual, potentially unbounded, walk around the neighborhood.

$$(104) \quad \llbracket \text{Asp} \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda e [P(e) \wedge \neg \exists e' [e < e' \wedge P(e')] \wedge \text{Small}(P)(e)]$$

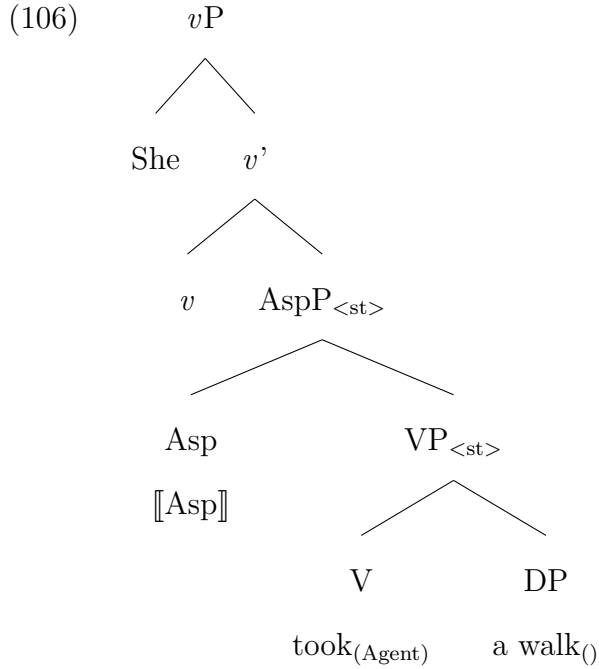
Since, unlike English, Yiddish LVs can occur with most events (activities, semelfactives, and accomplishments), the aspectual function must be able to take and modify any predicate. Therefore, it must handle the fact that activities receive a diminutivized interpretation, accomplishments receive a ‘sped up’ interpretation, and iterative activities end up as semelfactives. The aspectual function in (104) accounts for all of these.

Returning to English, we can capture the telicizing effect of LVs with the aspectual function Diesing proposed for Yiddish LVs. Activity predicates end up telic and iterative predicates end up non-iterative. Both effects are captured by this aspectual function. LV semelfactive predicates must be non-iterative. The aspectual function captures this effect, as it requires that the event not be a subpart of some larger event. By removing the possibility of an unbounded, iterative event, the semelfactive LVC is telic.

I adopt this Inner Aspect head to account for English LVCs. The structure in (106) outlines how first the LV and DP forms the VP, and then the LV requires the projection an Inner Aspect head that modifies the event argument of the predicate.

$$(105) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } \llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket = \lambda e [\textit{take a walk}(e)] \\ \text{b. } \llbracket \text{Asp} \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda e [P(e) \wedge \neg \exists e' [e < e' \wedge P(e')] \wedge \text{Small}(P, e)] \end{array}$$

- c. $\llbracket \text{AspP} \rrbracket = \lambda e[\text{take a walk}(e) \wedge \neg \exists e'[e < e' \wedge \text{take a walk}(e')]] \wedge \text{Small}(\text{take a walk}, e)]$



Lastly, the predicate semantically combines with the argument-introducing *v*/Voice head via Event Identification (Kratzer 1996). This process of identifying the event combines the event argument associated with the agent in *v* with the event argument of the predicate.

- (107) a. $\llbracket \text{AspP} \rrbracket = \lambda e[\text{take.a.walk}(e) \wedge \neg \exists e'[e < e' \wedge \text{take.a.walk}(e')]] \wedge \text{Small}(\text{take.a.walk}, e)]$
- b. $\llbracket v \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda e[\text{Agent}(x, e)]$
- c. $\llbracket v' \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda e[\text{Agent}(x, e) \ \& \ [\text{take.a.walk}(e) \wedge \neg \exists e'[e < e' \wedge \text{take.a.walk}(e')]] \wedge \text{Small}(\text{take.a.walk}, e)]]$ via Event Identification

3.5 Conclusion and predictions

Since the English LV is highly restricted by categorical selection requirements—it must select for zero-derived DPs—the question arises: would a language that doesn't have such strict selection properties allow light verbs to combine with all lexical classes? And if so, what might we expect the resulting interpretations to be? In the next two chapters, I look at Urdu and Korean LVCs, where the light verb combines with a VP, not DP, to form a complex predicate. Both the Korean and Urdu LVs that I focus on can occur with all Event types, not just activities and semelfactive predicates. The LVs in these languages also appear to output a telic event, though this process appears to occur in slightly different ways from English. In Urdu, the LV *le* appears to be a realization of the Inner Aspect head (unlike English) and in Korean, the LV *pe modifies the event argument much higher in the structure, above *v*P.*

CHAPTER 4

URDU LIGHT VERB *LE* MAKES THE EVENT TELIC

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, we saw that English light verbs make the event telic. Because English light verbs can only occur with certain nominalized predicates (activities and semelfactives), English does not provide any information on how light verbs might interact with other lexical classes. In this chapter, we turn to Urdu, a language in which light verbs can occur with main verbs of all event types.¹ Therefore, we can see how LVs interact with different lexical classes and see if there are any similarities across the aspectual effects of LVs on lexical classes across languages. I focus on the LV *le* ‘take,’ showing how it makes the event telic, regardless of the aspectual properties of the predicate it combines with, much like English light verbs.

In Section 4.1.1, I outline the usage of *le* ‘take’ as a main verb and a light verb and present the aspectual diagnostics used throughout the chapter. In Sections 4.2-4.5, I present how the LV *le* affects the aspectual properties of accomplishment, activity, semelfactive, and achievement predicates. In Section 4.6 I present the generalizations across lexical classes, namely that LV *le* outputs a telic event, regardless of the predicate it combines with. Lastly, in Section 4.7, I adopt the Inner Aspect semantic function from Diesing 2000 to account for the aspectual effect of the LV.

¹Although it is common to use the umbrella term ‘Hindi-Urdu’ in the literature, I refrain from doing so, as the judgements reported in this paper are from Urdu speakers only, and there is some micro-variation between Hindi and Urdu, including in their use and judgements of light verbs (see Kidwai & Sobolak *forthcoming*). The dialect reported in this paper is from the ‘Urdu-speaking’ community in Karachi.

4.1.1 The constructions

Recall from Chapter 2 that Urdu light verb constructions are part of a complex predicate where a main verb and light verb work together to form one monoclausal predicate. The main verb contributes the main lexical semantics, theta-roles, and argument structure to the event while the light verb contributes additional aspectual information. In (108), the tensed light verb *li* forms a complex predicate with the main verb and adds a sense of completion to the event, represented in the translation line as (*completely*).

- (108) Sana=ne kitab paRh li
Sana=ERG book read take.PERF.F.SG
'Sana read a book (completely).'
- [SK_012023]

While the structural features of *le* have been investigated (see Butt & Ramchand 2005), the specifics of how *le* systematically affect the interpretation of the event has not yet been explored. In the next few sections, I use the following diagnostics to (i) identify the aspectual properties of the LVC and (ii) identify if/how it differs from the interpretation of its non-light counterpart construction.

***For-/in-adverbials* (Dowty 1979)**

If a predicate is compatible with both adverbial phrases (*for a minute/hour, in a minute/hour*), the event is durative and telic (109). If a predicate is compatible with *for*-adverbials but not *in*-adverbials, the event is atelic, or unbounded in time (110). If a predicate is compatible with *in*-adverbials but not *for*-adverbials, the event is telic but without duration (111).

- (109) They built a house for/in a year.

- (110) She swam for/*in an hour.

(111) He arrived at the store in/*for an hour.

Progressive aspect

The original observation here is that only States cannot occur in the progressive aspect (Lakoff 1966, Dowty 1979): **She was knowing the answer.*² However, as shown in the next sections, there are many LVCs that cannot occur in the progressive, despite not being States. The progressive aspect situates the event at some sub-interval, before the completion of the event. If, like we saw in English, the LV requires or creates a telic event, the entailment that the event is completed is semantically incompatible with the predicate occurring at some sub-interval. Therefore, I use compatibility with progressive aspect to test for telicity—if a LVC is ungrammatical in the progressive, the event is semantically incompatible with not being complete.

Complement of *finish* (Dowty 1979)

Only accomplishment predicates can be the complement of *finish* because to finish something requires duration and an inherent endpoint (112).

- (112) a. She finished building the house.
b. *She finished noticing the painting.

Complement of *stop*

Dowty 1979 reports that achievement predicates cannot be the complement of *stop* because achievements indicate the result state of an event and therefore is incompatible with *stop*, which requires a durative event (113).

²However, note that some (temporary) States can occur in the progressive: *She is standing at the corner* (Levin n.d.), and some achievements cannot occur in the progressive: (*He is noticing the painting).

- (113) a. She stopped building the house.
b. *She stopped noticing the painting.

However, as we'll also see in this chapter, some LVCs that are not achievement predicates also are ungrammatical as the complement of *stop*. Given that the LV appears to require the completion of the event, the incompatibility with *stop* can be attributed to the conflicting endpoints—*stop* requires its complement to not reach the endpoint of the event, while the LV requires its complement to reach the endpoint. This mismatch, I argue, is the source of the LVCs ungrammaticality as the complement of *stop*.

Entailing the result

A simple entailment test reveals whether an event entails completion of the event or not, which indicates whether the event is telic. The entailment test is shown in (114). Because the presupposition is not able to be cancelled, the information in the presupposition is entailed—it must be true. Therefore, the assertion *Fran walked a mile* requires the event to be completed.

- (114) a. Assertion: Fran walked a mile.
b. Presupposition: Fran walked a full mile.
c. Cancel the presupposition: #Fran walked a mile, but only made it halfway.

Given the findings for English in Chapter 3, we might expect the Urdu LVs to have similar aspectual properties as their main verb counterparts. I first present the properties of *le* as a main verb. Then I show the resulting aspectual properties when a main verb from each lexical class combines with LV *le*.

As a main verb, *le* ‘to take’ tends to pattern as an achievement or accomplishment predicate. As an achievement predicate, for example *take a cookie from the cookie jar* (115), the VP is nondurative and telic (116a-116b).³

(115) Sana=ne cookie jar=se cookie li.
 Sana=ERG cooke jar=INS cookie.NOM take.PERF
 ‘Sana took a cookie from the cookie jar.’ [SK_032023]

(116) a. #Sana=ne eik minute ke liye cookie li
 Sana=ERG one minute GEN for cookie.NOM take.PERF
 Intended: ‘Sana took a cookie for a minute.’ [SK_032023]

b. Sana=ne eik minute mein cookie li
 Sana=ERG one minute in cookie.NOM take.PERF
 ‘Sana took a cookie in a minute.’ [SK_032023]

Le can also pattern as an accomplishment predicate, if for example, the object is plural (117a-117b). Both as an achievement and accomplishment predicate, *le* denotes a telic event—they just differ in duration. As we’ll see in the next few sections, *le* appears to preserve this telicity as a light verb, regardless of what kind of predicate it combines with.

(117) a. Sana=ne eik minute ke liye cookies liin
 Sana=ERG one minute GEN for cookie.NOM.PL take.PERF.F.PL
 ‘Sana took cookies for a minute (from the cookie jar).’ [SK_062023]

b. Sana=ne eik minute mein cookies liin
 Sana=ERG one minute in cookie.NOM.PL take.PERF.F.PL
 ‘Sana took cookies in a minute (from the cookie jar).’ [SK_062023]

Given that the lexical class of a predicate is determined compositionally, as

³Scenario: it took Sana a minute to complete the action of taking a cookie out of the jar. This sentence is grammatical in the context of taking the cooking for a minute then put it back, hence the # in (116a).

shown above with *le* as both an achievement and accomplishment depending on the number of the object, it is perhaps misleading to say that the LV preserves features from its main verb counterpart; rather, the LV also seems to create a telic event.

4.2 Accomplishments

The Urdu accomplishment predicate *xat lik^h* ‘write a letter’ has the expected, aspectual properties. It is compatible with both *for*- and *in*-adverbials, meaning it is a durative and telic event (118a-118b). Here, both the *for*- and *in*-adverbs indicate that the event was completed over the course of an hour.

- (118) a. Nadya=ne eik ghanday ke liye xat lik^h-a
 Nadya.F=ERG one hour GEN for letter.M.NOM write-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya wrote a letter for an hour.’ [SK_012023]
- b. Nadya=ne eik ghanday mein xat lik^h-ya
 Nadya.F=ERG one hour in letter.M.NOM write-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya wrote a letter in an hour.’ [SK_012023]

This accomplishment predicate is compatible with LV *le* (119).

- (119) Nadya=ne xat lik^h li-ya
 Nadya.F=ERG letter.M.NOM write take-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya wrote a letter (completely).’ [Butt & Ramchand 2005]

While this LVC remains telic as shown (120b), it is incompatible with *for*-adverbials (120a), which suggests that it refers to a nondurative event.

- (120) a. *Nadya=ne eik gphantay ke liye xat lik^h
 Nadya.F=ERG one hour GEN for letter.M.NOM write
 li-ya
 take-PERF.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Nadya wrote a letter for an hour (completely).’ [SK_122022]
- b. Nadya=ne eik gphantay mein xat lik^h li-ya
 Nadya.F=ERG one hour in letter.M.NOM write take-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya wrote a letter in an hour (completely).’ [SK_122022]

An entailment test confirms the telicity of the both the regular accomplishment predicate and the LVC (121).

- (121) a. Nadya=ne xat lik^h-a (#but didn’t finish it)
 Nadya.F=ERG letter.M.NOM write-PERF.M.SG (...)
 ‘Nadya wrote a letter, #but didn’t finish writing it.’ [SK_032023]
- b. Nadya=ne xat lik^h li-ya (#but didn’t
 Nadya.F=ERG letter.M.NOM write take-PERF.M.SG (...)
 finish it)
 ‘Nadya wrote a letter (completely), #but didn’t finish writing it.’
 [SK_032023]

In summary, the LVC, like its non-light counterpart, remains a telic event that entails the completion of the event. Returning to the ungrammaticality of the LVC with *for*-adverbials in (120a), it also appears like the LVC patterns like a non-durative event. This would mean that when the light verb combines with an accomplishment predicate, the resulting interpretation is that of an achievement predicate. There is supportive evidence for this. Accomplishment predicates should be grammatical as the complement of *finish* (Dowty 1979). The regular accomplishment predicate in (122a) is grammatical, but the LVC in (122b) is

ungrammatical as the complement of *finish*. This again suggests that the LVC patterns as a non-durative event.

- (122) a. Nadya=ne xat lik^h-na khatam ki-ya
 Nadya=ERG letter write-INF finish do-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya finished writing the letter.’ [SK_032023]
- b. *Nadya=ne xat lik^h le-na khatam ki-ya
 Nadya=ERG letter write take-INF finish do-PERF.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Nadya finished writing the letter (completely).’ [SK_032023]

Since the above LVC doesn’t pattern as accomplishment, perhaps it patterns more like an achievement. Achievement predicates are the only Event type that cannot occur as the complement of *stop*. Regular accomplishment predicates can be the complement of *stop* (123a), but LVCs cannot (123b), showing that they pattern like achievements, not accomplishments.

- (123) a. Nadya=ne xat lik^h-na rok-a
 Nadya=ERG letter write-INF stop-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya stopped writing the letter.’ [SK_032023]
- b. *Nadya=ne xat lik^h le-na rok-a
 Nadya=ERG letter write take-INF stop-PERF.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Nadya stopped writing the letter (completely).’ [SK_032023]

This interaction between *le* and accomplishment predicates will be discussed more in Section 4.7, as an analysis of the phenomena must account for the fact that while these predicates may pattern like an achievement—a non-durative event—pragmatically, they must still have duration. An event of writing an letter cannot be without duration.

Table 4.1 summarizes the aspectual properties of LV *le* combining with an

accomplishment predicate. The diagnostics indicate that the resulting event is a telic and non-durative event.

	<i>xat lik^h</i> 'write a letter'	<i>xat lik^h li</i> 'write a letter (completely)'	LVC aspectual property
<i>for</i> -adverbial	✓	×	non-durative
complement of <i>finish</i>	✓	×	non-durative
complement of <i>stop</i>	✓	×	non-durative
<i>in</i> -adverbial	✓	✓	telic
entails result	✓	✓	telic

Table 4.1: Urdu accomplishment predicates with LVs pattern as achievements.

4.2.1 Modifying the predicate: Plural objects

As mentioned in the Introduction, the event structure of the predicate is determined by properties of all parts of the predicate, including the object. The above diagnostics only focused on one accomplishment predicate, and the effect of the LV resulted in a achievement-like predicate, patterning as non-durative and telic. However, the LV's effect on accomplishment predicates is not always such. For example, if the accomplishment predicate used above is modified to have a plural object 'letters' instead of a singular object, the diagnostics have slightly different results. For example, while the above light verb construction is incompatible with *for*-adverbials (120a), when the LV *le* combines with an accomplishment predicate with a plural object, the construction is grammatical with *for*-adverbials (124).

- (124) Nadya=ne eik għantay ke liye xat lk^h
 Nadya.F=ERG one hour GEN for letter.M.NOM.PL write
 li-ye
 take-PERF.M.PL
 'Nadya wrote letters for an hour (completely).' [SK_062023]

Additionally, this predicate with a plural object is perfectly grammatical as the complement of *finish* (125b), unlike the predicate with a singular object above (122b).

- (125) a. Nadya=ne xat lk^h-na khatam ki-ye
 Nadya=ERG letter.M.NOM.PL write-INF finish do-PERF.M.PL
 ‘Nadya finished writing letters.’ [SK_062023]
- b. Nadya=ne xat lk^h le-na khatam ki-ye
 Nadya=ERG letter.M.NOM.PL write take-INF finish do-PERF.M.PL
 ‘Nadya finished writing letters (completely).’ [SK_062023]

These patterns show that the properties of the predicate continue to influence the aspectual compositionality of the event. The LV, however, clearly still requires a telic event that entails the result. The LVC with a plural object is still ungrammatical as the complement of *stop* (126b).

- (126) a. Nadya=ne xat lk^h-na rok-e(y)
 Nadya=ERG letter.M.NOM.PL write-INF stop-PERF.M.PL
 ‘Nadya stopped writing letters.’ [SK_062023]
- b. *Nadya=ne xat lk^h le-na rok-e(y)
 Nadya=ERG letter.M.NOM.PL write take-INF stop-PERF.M.PL
 Intended: ‘Nadya stopped writing letters (completely).’ [SK_062023]

In summary, while the properties of the predicate still play a role in composing the overall event properties, the resulting interpretation is telic whether the object in the predicate is singular or plural.

4.3 Activities

When used as an activity, the Urdu predicate *chal* ‘walk’ has the expected, aspectual properties. It is compatible with *for*-adverbials (127a) and incompatible with *in*-adverbials (127b), showing it is a durative and atelic event.

- (127) a. Sana eik għantay ke liye chal-i
Sana.NOM one hour GEN for walk-PERF.F.SG
‘Sana walked for an hour.’ [SK_012023]
- b. *Sana eik għantay mein chal-i
Sana.NOM one hour in walk-PERF.F.SG
‘Sana walked in an hour.’ [SK_012023]

This activity predicate can combine with LV *le* (128).

- (128) Sana chal li
Sana.NOM walk take.PERF
‘Sana walked (completely).’ [SD_012023]

The resulting complex predicate is compatible with *for*-adverbials (129) and is incompatible with *in*-adverbials (130), suggesting it remains an activity predicate.

- (129) Sana eik għantay ke liye chal li
Sana.NOM one hour GEN for walk take.PERF
‘Sana walked (completely) for an hour.’ [SD_012023]
- (130) *Sana eik għantay mein chal li
Sana.NOM one hour in walk take.PERF
‘Sana walked (completely) in an hour.’ [SD_012023]

However, additional diagnostics suggest the LVC is telic. For example, a regular activity predicate can occur in the progressive aspect, situating the event at some

sub-interval (131a). However, the LVC cannot occur in the progressive aspect, indicating that the event cannot be situated at some sub-interval (131b). The event in the LVC must be completed.

- (131) a. Nadya chal rah-i thi
 Nadya.F=ERG walk PROG-PERF.F.SG be.PST.F.SG
 ‘Nadya was walking.’ [SK_012023]
- b. *Nadya chal le rah-i thi
 Nadya.F=ERG walk take PROG-PERF.F.SG be.PST.F.SG
 ‘Nadya was walking (completely).’ [SK_012023]

Given this telicity, we might think of LVCs with an activity predicate more like accomplishments. However, the LVC is ungrammatical as the complement of *finish* (132). If the LVC patterned as an accomplishment, it would be grammatical.

- (132) *Nadya=ne chal le-na khatam ki-ya
 Nadya=ERG walk take-INF finish do-PERF.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Nadya finished walking (completely).’ [SK_032023]

Lastly, LVCs with activity predicates do seem to pattern an achievements, much like accomplishment predicates do in Section 4.2. Only achievement predicates are ungrammatical as the complement of *stop*, because achievements indicate the result state of an event. Regular activity predicates can be the complement of *stop* (133a). The LVC cannot be the complement of *stop* (133b), showing it patterns like an achievement.

- (133) a. Nadya=ne chal-na rok-a
 Nadya=ERG walk-INF stop-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya stopped walking.’ [SK_032023]

- b. *Nadya=ne chal le-na rok-a
 Nadya=ERG walk take-INF stop-PERF.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Nadya stopped walking (completely).’ [SK_032023]

In summary, the activity predicate *chal* ‘walk,’ when paired with the LV *le*, patterns like a telic predicate—it is ungrammatical in the progressive and as the complement of *stop*. Table 4.2 summarizes the properties of Urdu activity predicates. Just like accomplishment LVCs, these activity LVCs end up telic.

	<i>chal</i> ‘walk’	<i>chal li</i> ‘walk (completely)’	LVC aspectual property
for-adverbial	✓	✓	durative
in-adverbial	×	×	atelic?
progressive	✓	×	telic
complement of <i>finish</i>	✓	×	not accomp.
complement of <i>stop</i>	✓	×	telic

Table 4.2: Urdu activity predicates pattern like achievements

4.4 Semelfactives

The Urdu semelfactive predicate *kuud* ‘jump’ has the expected, aspectual properties. It is incompatible with *for*- and *in*-adverbials (134a-134b), showing it is a nondurative and atelic event. In this section, I only focus on the ‘true’ semelfactive reading—a quick, immediate instance that doesn’t take up time and therefore can’t have an endpoint. Semelfactive predicates are often interpreted as iterative activities. I would expect those interpretations to pattern like the activities in the previous section. Therefore, I mark some sentences with # to indicate semantic infelicity in this section (instead of *) since these sentences are perfectly felicitous with the iterative interpretation, but infelicitous in the intended, true semelfactive

interpretation.

- (134) a. #Sana eik minute ke liye kuud-i
Sana.NOM one minute GEN for jump-PERF.F.SG
'Sana jumped for a minute.' [SK_122022]
- b. *Sana eik minute mein kuud-i
Sana.NOM one minute in jump-PERF
'Sana jumped in a minute.' [SK_122022]

Semelfactive predicates can occur with the LV *le* (135).

- (135) Sana kuud li
Sana.NOM jump take.PERF
'Sana jumped (completely).' [SK_122022]

Based on the *for-/in-*adverbial tests, Urdu LV semelfactive predicates remain semelfactives. They are incompatible with *for-* and *in-* adverbial phrases (136).

- (136) a. #Sana eik minute ke liye kuud li
Sana.NOM one minute GEN for jump take.PERF.F.SG
'Sana jumped for a minute.' [SK_122022]
- b. #Sana eik minute mein kuud li-
Sana.NOM one minute in jump take-PERF
'Sana jumped (completely) in a minute.' [SK_122022]

Regular semelfactive predicates can occur as the complement of *stop*, with the iterative interpretation (137a). LVCS cannot, showing only the non-iterative interpretation is available (137b).

- (137) a. Sana=ne kuud-na rok-a
Sana=ERG jump-INF stop-PERF
'Sana stopped jumping.' (iterative) [SK_032023]

- b. *Sana=ne kuud le-na rok-a
 Sana=ERG jump take-INF stop-PERF
 Intended: ‘Sana stopped jumping (completely).’ [SK_032023]

The contrast between (138a) and (138b) shows you can’t cancel the result of the event in a LVC, but can cancel it in regular constructions. Therefore, the LVC entails completion of the event.

(138) Context: We heard that Sana was a really good jumper; she could jump really high. We asked Sana to jump for us. She jumped up, but when she was landing, she slipped and ended up falling down. She didn’t really complete the jump.

- a. Sana kuud-i (...) [SK_032023]
 Sana jump-PERF (...) [SK_032023]
 ‘Sana jumped; but slipped and fell on landing’
- b. #Sana kuud li (...) [SK_032023]
 Sana jump take.PERF (...) [SK_032023]
 Intended: ‘Sana jumped (completely); but slipped and fell on landing.’

In summary, the general pattern that emerges is that the LV only has the non-iterative interpretation and entails completion of the event.

	<i>kuud</i>	<i>kuud li</i>	LVC aspectual property
<i>for</i> -adverbial	×	×	non-durative
<i>in</i> -adverbial	×	×	telic
entail result	×	✓	telic
iterative?	✓	×	non-iterative
complement of <i>stop</i>	✓	×	telic

Table 4.3: Urdu semelfactive predicates remain true semelfactives

4.5 Achievements

In the previous sections, we saw that accomplishment and activity predicates end up patterning like achievements when in a complex predicate with LV *le*. The next question is, what happens when the event that a LV combines with is already an achievement? In this section, we'll see that aspectual differences between achievement predicates and LV achievement predicates are the same, making general meaning difference between the two constructions difficult to discern.

The Urdu achievement predicate *jeeth* 'win' has the expected, aspectual properties. It is incompatible with *for*-adverbials (139a), showing it is nondurative, and compatible with *in*-adverbials (139b), showing it is telic.

- (139) a. *Sana eik ghantay ke liye jeeth-i
Sana.NOM one hour GEN for win-PERF.F.SG
Intended: 'Sana won for an hour.' [SK_012023]
- b. Sana eik ghantay mein jeeth-i
Sana.NOM one hour in win-PERF.F.SG
'Sana won in an hour.' [SK_012023]

Achievement predicates can combine with the LV *le* (140):

- (140) Sana jeeth li
Sana.NOM win take.PERF.F.SG
'Sana won (completely).' [SK_012023]

LV achievement predicates are incompatible with *for*-adverbials (141a), and compatible with *in*-adverbials (141b), just like regular achievements.

- (141) a. *Sana eik ghanṭay ke liye jeeth li
 Sana.NOM one hour GEN for win take.PERF.F.SG
 Intended: ‘Sana won (completely) for an hour.’ [SK_012023]
- b. Sana eik ghanṭay mein jeeth li
 Sana.NOM one hour in win take.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Sana won (completely) in an hour.’ [SK_012023]

Both regular and LV achievement predicates are ungrammatical as the complement of *finish* (142a-142b), showing the LVC is not an accomplishment.

- (142) a. *Sana=ne jeeth jaa-na khatam ki-ya
 Sana=ERG jump go-INF finish do-PERF.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Sana finished winning.’ [SK_032023]
- b. *Sana=ne jeeth le-na khatam ki-ya
 Sana=ERG win take-INF finish do-PERF.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Sana finished winning (completely).’ [SK_032023]

Both regular and LV achievement predicates are ungrammatical as the complement of *stop* (143a-143b), showing they both pattern as achievements.

- (143) a. *Sana=ne jeeth jaa-na rok-a
 Sana=ERG win go-INF stop-PERF
 Intended: ‘Sana stopped winning.’ [SK_032023]
- b. *Sana=ne jeeth le-na rok-a
 Sana=ERG win take-INF stop-PERF
 Intended: ‘Sana stopped winning (completely).’ [SK_032023]

Lastly, as expected, both regular achievements and LVCs can’t cancel the result state of the event (144a-144b). They entail completion of the event.

- (144) a. Sana jeeth gai (#but didn't finish winning)
 Sana.NOM win go.PERF
 Sana won, #but didn't finish winning' [SK_032023]
- b. Sana jeeth li (#but didn't finish winning)
 Sana.NOM win take.PERF
 Sana won (completely), #but didn't finish winning.' [SK_032023]

In summary, Table 4.4 shows that LVCs have no difference in aspectual properties as their non-light counterparts.

	<i>jeeth</i> 'win'	<i>jeeth li</i> 'win (completely)'	LVC aspectual property
for-adverbial	×	×	
in-adverbial	✓	✓	
entail result	✓	✓	
complement of <i>finish</i>	×	×	
complement of <i>stop</i>	×	×	

Table 4.4: Urdu achievement predicates remain achievements

However, what then is the LV contributing to the event? We must look beyond aspectual properties to identify the difference in meaning between the two constructions. I leave this to future research.

4.6 Urdu generalizations

Table 4.5 summarizes all changes to aspectual properties across Urdu LVCs with *le*. Accomplishment predicates either remain accomplishments or pattern as achievements, depending on the properties of the predicate (*See Section 4.2.1). Activity predicates end up telic. Semelfactive predicates end up with only a non-iterative interpretation. Achievement predicates have no aspectual changes.

Lexical class	+LV	Change in aspectual property
accomplishment	<i>lik^h li</i> 'write a letter (completely)'	durative → non-durative*
activity	<i>chal li</i> 'walk (completely)'	atelic → telic
semelfactive	<i>kuud li</i> 'jump (completely)'	iterative → non-iterative
achievement	<i>jeeth li</i> 'win (completely)'	

Table 4.5: Summary of LV effect on the predicate's aspectual properties.

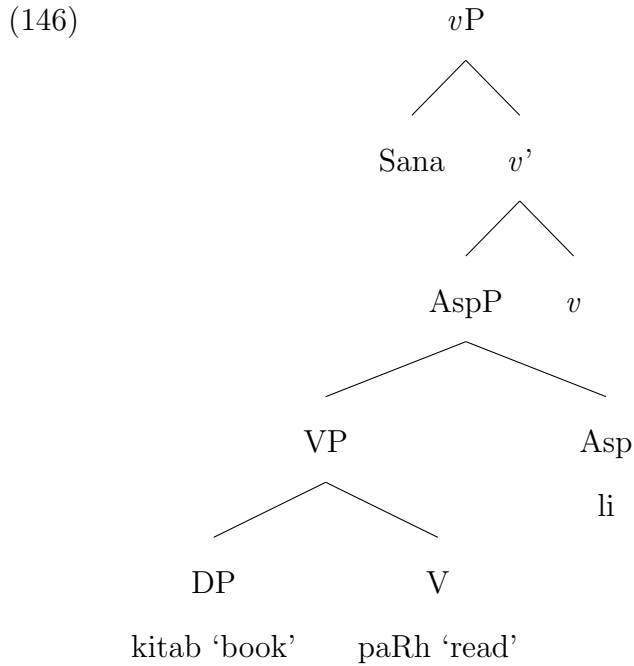
4.7 Putting it all together

In Chapter 3, the telicizing effect of English light verbs *take* and *give* can be captured with the use of an Inner Aspect head, obligatorily projected after the light verb. In this section, I modify the analysis from Chapters 3 to account for the patterns found in Urdu LVCs. The main difference is that, in Urdu, the LV *le* is a realization of that Inner Aspect head.

4.7.1 Structure

The structure for Urdu light verb complex predicates is presented in Chapter 2. To review, I assume that in Urdu light verb constructions the LV is situated in the functional head (Inner) Aspect, and the main verb is in V (146). This is similar to Butt & Ramchand's 2005 analysis of *le*, where the LV is in an intermediary head between the lexical VP and the higher functional head that introduces the external argument.

- (145) Sana=ne kitab paRh li
 Sana=ERG book read take.PERF.F.SG
 'Sana read a book (completely).' [SK_012023]



4.7.2 An Inner Aspect function

In Chapter 3, I showed how the derivation of the English LVC simply required adoption of an Inner Aspect head that captures the aspectual effects. The denotation (147) has two parts. The first conjunct removes the possibility of an iterative event, and the second conjunct modifies the event by determining what is the contextually minimal event of the predicate. This denotation, crucially, can be applied to all predicate types to get the desired effect.

$$(147) \quad \llbracket \text{Asp} \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda e [P(e) \wedge \neg \exists e' [e < e' \wedge P(e')]] \wedge \text{Small}(P)(e)]$$

Unlike English, Urdu light verbs, and specifically *le* can occur with predicates of all lexical classes. The aspectual function, therefore, needs to be able to account for each aspectual change across lexical classes. Because the above function relies on contextual input, it is able to correctly output the desired type of event. For

example, semelfactive predicates become non-iterative, as the function requires the event to not be a subpart of some larger event. For achievements, this is already true, and therefore the output has the same aspectual features.

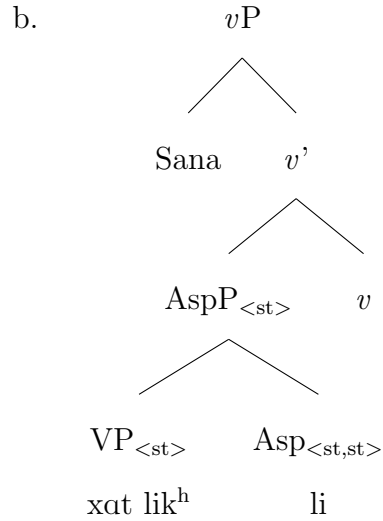
The effect of some accomplishments patterning as non-durative can be accounted for with the use of the aspectual function, specifically $\text{Small}(P)$ which takes an event and determines what is the contextually smallest instance of that event. $\text{Small}(\textit{write a letter})$ will output a letter-writing event that has the smallest possible duration, given the context. Perhaps this is the source of why these predicates pattern as non-durative. The events are done with the smallest duration possible, given the context, and pragmatically perhaps it makes the predicate incompatible with the durative diagnostics.

Lastly, the effect on activity predicates is also captured. Similarly to accomplishment predicates, the telicizing effect of activity predicates is captured by the $\text{Small}(P)$ function ($\text{Small}(\textit{walk})$), which determines what is the smallest contextually instance of that event. This binding of the event will output a telic interpretation, where the *walking* must have an endpoint.

In conclusion, the function originally proposed by Diesing 2000 captures the effect of Urdu LV *le* through a combination of formal and pragmatic effects. The derivation and structure (148-149b) shows how the LV, as an Inner Aspect head, selects for a VP and modifies the event argument of the predicate.

- (148) a. $\llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket = \lambda e[\text{write}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, \textit{letter})]$
 b. $\llbracket \textit{li} \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda e [P(e) \wedge \neg \exists e' [e < e' \wedge P(e')] \wedge \text{Small}(e, P)]$
 c. $\llbracket \text{AspP} \rrbracket = \lambda e[\text{VP}(e) \wedge \neg \exists e' [e < e' \wedge \text{VP}(e')] \wedge \text{Small}(e, \text{VP})]$

- (149) a. Nadya=ne xat lik^h li-ya
 Nadya.F=ERG letter.M.NOM write take-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya wrote a letter (completely).’ [Butt & Ramchand 2005]



4.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, the Urdu LV *le* is an aspectual head that outputs a telic event. The distinct effects across lexical classes are a consequence of the aspectual head. In the next chapter, I show that the Korean LV *peli* again has similar aspectual effect to the English and Urdu LVs. However, once again the position of the LV in the structure is different, and the position appears to inform more information about the event than lexical aspect.

CHAPTER 5

KOREAN LIGHT VERB *PELI* MAKES THE EVENT TELIC (AND MORE)

5.1 Introduction

In the last two chapters, we saw English and Urdu LVs modify the aspectual properties of the event in similar ways. In this chapter, I turn to the Korean LV *pe-* ‘discard,’ which similarly affects the interpretation of the predicate. However, *pe-* also adds some pragmatic information about the speaker’s attitude towards the event.

In Section 5.1.1, I outline the usage of *pe-* ‘discard’ as a main verb and a light verb and present the aspectual diagnostics used throughout the chapter. In Sections 5.2-5.5, I present how the LV *le* affects the aspectual properties of accomplishment, activity, semelfactive, and achievement predicates. In Section 5.5.1, I present the additional pragmatic information that *pe-* adds to the event. In Section 5.6 I present the generalizations across lexical classes, namely that LV *le* outputs a telic event, regardless of the predicate it combines with. Lastly, in Section 5.7, I adopt the Inner Aspect semantic function from Diesing 2000 to account for the aspectual effect of the LV, and propose a connection between the high position of *pe-* in the verbal spine and its pragmatic effect on the speaker’s attitude towards the event.

5.1.1 The constructions

Recall from Chapter 2 that Korean light verb constructions are complex predicates where a main verb and light verb work together to form one monoclausal predicate. The main verb contributes the lexical semantics and argument structure to the predicate and the light verb contributes additional aspectual information. The Korean light verb that I focus on in this chapter is *peli* ‘to discard’ (150). In (150), as a LV *peli* forms a complex predicate with the main verb *ilk* ‘to read’ and the contribution of *peli* to the interpretation of the event is often translated as *away* by consultants/speakers.¹ The diagnostics in this chapter and discussion in Section 5.5.1 will zero in on what exactly that means.

- (150) Young-Hoon-i chayk-ul ilk-e peli-ess-ta
Young-Hoon-NOM book-ACC read-e discard-PST-DEC
‘Young-Hoon read (away) a book.’ [YHK_022022]

Cho & Whitman 2020 present some descriptive properties of *peli*’s contribution to the event; namely, it makes the event completed, irreversible, and with maybe a slightly negative connotation from the speaker that they didn’t want to event to occur. However, the specifics of how *peli* systematically affects the aspectual properties of the event has not yet been done. In the next few sections, I use the following diagnostics to tease apart the aspectual properties of the LVC and identify if/how it differs from the interpretation of non-light constructions.

***For-/in-adverbials* (Dowty 1979)**

If a predicate is compatible with both adverbial phrases (*for a minute/hour, in a*

¹This use of *away* in the English translation, however, is misleading, as it suggests a different, complex predicate construction. Where possible, I will translate the Korean LVCs as parallel to English light verb constructions; for example, *took a walk* instead of *walked (away)*. Where not possible due to the constraints on English LVs, I will maintain the *away* in parenthesis; for example, **took a building of a house* vs. *built (away) a house*.

minute/hour), the event is durative and telic (151). If a predicate is compatible with *for*-adverbials but not *in*-adverbials, the event is atelic, or unbounded in time (152). If a predicate is compatible with *in*-adverbials but not *for*-adverbials, the event is telic but without duration (153).

(151) They built a house for/in a year.

(152) She swam for/*in an hour.

(153) He arrived at the store in/*for an hour.

Progressive aspect

The original observation here is that only States cannot occur in the progressive aspect (Lakoff 1966, Dowty 1979): **She was knowing the answer.*² However, as shown in the next sections, there are many LVCs that cannot occur in the progressive, despite not being States. The progressive aspect situates the event at some sub-interval, before the completion of the event. If, like we saw in English, the LV requires or creates a telic event, the entailment that the event is completed is semantically incompatible with the predicate occurring at some sub-interval. Therefore, I use compatibility with progressive aspect to test for telicity—if a LVC is ungrammatical in the progressive, the event is semantically incompatible with not being complete.

Complement of *finish* (Dowty 1979)

Only accomplishment predicates can be the complement of *finish* because to finish something requires duration and an inherent endpoint (154).

²However, note that some (temporary) States can occur in the progressive: *She is standing at the corner* (Levin n.d.), and some achievements cannot occur in the progressive: (**He is noticing the painting*).

- (154) a. She finished building the house.
b. *She finished noticing the painting.

Complement of *stop*

Dowty 1979 reports that achievement predicates cannot be the complement of *stop* because achievements indicate the result state of an event and therefore is incompatible with *stop*, which requires a durative event (155).

- (155) a. She stopped building the house.
b. *She stopped noticing the painting.

However, as we'll also see in this chapter, some LVCs that are not achievement predicates also are ungrammatical as the complement of *stop*. Given that the LV appears to require the completion of the event, the incompatibility with *stop* can be attributed to the conflicting endpoints—*stop* requires its complement to not reach the endpoint of the event, while the LV requires its complement to reach the endpoint. This mismatch, I argue, is the source of the LVCs ungrammaticality as the complement of *stop*.

Entailing the result

A simple entailment test reveals whether an event entails completion of the event or not, which indicates whether the event is telic. The entailment test is shown in (156). Because the presupposition is not able to be cancelled, the information in the presupposition is entailed—it must be true. Therefore, the assertion *Fran walked a mile* requires the event to be completed.

- (156) a. Assertion: Fran walked a mile.
b. Presupposition: Fran walked a full mile.

- c. Cancel the presupposition: #Fran walked a mile, but only made it halfway.

Given the findings for English in Chapter 3 and Urdu in Chapter 4, we might expect the Korean LV *pe-* to output a telic event. As a main verb, *pe-* tends to denote an achievement predicate (157). The event in (157) is nondurative and telic, given that it is incompatible with *for*-adverbials and compatible with *in*-adverbials (158a-158b).³

(157) Young-Hoon-i chayk-ul peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM book-ACC discard-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon discarded a book.’ [YHK_032023]

(158) a. *Young-Hoon-i chayk-ul il pwun-tongan peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM book-ACC one minute-for discard-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘Young-Hoon discarded a book for a minute.’ [YHK_032023]

b. Young-Hoon-i chayk-ul il pwun-(m)aney peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM book-ACC one minute-in discard-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon discarded a book in exactly/within a minute.’
 [YHK_032023]

As a LV, *pe-* forms a monoclausal complex predicate with a main verb (159). Again, I am showing the contribution of *pe-* to the event as a parenthetical (*away*), not to be confused with the complex *away* construction in English.

(159) Young-Hoon-i chayk-ul ilk-e peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM book-ACC read-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon read (away) a book.’ [YHK_022022]

³See Lee & Ryu 2010 for discussion of these particular *for-/in-* diagnostics in Korean and Japanese.

5.2 Accomplishments pattern like achievements

The Korean accomplishment predicate *cip-ul cis* ‘build a house’ has the expected, aspectual properties. It is compatible with both *for-* and *in-*adverbials (160a-160b). Here, both the *for-* and *in-*adverbials indicate that the event was completed over the course of an hour.

- (160) a. John-i cip-ul han tal-tongan cis-ess-ta
 John-NOM house-ACC one month-for build-PST-DEC
 ‘John built a house for a month.’ [YHK_032023]
- b. John-i cip-ul han tal-maney cis-ess-ta
 John-NOM house-ACC one month-in build-PST-DEC
 ‘John built a house in a month.’ [YHK_032023]

Accomplishment predicates can combine with LV *pe-*, forming a monoclausal complex predicate (161).

- (161) John-i cip-ul cis-e peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM house-ACC build-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘John built (away) a house.’ [YHK_122022]

LV accomplishment predicates have slightly different aspectual properties than their non-light counterpart. They are incompatible with *for-*adverbials (162), but compatible with *in-*adverbials (163).

- (162) *John-i cip-ul han tal-tongan cis-e peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM house-ACC one month-for build-e discard-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘John built (away) a house for a month.’ [YHK_122022]
- (163) John-i cip-ul han tal-maney cis-e peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM house-ACC one month-in build-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘John built (away) a house in a month.’ [YHK_122022]

An entailment test confirms the telicity of both the regular and LV accomplishment predicates (164).

- (164) a. John-i cip-ul cis-ess-ta (#but didn't finish it)
 John-NOM house-ACC build-PST-DEC (...)
 'John built a house, #but didn't finish building it.' [YHK_032023]
- b. John-i cip-ul cis-e peli-ess-ta (#but didn't finish)
 John-NOM house-ACC build-e discard-PST-DEC (...)
 'John built (away) a house, #but didn't finish building it.'
 [YHK_032023]

In summary, the LVC—like its non-light counterpart—remains a telic event that entails the completion of the event. Returning to the ungrammaticality of the LVC with *for*-adverbials in (162), it also appears like the LVC patterns like a non-durative event. This would mean that, when combined with *pe-*, these accomplishment predicates pattern as achievement predicates. There is supporting evidence for this. Accomplishment predicates should be grammatical as the complement of *finish* (Dowty 1979). The regular accomplishment predicate in (165a) is grammatical, but the LVC in (165b) is ungrammatical as the complement of *finish*. This again suggests that the LVC doesn't remain an accomplishment.

- (165) a. Young-Hoon-i cip-ul cis-nun.kes-ul kwutnay-ess-ta.
 Young-Hoon-NOM house-ACC build-ADN.thing-ACC finish-PST-DEC
 'Young-Hoon finished building a house.' [YHK_032023]
- b. ?/*Young-Hoon-i cip-ul cis-e peli-nun.kes-ul
 Young-Hoon-NOM house-ACC build-e discard-ADN.thing-ACC
 kwutnay-ess-ta.
 finish-PST-DEC
 'Young-Hoon finished building away a house.' [YHK_032023]

In fact, the accomplishment predicate with the LV *pe-* patterns more like

an achievement. Achievement predicates are the only Event type that cannot occur as the complement of *stop*. Regular accomplishment predicates can be the complement of *stop* (166a), but LVCs cannot (166b), showing that they pattern like achievements, not accomplishments.

- (166) a. Young-Hoon-i cip-ul cis-nun.kes-ul memchwu-ess-ta.
 Young-Hoon-NOM house-ACC build-ADN.thing-ACC stop-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon stopped building a house.’ [YHK_032023]
- b. ?/*Young-Hoon-i cip-ul cis-e peli-nun.kes-ul
 Young-Hoon-NOM house-ACC build-e discard-ADN.thing-ACC
 memchwu-ess-ta.
 stop-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon stopped building away a house.’ [YHK_032023]

Table 5.1 summarizes the aspectual properties of accomplishment predicates when combined with *pel*.

	<i>cip cis</i> ‘build a house’	<i>cip cis-e peli</i> ‘build (away) a house’	LVC aspectual property
for-adverbial	✓	×	non-durative
complement of <i>finish</i>	✓	×	non-durative
complement of <i>stop</i>	✓	×	non-durative
in-adverbial	✓	✓	telic
entail result	✓	✓	telic

Table 5.1: Accomplishment predicates pattern like achievements when used with *pel*

5.2.1 Modifying the predicate: accomplishments remain accomplishments

The event structure of the predicate is determined by properties of all parts of the predicate, including the object. The above diagnostics only focused on one accomplishment predicate, and the effect of the LV resulted in an achievement-like predicate, patterning as non-durative and telic. However, the LV's effect on accomplishment predicates is not always such. For example, if the accomplishment predicate used above is modified to have a plural object 'houses' instead of a singular object, the diagnostics have slightly different results. For example, while the above accomplishment predicate is incompatible with *for*-adverbials (162), the predicate with a plural object is grammatical with *for*-adverbials (167).

- (167) John-i cip-tul-ul han tal-tongan cis-e peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM house-PL-ACC one month-for build-e discard-PST-DEC
 'John built (away) houses for a month.' [YHK_062023]

Additionally, this LVC predicate with a plural object is perfectly grammatical as the complement of *finish* (168b), unlike the singular predicate above (165b).

- (168) a. Young-Hoon-i ci-tul-ul cis-nun.kes-ul kwutnay-ess-ta.
 Young-Hoon-NOM house-PL-ACC build-ADN.thing-ACC finish-PST-DEC
 'Young-Hoon finished building houses.' [YHK_062023]
- b. Young-Hoon-i cip-tul-ul cis-e peli-nun.kes-ul
 Young-Hoon-NOM house-PL-ACC build-e discard-ADN.thing-ACC
 kwutnay-ess-ta.
 finish-PST-DEC
 'Young-Hoon finished building away houses.' [YHK_062023]

These constructions show that the properties of the predicate continue to influ-

ence the aspectual compositionality of the event. In summary, while the properties of the predicate still play a role in composing the overall event properties, the resulting interpretation is telic whether the object in the predicate is singular or plural.

5.3 Activities pattern like accomplishments

The Korean activity predicates *wus* ‘laugh’ and *nol* ‘play’ has the following, expected properties: they are compatible with *for*-adverbials (169a), and incompatible with *in*-adverbials (169b).⁴

- (169) a. Young-Hoon-i han sikan-tongan wus-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM one hour-for laugh-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon laughed for an hour.’ [YHK_122022]
- b. *Young-Hoon-i han sikan-maney wus-ess-ta.
 Young-Hoon-NOM one hour-in laugh-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘Young-Hoon laughed in an hour.’ [YHK_122022]

Activity predicates can form a complex predicate when combined with LV *pel*
 (170).

- (170) Young-Hoon-i nol-e peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM play-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon played (away).’

When these activity predicates occur with the LV *pel*, the predicate behaves

⁴The interpretation of (169b) is infelicitous with the targeted interpretation of ‘took an hour to complete the event of laughing,’ but is felicitous with the interpretation of ‘after an hour, he started laughing.’ This second, available interpretation focuses on the inception of the event, not the telicity of the event.

- (173) a. John-i no-nun.kes-ul memchwu-ess-ta.
 John-NOM play-ADN.thing-ACC stop-PST-DEC
 ‘John stopped playing.’ [YHK.032023]
- b. ?John-i nol-a peli-nun.kes-ul memchwu-ess-ta.
 John-NOM play-e discard-ADN.thing-ACC stop-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘John stopped playing (away).’ [YHK.032023]

Lastly, these activity LVCs can be the complement of *finish*, showing that they pattern like accomplishment (174).

- (174) a. John-i no-nun.kes-ul kwutnay-ess-ta.
 John-NOM play-ADN.thing-ACC finish-PST-DEC
 ‘John finished playing.’ [YHK.032023]
- b. John-i nol-a peli-nun.kes-ul kwutnay-ess-ta.
 John-NOM play-e peli-ADN.thing-ACC finish-PST-DEC
 ‘John finished playing (away).’ [YHK.032023]

Table 5.2 summarizes the changes to aspectual properties that activity predicates undergo when combined with LV *peli*. Activity predicates end up patterning like accomplishments, requiring completion of the event.

	<i>nol</i> ‘play’ ‘play’	<i>nol-e peli</i> ‘play (away)’	LVC aspectual property
for-adverbial	✓	✓	durative
in-adverbial	×	×	atelic?
progressive	✓	×	telic
complement of <i>finish</i>	✓	✓	accomplishment
complement of <i>stop</i>	✓	×	telic

Table 5.2: Korean activity predicates pattern as accomplishments when used with *peli*

5.4 Semelfactives only allow non-iterative readings

The Korean semelfactive predicate *ttwi* ‘jump’ has the expected, aspectual properties. It is incompatible with both *for*- and *in*-adverbials (175a-175b).⁵ Note that the main verb root *ttwi* can also mean ‘run,’ but these judgements are for contexts where the verb root unambiguously refers to jumping. Semelfactive predicates are often interpreted as iterative activities. I would expect those interpretations to pattern like the activities in the previous section. Therefore, I mark some sentences with # to indicate semantic infelicity in this section (instead of *) since these sentences are perfectly felicitous with the iterative interpretation, but infelicitous in the intended, true semelfactive interpretation.

- (175) a. #John-i il pwun-tongan ttwi-ess-ta
John-NOM one minute-for jump-PST-DEC
Intended: ‘John jumped for a minute.’ [YHK_122022]
- b. *John-i il pwun-maney ttwi-ess-ta
John-NOM one minute-in jump-PST-DEC
Intended: ‘John jumped in a minute’ [YHK_122022]

Semelfactive predicates can combine with *pe-* (176). I include the context here to show an example of how *ttwi* unambiguously refers to jumping in the elicitation, not running, to avoid a possible activity reading.

- (176) Context: We heard that John can jump really high. He can jump 6 feet/2 meters into the air! We kept asking him to show us how high he can jump, and finally:

⁵These sentences are infelicitous with the target interpretation of ‘took a minute to complete a jump,’ but are felicitous with the interpretation ‘after a minute, he started to jump’ just like activity predicates. Again, this felicitous reading indicates the inception of the event, not the telicity of the event.

John-i ttwi-e peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM jump-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘John took a jump.’ [YHK_122022]

LV semelfactive predicates initially appear to have the same aspectual properties as their non-LV counterparts (177a-177b). They are incompatible with *for*- and *in*-adverbial phrases.⁶ The events are nondurative and atelic.

- (177) a. #John-i il pwun-tongan ttwi-e peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM one minute-for jump-e discard-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘John took a jump for a minute.’ [YHK_122022]
- b. *John-i il pwun-maney ttwi-e peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM one minute-in jump-e discard-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘John took a jump in a minute.’ [YHK_122022]

And just like English and Urdu semelfactive predicates combined with a light verb, Korean LV semelfactive predicates can only have a non-iterative interpretation. Iterative and non-iterative readings are available in the regular predicate (178b), but only the non-iterative reading is available in the LVC (179b).

- (178) Context: We heard that Young-Hoon is a really fast jumper. He can jump 20 times within a minute! We asked him to demonstrate many jumps he can do within a minute, and...

a. Young-Hoon-i ttwi-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM jump-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon jumped.’ (he jumped and jumped and jumped)
 [YHK_042023]

⁶An available interpretation is that of an iterated activity, not a true semelfactive.

- b. #Young-Hoon-i ttwi-e peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM jump-e discard-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘Young-Hoon took a jump.’ (he jumped and jumped and
 jumped) [YHK_042023]

(179) Context: We heard that John can jump really high. He can jump 6 feet/2 meters into the air! We asked him to jump for us to show how high he can jump and...

- a. John-i ttwi-ess-ta
 John-NOM jump-PST-DEC
 ‘John jumped.’ (he jumped once) [YHK_042023]

- b. John-i ttwi-e peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM jump-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘John took a jump.’ (he jumped once) [YHK_042023]

LV semelfactive predicates cannot occur as the complement of *stop*, unlike their non-light counterparts, again because the non-LV constructions have an available iterative reading and the LVC doesn’t (180).

- (180) a. John-i ttwi-nun.kes-ul memchwu-ess-ta.
 John-NOM jump-ADN.thing-ACC stop-PST-DEC
 ‘John stopped jumping.’ [YHK_032023]

- b. *John-i ttwi-e peli-nun.kes-ul memchwu-ess-ta.
 John-NOM jump-e discard-ADN.thing-ACC stop-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘John stopped taking a jump.’ [YHK_032023]

Table 5.3 summarizes. The LV semelfactive predicates appear to have very similar properties to their non-light counterparts, at least with respect to their aspectual properties. The only aspectual difference seems to be that only the non-iterative reading is available.

	<i>ttwi</i> 'jump'	<i>ttwi-e peli</i> 'took a jump'	LVC aspectual property
<i>for</i> -adverbial	×	×	nondurative
complement of <i>stop</i>	✓	×	non-iterative
<i>in</i> -adverbial	×	×	atelic
iterative?	✓	×	non-iterative

Table 5.3: Korean semelfactive predicates remain true semelfactives and can only have a non-iterative interpretation

5.5 Achievements remain achievements

The Korean achievement predicate *iki* ‘win’ has the following expected properties. It is incompatible with *for*-adverbials (181a), showing it is nondurative, but is compatible with *in*-adverbials (181b), showing it is telic.

- (181) a. *Young-Hoon-i han sikan-tongan iki-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM one hour-for win-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘Young-Hoon won for an hour.’ [YHK_122022]
- b. Young-Hoon-i han sikan-maney iki-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM one hour-in win-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon won in an hour.’ [YHK_122022]

Achievement predicates can combine with *pe-* (182). These LV achievement predicates have the same aspectual properties as their non-light counterparts: nondurative and telic (183a-183b).

- (182) Young-Hoon-i iki-e peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM win-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon had a win.’ [YHK_122022]
- (183) a. *Young-Hoon-i han sikan-tongan iki-e peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM one hour-for win-e discard-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘Young-Hoon had a win for an hour.’ [YHK_122022]

- b. Young-Hoon-i han sikan-maney iki-e peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM one hour-in win-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon had a win in an hour.’ [YHK_122022]

Additionally, as the complement of *stop*, *peli* constructions are only grammatical under specific contexts where there are multiple winning events. For example, in (184) John must have won the first few rounds, and then lost a bunch of rounds, ultimately losing his place at the top. Without these specific, multiple rounds contexts, the following sentences are ungrammatical. Again, this is showing that these achievement predicates are only acceptable as the complement of *stop* under an iterative reading, not a true achievement reading.

- (184) a. #John-i iki-nun.kes-ul memchwu-ess-ta.
 John-NOM win-ADN.thing-ACC stop-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘John stopped winning.’ [YHK_032023]
- b. #John-i iki-e peli-nun.kes-ul memchwu-ess-ta.
 John-NOM win-e discard-ADN.thing-ACC stop-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘John stopped having a win.’ [YHK_032023]

Lastly, returning to telicity. As expected, these *peli* achievement constructions entail completion of the event, just like regular achievement predicates. In (185), both predicates can cancel the delay before an achievement. Since achievements are naturally telic, this isn’t surprising.

- (185) a. Young-Hoon-i iki-ess-ta (#...)
 Young-Hoon-NOM win-PST-DEC (...)
 ‘Young-Hoon won (# but didn’t finish winning).’ [YHK_032023]
- b. Young-Hoon-i iki-e peli-ess-ta (#...)
 Young-Hoon-NOM win-e peli-PST-DEC (...)
 ‘Young-Hoon had a win (# but didn’t finish winning).’ [YHK_032023]

Table 5.4 summarizes the properties. The diagnostics show that the achievement predicates have the same aspectual properties as their LVC counterpart. Further investigation needed to identify the exact difference between light and non-light achievement predicates since they both are (i) nondurative events and (ii) events that entail completion. To identify and formalize the actual interpretation difference, further investigation is needed beyond looking at aspectual properties. In Section 2.5.1, I present preliminary data, showing contexts where the LV is not preferred/infelicitous, in order to identify the truth conditions of when *pe-* can occur.

	<i>iki</i> 'win'	<i>iki-e peli</i> 'had a win'	LVC aspectual property
for-adverbial	×	×	nondurative
complement of <i>stop</i>	×	×	telic
in-adverbial	✓	✓	telic
entail result	✓	✓	telic

Table 5.4: Korean achievement predicates have the same aspectual properties as their LVC counterpart

5.5.1 Beyond aspectual properties: *pe-* truth conditions

Specifically seen with achievement predicates, aspectual properties alone are not enough to show a difference between regular and *pe-* constructions. In this section, I present a few context pairs that show when *pe-* is felicitous and infelicitous. The contrast is not aspectual, suggesting that *pe-* adds more to the interpretation of the event than just telicity. For example in (186), the speaker has a negative attitude around John and *pe-* is used to express the speaker's relief when John left. In contrast, if the speaker has no specific, negative attitude about John leaving, then using *pe-* is infelicitous (187).

(186) (Negative) Context: A group of friends had lunch together. John had told everyone he needed to leave promptly at 1pm to head to the airport. John was really annoying during lunch and everyone was happy to see him leave at 1pm. Later that day, Fran asked Young-Hoon how the lunch was, and he said:

John-un 1pm ttena-a peli-ess-ta.

John-TOP 1pm leave-e discard-PST-DEC

‘John left away at 1pm.’

[YHK_042023]

(187) (Neutral) Context: A group of friends had lunch together. John had told everyone he needed to leave promptly at 1pm to head to the airport. John left. No one had any heightened feelings when John left. Later that day, Fran asked Young-Hoon how the lunch was, and he said:

#John-un 1pm ttena-a peli-ess-ta.

John-TOP 1pm leave-e discard-PST-DEC

‘John left away at 1pm.’

[YHK_042023]

Therefore, *peli* clearly carries more information than just telicity. In fact, this slightly negative connotation is present with other lexical classes too. In the below example, *peli* is acceptable with the reading where John just needs to hastily build a house (and it might not be his best work) (188), but *peli* is infelicitous with the reading where John took his time to make a well-designed home (189). Again, the attitude around John building a home in (188) suggests a somewhat negative experience—it probably will not be John’s best work and the house might have some structural flaws.

(188) (Hasty) Context: John is a builder. He has too many projects going on at once and he just needs to quickly knock out a few projects. One project is to build a house. He decided to quickly build the house so he can check it

off his project list.

John-i cip-ul cis-e peli-ess-ta
John-NOM house-ACC build-e discard-PST-DEC
'John built away a house.'
[YHK.042023]

- (189) (Neutral) Context: John is an expert builder. He takes his time and does everything very well. He signed a contract to build a house; and he took his time and built a really well-built house:

#John-i cip-ul cis-e peli-ess-ta
John-NOM house-ACC build-e discard-PST-DEC
'John built away a house.'
[YHK.042023]

This contribution of *peli* has been noted by Cho & Whitman 2020, but needs to be further investigated. As a light verb, *peli* clearly affects more than just the aspectual properties of the event.

5.6 Generalizations

In summary, LV *peli* affects the telicity of the predicate it occurs with. When combined with *peli*, some accomplishment predicates pattern like achievements (*depending on the properties of the predicate, see Section 5.2.1), activity predicates end up like accomplishments, and semelfactive predicates end up only having a non-iterative interpretation. Achievement predicates remain achievement predicates, and as noted in the above section, investigation beyond aspectual properties is needed to capture the pragmatic effects of *peli*. Table 5.5 summarizes the changes to aspectual properties across the lexical classes.

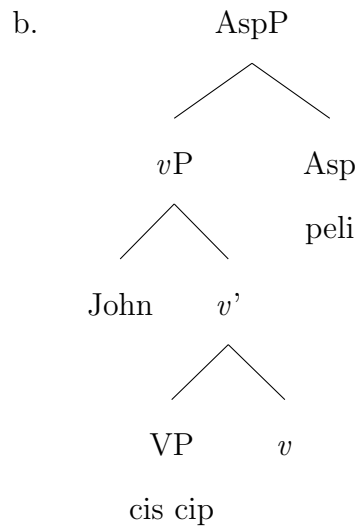
Lexical class	+LV	Change in aspectual property
activity	<i>wus-e peli</i> ‘laugh’	atelic → telic
semelfactive	<i>ttwi-e peli</i> ‘jump’	iterative → non-iterative
accomplishment	<i>cip cis-e peli</i> ‘build a house’	durative → non-durative*
achievement	<i>iki-e peli</i> ‘win’	

Table 5.5: Summary of LV effect on interpretation for each lexical class.

5.7 Putting it all together

The structure for Korean light verb complex predicates is presented in Chapter 2. While the more canonical light verb in Korean—*ha* ‘do’—remains low in the VP, *pel* is situated in an aspect head above the *v*P, as shown in (190b).

- (190) a. John-i cip-ul cis-e peli-ess-ta
 John-NOM house-ACC build-e discard-PST-DEC
 ‘John built away a house.’



5.7.1 The aspect head

In Chapters 3–4, we saw that English light verbs *take* and *give* and Urdu LV *le* output a telic Event. I showed how the telicizing effect of the English and Urdu LVs can be captured with the adoption of an Inner Aspect function from Diesing 2000. A simple extension of this analysis for Korean LV *pe is able to capture the LV’s aspectual effects, albeit from a higher functional head in Korean. The Aspect function (191) has two parts. The first conjunct removes the possibility of an iterative event and the second conjunct modifies the event argument by determining what is the contextually minimal event of the predicate.*

$$(191) \quad \llbracket \text{Asp} \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda e [P(e) \wedge \neg \exists e' [e < e' \wedge P(e')]] \wedge \text{Small}(P)(e)]$$

The aspectual changes to semelfactive predicates is straightforward. The function, specifically the first conjunct, removes the possibility for an iterative interpretation of the predicate. For example, the predicate *jump* could only refer to a single, non-iterative instance of jumping. The aspect function correctly outputs the interpretation here.

The aspectual changes to activity and accomplishment predicates is achieved through the use of $\text{Small}(P)$. Activity predicates, like *laugh*, end up with a telic interpretation. The Small function captures this by requiring the event of *laughing* to be the contextually smallest instance of that event, thus requiring an endpoint. By adding an endpoint to an activity, the result is an accomplishment interpretation, which matches the diagnostics in Section 5.3. Similarly for accomplishments like *build a house*, the $\text{Small}(P)$ function requires the output to be the contextually smallest instance of building a house. This requires that the event be telic (which accomplishments already are), and also requires that the building event take the

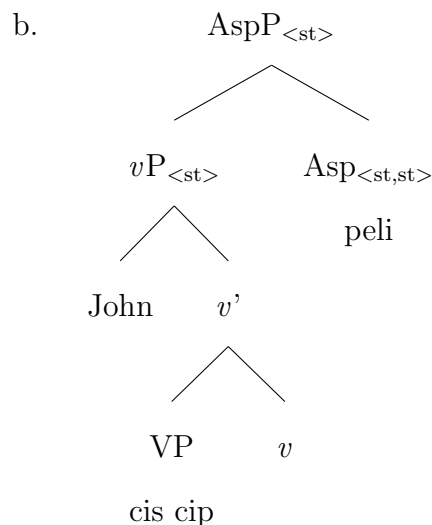
shortest amount of time possible.

Lastly, achievement predicates do not change their aspectual properties. Achievement predicates like *win* are already punctual events, and so will remain the same when put through $\text{Small}(P)$. Like semelfactive predicates, an achievement will maintain only a non-iterative interpretation when in a light verb construction with *pele*.

The derivation in 192 shows how the light verb, situated in a high aspect head, takes the vP predicate as its input, modifies the event argument of the predicate, and outputs a predicate. The corresponding structure is shown in (193b).

- (192) a. $[[vP]] = \lambda e[\text{Agent}(e, \text{John}) \wedge \text{build}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, \text{house})]$
 b. $[[\text{pele}]] = \lambda P \lambda e[P(e) \wedge \neg \exists e'[e < e' \wedge P(e')]] \wedge \text{Small}(P)(e)$
 c. $[[\text{AspP}]] = \lambda e[vP(e) \wedge \neg \exists e'[e < e' \wedge vP(e')]] \wedge \text{Small}(vP)(e)$

- (193) a. John-i cip-ul cis-e pele-ess-ta
 John-NOM house-ACC build-e discard-PST-DEC
 'John built (away) a house.'
[YHK_122022]



This captures the aspectual effect of *pele*. As shown in Section 5.5.1, *pele* also contributes information about the (negative) speaker’s attitude about the event. This additional effect is not present in the English or Urdu light verb constructions in Chapters 3–4. I leave the task of building this additional information into the analysis to future steps, but do want to highlight the connection between this additional attitude information and the position of *pele* in the structure. Compared to other light verbs, including within Korean, *pele* sits quite high in the structure. The other light verbs looked at in this dissertation all remain lower than *vP*, within the First Phase of the event (see Ramchand 2008). In other words, *pele* is the only light verb looked at in this dissertation that is introduced after the external argument. This allows *pele* to access the external argument in a way that lower light verbs cannot. English light verbs are introduced as main verbs, and thus are too low to access or affect the Agent argument in any way. The Urdu LV *le* is in an (Inner) Aspect head, but is still below the *v*/Voice head that introduces the external argument. The higher position of *pele* pairs well with its ability to convey information about the agent of an event.

5.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, most of the properties presented by *pele* can be accounted for with a complex denotation, originally proposed by Diesing 2000 for Yiddish LVCs. More work is needed to consider the non-aspectual effects of *pele*.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Summary

This dissertation investigated how light verbs contribute to event structure across three, typologically different languages: English, Hindi-Urdu, and Korean. I first showed that light verbs across the three languages vary in their structural position and function. English light verbs *take* and *give* remain low in the structure, in VP, while the Hindi-Urdu light verb *le* ‘take’ occupies an intermediary (Inner) Aspect head just below the head that introduces the external argument, *vP*. The Korean light verb *pe-* sits even higher in the structure, in an aspect head above *vP*. This structural variation is reflected in the effect that the light verbs have on the lexical aspect of the predicate. Light verbs in all three languages make the event telic, regardless of the type of event the light verb combines with. The effect on each lexical class is distinct: accomplishment predicates become achievements (or remain accomplishments, depending on the properties of the predicate), activity predicates become telic, semelfactive predicates only can have the non-iterative interpretation, and achievement predicates don’t have any aspectual change. These changes are consistent across the languages. In Korean, the LV *pe-* provides additional information about the speaker’s attitude about the event.

6.2 An emerging typology of LV event structure

The overarching generalization made in this dissertation is that a light verb makes events telic, regardless of the aspectual properties of the predicate it combines

with—at least the light verbs investigated in this dissertation. Interestingly, this telicizing effect is achieved through slightly different mechanisms. In English, the LV remains low and appears to just require the projection of an Inner Aspect head that modifies the event. In Urdu, the Lv is a realization of that Inner Aspect head. In Korea, this aspect function appears much higher in the structure, above *vP*. So while the effect is consistent across the languages, the ways in which each language achieves the desired effect is different. I would expect more variation to be found, if a large cross-linguistic investigation was to be done.

Descriptively, there is also an interesting relationship between the main verb and light verb in these languages. While verbs can often denote multiple lexical classes when given the right context (*run* as an activity versus *run a mile* as an accomplishment), the most common usage of the main verb counterparts appear to be achievements or accomplishments. For example, the English main verbs *take* and *give* often denote achievements—(194) are telic, non-durative events. It is perhaps a relevant connection that, as light verbs, *take* and *give* make events telic. While the light verbs don't retain lexical semantic or thematic information from their main verb counterparts, they perhaps retain the aspectual information.

- (194) a. She took a cookie from the cookie jar.
b. They gave a book back to the library.

This is also seen in the Urdu LV *le* 'take' and the Korean LV *pe-* 'discard.' As main verbs, these verbs tend to denote accomplishment or achievement predicates (195). It is perhaps, then, a descriptive generalization that, as light verbs, *le* and *pe-* have similar aspectual properties, making the even telic.

- (195) a. Sana=ne cookie jar=se cookie li.
 Sana=ERG cooke jar=INS cookie.NOM take.PERF
 ‘Sana took a cookie from the cookie jar.’ [Urdu; SK.032023]
- b. Young-Hoon-i chayk-ul peli-ess-ta
 Young-Hoon-NOM book-ACC discard-PST-DEC
 ‘Young-Hoon discarded a book.’ [Korean; YHK.032023]

This feels reminiscent of historical generalizations in the literature. Butt & Ramchand 2005 propose that LVs in Hindi-Urdu are actually at an interesting step in a grammaticalization process. If LVs are main verbs that have lost their lexical semantics and thematic structure, then perhaps they still maintain the aspectual properties of their main verbs.

6.3 A few notes

To close, I want to note a few things for future research on this topic.

6.3.1 Chapter 2: Light verbs and cross-linguistic structural variation

The initial generalization used as the foundation for the English LV section was that LVs only select for indefinite DPs. As noted in a footnote, this is not always true. Sometimes, LVs can take DPs with various properties: *She took such a big sigh*, *That walk you took yesterday was long*, etc. While I don’t think this poses major threats to the analysis I presented, it’s at least worth noting that the selection property has more to do with the noun being zero-derived and less

to do with the DP. This connects with the compositionality of these events—the aspectual properties of an event are determined compositionally by the parts of the predicate. How might variation in the LVC affect the interpretation?

6.3.2 Chapter 4: Urdu Light verb *le* makes the event telic

Hindi-Urdu has a robust collection of LVs. This dissertation only looks at one, *le*, which can occur with all Events (accomplishments, activities, achievements, semelfactives). However, this is not true of all LVs in Urdu (Kidwai & Sobolak 2023). Future investigation into other LVs requires investigation into different selection properties. What about *le* allows it to combine with all kinds of Events, but other LVs have more restricted distribution? Do all other LVs in Hindi-Urdu similarly affect the aspectual properties of the predicate? Do their position in the structure affect their aspectual contribution, like in Korean?

6.3.3 Chapter 5: Korean light verb *pe-* makes the event telic (and more)

The obvious next step here, I believe, is to further investigate the pragmatic information about the speaker’s attitude that *pe-* provides. Future work could consider whether this effect is still present when the agent is removed, such as in passive or middle constructions.

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