

DERIVING WORD ORDER IN CODE-SWITCHING:
FEATURE INHERITANCE AND LIGHT VERBS

by

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ABSTRACTDERIVING WORD ORDER IN CODE-SWITCHING:
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This dissertation investigates code-switching (CS), the concurrent use of more than one language in conversation, commonly observed in bilingual speech. Assuming that code-switching is subject to universal principles, just like monolingual grammar, the dissertation provides a principled account of code-switching, with particular emphasis on OV~VO variation in two typologically similar language pairs, Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual speech.

Taking the view into consideration that linguistic variation is a result of variation in the domain of *functional* categories rather than lexical roots (e.g., Borer 1984; Chomsky 1995), the role of light verbs in word order in code-switching is further investigated and tested against Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual speakers' introspective judgments of the code-switching patterns presented to them in the form of a questionnaire.

The results provide strong evidence indicating that the distinction between lexical and functional or light verbs play a major role in deriving different word order, OV and VO in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, respectively, supporting the hypothesis that parametric variation is attributed to differences in the features of a functional category in the

lexicon. In particular, the explanation pursued in this dissertation is based on *feature inheritance*, proposed in recent developments the Minimalist Program. To account for OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, feature inheritance, primarily proposed for the C-T domain by Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2008), is extended to the ν -ASP domain, thereby developing it into a full-fledged mechanism for the two phases, C and ν , of the clause. Two principles of feature inheritance (*feature selection* and *feature expiration*) and three operational rules (*earliness*, *economy*, and *multiple agree under antisymmetry*) are proposed to show that feature inheritance is designed to make a derivation proceed economically and efficiently in the syntax.

Based on this, the dissertation presents how head-initial structure in English (C-S-V-O) and head-final structure (S-O-V-C) in Korean and Japanese are derived, and argues that the OV-VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching is due to a result of object shift: if object shift occurs, OV is derived. On the other hand, if object shift fails, the underlying VO structure will surface.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A(dj)	adjective	INCH	inchoative
Ad	adverbials	INF	infinitive
ACC	accusative	INT	interrogative
ADH	adhortative	INST	instrumental
ADJ	adjective	KR	Korean
ADV	adverbial	LF	Logical Form
APPL	applicative	LIT	literal
ASP	aspect	LNK	linker
CAUS	causative	LOC	locative
CLF	classifier	LV	light verb
COH	cohortative	LVC	light verb construction
C(OMP)	complementizer	M	masculine
CONJ	conjunction	N	noun
CS	code-switching	NEG	negation
DAT	dative	NON-LIT	non-literal
DECL	declarative	NM	nominalizer
EN	English	NOM	nominative
EPP	Extended Projection Principle	NP	noun phrase
F	feminine	O, OBJ	object
FI	feature inheritance	P	preposition
FOC	focus	PERF	perfective
FUT	future	PF	Phonological Form
GEN	genitive	PL	plural
HON	honorific	PRES	present
HV	heavy verb	PRT	particle
HVC	heavy verb construction	REL	relative (clause)
Id.	Idiom	RES	resultative
JP	Japanese	QUO	quotative
IMP	imperative	SG	singular

SPEC	specifier	VN	verbal noun
S, SUB	subject	VOC	vocative
T	tense	VP	verb phrase
TOP	topic	Ø	zero morpheme
UG	Universal Grammar	*	ungrammatical
V	verb		

Under the assumption that code-switching is not random but subject to universal principles, just like monolingual grammar, the present study provides a grammatical account of OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, which were tested against Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual speakers' introspective judgments of the code-switching patterns that were presented to them via three interrelated experimental tasks. Taking the view into consideration that linguistic parameterization is attributed to the morphosyntactic contents of functional categories, not those of lexical categories (Borer 1984; Chomsky 1995), the role of functional or light verbs in word order in code-switching was investigated in comparison with that of lexical or heavy verbs in the experiment. The two research questions that were investigated in the experiment are provided below.

Research Question 1

- (2) What is the role of light verbs in code-switching? How is OV~VO variation in code-switching related to the choice between light verbs and heavy or lexical verbs?

Under the assumption that the absence or presence of certain features of a functional category is determined by the principles of Universal Grammar, with parameterization (Chomsky 1995: 54), the present study explores how light verbs from typologically different languages, such as English, Korean, and Japanese, are to play a role to derive various word orders in code-switching.

In addition to the role of light verbs in code-switching, this study also investigates various idiomatic expressions in English and how they contribute to word order variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. Assuming that not all idioms are frozen, but syntactically flexible idioms are derived in the syntax while inflexible idioms may be stored in the lexicon as a chunk, the second research question is formulated in the following way.

Research Question 2

- (3) Does syntactic flexibility play a role in deriving word order in code-switching? Are both syntactically flexible and inflexible phrases subject to code-switching?

These two research questions were explored in an experimental study on Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, and the following hypotheses were made primarily based on the results from a pilot study of this dissertation (Shim 2011).

Research Hypothesis 1

- (4) Under the assumption that word order is determined by feature specifications on a functional category, not a lexical category, as proposed in the Minimalist Program, feature specifications on a light verb in Korean, Japanese, and English and how these features are valued in syntactic derivations may determine word order in code-switching. More specifically, the choice between functional or light verbs and lexical or heavy verbs is expected to result in different word order.

Research Hypothesis 2

- (5) Syntactically flexible phrases and inflexible phrases will behave differently with respect to word order derivation in code-switching. More specifically, while the internal argument of the syntactically flexible phrase is subject to code-switching, the syntactically inflexible phrase is frozen and undergoes code-switching as a unit. Hence, the internal order of the phrase is maintained throughout the derivation.

The overall results from the experiment eliciting code-switching judgment data conducted confirmed both hypotheses. They provide strong evidence indicating that the distinction between heavy (or lexical) verbs and light verbs play a major role in deriving different word order, OV and VO in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, respectively. In particular, the explanation pursued in this research supports the hypothesis that parametric variation is

attributed to differences in the features of a functional category in the lexicon, which is the underlying assumption in Minimalist Syntax. In addition, the compositionality of a code-switched phrase, literal vs. non-literal or idiomatic interpretations, was found to play a role to deriving word order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, confirming that the internal argument of a syntactically flexible phrase is subject to code-switching while that of a less flexible or inflexible one may not undergo code-switching.

The rest of Chapter 1 provides a brief background of code-switching (Section 1.1) and discusses various approaches to OV~VO variation in generative linguistics (Section 1.2). An outline of the study is provided at the end of the chapter.

1.1 Background

The term *code-switching* (CS) refers to the use of more than one language in a discourse, which is a common feature of bilingual speech. Bilingual speakers may alternate from one language to another language when conversing with other bilingual speakers. The term *bilingual speakers* or *bilinguals* is defined in this study as people who speak more than one language, and given this definition, there is no distinction made between bi-linguals and multi-linguals. Under this view, code-switching may occur in any subset of the languages that the bilingual speaks, and it minimally involves two languages.

Much of the literature on code-switching has focused on its social and pragmatic functions (e.g. Auer 1995; Gumperz 1976), centering around an inquiry of social motivations for switching. Some of the earlier sociolinguistic research on code-switching (e.g., Labov 1970; Lance 1975) characterizes code-switching as a random occurrence and does not offer an

explanation why switching may occur between sentences, as in (6), or within a single sentence, as in (7).

Inter-sentential CS

- (6) I'm not very much in a hurry. *Nuva noveye na khasoda khmbe.*
 'I'm not very much in a hurry. If you have some soda to offer, let me have it.'
 (English-*Lwidakho*¹, Adopted from Scotton 1982; quoted in Myers-Scotton 2007)

Intra-sentential CS

- (7) a. Right to 104th Street *donde tenia una casa* which were furnished rooms.
 'Right to 104th Street where I had a house which were furnished rooms'
 (English-*Spanish*, Sankoff and Poplack 1981: 35)
- b. Ka-yxxes bezzaf Dyal *generaties voorbijgaan*
 it-must much of generations pass
 (Arabic-*Dutch*, Nortier 1990: 139, quoted in Muysken 2007)

Since the eighties, linguists have attempted to formulate constraints or principles in order to describe diverse code-switching patterns in various language pairs, and it has been agreed upon among researchers that a switch is not distributed randomly in the utterance but rather it occurs at specific points within a sentence, constrained by grammatical principles. To understand what governs or constrains the patterns of code-switching, a number of linguists have suggested various formal approaches to code-switching.

Earlier proposals are best understood as language-pair specific rules or CS-specific constraints (e.g., 'The Free Morpheme Constraint' in Poplack 1980; 'The Equivalence Constraint' in Poplack 1980, Sankoff and Poplack 1981; 'The Matrix Code Principle' in Kamwangamalu

¹ Lwidakho is a dialect of Luyia languages, which is spoken in Kenya and Uganda.

1989; 'The Dual Structure Principle' in Sridhar and Sridhar 1980), and most of them have been challenged by the empirical data offered in subsequent work. More recent approaches, on the other hand, are based on the universal model in which both monolingual and bilingual grammar are subject to the same grammatical principles (e.g., Belazi, Rubin and Toribio 1994; Chan 2003, 2008; MacSwan 1999; Mahootian 1996), and the grammatical accounts offered in most of these studies are claimed to be universal regardless of language-pairs in code-switching. However, the claimed status of universality of most of these accounts has been questioned by cross-linguistic data, and there is little agreement of the precise nature of the rules involved in code-switching.

Nonetheless, the universal approach, in which both code-switching and monolingual speech are subject to the same principles, has several advantages over the proposal of code-switching or language-pair specific rules or constraints. At the theoretical level, the universal model assumes the same underlying grammar for both monolinguals and bilinguals. Hence, one need not postulate a new theory or a set of rules that are specifically applied to code-switching. This sense of 'economy' or 'parsimony' at the theoretical level also seems to be appealing in terms of language acquisition and language processing. Should there be an additional set of rules imposed on switching, a bilingual child who code-switches would be required to acquire a maximum set of grammars, such as his first language grammar, second language grammar and the rule of switching, which may differ from the grammar of his two languages. Even if we do not assume that bilingual acquisition does not involve two separate grammars but one grammar with two sets of lexical/vocabulary items, the view of having a separate grammar of code-switching predicts that the bilingual child's language acquisition is predicted to slow down due to mandatory learning of the maximum set of rules available in his language repertoire. Under these circumstances, it is not clear why code-switching manifests itself among many, if not all,

bilingual speakers. Thus, the universal model to deal with monolingual and bilingual speech alike seems to be a better approach than CS-specific rules to account for switching phenomena both at the theoretical level and at the acquisition level.

The present study investigates code-switching between Korean and English and between Japanese and English, which exhibits a number of interesting features that need to be explained. Due to their canonical word order difference, Korean and Japanese being SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) and English SVO, a code-switched sentence can take, in principle, either OV or VO order, both of which are attested in the Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching literature (Choi 1991; Lee 1991; Namba n.d.; Nishimura 1985, 1986, 1995; Nishimura & Yoon 1998; Park 1990; Shim 2011). One immediate question that arises is how these two orders, OV and VO, are distributed in code-switched utterances.

1.2 Word Order Variation

1.2.1 The Head Parameter Approach

In early generative grammar, word order was stipulated according to phrase structure rules. With the advent of the notion of *parameters*, which may vary from one language to another, it was assumed that languages are parameterized according to the directionality of a head. Heads may precede or follow its complement (e.g., Chomsky 1981; Stowell 1981). In English, for instance, all heads normally precede their complements, as shown in (8).

- (8)
- a. open the window
 - b. on the table
 - c. an argument with Kibo
 - d. curious about Kibo

The verbal head *open* precedes its complement *the window* in (8a), the prepositional head *on* precedes its complement *the table* in (8b), the nominal head *argument* precedes its complement *with Kibo* in (8c), and the adjectival head *curious* precedes its complement *about Kibo* in (8d). Contrary to the *head-initial* structure in English, Korean shows *head-final* structure, in which all heads uniformly follow their complements and reflect a mirror image of English word order. Korean counterparts to the examples in (8) are provided in (9).

- (9)
- a. changmwun-ul yel-ela
window-ACC open-IMP
'open the window'
 - b. thakca (wi)-ey
table top-LOC
'on the table'
 - c. Kibo wa-(ui) encayng
Kibo with-GEN argument
'an argument with Kibo'
 - d. Kibo eytayhay kwungkumha-ta
Kibo about curious-DECL
'curious about Kibo'

On this view, the VO sequence reflects head-initial structure, in which the verbal head precedes its complement/direct object. The OV order, on the contrary, exhibits head-final structure, in which the verbal head follows its complement. (10a) and (10b) represent the syntactic structure of VO and OV, respectively.

- (10)
- a. 

```

graph TD
  VP --> V
  VP --> OBJ

```
 - b. 

```

graph TD
  VP --> OBJ
  VP --> V

```

In a given language, heads may consistently occur either in the initial or in the final position within the phrase, regardless of their category, as in English and Korean or Japanese. However, the positioning of a head may also vary with respect to its complement. For instance, in Chinese, the verbal head precedes its complement, but the nominal head follows its complement (Huang 1982). Similarly, in Dutch and German, verbs canonically follow their complements, but other heads are arguably positioned before their complements in their canonical order (Koster 1975).

One may argue that this is due to the fact that the directionality parameter can be set differently for different heads: in Chinese, for example, the verbal head has the head-initial setting of the parameter, but the nominal head is equipped with the head-final setting. Although the (category-specific) head parameter approach may be descriptively adequate to explain various word order patterns found within a language as well as across languages, it is still problematic. As Dryer (1992) notes, “disharmonic” systems or languages exhibiting a mix of head-initial and head-final orders in fact outnumber harmonic ones or languages with a more rigid word order in the world, thus it raises questions regarding the role of the parameter setting in (10) in these languages and even more generally across languages.

While Dryer’s criticism of the head parameter approach is concerned with the surface order parameterized by the head parameter, which does not seem to be uniform, the head directionality parameter was identified either as a surface structure condition or a deep structure condition in Government and Binding theory. At the surface structure level, the directionality parameter was stated over Case assignment. For instance, Koopman (1984) and Travis (1984) argue that Case assignment is directional, which is parameterized differently from language to language. At the deep structure, the directionality parameter was formulated in terms of the directionality of government (Kayne 1983) or theta-role assignment (Koopman 1984; Travis

1984), which was considered to be parameterizable at the time. Under these views, the head-initial vs. head-final structure in (10a) and (10b) can be restated that the verbal head governs/Case-assigns/theta-role assigns the object to the right in the former and to the left in the latter, which is subject to parametric variation.

Whether the head directionality is parameterized at the surface structure or the deep structure, such parameterization is no longer formulable in modern syntactic Minimalist framework (Epstein, Thráinsson, and Zwart 1996). With the introduction of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), the notion of government, which played an essential role in Government and Binding theory, has been abolished, thus directionality of government is no longer expressible. In addition, Case is no longer viewed to be assigned by a head, but is restated as feature matching between a probe (a functional head) and a goal (Chapter 3). Most importantly, parametric variation is restricted to morphosyntactic features of functional categories (Borer 1984, Chomsky 1995) in the Minimalist Program. As a result, the directionality parameter cannot be stated over theta-role assignment either, since theta-roles are assigned by lexical categories.

Although the head parameter was revived by a few linguists in recent years (e.g., Saito & Fukui 1998; Neeleman & Weerman 2001), it has gradually lost its theoretical foundation in generative linguistics as well as its practice in the field. It is simply unable to formulate the head parameter approach either as a theory or in a theory in the Minimalist framework, in which the directionality parameter was abandoned and a derivational approach to word order has started to bloom, which is discussed in the next section.

1.2.2 The Derivational Approach

With the introduction of deep structure vs. surface structure in generative linguistics, linguists started to postulate the possibility to derive surface structure from its deep structure via transformations in order to explain various sentence types. Bach (1962) proposed the VO order of German is derived from OV via a transformation. This suggests that OV and VO order may share the same underlying structure, which is in this case OV. Bach (1968) extended this idea and proposed the Universal Base Hypothesis, which states that all languages have identical deep structures and surface structures are derived from language-specific transformation. The transformational approach can explain unexpected/exceptional word orders besides the orders of cross-linguistic tendencies, which the head parameter approach fails to describe – transformations may give rise to surface inconsistencies (Svenonius 2000).

However, due to poor understanding of the exact nature of the so-called language-specific transformations (e.g., What triggers transformations? What constrains them?), the Universal Base Hypothesis faced criticism and was not in vogue in the field for a long time. Transformational grammar has become considerably more restrictive and principled over the years, and the idea that all languages have the same underlying structure has been revived, especially with the advent of the Minimalist Program, in which the directionality parameter was no longer tenable.

Researchers who adopt the derivational approach to deriving OV vs. VO order are roughly divided into two groups, one that argues that OV is derived from VO (e.g., Kayne 1994) and another that argues that VO is derived from OV (e.g., Haider 1992). In addition, there are a small number of people who also take an intermediary position between these two competing views and argue that surface word order can be base-generated, as the head parameter approach

suggests, or one order can be derived from the other (e.g., Vicente 2004). However, as discussed earlier, the head parameter approach is no longer formulable on Minimalist assumptions due to the fact that it has lost its theoretical foundations, and the hybrid approach combining the head parameter approach, on the one hand, and the derivational approach, on the other, does not provide any substantial advantage over a pure derivational approach. Thus, I will not discuss the hybrid approach to word order any further and will review the two competing approaches to deriving OV and VO order in the following subsections.

1.2.2.1 OV is derived from VO

In his seminal work, *The antisymmetry of syntax*, Kayne (1994) proposes, among other things, that the sequence of Specifier-Head-Complement is the universal order in all languages, which is imposed by Universal Grammar. He argues that,

If UG unfailingly imposes S-H-C order, there cannot be any directionality parameter in the standard sense of the term. The difference between so-called head-initial languages and so-called head-final languages cannot be due to a parametric setting whereby complement positions in the latter type precede their associated heads. Instead, we must think of word order variation in terms of different combinations of movements.

Kayne 1994; 47

According to Kayne, UG only allows the (specifier)-head-complement sequence underlyingly, and thus the surface complement-head order must be derived from it. Kayne argues that surface OV order is derived from its underlying VO structure via object movement; the object raises to the left of the position in which the verb ends up (1994: 48). He does not specify where exactly the object raises in the structure, but it is argued to move leftward past the verbal head into some specifier position (1994: 48).

According to Kayne's view, languages exhibiting either OV or VO as their canonical word order have the universal VO structure underlyingly, and OV languages (e.g., Korean, Japanese) invariably involve object movement to a position to the left of the verb. However, researchers note that objects may also move in VO languages from their base position in the underlying VO structure. In Scandinavian languages, for instance, objects can move clause internally to a position outside VP even in VO languages, which is referred to as *object shift* (Holmberg 1986). The relevant examples are provided in (11) and (12) below.

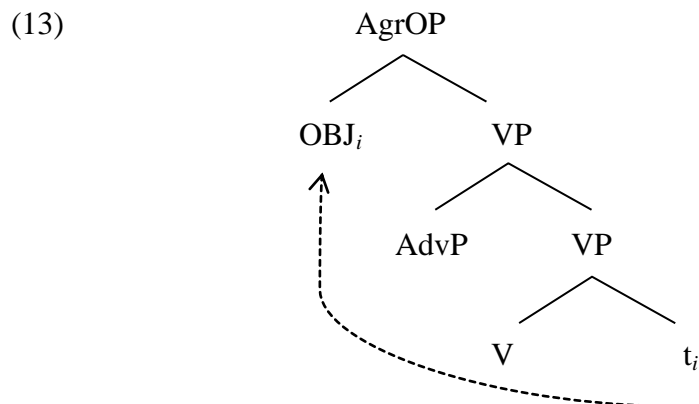
- (11) a. nemandinn las ekki bókina Icelandic
 b. studenten læste ikke bogen Danish
 c. naemingurin las ikki bókina Faroese
 d. studenten läste inte boken Swedish
 student-the read not book-the
 'The student didn't read the book'

- (12) a. nemandinn las **hana_i** ekki t_i Icelandic
 b. studenten læste **den_i** ikke t_i Danish
 c. naemingurin las **hana_i** ikki t_i Faroese
 d. studenten läste **den_i** inte t_i Swedish
 student-the read it not
 'The student didn't read it' adopted from Thráinsson 1996: (1), (3), (4)

In a variety of Scandinavian languages, the full NP object follows the verb and negation, as in (11).² However, when the object is an unstressed definite pronoun, it precedes negation (and adverbs), but follows the subject and the verb, as shown in (12). It is generally agreed in the literature that the pronominal object in (12) has moved out of its base position into a position outside the VP along with verb movement, and the landing site of the shifted object is argued to

² The object can appear between the verb and the negation in Icelandic, similar to (12a), whereas it is not possible in the other languages.

be Spec, AgrOP, a specifier position of a functional projection outside the VP (Déprez 1989; Jonas and Bobaljik 1993; Ferguson 1996; Thráinsson 1996).³ (13) illustrates this.



It is likely that the mechanisms responsible for object shift shown above are similar to, and quite possibly identical with, those responsible for the derivation of OV order from underlying VO order; after all, the object leaves its base-generated position and raises to a position higher than the verb both in object shift in VO languages and OV languages. Thus, the landing site for the derived object proposed for object shift in (13) can be regarded to be the possible landing site for the moved object for OV languages. For instance, the view that the object raises into some specifier position higher than VP, proposed in (13), is supported both by researchers who argue for object shift in VO languages (Déprez 1989; Jonas and Bobaljik 1993; Ferguson 1996; Thráinsson 1996) and in OV languages (Kayne 1994 and a number of ensuing work following Kayne) alike.

³ Under the assumption that a sentential adverb or the negation is adjoined to VP, some propose an alternative analysis that the object in object shift constructions in (12) moves to a VP-adjoined position, shown below (Holmberg 1986; Holmberg and Platzack 1995).

[_{VP} OBJ_i [_{VP} AdvP [V t_i]

However, the structure above, in which the object moves to a VP-adjoined position from its base-generating position, cannot be supported in the Minimalist view; the lexical head V is not specified for strong features, triggering object shift.

Kayne's theory has been widely adopted by subsequent work and the detailed mechanism of object raising has been proposed in the Minimalist syntax in various forms by different scholars. In the Minimalist Program, Chomsky (1995) no longer supports the head parameter approach to word order, but promotes a derivational approach to it. Under the strong assumption that functional categories and their features hold an important place with respect to linguistic variation, the directionality parameter plays no role in the Minimalist syntax. Thus, it was natural for Chomsky to abandon the head parameter approach, and the mechanism of a derivational approach has been developed to a great extent in the Minimalist framework. Especially, Chomsky follows Kayne in assuming that VO is the underlying order and proposes that the OV-VO distinction results from *overt* vs. *covert* object movement due to the strong vs. weak feature on a functional head above VP. According to Chomsky, the term *features* refers to the properties of language that enter into two interface levels, Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF), and the computational system that generates them (2000: 91).

Advocating that linguistic parameterization is restricted to the domain of functional (or closed-class or non-substantive) categories rather than lexical (or open-class or substantive) categories (Borer 1984), Chomsky argues that syntactic movement is a result of feature checking. Under the assumption that only functional categories could host strong features, a strong feature on a functional head triggers overt movement in the derivation, while weak features of a functional head do not trigger overt syntactic operations, thus the movement is covert.⁴

Chomsky assumes the layered VP structure, in which the maximal projection of a functional category Agr(eement)O(bject) is above the VP. The motivation for AgrO (along with

⁴ (*Overt*) *object movement*, (*overt*) *object raising* or *object shift* are used interchangeably in this dissertation.

Agr(eement)S(ubject)) was that objects (and subjects) may agree with the finite verb, as in heavily inflected languages like Xhosa in (14a) or Quechua in (14b).

- (14) a. u-mama u-ya-wu-phek-a um-ngqsuaho
 1a-mother 1a-pres-3-cook-asp 3-samp
 ‘Mother cooks samp’
- b. *pro* riku-wa-rqa-nki *pro*
 see-1sg-past-2
 ‘You saw me’

Chomsky initially identifies AgrO as the functional category that triggers object shift. If the (Case) feature on AgrO is strong, it triggers object shift, resulting in OV order whenever the verb does not raise to a position higher than the landing site of the shifted object. If the (Case) feature of AgrO is weak, the object remains in situ, therefore the underlying VO order surfaces. In more recent work in Minimalist syntax, Chomsky (1995; 1998) replaced AgrO with v .⁵ In addition, strong vs. weak features is formulated in different terms, as the presence or the absence of the EPP feature; while a functional category with the EPP feature triggers an overt syntactic operation, a functional category lacking the EPP feature does not do so.

The term *EPP* stands for the *Extended Projection Principle*, which originally demanded simply that a clause must have a subject (Chomsky 1982). Since the nineties, generative linguists have extensively subscribed to the view that subjects originate as Specifiers of v P/VPs (VP internal subject hypothesis). Under this view, the EPP requires that the subject base-generated at Spec, v P raise to Spec, TP. Chomsky reformulates the EPP as a morphological property of T, its strong (D-) feature, which forces that Spec, TP be realized by raising an element. The EPP

⁵ According to Chomsky, v has two sub-types, v and v^* . While v heads intransitive constructions and does not assign (accusative) Case, v^* heads transitive constructions and assigns (accusative) Case. Under this view, it is v^* , not v , which has a strong feature and triggers object shift. I will not distinguish v and v^* in this dissertation for the sake of simplicity.

feature was considered as an independent feature on T, triggering syntactic movement of a phrase to its specifier position. However, the application of the EPP feature has been extended, and Chomsky started using the term *EPP feature* to refer the property of a functional head that triggers overt syntactic movement to its specifier position in general.

Thus, the contrast between OV languages (*e.g.*, Korean and Japanese) and VO languages (*e.g.*, English) is accounted for on the basis of the hypothesis that while the EPP feature or EPP property on v triggers object shift in OV languages, the absence of the EPP property on v does not trigger object shift in VO languages.⁶ (15) illustrates overt vs. covert object raising, triggered by the [+EPP] vs. [-EPP] features on v . One cautionary note is made here; \pm features indicate the presence and the absence of the features, and it does not imply that features are binary.

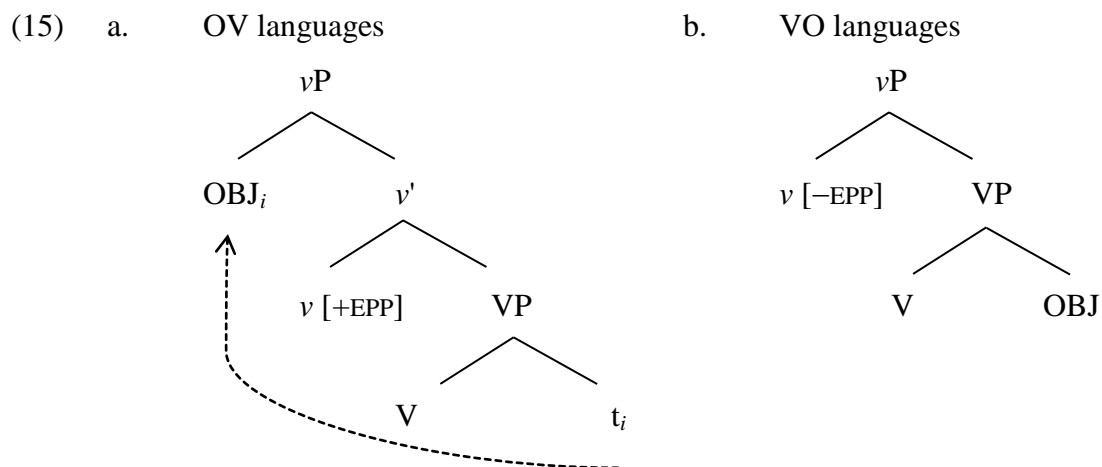
⁶ In all Scandinavian languages, indefinite quantified negative objects move to a pre-verbal position, which Christensen (2003, 2004) calls NEG-shift, showing that VO languages may also exhibit OV order on the surface.

- (i) a. *jeg har faktisk [NegP [vP set ingenting]]... *Danish*
 b. *jeg har faktisk [NegP ingenting_i [vP set t_i]]...
 I have actually nothing seen
 ...og det har du heller ikke
 ...and that have you neither not
 'I haven't actually seen anything and neither have you' (Christensen 2004: 1, (1))

The fact that VO languages may also exhibit OV order as in Scandinavian languages shown above seems to suggest that the EPP property on v may not be entirely absent in all VO languages, especially under the assumption that the mechanisms responsible for object shift in OV languages and VO languages are alike or even identical, as I assumed in this thesis. Under this approach, the key difference of object shift between OV and VO languages is that the object moves along with verb movement in VO languages, whereas the verb may stay in situ in OV languages.

However, the movement of the bare quantified object in (i) differs from object shift, which depends on verb movement, and is generally assumed to move to Spec, NegP (K. Christensen 1986, 1987; Haegeman 1995; Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991; Jónsson 1996; Kayne 1998; Platzack 1998; Rögnvaldsson 1987; Sells 2000; Svenonius 2002). Christensen (2004) argues that this movement is driven by the EPP of an uninterpretable feature [u Quant] on C (more precisely, the Fin head) via Spec, v P as an escape hatch.

Taking these lines of thought together, it is reasonable to assume that the mechanisms responsible for object shift in OV and VO languages differ and the EPP on v is absent in VO languages altogether and object shift is triggered by something else in VO languages. I will leave this for future research.



The vP structures in (15) will be modified in Chapter 2, where I argue that there is the projection of a functional category between VP and vP . I will claim that it is ASP(ECT)P and explain the nature two functional categories v and ASP. Further discussions on functional categories and their features will follow in Chapter 3, in which the nature of EPP and its role in feature checking in syntactic derivation will be discussed in depth to account for OV and VO order across languages.

1.2.2.2 VO is derived from OV

While the view that VO is the underlying order for OV has prevailed in generative syntax, a small number of researchers have proposed that it is OV order from which VO is derived, based on the observations of peculiar properties about word order across languages. Cross-linguistic data show that not only the direct object but also other verbal complements precede the verb in OV languages, while they follow the verb in VO languages, as shown in (16). In (16a), the direct object *Donna*, the indirect object *a present* and the prepositional phrase *to her house* all follow the verb *sent* in a VO language like English, while they all precede the verb in the case of Korean, as in (16b) and Japanese, as in (16c), OV languages.

- (16) a. Kibo sent Donna a present to her house
- b. Kibo-ka Donna-eykey senmwul-ul cip-ulo ponay-ess-ta
Kibo-NOM Donna-DAT present-ACC house-LOC send-PAST-DECL
- c. Kibo-wa Donna-ni purezento-o ie-ni okuta-ta
Kibo-TOP Donna-DAT present-ACC house-LOC send-PAST
'Kibo sent Donna a present to (her) house'

The placement of verbal complements with respect to the verb in (16) can be predicted by Kayne's (1994) theory: it is a result of raising verbal complements out of VP in the case of OV languages, while such movement does not happen in VO languages. In addition to Korean and Japanese, which are typologically unrelated to English, Germanic OV languages such as German and Dutch also support Kayne's prediction that verbal complements precede the verb in OV languages, as shown in (17) and (18), respectively.

- (17) a. das sie jedem ein Paket an seine Privatadresse schicken werden
that they everybody a package to his home.address send will
- b. that they will send everybody a package to his home address Haider 1992
- (18) a. dat Jan _____ het boek aan Marie gaf
- a'. that John gave the book to Mary _____
- b. dat Jan _____ de doos op de tafel zette
- b'. that John put the box on the table _____ Barbiers 2000

The fact that all verbal complements precede the verb in various OV languages can be explained as a result of multiple application of raising to the left to the verb in Kayne's approach.⁷

⁷ Marcel den Dikken (p.c.) points out that the PP in (18b) can optionally surface to the right of the verb in Dutch (and to some extent in German as well). Also CP complements generally must appear to the right of the verb in Dutch and German. The fact that complement-PPs and complement-CPs surface to the right of the verb in Dutch and

However, Haider (1992; 2000) addresses peculiar properties found in German which challenge Kayne's analysis. Haider (1992) observed that the linear order of preverbal arguments in German is the same as that of postverbal arguments in English; in (17), the complements of the verb are ordered with respect to one another in the following order both in German and English: IO (indirect object) - DO (direct object) - PP (prepositional phrase).⁸

If we assume that the ordering of the arguments inside the VP in English is the underlying structure, as Kayne (1994) claims, one must provide further explanation of how this initial order must be preserved after a series of movement operations in German, which is lacking in his proposal.⁹ To account for the same linear order effect in German and English, Haider proposes as an alternative view that VO is derived from OV via V head movement, which keeps the underlying order of the verbal arguments intact after transformation. (19a) is the

German can be accounted for by the object shift-based analysis: PPs and CPs do not have a Case feature to check against AgrO and hence are expected to stay in situ.

⁸ The linear order of IO-DO-PP is also observed in Korean and Japanese in (16) and Dutch in (18). In addition, Barbiers (2000:183) shows that in double object constructions, the only allowed order is IO-DO both in Dutch and English.

(i)	a.	dat	Jan	_____	Marie	het boek	gaf
	a'.	that	John	gave	Mary	the book	_____
	b.	*dat	Jan	_____	het boek	Marie	gaf
	b'.	*that	John	gave	the book	Mary	_____

⁹ There are proposals in the literature to explain order preservation along with object shift in Scandinavian languages, in which the initial order inside the VP is preserved after the object raises. Fox and Pesetsky (2005), for instance, propose a mapping mechanism between syntax and phonology, which determines the linear ordering of words. Such linearization is restricted by two constraints; (a) the relative ordering of words is fixed at the end of each phase (or spell-out domain), and (b) ordering established in an earlier phase may not be revised or contradicted in a later phase. According to their proposal, the fact that the initial order V-IO-DO-PP within the VP is preserved can be explained by a combination of object shift and VP-remnant movement. Although their proposal accounts for order preservation along with object shift in Scandinavian languages, in which the verb still precedes the object after the object raises (see (12)), it fails to describe order preservation in OV languages, in which the initial order starts VO order but ends up OV.

underlying structure, in which V follows all of its complements, and VO is derived from the leftward movement of the verb as shown in (19b).¹⁰

- (19) a. [IO [DO [PP V]]]
 b. [V_i [IO t_i' [DO t_i' [PP t_i]]]]

Haider (2000) presents further empirical data that are more successfully accounted for by his approach than by Kayne's analysis, and in recent years, a small number of linguists have adopted the idea that VO is derived from OV (Barbiers 2000; Taraldsen 2000). However, linguists implement different mechanisms to derive VO from OV, either via head movement (raising V to the left of its complements: Haider 1992, 2000; Barbiers 2000) or phrasal movement (remnant VP movement: Taraldsen 2000). In addition, some of these researchers choose to work in their own framework, which has not yet been widely accepted in the field (e.g., Haider's Branching Constraint and licensing principles 1992, 2000). Compared to Kayne's theory, the view of deriving VO from OV has not been fully developed to the level of a full-fledged theory in generative linguistics, although it might be able to capture a wider range of cross-linguistic data.

1.3 The Outline of the Study

This dissertation investigates OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching having the Minimalist Program as its theoretical framework, in which linguistic variation is attributed to properties or feature specifications of functional categories. Under the assumption that VO is the underlying structure for all languages, the difference between OV and

¹⁰ Haider (1992) allows V to take its PP argument to the right under his own theory, which does not concern us here.

VO languages is accounted for by the assumption that the functional category v is specified for EPP, triggering object shift in the former, whereas such an EPP specification is absent on v in the latter.

In the Minimalist Program, a syntactic category v represents a *light verb* to which V(erb) overtly raises (Chomsky 1995: 315), and the precise syntax of light verbs differs from language to language (Adger 2003; Butt 2003 etc.), leading to linguistic variation, including word order. Chapter 2 examines light verbs and light verb constructions in the languages of investigation, English, Korean, and Japanese, based on which new definitions of light verbs and light verb constructions are made, distinguished from each other. In addition, a syntax for light verbs in these three languages is proposed. While light verbs in English are claimed to merge under the head ASP, light verbs meaning ‘do’ in Korean and Japanese, *ha* and *su*, respectively, lexicalize v in syntactic configuration.

The v -ASP structure for English, Korean and Japanese proposed in Chapter 2 is further developed under the *feature inheritance* system in the framework of the Minimalist Program in Chapter 3. The syntactic accounts that are offered to explain the experimental results of OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching are based on the *feature inheritance* system proposed in recent developments of syntactic theories of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2001, 2008). Taking the idea that the morphosyntactic contents of functional categories are the loci of parametric variation, Chomsky proposes that C and v , which he calls *phase heads*, are core functional categories and feature specifications on phase heads determine linguistic variation. Features on C are inherited by T, the head of C’s complement, via *feature inheritance*, which in turn results in various syntactic derivations. Feature inheritance, which was primarily proposed for the C-T domain by Chomsky (2000; 2011), will be fully developed into a

full-fledged mechanism for both C-T and *v*-ASP domains with two principles of feature inheritance (*feature selection* and *feature expiration*) and three operational rules (*earliness*, *economy*, and *multiple agree under antisymmetry*) in Sections 3.2 and 3.3. Based on feature inheritance, I show how OV order is derived in Korean and Japanese and propose that VO order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching is a result of the failure of object shift, which will be investigated in detail in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 examines previous accounts of OV~VO variation in code-switching and discusses the considerations relevant to the design of the experiment of the dissertation. It will be shown that most studies on word order in code-switching single-mindedly adopt the head parameter approach in its strict sense (Section 4.1) or in a revised form (Section 4.2). Not only have we concluded that the head parameter approach is no longer tenable in current Minimalist syntactic theories, but it will be shown that the head parameter approach fails to describe OV~VO variations in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. At the end of Chapter 4, one existing study that adopts the derivational approach to word order in code-switching is reviewed (Shim 2011), a pilot study of this dissertation. Based on the results and the problems of this study, the research questions and the hypotheses of the present research were made, repeated from (2-5) below.

(20) ***Research Question 1***

What is the role of light verbs in code-switching? How is OV~VO variation in code-switching related to the choice between light verbs and heavy or lexical verbs?

Research Question 2

Does syntactic flexibility play a role in deriving word order in code-switching? Are both syntactically flexible and inflexible phrases subject to code-switching?

(21) *Research Hypothesis 1*

Under the assumption that word order is determined by feature specifications on a functional category, not a lexical category, as proposed in the Minimalist Program, feature specifications on a light verb in Korean, Japanese, and English and how these features are valued in syntactic derivations may determine word order in code-switching. More specifically, the choice between functional or light verbs and lexical or heavy verbs is expected to result in different word order.

Research Hypothesis 2

Syntactically flexible phrases and inflexible phrases will behave differently with respect to word order derivation in code-switching. More specifically, while the internal argument of the syntactically flexible phrase is subject to code-switching, the syntactically inflexible phrase is frozen and undergoes code-switching as a unit. Hence, the internal order of the phrase is maintained throughout the derivation.

Chapter 5 presents an experimental study to explore the two research questions listed in (20), which were tested against Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual speakers' introspective judgments of the code-switching patterns. The experiment includes three inter-related tasks, and results from each task are reported. The overall results of the experiment confirmed the two research hypotheses in (21).

Based on the experimental findings reported in the previous chapter, Chapter 6 offers a feature-inheritance-based account of OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching (Section 6.1) and discusses English light verbs included in the code-switching experiment in detail (Section 6.2).

Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation with further discussion of theoretical consequences that this dissertation raises. After Chapter 7, various appendices are attached.

CHAPTER 2

LIGHT VERBS AND LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

This chapter reviews the linguistic theories that offer an account of light verbs and light verb constructions in various languages, especially those in English, Korean, and Japanese. Section 2.1 presents an overview of light verbs and their properties in contrast with heavy verbs. Section 2.2 explores various light verb constructions in English in addition to those looked at in Section 2.1. It will be shown that the inventory of English light verb constructions is much larger than most of the literature has led us to believe, and I will propose that the terms *light verb* and *light verb construction* should be differentiated and propose the definitions of them. Section 2.3 examines various competing accounts of *do*-light verb constructions of Korean and Japanese. Section 2.4 proposes the syntax of English-type light verbs and the syntax of the Korean light verb *ha* ‘do’ and the Japanese light verb *su* ‘do’. Section 2.5 concludes the chapter.

2.1 Light Verbs

In the Minimalist Program, a syntactic category *v* represents a *light verb* to which *V* overtly raises (Chomsky 1995: 315). What is a light verb and how is it distinct from a non-light verb then?

The term *light verb* (LV) was first introduced by Jespersen (1965), who referred to the verbs in English V+NP constructions with verbs such as *have*, *take*, *make*, *give*, *get*, and *do* in *have a look*, *take a walk*, *make a plunge*, *give a sigh*, *get a move on*, *do a bunk* ‘run away’, etc.

Jespersen describes a light verb as “an insignificant verb, to which the marks of person and tense are attached, before the really important idea” (1965: 117).

Since Jespersen’s original coinage, the terms *light verbs* and *light verb constructions* have been adopted by a number of researchers to analyze various forms of complex predicates in many languages (e.g., Cattell 1984, Campbell 1989; Kearns 1989 for English; Ahn 1991, Park 1992 for Korean; Dubinsky 1997, Grimshaw and Mester 1988 for Japanese; Butt 1995 for Urdu, Karimi-Doostan 1997 for Persian, to name a few).

As their very name implies, light verbs are “light” in the sense that they have little semantic content of their own, and contrast with *lexical* or *full* or *heavy* verbs, which deliver idiosyncratic lexical semantic information to their clausal structure. Examples from English in (22) illustrate this contrast.

- (22) a. Kibo made a snowman
 a'. Kibo made a dash across the puddle
- b. Kibo took Donna to Central Park
 b'. Kibo took a walk to Central Park

The verbs in (22a, b) are lexical/heavy/full verbs (*made, took*), while the same verbs are used as light verbs in (22a', b'). For instance, the verb *make* in (22a) has the meaning of creating or bringing about a physical entity out of something, but *make* in (22a') does not convey this meaning at all. Instead, it combines with the noun phrase *a dash*, and the whole phrase *make a dash* seems to be used as a single predicate in the sentence: *make a dash* and *take a walk* are equivalent to *dash* and *walk*, respectively.

There is a consensus, among researchers, upon some central properties of light verbs in world languages (e.g., Butt 2003; Mohanan 2006). First, light verbs are identical in form to their counterpart heavy or full lexical verb, although they do not have the entire meaning content associated with their full counterpart: the light verbs *make* and *take* in (22a', b') have identical forms to the verbs in (22a, b). In addition, light verbs participate in complex predication, by attaching to various lexical categories such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs. By forming a complex predicate, light verbs may influence the argument structure of the entire predicate or may affect the aspect of the predicate. Examples are provided in (23) - (25) below.

N-V complex predicates

Persian, Dehdari 2006

- | | | | | |
|------|----|--|----|---------------------------------------|
| (23) | a. | dœst-zœdœn
hand-do
'clap' | b. | dœst-kesidœn
hand-pull
'desist' |
| | c. | dœst-œnd'axtœn
hand-throw
'spooft' | d. | dœst-y'aftœn
hand-find
'attain' |

A-V complex predicates

Korean

- | | | |
|------|----|--|
| (24) | a. | Donna-ka yeppu-ta
Donna-NOM pretty-DECL
'Donna is pretty' |
| | b. | Kibo-ka Donna-lul yeppu-e han-ta
Kibo-NOM Donna-ACC pretty-LNK do.PRES-DECL
'Kibo adores Donna' |

V-V complex predicates

Hindi, Mohanan 2006: (29)

- | | | |
|------|----|---|
| (25) | a. | ani aLaweTukkan ninnu
Ani measurement-take-INF stood
'Ani stood for the purpose of having her measurements taken' |
|------|----|---|

- b. ani ammuwin-∂ aLaweTukkan ninnu koTuttu
 Ani Ammu-DAT measurement-take-INF stood gave
 ‘Ani stood for Ammu to take her measurements (for Ammu’s benefit)
- c. *ani ammuwin-∂ aLaweTukkan ninnu
 Ani Ammu-DAT measurement-take-INF stood
 ‘Ani stood for Ammu to take her measurements (for Ammu’s benefit)

In (23), various verbs (*zædææn* ‘do’, *kesidææn* ‘pull’, *ænd'axtææn* ‘throw’, *y'aftææn* ‘find’) attach to the nominal host *dæst* ‘hand’ and form complex predicates of various meanings in Persian. In addition, the argument structure of the complex predicate follows that of the light verb, in which the complex predicate behaves as a verb rather than a noun. In (24), the Korean light verb *ha* ‘do’ attaches to the adjectival host *yeppu* ‘pretty’, and forms a complex predicate. The light verb *ha* may contribute to the argument structure of the complex predicate as in (24b), for it introduces the internal argument *Donna-lul* ‘Donna-ACC’ into the clausal structure. Similarly, an extra argument *ammuwin-∂* ‘Ammu-DAT’ is added in (25b), when the light verb *koTukk* ‘give’ combines with the verb *nikk* ‘stand’ in Hindi. It is the light verb *koTukk*, not its verbal host *nikk*, which adds a beneficiary argument to the clause, as (25c) shows: the dative-marked argument *ammuwin-∂* cannot co-occur with the verb *nikk* alone.

On the basis of (23) - (25), one may assume that light verbs may introduce an additional argument, therefore, increase the valence of their host. However, light verbs may also not contribute to the argument structure at all, but only deliver aspectual information to the clause (Karimi-Doostan 1997). In (26), the light verb (*li* ‘take’ in (26a) and *di* ‘give’ in (26b)) renders the event bounded or adds the meaning of beneficiary to the clause without changing the argument structure of the sentence. Typically, it is the nominal/verbal predicate that is attached to the light verb determines the argument structure of the clause, rather than the light verb itself (Dubinsky 1997). More examples showing this property of light verbs are provided in (27).

- (26) a. nadya=ne Xat lik^h li-ya Urdu, Butt 2003: (3)
 Nadya.F=ERG letter.M.NOM write take-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya wrote a letter (completely)’
- b. naday=ne Makan bana di-ya
 Nadya.F=ERG house.M.NOM make give-PERF.M.SG
 ‘Nadya built a house (completely, for somebody else)’
- (27) a. *Kibo made bibimpop to Donna
 b. Kibo made an offer of bibimpop to Donna
 c. Kibo offered bibimpop to Donna

In (27), the heavy or lexical verb *make* cannot take a goal argument *Donna* as in (27a), yet the light verb *make* in (27b) takes the goal argument, following the argument structure of its nominal complement (*an*) *offer*, which takes a goal argument when it is used as a verb as in (27c).

From various cross-linguistic light verb constructions, we conclude that light verbs may or may not have an effect on the argument structure of the clause, yet they always contribute to the event structure. On this view, it seems that light verbs are similar to auxiliaries, which lack inherent lexical meaning and only participate in the modification of the event structure of their host. However, light verbs should be distinguished from auxiliaries. Light verbs come with their own event structure, no matter how semantically bleached they are (Mohanani 2006). In addition, light verbs straddle the divide between a functional and a lexical category since they originate from lexical elements but do not predicate the same way as main verbs do (Butt 2003: 4).

Researchers have proposed that light verbs should be acknowledged as an independent syntactic category (Adger 2003; Butt 2003, among others), and a syntactic category *v* represents a light verb to which *V* overtly raises (Arad 1999; Chomsky 1995; Harley 1999; Marantz 1997). The *v*-VP configuration provides *v* with a quirky status, a semi-functional category, which reflects the very nature of the light verb, neither fully a lexical verb nor completely devoid of

semantics. The idea of *v* goes back to Chomsky (1957), who introduced it for auxiliaries and modals. In recent syntactic analyses, however, auxiliaries and modals have been reanalyzed as an independent syntactic category such as AUX and MOD, which inherently lack any lexical meaning (Butt 2003). Light verbs, on the other hand, may or may not have an effect on the argument structure of the clause, but they always contribute to the event structure although they do not have full semantic charge as their counterpart heavy/full verbs do. In other words, light verbs remain at an intermediate stage between the full verb and the auxiliary on the cline of grammaticalization (Hook 1974), as (28) shows.

(28) (heavy) verb > light verb > auxiliary > clitic > affix

2.2 Light Verb and Light Verb Construction in English

Jespersen (1965) identified the following verbs as light verbs; *have*, *take*, *make*, *give*, *get*, and *do*, which appear in various light verb constructions productively. In addition, other verbs such as *pay*, *offer*, *put*, *raise*, and *hold* may also participate in light verb constructions (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 296, 1093). Examples are provided in (29).

- (29)
- a. offer an apology, a suggestion
 - b. pay attention (to), a call (to), a visit (to)
 - c. put the blame (on), an end/stop (to)
 - d. raise an objection (to)
 - e. hold the belief

Huddleston & Pullum refer to light verbs as ‘light uses of verbs’ (2002: 290), differing from their heavy uses. To put it differently, a verb may be used either as a heavy verb or as a light verb, participating in light verb constructions. Assuming that heavy or lexical verbs merge under a

lexical category V whereas light verbs merge as a functional category such as v , a functional category representing a light verb as proposed in the Minimalist program, we may extend this view to the idea that those verbs occurring in light verb constructions, such as *have*, *take*, *make*, *give*, *get*, *do*, *offer*, *pay*, *put*, *raise*, *hold*, etc., normally belong to a syntactic category V, but may also lexicalize v in their light uses.

In recent years, however, a subset of verbs forming light verb constructions has been reanalyzed as true light verbs, which represent one or more abstract functional heads in all of their uses. Examples are provided in (30).

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|---|
| (30) | a. | <i>have</i> = BE + TO
<i>have</i> = P _{HAVE}
<i>have</i> = v_{BE} + APPL | Benveniste 1966; Kayne 1993; Den Dikken 1995
Harley 1997
Kim 2012 |
| | b. | <i>get</i> = BECOME
<i>get</i> = INCH | McIntyre 2005a, b
Shim 2006 |
| | c. | <i>give</i> = CAUSE (v_{CAUSE}) + P _{HAVE} | Harley 2003 |

All of the syntactic analyses given in (30) and other similar accounts adopt the so-called the lexical decompositional theory in generative semantics, championed by Dowty 1979, and assume that abstract operators such as CAUS(E), DO, and BECOME, which do not directly correspond to the English verbs, *cause*, *do*, and *become* but represent abstract semantic units, also characterize abstract elements in the syntax as well.¹¹ Thus, while verbs like *cause*, *do*, and *become* are categorized as V, a lexical category, abstract elements such as CAUS, DO, and BECOME, represent a functional category, variants of v in the structure.

¹¹ Instead of Dowty's BECOME operator, Shim 2006 uses INCH, to indicate pure inchoativity, for the reasons argued in her paper.

Assuming that the analyses in (30) are right on the track of capturing the core properties of these verbs as true light verbs, now we face the task of distinguishing verbs like these, inherently light verbs, from the verbs that are normally heavy or lexical verbs but have additional light uses. In this regard, we need to clarify the terms *light verbs*, *light uses of verbs*, and *light verb constructions*, which have been used interchangeably in the literature. As Butt (2003) points out, there exists the great diversity of analyses and terminology on light verbs and their complex predicate formation in the vast literature on this topic. I attempt to provide new definitions of light verbs and light verb constructions in (31).

- (31) a. A **light verb** never has idiosyncratic lexical meaning of its own, but only lexicalizes an abstract functional head.
- b. In a **light verb construction**, the verb may not contribute any lexical-semantic information, but only its complement does. Both heavy and light verbs may participate in light verb constructions.¹²

Based on the definition in (31a), the verbs listed in (30), *have*, *get*, and *give*, are categorized as light verbs in English, which may also participate in light verb constructions (e.g., *have a look*, *get a sense*, *give a smile*). In contrast to light verbs, the term *heavy verb* refers to a lexical verb, such as *pay* or *play*, and they may have light uses and occur in light verb constructions, as in *pay a visit* or *play a joke*.

¹² Although both heavy verbs and light verbs may participate in a light verb constructions, their different syntactic status as a lexical category and a functional category, respectively, will play a role in syntactic derivations and be reflected in word order in code-switching, as discussed in Chapter 6.

2.3 Light Verbs and Light Verb Constructions in Korean and Japanese

In languages with light verb constructions (LVCs), one of the most productive forms involves the verb meaning ‘do’. Korean and Japanese also have light verb constructions with *ha* ‘do’ and *su* ‘do’, as shown in (32), in which *ha* and *su* attach to the Chinese origin verbal noun (VN) *aiseki* and *hapsek* ‘table-sharing’, respectively.¹³

- (32) a. Kibo-nun Donna-wa hapsek-hayss-ta Korean
 Kibo-TOP Donna-with table-sharing-do.PAST-DECL
- b. Kibo-wa Donna-to aiseki-shita Japanese
 Kibo-TOP Donna-with table-sharing-do.PAST
 ‘Kibo shared a table with Donna’
 modified from Grimshaw & Mester 1998, (2)

The Korean and Japanese light verb constructions have been extensively discussed in the literature (Ahn 1991; Bak 2011; Chae 1996; Choi & Weschler 2001; Dubinsky 1994; Grimshaw & Mester 1988; Jun 2003; Kim 1991; Park 1992; Saito & Hoshi 2000, Shimada & Kordoni 2003, to name a few), and a large body of the literature on this topic discusses the argument structure of the light verb, focusing on the fact that the verbal noun that the light verb attaches to may be marked with the accusative marker *-(l)ul* in Korean or *-o* in Japanese.

- (33) a. Kibo-nun Donna-wa hapsek-ul hayss-ta
 Kibo-TOP Donna-with table-sharing-ACC do.PAST-DECL
- b. Kibo-wa Donna-to aiseki-o shita
 Kibo-TOP Donna-with table-sharing-ACC do.PAST

¹³ As shown in (18), *ha* can attach to an adjectival host. However, some linguists argue that Korean does not have true adjectives, and they are in fact verbs (e.g., O’Grady, Dobrovolsky, and Aronoff 1997).

Researchers differ on how to analyze the contrast between (32), [bare VN + *ha/su*], and (33), [accusative marked VN + *ha/su*], which are roughly divided into three groups: (a) *ha/su* is used as a light verb in both [bare VN + *ha/su*] and [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] constructions (Jung 2003; Park 1992, 1995; Grimshaw and Mester 1988); (b) *ha/su* is always a heavy/lexical verb in both [bare VN + *ha/su*] and [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] constructions (Terada 1990); and (c) while *ha/su* is a light verb in [bare VN + *ha/su*] and it is a heavy verb in [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] constructions (Ahn 1991; Miyamoto 1999; Uchida & Nakayama 1993). In the following subsections, we look into each view in detail.

2.3.1 *Ha/Su* is Always Light

Researchers who argue for the light *ha/su* hypothesis in fact distinguish the light use of *ha/su* from the lexical/heavy verb *ha/su* ‘do’, yet they analyze *ha/su* as a light verb in both [bare VN + *ha/su*] and [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] constructions.

Park (1992, 1995) argues that *ha/su* is used as a light verb both in (32) and (33) regardless of the presence or absence of the accusative marker on the VN, and the only function of *ha/su* is to host inflectional affixes such as tense. In order to explain accusative marking on the VN, he proposes that the accusative marker shown in (33) is not a structural case (or Case) but a morphological case under the assumption that the light verb *ha/su* lacks Case-assigning ability.¹⁴ Under this view, the syntactic structures of (32) and (33) are identical both on their surface and underlying forms, and the absence vs. presence of the accusative marker on the VN is not due to

¹⁴ In generative syntax, structural case (or Case as its initial letter is capitalized) is distinguished from morphological case.

their structural differences but may result from the optional spell-out of the case marker at PF.¹⁵ However, the accusative marker on the VN does not seem to be always optional in Korean and Japanese light verb constructions. In (34), for instance, the stative predicates *kyemson* and *enryo* ‘modest’ are not compatible with the accusative marker *-lul* and *-o*, respectively.

- (34) a. Kio-nun kyemson-(*ul) ha-ta
 Kibo-TOP modest-ACC do-DECL
- b. Kibo-wa enryo-(*o) su-ru
 Kibo-TOP modest-ACC do-DECL
 ‘Kibo is modest/humble’

(34) is in contrast with (32) and (33), in which accusative case marking on the VN seems to be optional. Park (1992) proposes that morphological cases are determined by the [\pm stative] feature of the verbal predicate: only non-stative predicates are marked with the accusative case. Thus, the accusative marker cannot co-occur with stative predicates such as *kyemson* and *enryo* ‘modest’ in (34).¹⁶ However, there are non-stative predicates which still do not allow the co-occurrence of the accusative marker in *ha/su* constructions. In (35), for instance, the accusative marker may not attach to the non-stative predicate *tochak/toochaku* ‘arrive’, which seems to be wrongly ruled in by Park’s proposal.

¹⁵ It is not entirely clear whether Park assumes that morphological case marking is indeed optional, for he does not explain why it is absent in (32) but present in (33). Similarly, Dubinsky (1997) argues that the accusative marker assigned by the light verb *su* in Japanese is a morphological case, not a structural Case.

¹⁶ Bak (2011) argues that the light verb *ha* in Korean has two variants, *ha* ‘be’ with the [+state] feature, the type in (34), and *ha* ‘do’ with the [-state] feature, the type in (32a) and (33a), which are generated at two different syntactic positions that are specified for the feature [\pm state].

- (35) a. kicha-ka yek-ey tochak-([?]ul) hayss-ta
 train-NOM station-DAT arrive-ACC do.PAST-DECL
- b. densha-ga eki-ni toochaku-(^{??}*o) shita
 train-NOM station-DAT arrive-ACC do.PAST
 ‘The train arrived at the station’

One might call into question the claim that the Japanese verbal noun *toochaku* ‘to arrive’ in (35b) is a non-stative predicate. In English, the verb *arrive* is non-stative and compatible with the progressive form as in (36a). Similarly, a progressive reading is possible with the verb *tochak* ‘to arrive’ in Korean, confirming its non-stative status in (36b). By contrast, *toochaku* in Japanese may combine with the progressive (or perfective) marker *-te iru*, which supports perfective reading only in (36c). *-te iru* otherwise may support only a progressive reading or both a progressive and a perfective reading, as in (37).

- (36) a. the train is arriving at the station (now)
- b. kicha-ka (cikum) yek-ey tochak ha-ko iss-ta
 train-NOM now station-DAT arrive do-PROG -DECL
 ‘The train is arriving at the station (now)’
- c. densha-ga (ima) eki-ni toochaku shi-te iru
 train-NOM now station-DAT arrive do-PROG/PERF
 OK_c ‘The train has (now) arrived at the station’
 *‘The train is arriving at the station (now)’
- (37) a. Kibo-ga hasit-te iru
 Kibo-NOM run-PROG/PERF
 OK_c ‘Kibo is running’
 *‘Kibo has run’
- b. Kibo-ga hon-o yon-de iru
 Kibo-NOM book-ACC read-PROG/PERF
 ‘Kibo is reading a book’ or ‘Kibo has read a book’

modified from Urushibara 2008

So, the absence of the accusative marker with *toochaku* ‘to arrive’ in Japanese in (35b) may be explained by the stative-like status of the predicate, whereas the non-stative status of the counterpart *tochak* ‘to arrive’ in Korean is less deviant with the accusative marker in (35a), thus it does not seriously challenge Park’s proposal that only non-stative predicates can co-occur with the accusative marker in these languages.

Contrary to Park, who proposes that both [bare VN + *ha/su*] and [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] constructions have identical surface structures, the majority of researchers who are in favor of the view that *ha/su* is (always) light argue that the [bare VN + *ha/su*] form is either lexically or syntactically derived from the [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] construction. In their seminal work, Grimshaw and Mester 1988 (G&M henceforth) propose that [bare VN + *su*] is a result of ‘argument transfer’: the VN transfers some or all of its arguments to the argument structure of the Japanese light verb *su* under the assumption that the light verb assigns a Case to its internal argument, without assigning a theta-role to it.¹⁷

- (38) a. Kibo-ga Donna-ni hanashi-o shita
 Kibo-TOP Donna-DAT talk-ACC do.PAST
 ‘Kibo talked to Mary’
- b. Kibo-wa Seoul-kara shuppatsu-o shita
 Kibo-TOP Seoul-from depart-ACC do.PAST
 ‘Kibo departed from Seoul’
- c. Kibo-wa murabito-ni [ookami-ga kuru-to] keikoku-o Shita
 Kibo-TOP villager-DAT wolf-NOM come-COMP warn-ACC do.PAST
 ‘Kibo warned the villagers that the wolf was coming’

modified from G&M 1998: (3)

¹⁷ G&M treat the VN as a nominal predicate instead of a verbal predicate, which projects an NP. However, more recent studies show that the VN has both verbal and nominal properties, as its name suggests, which may be projected either as a VP or an NP in different contexts (Dubinsky 1994; Sells 1995).

As shown in (38), the light verb *su* does not affect the number and type of arguments, and the argument structure of the clause varies with the VN that precedes *su* (*hanashi* ‘talk’ in (38a), *shuppatsu* ‘depart’ in (38b), and *keikoku* ‘warn’ in (38c)), which show that all arguments in (38) are the arguments of the VN, not the light verb *su*. Therefore, it is the VN that assigns the theta-roles to these arguments. Assuming that there is a strict locality condition for theta-role assignment (Chomsky 1981), G&M argue that the arguments of the VN must be inside the maximal projection of the VN, yet verbal Case marking on the arguments, such as dative or nominative Cases, suggests all the arguments of the VN appear to be outside the maximal projection of the VN, which is under the theta-assigning domain of the light verb *su*. In order for the internal arguments of the VN to be theta-marked by *su*, the VN transfers some or all of its arguments to the argument structure of the light verb, which G&M call ‘argument transfer.’ G&M propose that argument transfer occurs in the lexicon, thus the VN and the light verb form a lexical compound (e.g., Miyagawa 1987, 1989).

Despite the fact that the ‘argument transfer’ mechanism has been widely accepted in subsequent work on Japanese light verb constructions (but not for Korean light verb constructions), the idea that the VN lexically incorporates to the light verb *su* was disputed by further empirical data, such as the fact that the VN and *su* may be separated by various elements such as delimiters and coordinators. As an alternative, researchers propose that [bare VN + *ha/su*] is syntactically derived from [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] via head-movement, raising of the VN to the light verb, at LF (e.g., Dubinsky 1997; Hoshi 1994; Saito & Hoshi 2000). However, the syntactic derivational approach to light verb constructions also faces a serious problem. The view that [bare VN + *ha/su*] is derived from [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] assumes that the latter is the underlying structure of the former. There are, however, *ha/su*

constructions in which accusative case marking on the VN is not possible at all, as we have seen in (34) and (35), and it is hard to argue that in these examples, the [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] form, which is ungrammatical, is the underlying structure of the [bare VN + *ha/su*] construction. As a consequence, the validity of both the lexical or syntactical incorporation approaches on Korean and Japanese light verb constructions is in serious doubt.

2.3.2 *Ha/Su* is Always Heavy

Terada (1990) proposes that the Japanese verb *su* is never a light verb in its uses but always a heavy verb with its own argument structure both in [accusative-marked VN + *su*] and [bare VN + *su*] constructions. More specifically, *su* is a regular transitive verb in the [accusative-marked VN + *su*] construction, and *su* is an unaccusative verb in the [bare VN + *su*] form. The evidence supporting the claim that *su* is a transitive verb in the [accusative-marked VN + *su*] construction comes from the fact that *su* assigns a particular theta role, Agent, to its external argument when it co-occurs with the accusative marked VN, provided in (39).

- (39) a. Takashi-ga atarashii mondai-no shisa-o shita
 Takashi-NOM new problem-GEN suggestion-ACC do.PAST
 ‘Takashi suggested a new problem’
 Terada 1990:108, (12a)
- b. *Takashi-ga hanayome-no utsukushisa-e-no kandoo-o shita
 Takashi-NOM bride-GEN beauty-E-GEN impression-ACC do.PAST
 ‘Takashi was moved by the beauty of the bride’
 Terada 1990: 141, (64a)
- c. *ya-ga mato-ni meichuu-o shita
 arrow-NOM target-at strike-ACC do.PAST
 ‘An arrow struck the target’
 Terada 1990: 108, (14a); adopted from G&M (11b)

In various [accusative-marked VN + *su*] constructions in (39), *su* requires an agent in the subject position, as in (39a). Thus, the experiencer (39b) and the inanimate subject (39c) are not allowed in the [accusative-marked VN + *su*] form. However, the selectional restriction on the subject is not imposed on the [bare VN + *su*] construction: all of the sentences in (39) become grammatical when the accusative marker *-o* is absent, as shown in (40).

- (40) a. Takashi-ga atarashii mondai-no shisa-shita
 Takashi-NOM new problem-GEN suggestion-do.PAST
 ‘Takashi suggested a new problem’
 Terada 1990:108, (12b)
- b. Takashi-ga hanayome-no utsukushisa-ni kandoo-shita
 Takashi-NOM bride-GEN beauty-DAT impression-do.PAST
 ‘Takashi was moved by the beauty of the bride’
 Terada 1990: 142, (64b)
- c. ya-ga mato-ni meichuu-shita
 arrow-NOM target-at strike-do.PAST
 ‘An arrow struck the target’
 Terada 1990: 108, (14b)

Terada argues the fact that there is no selectional restriction on the subject in (40) suggests that the subject is a derived subject and *su* is an unaccusative verb in the [bare VN + *su*] construction. The underlying structure of (40b), for instance, is provided in (41a), in which all the arguments are inside the object NP of *su*.

- (41) a. _{NP}[Takashi-no hanayome-no utsukushisa-no kandoo] su
 Takashi-GEN bride-GEN beauty-GEN impression do
- b. *_{NP}[Takashi-no hanayome-no utsukushisa-no kandoo]-ga su

However, as the ungrammatical sentence in (41b) shows, the entire object NP of *su* cannot raise to the subject position, but only part of it may raise, as shown in (40b). Terada explains that there is an independent constraint to move the whole object phrase to the subject position in

unaccusative *su* constructions; the proposition (or a nominalization in this case) cannot take scope over the verb (Terada 1990: 157). Apparently, Terada refers to the material dominated by the NP in (41a) as a proposition, but NPs are not normally considered to be propositions since they do not have a truth value. Not only is the assumption that the object NP in light *su*-constructions is a proposition problematic, but there is not enough evidence showing that *su* must be an unaccusative verb in [bare VN + *su*] constructions.

In addition, Terada's proposal that *su* selects only the agent external argument in the [accusative marked VN + *su*] construction but not necessarily in the [bare VN + *su*] construction seems to be incorrect. A closer comparison between (39b) and (40b) reveals that not only do they differ in terms of the accusative marker on the VN *kandoo* 'impression', but *utsukushisa* 'beauty' is also Case-marked differently; it is genitive in (39b) and dative in (40b). If the genitive Case on *utsukushisa* is changed to the dative Case, the sentence becomes grammatical, provided in (42c), in which the experiencer subject is allowed in the [accusative-marked VN + *su*] form.

- (42) a. *Takashi-ga hanayome-no utsukushisa-e-**no** kandoo-o shita
 Takashi-NOM bride-GEN beauty-E-**GEN** impression-ACC do.PAST
 (=39b)
- b. Takashi-ga hanayome-no utsukushisa-**ni** kandoo-shita
 Takashi-NOM bride-GEN beauty-**DAT** impression-do.PAST
 (=40b)
- c. Takashi-ga hanayome-no utsukushisa-**ni** kandoo-o shita
 Takashi-NOM bride-GEN beauty-**DAT** impression-ACC do.PAST
 'Takashi was moved by the beauty of the bride'

It turns out, in addition, that (42a), which is marked ungrammatical in Terada, is not entirely ungrammatical either, for my Japanese informants judge it slightly marginal compared to (42c), which is perfectly fine.

In sum, Terada's claim that *su* is always used as a heavy verb, as an unaccusative verb in the [bare VN + *su*] and a transitive verb assigning the agent theta role in the [accusative VN + *su*] construction, is challenged by empirical facts and the lack of theoretical motivations. To my knowledge, there is no proposal made which argues that the Korean verb *ha* is always a heavy verb in both in [bare VN + *ha*] and [accusative-marked + *ha*] constructions. I reject the view that *ha/su* is always heavy both in [bare VN + *ha/su*] and [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] constructions.

2.3.3 Light *Ha/Su* vs. Heavy *Ha/Su*

There is a hybrid approach to *ha/su* constructions, which analyzes *ha/su* as a light verb in [bare VN + *ha/su*] and a heavy verb in [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] constructions. The hybrid approach on *ha/su* has been proposed both for Korean (Ahn 1991) and for Japanese (Miyamoto 1999; Uchida & Nakayama 1993), although the detailed arguments of each view differ from one another.

Ahn (1991) suggests two sufficient conditions for discriminating light verb constructions from heavy verb constructions: *ha/su* is light (a) when the subject bears a non-agent theta-role or (b) when the VN appears without the accusative Case. However, he argues that they are not necessary conditions for Korean light verb constructions. In other words, there exist light verb constructions in Korean where the subject is an agent and/or the VN is marked accusative Case (1991:19). Under this view, while (43a) is unambiguously a light verb constructions, in which there is no accusative Case assigned to the VN *kongpwu* 'study', (43b) could be either a light verb construction or a heavy verb construction.

- (43) a. Kibo-ka enehak-ul kongpwu-hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM linguistics-ACC study-do.PAST-DECL
- b. Kibo-ka enehak-ul kongpwu-lul hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM linguistics-ACC study-ACC do.PAST-DECL
 ‘Kibo studied linguistics’

Ahn adds one essential property of light verb constructions: the VN is categorially a verb, hence it only allows adverbial modification, but never adjectival modification. Under these assumptions, both (43a) and (43b) are diagnosed as light verb constructions, for they can be modified only by an adverbial phrase, as shown in (44).

- (44) a. Kibo-ka enehak-ul culkepkey kongpwu-hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM linguistics-ACC with.pleasure study-do.PAST-DECL
- a'. *Kibo-ka enehak-ul culkewun kongpwu-hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM linguistics-ACC pleasant study-do.PAST-DECL
- b. Kibo-ka enehak-ul culkepkey kongpwu-lul hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM linguistics-ACC with.pleasure study-ACC do.PAST-DECL
- b'. *Kibo-ka enehak-ul culkewun kongpwu-lul hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM linguistics-ACC pleasant study-ACC do.PAST-DECL

For Japanese, Miyamoto (1999) proposes that *su* is a light verb in [bare VN + *su*] and is a heavy verb in [accusative-marked VN + *su*] under the assumption that (a) only thematic nouns, but not non-thematic nouns, can be incorporated into *su* (e.g., *ryokoo-suru* ‘to travel’, *choosa-suru* ‘to survey’, *keikoku-suru* ‘to warn’ vs. **enpitsu-suru* ‘pencil-do’, **eigo-suru* ‘English-do’, **okane-suru* ‘money-do’), which indicates *su* in the [bare VN + *su*] form is thematically empty (Miyagawa 1987) and (b) in the [accusative-marked VN + *su*] constructions, the subject must be an agent (Miyamoto 1999; Terada 1990; Uchida & Nakayama 1993). However, recall from

Section 2.3.2 that it is not always the case that *su* in [accusative-marked VN + *su*] assigns an agent to its external argument shown in (42c).

The so-called hybrid approach to *ha/su* constructions shows that while *ha/su* is always a light verb in the [bare VN + *ha/su*] construction, it may not be the case in the [accusative-marked VN + *su*] form. The unclear status of the [accusative-marked VN + *su*], either as a light verb construction or a heavy verb construction, seems to stem from the underlying assumption in common by Ahn and Miyamoto, which in fact prevails in the literature on Korean and Japanese light verb constructions: the weight of *ha/su* is determined by the agentivity of the external argument. In other words, *ha/su* ‘do’ as a heavy verb always takes an agent external argument. Yet, this generalization does not seem to be correct. The Korean verb *ha* and the Japanese verb *su* are best translated into English as ‘do’. When it is used as a heavy verb, the English verb *do* normally takes an agent external argument, but it can also take a non-agent/inanimate subject, such as in *Yoga does wonders for your health*, *Hot tea will do your throat good*, or *What are those socks doing on the floor?* Hence, it is not surprising that we find Korean *ha* and Japanese *su* also take non-agent subjects when they are used as a heavy verb.

Uchida and Nakayama (1993), who support the split (*ha*)/*su* approach, assume that only the heavy verb *su* assigns accusative Case to its internal argument, not the light verb *su*. Thus, *su* is a light verb in [bare VN + *su*] and is a heavy verb in [accusative-marked VN + *su*]. They convincingly argue that the distribution of [bare VN + *su*] and [accusative-marked VN + *su*] forms is determined by the aspectual property of the VN: only activity and accomplishment predicates are allowed in the latter, while such a restriction does not exist in the former, which results from the absence vs. the presence of selectional restrictions by the light verb *su* vs. the heavy verb *su*. However, Urushibara (1993) shows that there exists also an aspectual constraint

imposed by the light verb *su*: stative predicates are not allowed in the [bare VN + *su*] construction. In Korean, as well, the correlation between aspect and *ha* is mentioned in the literature (e.g., Ahn 1991; Bak 2011), but the topic still remains to be further investigated.

To summarize, there is still a debate among researchers whether *ha/su* is a light verb or a heavy verb in the [accusative-marked VN + *ha/su*] form, which contrasts to the converging view that *ha/su* is used as a light verb in the [bare VN + *ha/su*] construction. Thus, we conclude that *ha* in Korean and *su* in Japanese in the [bare VN + *ha/su*] construction are light verbs. The [bare VN + *ha/su*] construction will be discussed in detail in the following section.

2.4 The Syntax of Light Verbs in Korean, Japanese and English

Researchers argue that light verbs must be acknowledged as a separate syntactic category cross-linguistically, such as v , and the precise syntax of light verbs varies across languages (Adger 2003; Butt 2003, etc.). In the Minimalist Program, v has a hybrid status: on the one hand, v replaces the functional category AGRO. On the other hand, v takes a thematic argument as its external argument at its specifier position, which shows its lexical status. In light of the striking resemblance to the light verb, which is neither fully a lexical verb nor completely devoid of semantics, v is in fact a good candidate to represent light verbs in the syntax. However, there is no clear consensus of the contents and properties of v .

Some researchers use the syntactic category v as a purely abstract term, and do not assume that the projection of v is an instantiation of a particular light verb (Hale & Keyser 1993). Others have proposed different types of v , such as v_{DO} , v_{CAUS} , v_{BE} , v_{BECOME} , which may or may not be lexicalized across languages (Folli & Harley 2004). In the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993), where word formation occurs at the level of syntax, v

functions as a verbalizer, taking a category-neutral root and yielding to a verb (e.g., $v + \sqrt{\text{walk}} \rightarrow /walk/$ (V)). v has been also exploited in event semantics, with vP corresponding to various projections such as VoiceP (Kratzer 1996), AspectP (Borer 1998, Embick 1998, van Hout & Roeper 1998), or EventP (Travis 1994; Harley 1995).

In this thesis, I adopt the original proposal on v by Chomsky in the Minimalist Program, viewing v as a Case-checking/assigning light verb. I assume that v is one of the possible heads of light verbs. In addition to v , light verbs can be projected as other verbal functional categories, and the precise syntax of light verbs differs across languages. I propose that the syntax of Korean and Japanese light verbs differs from the syntax of English light verbs in the following manner.

- (45) a. The Korean and Japanese light verbs *ha* and *su* in the [bare VN + *ha/su*] construction lexicalize the functional category v .
- b. In English, v is never overtly lexicalized (cf. Chomsky 1995: 351). Instead, English light verbs merge under a different functional category, which I propose to be ASPECT.

Details are discussed in Sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2.

2.4.1 *Ha/Su* as v with EPP

A small number of researchers proposed the syntactic structure of the Korean *ha* and Japanese *su* constructions, debating whether *ha/su* represents v or not. For instance, Jung (2003) discusses various claims on the properties of v proposed in the literature, and summarizes that v has three defining properties.

- (46) a. Transitive property: external argument & accusative Case
 b. Verbalizing property: $\sqrt{\text{Root}} + v \rightarrow V$
 c. Eventuality property: agentive/causative/process

Jung proposes that transitivity in (46a) and eventuality (46c) are the dual features of v , and predicts four different combinations of these properties of are possible; v (+Trans, +Event), v (+Trans, –Event), v (–Trans, +Event), and v (–Trans, –Event). Then he shows that *ha* exhibits the morphological counterparts for each kind of combinations of v . Based on (47), Jung argues Korean *ha* and Japanese *su* satisfy all the aforementioned properties of v in (46), and concludes that *ha/su* is a v head (with the EPP property).

- (47) a. $v=ha$ ‘do’ (+Trans, +Event)

John-i Mary-lul ippe-(lul) hayss-ta
 John-NOM Mary-ACC pretty-ACC DO.PAST-DECL
 ‘John treated Mary dearly’

- b. $v=ha$ ‘cause’(+Trans, –Event)

John-i tam-ul mwune-ci-key-(lul) hayss-ta
 John-NOM wall-ACC collapse-BECOME-RES-ACC DO.PAST-DECL
 ‘John caused the wall to be collapsed/destroyed’

- c. $v=$ ‘do’(–Trans, +Event)

John-i swuyeong hayss-ta
 John-NOM swim DO.PAST-DECL
 ‘John swam’

- d. $v=ha$ ‘be’ (–Trans, –Event)

malwu patak-i pancilu-(*lul) ha-ta
 hall floor-NOM shiny-ACC BE-DECL
 ‘The hall floor is shiny’

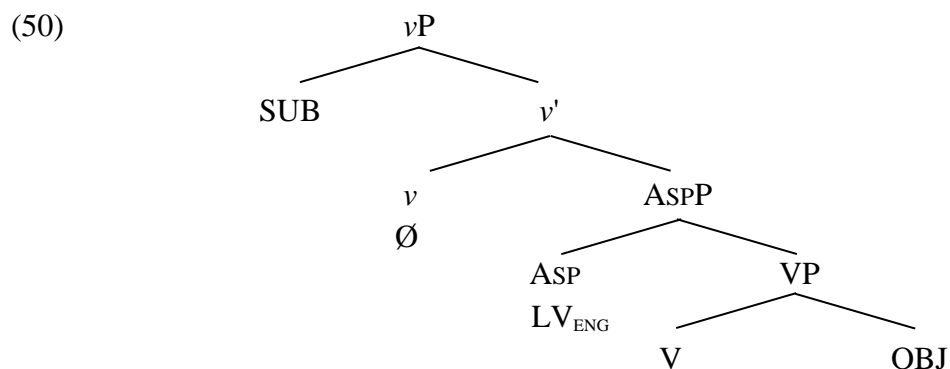
modified from Jung 2003, 427; (8)

More recently, however, Bak (2011) argued that *ha* meaning ‘do’ in Korean light verb constructions does not show all the properties of v listed in (46), but only exhibits property (46a), transitivity. From this, she concludes that *ha* is not an instantiation of v but V as a lexical verb.

In the original proposal in the Minimalist Program, the core properties of v (or v^* in Chomsky’s term) are limited to (46a): v takes a thematic argument as its external argument at its specifier position and assigns accusative Case. Thus, the fact that *ha* (and *su*) do not bear either the verbalizing property or the eventuality property cannot be used as evidence to nullify the hypothesis that *ha/su* is a v head. On the contrary, Bak’s argument that *ha/su* ‘do’ in light verb constructions takes an agent argument as its external argument and assigns accusative Case further strengthens the proposal that *ha* and *su* represent v in Korean and Japanese in light verb constructions. From this, I conclude that Korean *ha* and Japanese *su* in [bare VN + *ha/su*] represents v .

In addition, I further assume that while light verbs in English, a VO language, do not have the EPP feature, those in Korean and Japanese, OV languages, are specified for the EPP property, triggering overt movement. The fact that $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ is specified for EPP brings about the fact that $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ systematically follows the lexical verb phrase, regardless of whether this verb phrase is also from Korean or Japanese, as in (48), or instead from English, as in the code-switching cases in (49): in all these examples, $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ is consistently final.

- (48) a. nemwu manh-un ton-ul sopi hayss-eyo Korean
 too much-REL money-ACC spend DO.PAST-DECL
 ‘He spent too much money’
- a'. *nemwu hayss-eyo manh-un ton-ul sopi
 too DO.PAST-DECL much-REL money-ACC spend



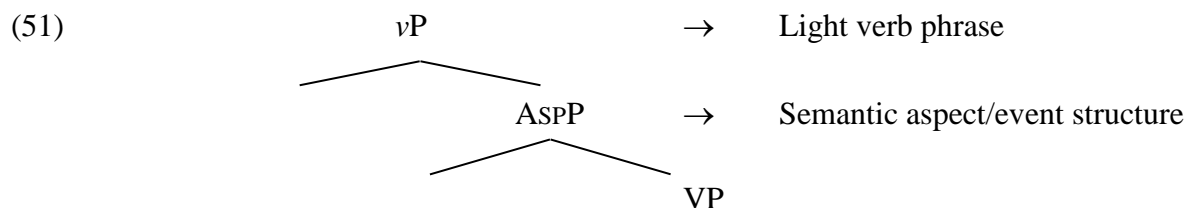
The term *aspect* here refers to the properties of the event-structural organization of a verb phrase, and various terms, such *lexical aspect*, *semantic aspect*, *situational aspect*, *inner aspect*, *event structure*, *Aktionsart*, have been proposed in the literature, referring to Vendler's (1957) classification of verb types: states, activities, achievements, and accomplishments. The analyses of the event structure of a verb phrase used to be typically thought of as belonging to the domain of semantics. However, as Tenny and Pustejovsky point out (2000; 18), event structure has been directly encoded in syntax as well with recent developments in syntactic theory, especially along with the articulation of extended VPs and functional projections and their features proposed in Minimalist Syntax.¹⁸ Though researchers have different opinions about where an aspect node is projected in the syntax, such as above *vP/VP* (Borer 1996), on *vP/AgrOP* (Ritter and Rosen 2000), or between *vP* and *VP* (Richardson 2003; Travis 2000, 2010; cf. Ramchand 2008), it is generally agreed that an aspect node is a functional category of the extended verbal projection.

The presence of the functional category *ASP* between *v* and *V* was also proposed by Richardson (2003) for Russian and by Travis (2000, 2010) as a general *VP* structure across languages. Richardson assumes that *VPs* in Russian *per se* are not an aspectual domain, and

¹⁸ The term *aspect* used in this dissertation is distinguished from and does not concern *grammatical aspect*, which has been referred to also as *viewpoint aspect* or *outer aspect* or *morphological aspect*. Thus, the proposals on grammatical aspect in the literature and its projection in relation to lexical aspect are not discussed henceforth.

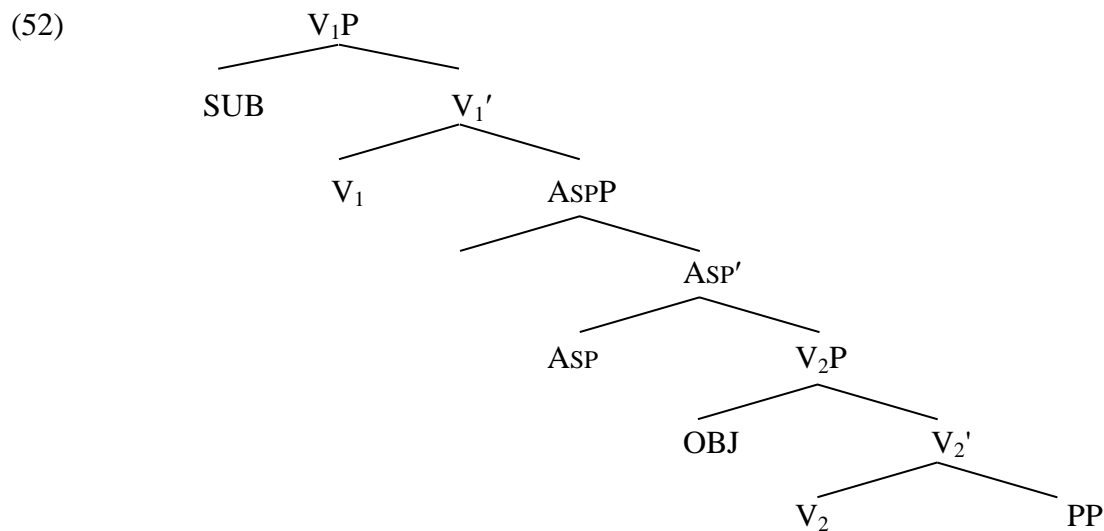
argues that with the projection of ASPP above VP, the event structure of the VP is calculated.¹⁹

Richardson's event structure is illustrated in (51) below.



Richardson 2003; 15

Travis also provides morphological and syntactic evidence from languages like Tagalog and Navajo, in which an aspectual morpheme may appear between the two verbs (V_1 and V_2) in reduplication, and proposes the structure in (52).



Travis 2000; 10, (13)

¹⁹ However, Richardson also argues that there are inherently telic verbs in Russian, and ASPP can sometimes merge in a derivation with a telicity feature whose value is not set, therefore having uninterpretable aspectual feature (2003: 59).

Travis assumes the VP structure is layered as in Larson (1988), in which the direct object merges at [Spec, VP], while the indirect object that is headed by a preposition appears as the complement of the verb in double object constructions. Within the layered VP in (52), there is a functional category ASPECT between V_1 and V_2 . Though V_1 seems to correspond to v , Travis claims that both V_1 and V_2 are lexical categories, following the more restricted distinction between lexical and functional categories; only lexical categories introduce arguments (Abney 1987).²⁰

Returning to the structure in (50), now I proceed to explain why English-type light verbs are analyzed as lexical roots base-generated under ASP rather than in VP.²¹ Aktionsart or the event structure of a VP is not an inherent property of a verb but is normally determined jointly by the verbal head and its complement (Verkuyl 1972, 1993; Dowty 1979; Van Voorst 1988; Tenny 1994). For instance, while *he ate an apple* is categorized into an accomplishment in Vendler's term, having both an initial and an end point, *he ate apples*, with a bare-plural object, falls into an activity, which is not bounded terminally.

However, in a light verb construction with the light verb *take*, for instance, the aspectual properties of the verb phrase are not decided by the light verb and its complement combined. Instead the aspectual constitution of the light verb + complement combination is the same as that of the corresponding 'simple' verb construction, in which the light verb's complement is used as the verb. In (53), for example, the object of *take* is systematically an indefinite singular NP (e.g., *a look, a walk, a bath, a decision*), but the aspect properties of the VP are not constant. In the light verb examples in the left-hand column, the VPs in (53a-c) are activities or atelic, and are

²⁰ Travis says " V_1 , although lexical, is closer to a light verb" (2000; 12).

²¹ The discussion is based on den Dikken & Shim 2011.

compatible with a durative temporal *for*-phrase, in concert with the fact that the corresponding simple verb constructions in the right-hand column likewise occur with *for*-phrases in (53a'-c'). On the other hand, the VP in (53d), an *in*-phrase is the appropriate time-frame adverbial, following the aspectual class of its corresponding simple verb construction in (53d'), an accomplishment or telic.

(53)	<i>Take</i> -LVCs		Simple VPs
a.	take a look at this <i>for</i> /* <i>in two seconds</i>	a'	look at this <i>for</i> /* <i>in two seconds</i>
b.	take a walk <i>for</i> /* <i>in half an hour</i>	b'	walk <i>for</i> /* <i>in half an hour</i>
c.	take a bath <i>for</i> /* <i>in an hour</i>	c'	bathe <i>for</i> /* <i>in an hour</i>
d.	take a decision <i>in</i> /* <i>for one minute</i>	d'	decide <i>in</i> /* <i>for one minute</i>

Particularly interesting here is the fact that the verb *walk* in (53b') can be made compatible with an *in*-phrase by adding an event-delimiting PP in the complement of *walk*, as in (54'). Likewise, the effect of the PP is the same both in the corresponding in the light verb case, as a comparison of (54) and (54') shows.

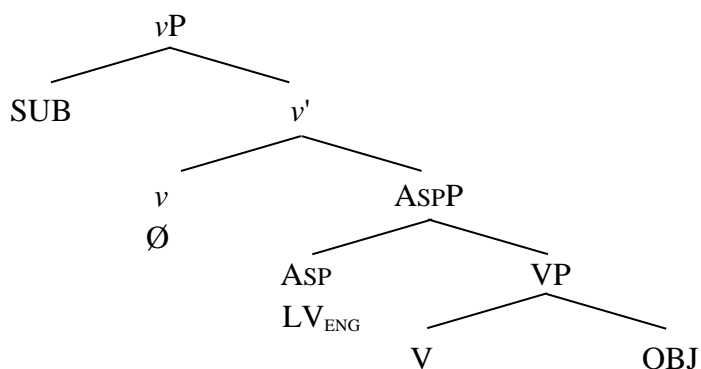
(54) take a walk around the block *in five minutes*

(54') walk around the block *in five minutes*

We see that the aspect properties of *take* light verb constructions are entirely a function of the aspect properties of the nominal and its complement. The light verb itself takes no controlling part in this. On the assumption that Aktionsart is determined compositionally by material contained in the lexical projection of the predicate head, this tells us that in light verb

constructions, the light verb is not contained in the lexical projection of the predicate head.²² In effect, it tells us that the light verb itself is not the predicate head: the noun heading the light verb's complement is, instead. But of course the light verb does have a close relationship with that noun: *take* selects *a walk*. So the light verb must be merged directly with the projection of the noun. This is guaranteed if the light verb is merged under ASP, the functional head that takes the lexical projection of the predicate head as its complement. The light verb itself does not participate in the determination of the aspectual properties. Rather, it lexicalizes the functional head by whose complement these properties are determined. It is this on this basis that I propose that English-type light verbs lexicalize ASP in the structure in (50), repeated in (55).

(55)



The claim that English light verbs are merged as ASP head also supports syntactic decompositional analyses of light verbs in (30), repeated for convenience in (56).

²² I consider VP to be the domain of aspect computation by assuming that VP has [Asp] feature. This assumption will play an important role in Chapter 3 where *v*-ASP structure in Korean and Japanese is developed in great detail under feature inheritance system of the Minimalist Program.

- (56) a. *have* = BE + TO Benveniste 1966; Kayne 1993; Den Dikken 1995
have = P_{HAVE} Harley 1997
have = v_{BE} + APPL Kim 2012
- b. *get* = BECOME McIntyre 2005a, b
get = INCH Shim 2006
- c. *give* = CAUSE (v_{CAUSE}) + P_{HAVE} Harley 2003

As mentioned earlier, the syntactic abstract heads in (56), CAUSE, DO, and BECOME, were motivated by the semantic operators in Dowty (1979), in which they are not included in the projection of a lexical verb but are represented as an abstract element within the computation domain of aspect, as illustrated in (57).

- (57) a. States: BE V
b. Activities: DO V
c. Accomplishments: DO ... CAUS BECOME V
d. Achievements: BECOME V

adopted from Dowty 1979; 123-124

Given that these syntactic/semantic atoms such as BE, DO, CAUS, and BECOME represent abstract elements in the aspect composition domain, which I claim to be ASPP, and the approach that English light verbs are represented by these elements support the proposal that English light verb lexicalize ASP head in the structure.

2.5 Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter reviewed studies that examine the syntactic and semantic nature of light verbs and light verb constructions across languages, which has been discussed to a great extent in the literature. Due to diverse views and analyses varying among the available studies on this topic,

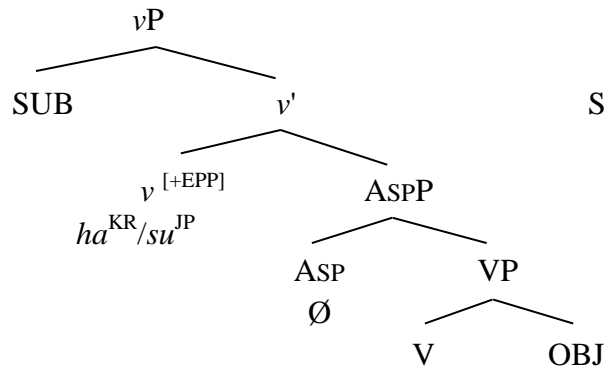
the terms *light verbs* and *light verb constructions* have not been used uniformly in the literature, which needs to be clarified. Yet, researchers have agreed upon the view that light verbs should be acknowledged as an independent syntactic category, distinguished from that of heavy/lexical verbs, and there exist verbs that are inherently light in the sense that these verbs do not have idiosyncratic lexical meaning of their own, but only lexicalize some abstract syntactic heads. Based on this, I have given a new definition of light verbs and light verb constructions, repeated in (58).

- (58) a. A ***light verb*** never has idiosyncratic lexical meaning of its own, but only lexicalizes an abstract functional head.
- b. In a ***light verb construction***, the verb may not contribute any lexical-semantic information, but only its complement does. Both heavy and light verbs may participate in light verb constructions.

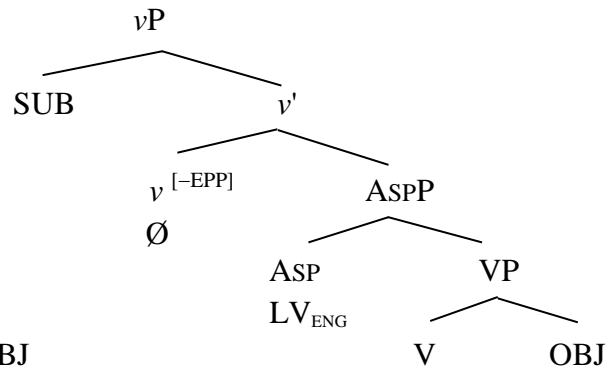
Following the definition of light verbs given in (58a), verbs such as *have*, *get*, and *give* have been recognized as light verbs in English, and *ha* and *su*, meaning ‘do’ in the [bear VN + *ha/su*] are identified as light verbs in Korean and Japanese, respectively.

I also proposed that while the Korean and Japanese light verbs *ha* and *su* merge as *v* with the EPP property, *v* in English is null and does not have the EPP feature. English light verbs are instead base-generated under ASP. (59a) and (59b) represent the underlying *v*P structure for Korean/Japanese and English, respectively, which will be used as the basic template for accounting for OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching in Chapter 5.

(59) a. Korean and Japanese



b. English



Based on the structures in (59), I will develop an in-depth analysis of feature contents of $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ and compare the roles of the empty headed ASP in (59a) and the lexically filled ASP in (59b) in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. In addition, I will argue that language typology is related to the way how the EPP property of features and how these features are bundled together on a functional category on C and v , phase heads, decide typological variation in world's languages.

CHAPTER 3

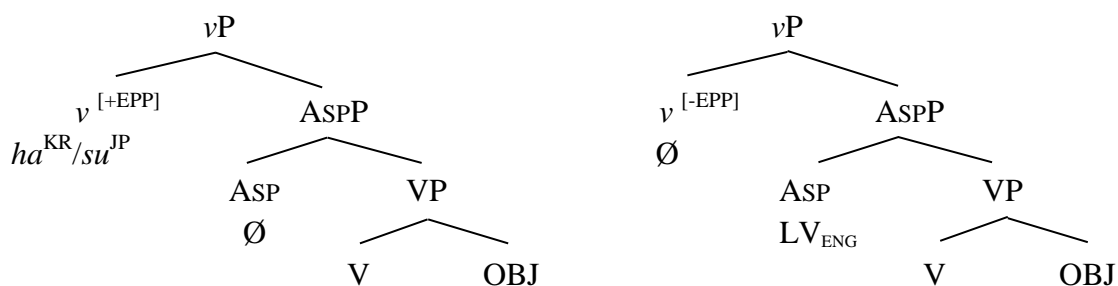
MINIMALIST ACCOUNT OF WORD ORDER:

FEATURE INHERITANCE APPROACH

At the end of Chapter 2, I proposed the structure of the Korean and Japanese light verbs *ha* and *su* ‘do’ and the structure of English light verbs, which are repeated in (60).²³

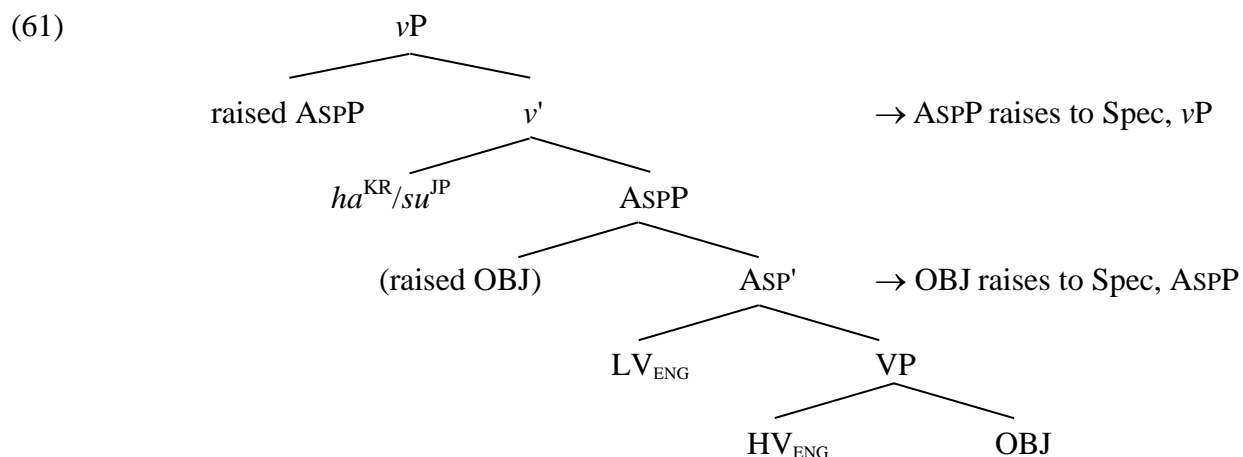
(60) a. Korean and Japanese

b. English



The structures in (60) assume that (a) VO is universally the underlying structure for both VO and OV order (Kayne 1994); (b) v in Korean and Japanese, OV languages, is specified for EPP, which requires that its specifier position be filled by raising an element with a matching feature; and (c) English light verbs lexicalize ASP. Based on (60), I propose (61) as the underlying structure for deriving OV and VO order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching.

²³ The position of the subject base-generated at the specifier of vP will be omitted for the sake of simplicity.



The OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching is explained as a result of object raising to Spec, ASPP; when object shift occurs, OV order is derived within ASPP. If the object stays in situ, VO is derived. Regardless of object shift, the entire ASPP always raises to Spec, vP whenever *v* is Korean or Japanese, and the surface word order would be either OV-*ha/su* or VO-*ha/su* in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. All these movements are a consequence of feature checking and EPP specifications on a functional head, as assumed in the Minimalist Program. Prior to showing how (61) accounts for the results from the code-switching judgment task in Chapter 6, I will begin by discussing some further theoretical assumptions I make in addition to the aforementioned assumptions in Chapter 2 and explain the technical details involved in them.

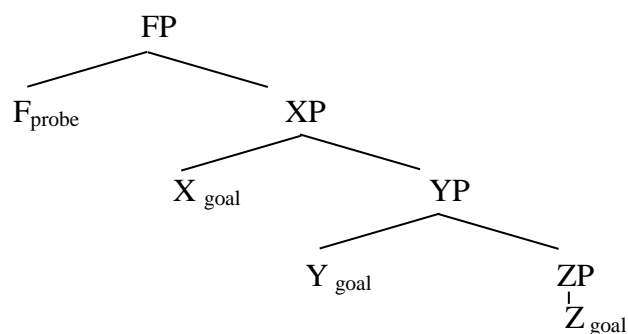
One of the key concepts is *feature inheritance*, primarily proposed for the C-T domain in Chomsky (2001, 2008). I will extend and apply feature inheritance to the *v*-ASP domain, parallel to C-T, and develop it into a full-fledged mechanism that accounts for various theoretical issues such as word order and Case. It will be shown how the EPP properties are encoded in the feature geometry on C and *v* and how these features, including the EPP, are valued in C-T and *v*-ASP

domains are the source for parametric variations, including word order both in monolingual speech and code-switching.

3.1 Phase and Agree

In his recent work (2000, 2001, 2006, 2008), Chomsky further developed the fundamental ideas of the Minimalist Program: syntactic derivations are strongly cyclic and proceed phase by phase, a phase being defined as a syntactic object that is in some sense complete, such as CP and ν P. A phase is a cyclic domain of syntactic computation, in which all (LF-)uninterpretable features on a probe/target P (or a functional category) must be checked or deleted or valued against the interpretable features on the goal (or a category with the matching feature) via an *Agree* relation. Agree removes the uninterpretable features, allowing a derivation to converge at LF in accordance with the principle of Full Interpretation (Chomsky 1986, 1995). (62) schematically shows a Probe-Goal relationship, in which a probe F enters into an Agree relation with a goal in its c-command domain.

(62)



In (62), the probe F may have more than one goal, such as X, Y, and Z, that has (a subset of) matching features of F. According to Chomsky, the operation Agree (and Move) requires a goal that is both local and active, with locality being reduced to the probe's closest c-command

domain (2000: 122-123). On this assumption, it is X that enters into an Agree relation with the probe F. If X is an inactive goal, however, feature deletion under matching between F and X is blocked, and the probe searches a goal in its next closest c-command domain. As a result, Y, the goal in the next closest c-command domain of F, enters into an Agree relation with F. Thus, it seems that the probe-goal relation is one-to-one, limiting to a single probe and a single goal, which occurs step by step until all the uninterpretable features on the probe are valued within a phase level.

However, Hiraiwa (2001, 2005) proposes that a single probe can Agree with more than one goal simultaneously, which he calls *Multiple Agree*.

(63) *Multiple Agree* (Hiraiwa 2001, 2005)

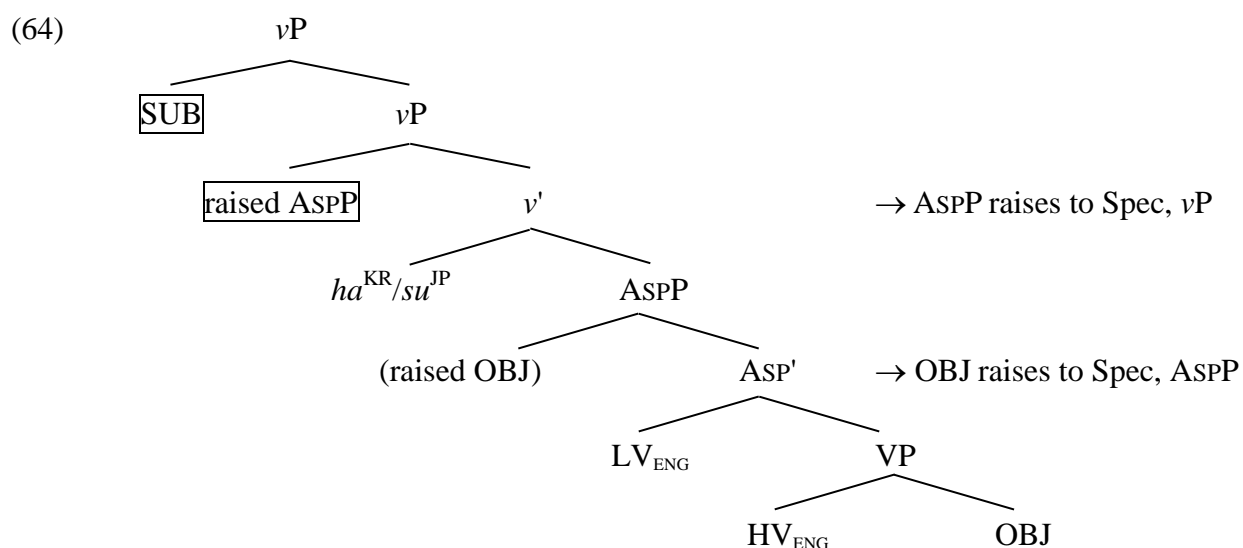
A probe can agree with more than one goal derivationally simultaneously.

In addition to Multiple Agree, Hiraiwa (2000, 2001) also argues for *Multiple Move*, the movement of the agreed goals into a specifier position of the same probe on the assumption that the number of goals and the number of specifiers of a probe are unlimited within a phase level. A number of researchers have adopted Hiraiwa's proposals, and both Multiple Agree and Multiple Move have gained more empirical support (Bošković 1999; Boeckx 2004; Henderson 2006, to name a few). Yet, it is still a point of controversy in the literature whether a single probe can agree with multiple goals at the same time and multiple specifiers of a head can be projected.

In this thesis, I adopt the notion of Multiple Agree with some reservation. I assume that a single probe may enter into an Agree relation with multiple goals within a given domain. However, I disagree with the idea that the number of specifiers is unrestricted as assumed in Hiraiwa. As said earlier, I adopt Kayne's (1994) approach to word order that the sequence of Specifier-Head-Complement is the universal order in all languages, which is imposed by

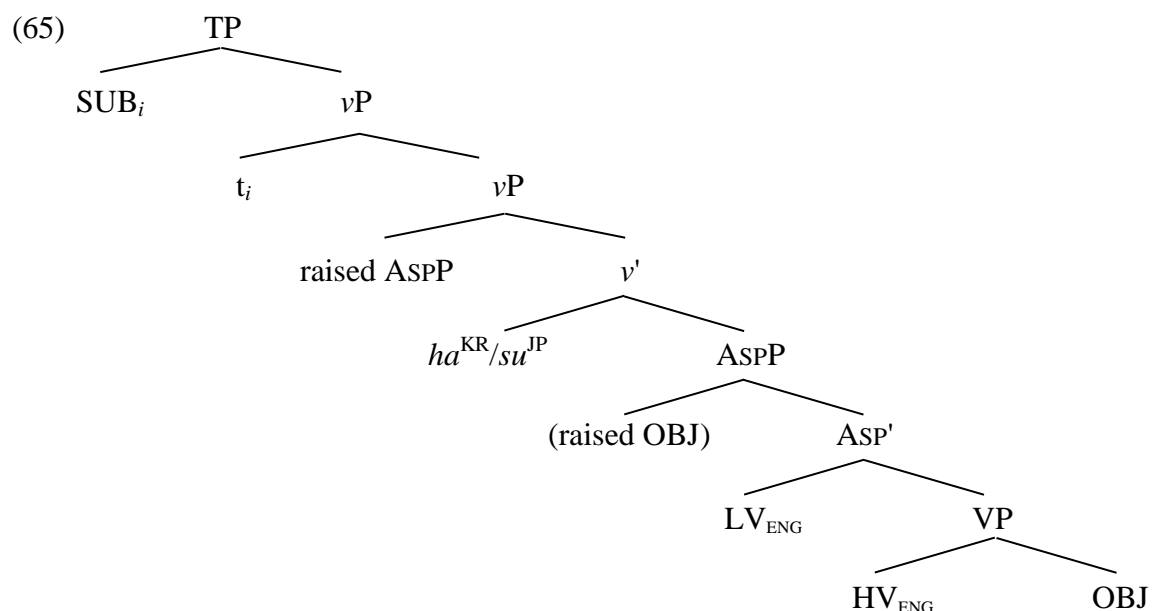
Universal Grammar. This proposal is part and parcel of his Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA), which states that asymmetric c-command invariably maps into linear precedence and word order is determined by hierarchical syntactic structure. Accordingly, the number of specifiers and complements are limited, for multiple specifiers and complements do not yield to asymmetric c-command relations among the elements.

While the number of specifiers (and complements) of a head is limited to one at maximum in Kayne's theory, it has been broadly accepted that Spec, ν P is a position not only for the subject to base-generate (VP internal subject hypothesis) but is also a landing site of a moved element, such as the shifted object or raised ASPP in (64), which seems to be incompatible with Kayne's theory of linearization. How can we accommodate the structure in (64), in which more than a single specifier of ν P is projected, under Kayne's theory then?



Assuming that the LCA is a constraint that holds only at PF (e.g., Chomsky 1995; Moro 2000) and is therefore evaluated at the PF-interface, Nagai (2010) proposes that multiple specifiers are available throughout the syntactic derivation, but this violation of the LCA must be eliminated at

PF. According to this view, the linearization of traces, phonologically empty categories, is not relevant to the LCA. In (64), while more than one specifier of vP is created, one for the subject and the other for the raised ASPP, the subject base-generated at Spec, vP further moves up to Spec, TP in the course of derivation and leaves a trace, as shown in (65). Thus, it does not violate the LCA: only ASPP, not the trace of the subject, is spelled out at Spec, vP at PF.



Based on this, I propose a revised version of Multiple Agree in (66) below.

(66) *Multiple Agree under Antisymmetry*

Only one goal can be spelled out at the specifier of a probe in multiple agree relations.

We will see that (66) plays an important role in the detailed mechanism of feature inheritance to be discussed shortly.

3.2 Feature Inheritance

It is generally understood that a probe must be a functional category. However, Chomsky does not specify the nature of a goal except that in order for *Agree* to occur, the goal must bear a feature that is matched to an uninterpretable feature [uF] on a probe. Here, I assume that the morphosyntactic features are the properties of a head and either a functional category or a lexical category can be a goal. Thus, a Probe-Goal relation is described to be feature matching between functional categories or between a functional category and a lexical category.

Chomsky considers C, T, and ν to be core functional categories (2000; 102), but the probing features (or *Agree* or edge features in Chomsky's term) and the EPP feature belong to phase heads only, C and ν . T inherently lacks these features and its probing and EPP features are inherited from C, the phase head, via *feature inheritance*. As a result, T serves as a probe at the phase level CP. Under this assumption, all those probing features on T, such as Φ -features and Tense on T, are not inherent on T but inherited from C. All probing features on T are only intrinsic to C and T becomes only activated when it is selected by C.

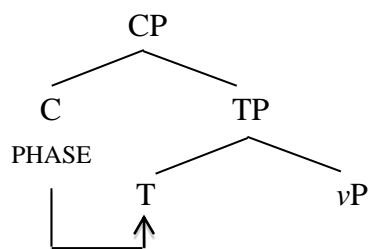
Chomsky (2011: 9) suggests that feature inheritance is a general property of all phase heads and should be at play in the domain of ν -V, analogous to that of C-T. However, feature inheritance from C to T feature inheritance from ν to V do not seem to be parallel; T is a functional category and V is a lexical (or substantive in Chomsky's term) category. Chomsky is aware of this and notes that "T should be construed as a substantive rather than a functional category, falling together with N and V. ... We can regard T as the locus of tense/event structure. The C-T relationship is therefore analogous to the ν^* -V relation".²⁴ Thus, it seems that Chomsky

²⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 1, the distinction between ν and ν^* is not made in the present study, for it does not play a role in the accounts of word order variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching.

offers a contradictory view on the status of T: on the one hand, he says T is one of core functional categories along with C and ν , but he also argues that T should be regarded as a non-functional, lexical category.

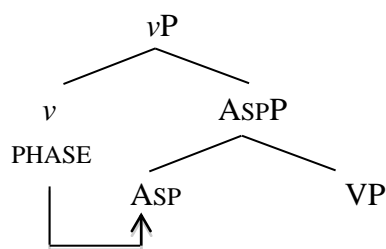
A central premise of research exploiting the lexical vs. functional distinction in current literature is that not lexical categories but only functional categories can be probes and have parameterized features, which reins in syntactic variation, limiting it to the functional domain. The view that parameters of linguistic variation are attributed to the features of a functional category was also endorsed by Chomsky in the Minimalist Program. If we abide strictly by this hypothesis, a lexical category V cannot inherit the probing features from ν and become a probe, unless it is assumed to be a functional category. However, this problem disappears if we assume that the complement of ν is not VP but ASPP, and that the functional head ASP is the beneficiary of feature inheritance from ν , parallel to what is happening in the C-T domain, as in (67).

(67) a. C-T domain



feature inheritance from C to T

b. ν -ASP domain



feature inheritance from ν to ASP

Analogous to the C-T relation, ν selects a functional category ASP and transmits its probing features to ASP via feature inheritance in (67b). All probing features on ASP, such as Φ -features and Aspect on ASP, are inherited from its selecting phase head ν .

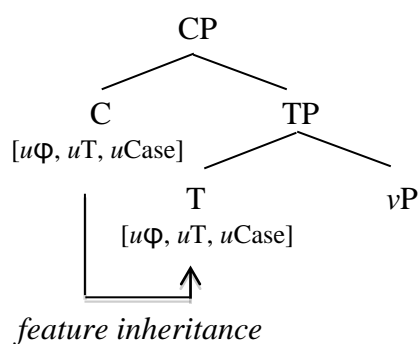
Now we have established a perfectly parallel feature inheritance mechanism between the C-T domain and the ν -ASP domain in (67). I proceed to explore what features are inherited by T

from C and ASP from ν , which turns out to differ from language to language. Also I will show how EPP plays a role in feature inheritance system.

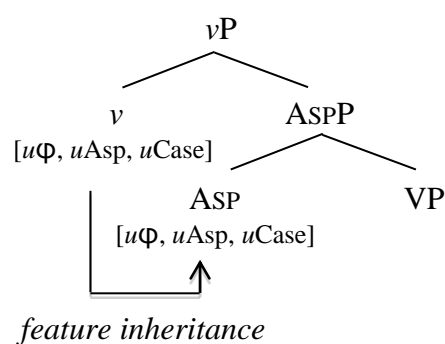
3.2.1 Probing Features on C and ν

As mentioned earlier, Chomsky proposes that the formal features on T, Φ -features and Tense, belong to C, and T is endowed with them via feature inheritance. However, T seems to have more properties than just Φ -features and Tense; T assigns a nominative Case (to the subject).²⁵ Chomsky considers Case to be an uninterpretable feature – the “uninterpretable feature par excellence” (1995: 278-279), and suggests it should also belong to the probes C (for nominative) and ν (for accusative). On this assumption, T’s Φ -features, Tense, and (nominative) Case features are all inherent to C and are inherited by T via feature inheritance. Likewise, I propose that ASP’s Φ -features, Aspect, and (accusative) Case features are all innate to ν , and they are received by ASP via feature inheritance, depicted in (68).²⁶

(68) a. C-T domain



b. ν -ASP domain



²⁵ The discussion of structural case will be limited to nominative and accusative Cases, as in Chomsky.

²⁶ u stands for uninterpretable.

Following the assumptions made in the Minimalist Program, I assume that morphological features on a probe are uninterpretable. On this assumption, all the features on C and v are uninterpretable, including tense and aspect features. On the other hand, researchers have different views whether (the matching) features on a goal are interpretable or not. As will be discussed in Section 3.3.3, I assume that the V head has both T and Asp features and enters into a probe-goal relation with C and v . Although it is possible to assume that T-feature on V is interpretable, Asp-feature on V cannot be interpretable due to the fact that it is not the verb by itself that determines the aspect of the VP (Recall Section 2.4.2). Instead, aspect feature is uninterpretable everywhere, both on the probe and the goal, and aspectual interpretation is determined not by some morphological feature but by something else. Similar to aspect, I also assume that tense feature is uninterpretable both on the probe and the goal, and temporal semantics may be brought in by a temporal operator. I leave further investigation of the interpretation of morphological features on a goal for future research.

Going back to the discussion of feature inheritance from C to T, Chomsky does not discuss what happens when C's features are passed down to T: it is not clear whether all of C's features are inherited by T or features are selectively transmitted to T. Also it is not well-defined either whether these features disappear from C after they are discharged to T or they remain active on C. To fill in these blanks, I propose two principles regulating how feature inheritance takes place from C to T and v to ASP.

(69) Principles of Feature Inheritance²⁷a. *Feature Selection*

Features may be selectively inherited.

b. *Feature Expiration*

Inherited features are only active on the heir (T, ASP) and lose their probing capability on the donor (C, *v*).

The empirical evidence to support *feature selection* in (69a) comes from the fact that not all features of C are passed down to T (*contra* Richards 2007); for instance, C's *wh*-feature is never acquired by T but remains on C. *Feature expiration* in (69b), on the other hand, may not be easy to prove on the bases of empirical evidence at this point. However, it is conceptually required for syntactic computation, and I will explain why such is the case.²⁸

For instance, when feature inheritance occurs from C to T, all of C's features may be inherited by T, including its tense feature. In such a case, none of the features remain active as probing features on C, and all of C's features, [$u\Phi$, uT , $uCase$], are valued via a Probe-Goal relationship between T and a goal or multiple goals via Multiple Agree. Nonetheless, these features are not depleted in C. After all, C is itself specified for tense and gets a vocabulary item inserted under it depending on its specification for tense – for instance, in English finite C is lexicalized as *that* and infinitival C is spelled out as *for*, as in (70).²⁹

- (70) a. Kibo expected that Donna would go
 b. Kibo expected for Donna to go

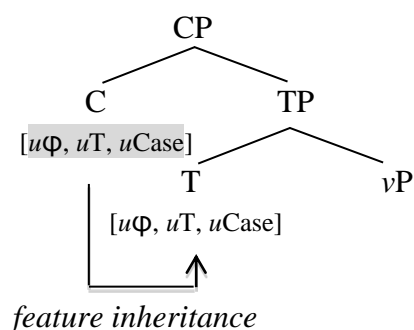
²⁷ The Principles of Feature Inheritance will be discussed further in Section 3.3.3.

²⁸ I assume that syntactic structure building is a bottom-up process in a familiar fashion and consists of Merge and Move as proposed in the Minimalist Program.

²⁹ I assume that finite C has [$u\phi$, uT , $uCase$] and non-finite C has [$u\phi$, $uCase$] only.

Moreover, the matrix verb can select for the finiteness/tense of its CP complement, which strongly suggests the tense feature is present on C even after feature inheritance (den Dikken p.c.). Thus, it seems that features that are inherited by T from C may be still present on C. However, they are no longer in need of being valued. If they were, valuation would be reflexive (the features on C that are inherited by T would be valued against the features on T, which are T's own features). In other words, once probing features are transferred from a phase head to the head of its complement, they no longer act as probing features; their probing capability expires on the donor. By contrast, features that do not transmit from a phase head to the head of its complement retain their probing ability on the donor. (71) schematically illustrates this.

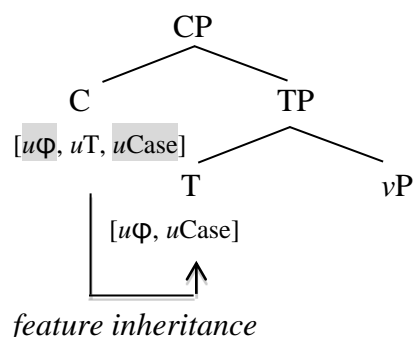
(71) a.



[uΦ, uT, uCase] probing expires on C

[uΦ, uT, uCase] probe on T only

b.



[uΦ, uCase] probing expires on C, but
 [uT] probes on C

[uΦ, uCase] probe on T

In (71a), all C's features are inherited by T, and C no longer acts as a probe. It is T that enters into a probe-goal relation in the derivation. In comparison, only a subset of C's features are inherited by T in (71b) and both C and T enter into probe-goal relationships with matching goals:

while C looks for a goal with a T-feature, T is engaged in feature matching with a goal or goals with phi- and Case features.

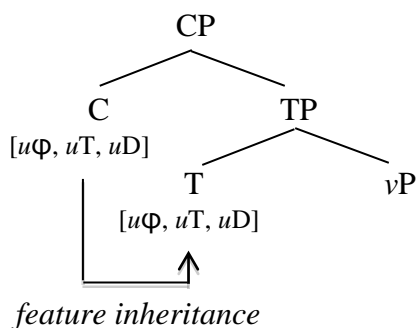
One question might arise as to whether *feature expiration* is equally applied to the domain of ν -ASP. Unlike the C-T relation, in which T is generally assumed to value the (nominative) Case feature on the subject, ν is generally presumed to value the (accusative) Case feature on the object in the structure of ν -V in Chomsky's original proposal and subsequent work. Thus, it seems that the Case feature on ν never seems to be disseminated down to ASP under this assumption. However, it has been proposed in the literature that ASP is responsible for accusative Case checking in the ν -ASP structure (Richardson 2003), and it will be shown in Chapters 6 and 7 that the Case feature on the object may be valued either against ASP or ν in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, providing further empirical evidence for feature expiration in the ν -ASP domain as well.

One note should be in order: in Richardson's proposal, accusative Case is not the property of ν but the uninterpretable aspect feature [u Asp] on ASP head, which is assumed to be a probe independently of ν in nature. Under the mechanism of feature inheritance, however, all features on ASP are provided from its selecting head ν . Thus, I claim that the aspect feature on ASP, [Asp], is innate to ν , not to ASP. In addition, I depart from her view that [Asp] is the accusative Case feature. The reason for this is that it is not the case that the presence of aspect feature guarantees the presence of accusative Case: unaccusative accomplishments are specified for [Asp] but do not assign accusative Case. So accusative Case is an *additional* feature, related to but not to be identified as [Asp].

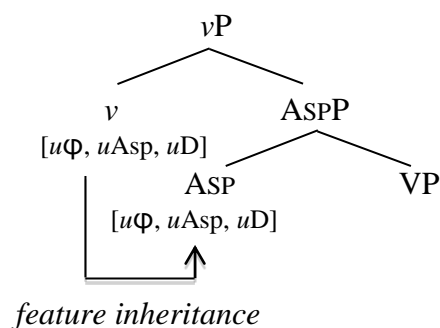
I assume Case features are D-features based on the fact that only nominal elements are assigned structural case. Thus, I propose Case features are uninterpretable D-features: D-feature

on C-T represents nominative and D-feature on v -ASP values accusative Case.³⁰ Accordingly, (68) is modified to (72) below.

(72) a. C-T domain



b. v -ASP domain



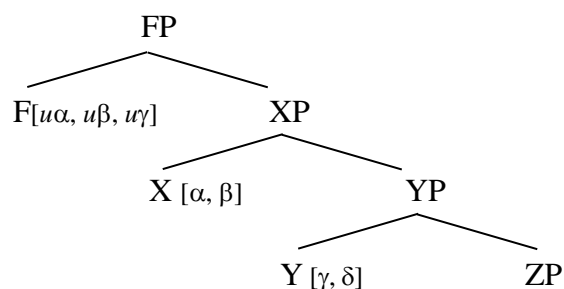
3.2.2 EPP

EPP is claimed to be a feature on a functional category (or a probe) that induces syntactic movement. In this respect, EPP feature is distinguished from other features on a probe. Unlike other probing features, EPP is not stated either as an interpretable or uninterpretable feature, and only a probe, never a goal, has the EPP feature. In an Agree relation, uninterpretable features on a probe are valued via feature matching between a probe and a goal, whereas EPP is not a feature that is valued; it is a feature on a probe that disappears via a Spec-Head relation with a goal. Valuation does not require a Spec-Head configuration, and only and always involves feature matching between a probe and a goal. On the other hand, EPP never involves feature matching (the goal does not have the EPP feature) and EPP satisfaction always happens under a Spec-Head relation. Thus, the nature of EPP is very different from that of other features.

³⁰ By extension I also depart from Pesetsky & Torrego's (2001, 2004) view that nominative is an $[uT]$. However, Pesetsky (2005) recently proposed that the nominative Case is D in Russian, though the accusative case is V. Further discussion of Case as a D-feature will follow in Chapter 7.

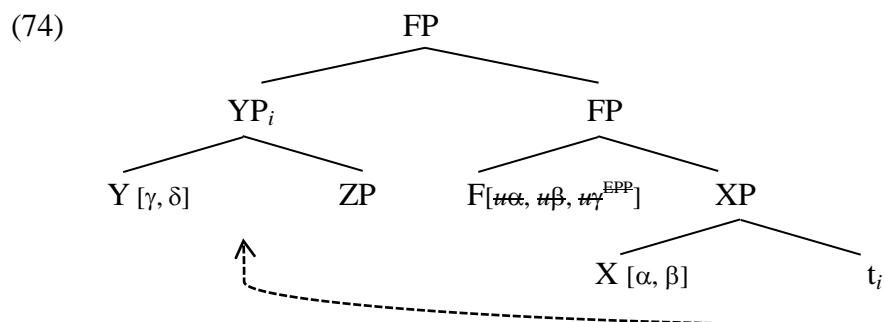
Suppose that a Probe has uninterpretable features α , β , and γ that need to be valued and enter into multiple agree relations in (73). While Goal X has features α and β , but not γ , but Goal Y has γ (and other features). In order for the derivation to converge, F must enter into an Agree relation with both X and Y. In addition, suppose that F has the EPP feature triggering a Goal to move to the specifier of FP. Which goal, X or Y, moves?

(73)

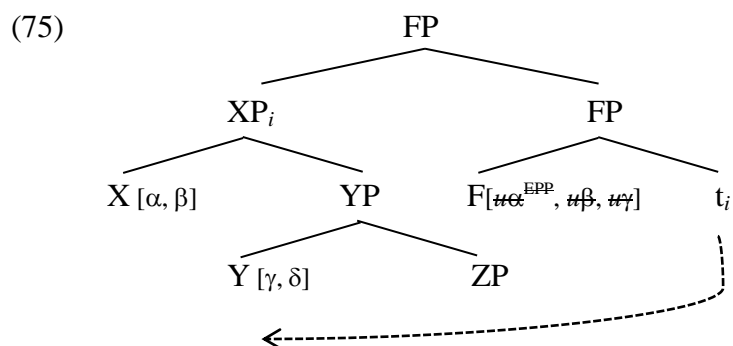


All of these problems are resolved once we abandon treating the EPP as a feature *per se*. EPP is a property of a feature rather than a feature on a probe, and a probing feature can be specified for EPP property. So, when Multiple Agree happens, the probe may trigger movement of a goal with a matching feature if and only if that feature on the probe has the EPP property.

Suppose that the feature γ on F is specified for EPP in (73). While both X and Y enter into an Agree relation with F, X remains in situ and only Y, which has the matching feature γ , is induced by the EPP property of feature γ on the probe. However, Y itself cannot move; a specifier cannot be occupied by a head. The EPP-specified feature on a Probe F forces syntactic movement of the maximal projection of a Goal with a corresponding feature, YP, to the specifier position of FP, shown in (74).



When α is specified for EPP on F, on the other hand, it triggers movement of the maximal projection of X into the specifier position, and the entire XP raises to Spec, FP, shown in (75).



What happens if both α and γ have EPP properties? Can XP and YP raise to Spec, FP? The answer is no. The rule of *Multiple Agree under Antisymmetry* proposed in (66), repeated below, restricts the number of goal to raise to the specifier position to only one.

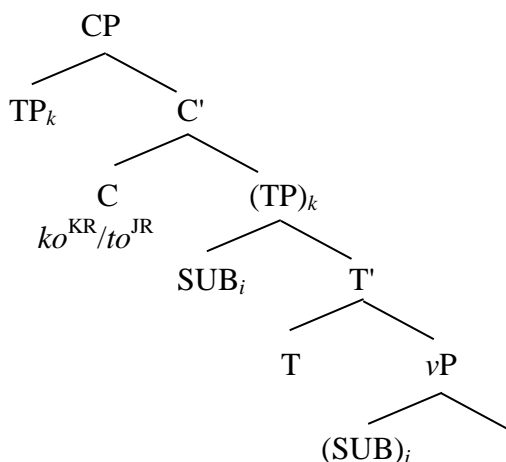
(76) *Multiple Agree under Antisymmetry*

Only one goal can be spelled out at the specifier of a probe in multiple agree relations.

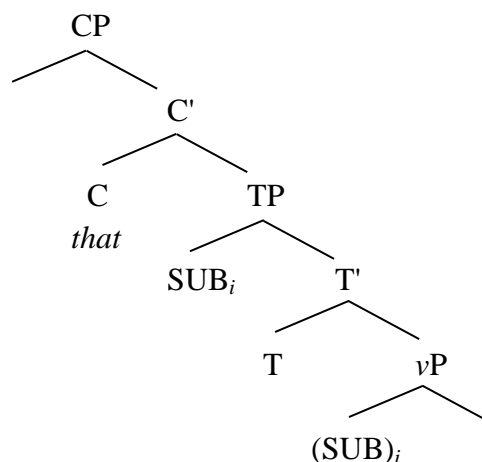
In the following section, I will show how EPP specifications on multiple features on a probe head are handled via feature inheritance in Korean and Japanese.

these empirical facts can be explained if we assume that the subject base-generated at Spec, ν P moves to Spec, TP in all three languages and the TP further moves up to Spec, CP only in Korean and Japanese, while in English it remains in situ, as illustrated in (78).

(78) a. Korean and Japanese



b. English



Both subject movement and TP raising are induced by the EPP specification on a feature on the probe C. What (78) reveals that C in Korean and Japanese and C in English have different EPP specifications on them; two of the features on C have the EPP property in Korean and Japanese, each being responsible for movement of the subject and TP. In contrast, only one feature on C is specified for EPP in English, triggering subject movement. Which features on C are specified for EPP in Korean, Japanese, and English?

I assume that C in all these languages share the same features, [$u\Phi$], [uT], and [uD]. I also propose that [uD] on Korean, Japanese and English are all specified for EPP, being responsible for subject raising to TP. The evidence comes from the fact that in all three languages the only noun phrases that can raise to Spec, TP are noun phrases that check nominative Case (i.e., uD) against T. In addition, I claim that [uT] on C in Korean and Japanese

are EPP-specified, triggering TP raising to Spec, CP. (79) shows feature specifications on C in Korean, Japanese, and English.

- (79) a. C $[u\Phi, uT^{EPP}, uD^{EPP}]$ Korean, Japanese
 b. C $[u\Phi, uT, uD^{EPP}]$ English

One may ask why it is $[uT]$, not $[u\Phi]$, which is specified for EPP on C, responsible for TP raising, in Korean and Japanese. Although I assume that Korean and Japanese have Φ -features, parallel to English, the presence of Φ -features in these languages is subject to debate in the literature. Due to the fact that Korean and Japanese do not show any morphological indication of Φ -features on their nominals (none of the Φ -features, such as person, number and gender, are morphologically marked in these languages), some researchers argue that Φ -features may be lacking altogether in Korean and Japanese (Kuroda 1988; Namai 2000; Saito 2007, 2011, Şener and Takashi 2010, Sells and Kim 2007). On the other hand, subject (and object) honorification shown in (80) is regarded as an indication of subject (or object)-verb agreement by other researchers who argue for the presence of Φ -features in Korean and Japanese (Ahn 2002a; Choe 2004; Harada 1976; Hasegawa 2005; Koopman 2005; Park, S. 2008; Takita 2006).

- (80) a. sensayng-nim-i haksayng-ul kitali-si-n-ta Korean
 teacher-HON-NOM student-ACC wait-HON-PRES-DECL
 ‘the teacher is waiting for a/the student’
 a'. haksayng-i sensayng-nim-ul kitali-(*si)-n-ta
 student-NOM teacher-HON-ACC wait-HON-PRES-DECL
 ‘a/the student is waiting for the teacher’

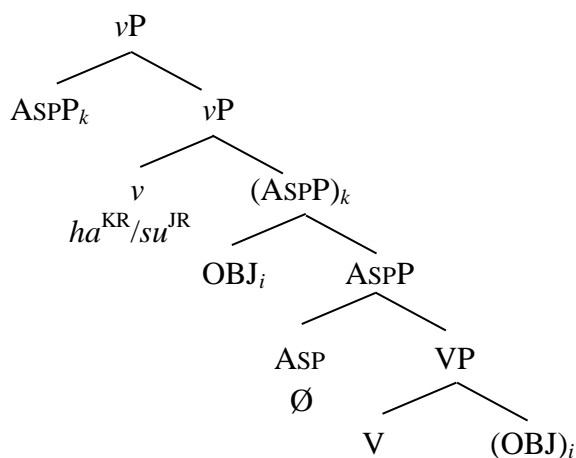
- b. sensei-ga gakusei-o o-mati ni raru Japanese
 teacher-NOM student-ACC HON-wait HON
 ‘the teacher waits for a/the student’
- b'. gakusei-ga sensei-o matu/*o-mati ni raru
 student-NOM student-ACC wait/HON-wait HON
 ‘a/the student waits for the teacher’

Skirting the debate about the absence or presence of Φ -features in Korean and Japanese, I will assume that $[\mu T]$ on C is EPP-specified in Korean and Japanese and is responsible for TP raising to Spec, CP, rather than proposing that the EPP property on $[\mu \Phi]$ on C yields to parametric variation, in view of the fact that the presence of Φ -features is controversial in Korean and Japanese.

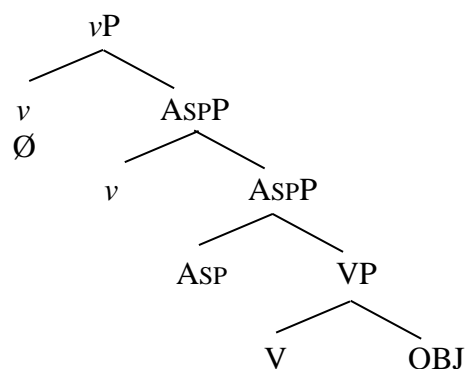
3.3.2 Features on ν

Moving on to explore the feature specification on ν , OV vs. VO order contrast between Korean/Japanese and English can be illustrated in the configuration in (81).

(81) a. Korean and Japanese



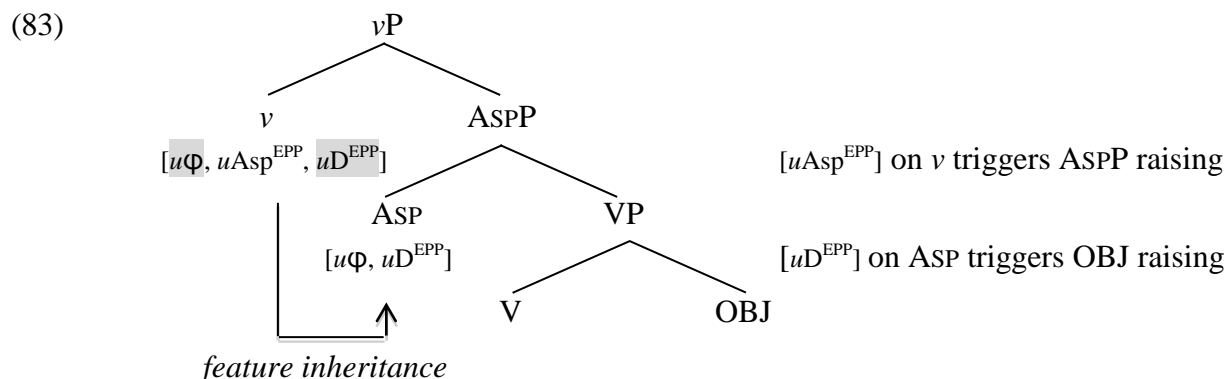
b. English



In Korean and Japanese, the object first moves to Spec, ASPP and OV order is derived within ASPP. Then the entire ASPP raises to Spec, v P, resulting in OV-*ha* order in Korean and OV-*su* order in Japanese. By contrast, the object remains in situ and ASPP may or may not raise in English; since v is null in English, there is no obvious way to tell if ASPP moves to the left of v . Absent any indication to the contrary, I assume that ASPP remains in situ in English. The Korean and Japanese v -ASP structure in (81a) is entirely parallel to their C-T structure in (78a), and based on this, I propose the following feature specifications on v in Korean/Japanese and English.

- (82) a. v $[u\Phi, uAsp^{EPP}, uD^{EPP}]$ Korean, Japanese
 b. v $[u\Phi, uAsp, uD]$ English

Going back to (81a), the object raises to Spec, ASPP, triggered by the EPP property on $[uD]$ on ASP. However, ASP head itself does not bear any features and it must have inherited from v . On the other hand, $[uAsp^{EPP}]$ remains on v and causes ASPP to move to Spec, v P. (83) illustrates this.



Following the principle of *feature selection*, ASP may inherit a subset of features of v in (83), including $[uD^{EPP}]$, which triggers object shift to Spec, ASPP. Due to *feature expiration*, $[uD^{EPP}]$ on v no longer functions as a probing feature and remains inactive. On the other hand, $[uAsp^{EPP}]$ on v , which has not been transmitted to ASP, probes for a goal with the matching feature and

triggers ASPP raising to Spec, vP . But why does ASP inherit [uD^{EPP}] from v , not [$uAsp^{EPP}$] in Korean and Japanese? Which features are selectively inherited by ASP from v ? This question will be answered in the following section in detail.

3.3.3 Principles of Feature Inheritance

In 3.2.1, I proposed two principles of feature inheritance, *feature selection* and *feature expiration*, which are repeated below.

(84) Principles of Feature Inheritance

a. *Feature Selection*

Features may be selectively inherited.

b. *Feature Expiration*

Inherited features are only active on the heir (T, ASP) and lose their probing capability on the donor (C, v).

The principle of *feature selection* in (84a) states that features may be selectively inherited, but it does not specify which features are selectively handed down from a phase head to the head of its complement. Yet, features cannot be selected and inherited at random. I propose that feature inheritance must operate for a syntactic derivation to converge and it is governed by the following three rules in (85).

(85) Operational Rules of Feature Inheritance

- a. *Earliness* (cf. Pesetsky 1989)
Value features and satisfy EPP as early as possible.
- b. *Economy*
Minimize the number of feature checking operations.
- c. *Multiple Agree under Antisymmetry* = (66)
Only one goal can be spelled out at the specifier of a probe in multiple agree relations.

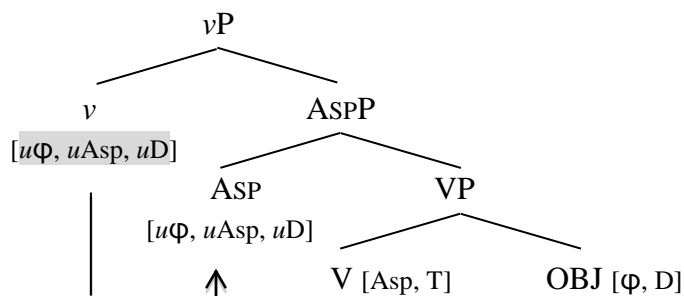
To answer why ASP inherits $[uD^{EPP}]$ from v , not $[uAsp^{EPP}]$, in Korean in Japanese, now we examine how the operational rules of feature inheritance in (85) apply to feature inheritance from v to ASP in Korean and Japanese, in comparison with feature inheritance from v to ASP in English.

In English, v has $[u\Phi, uAsp, uD]$, none of which are specified for EPP. According to the rule of *earliness* in (85a), v may transmit all of its features to ASP all at once, providing an opportunity for v 's features to be valued within ASP. ASP can enter into Multiple Agree relations with V, which has $[Asp, T]$ and also with the D head of the object, which has $[\Phi, D]$. Since none of the features on v , inherited by ASP, are EPP-specified, no goal raises to Spec, ASP and the derivation converges, maintaining the underlying VO order on the surface in (86).³¹

³¹ I assume that V has both Aspect and Tense features and enters into a probe-goal relationship with v -ASP and C-T. How T feature on V plays a role in feature inheritance in the C-T domain will be discussed in Chapter 7.

(86)

English

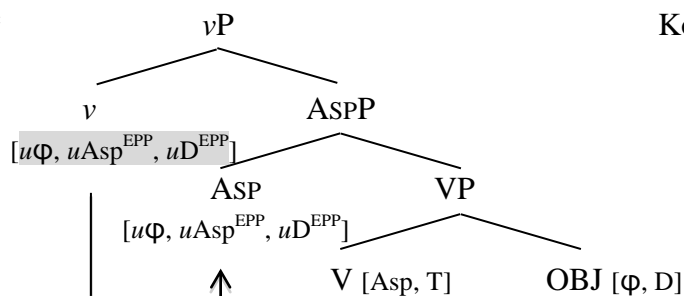


In Korean and Japanese, on the other hand, v has $[u\phi, uAsp^{EPP}, uD^{EPP}]$, two of which are specified for EPP. Similarly to English, v tries to transmit all of its features to ASP all at once, in accordance with the *earliness* rule of feature inheritance, allowing not only all of v 's features to be valued within ASPP, but also the EPP specifications on $[uAsp]$ and $[uD]$ to be satisfied as early as possible. If ASP inherits all of v 's features, it enters into Multiple Agree relations with V and the D head of the object. However, both $[uAsp]$ and $[uD]$ on ASP are specified for EPP, triggering the movement of the maximal projection of a goal with the matching features. Thus, both the DP-object and the VP are forced to move to Spec, ASPP, shown in (87). Although the derivation in (87) obeys earliness, it violates *multiple agree under antisymmetry* in (85c); both the VP and the object cannot be spelled out at Spec, ASPP. As a consequence, the derivation crashes.

(87)

*

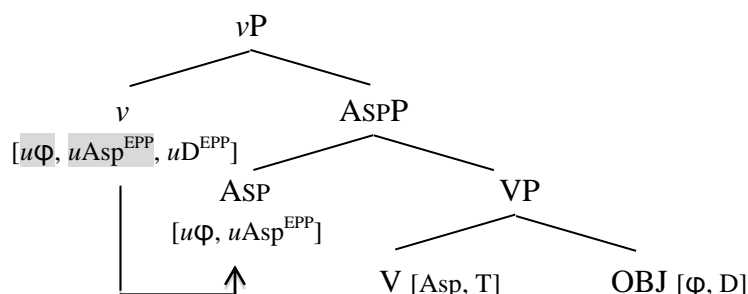
Korean, Japanese



Following both *earliness* and *multiple agree under antisymmetry*, $[u\text{Asp}^{\text{EPP}}]$ or $[uD^{\text{EPP}}]$ on v cannot be inherited by ASP together in Korean and Japanese, which results in a derivational crash shown in (87). Asp can only inherit either $[u\text{Asp}^{\text{EPP}}]$ or $[uD^{\text{EPP}}]$ from v . Now this leads us to the question raised at the end of Section 3.3: which features are selectively inherited by ASP from v ? Why does ASP inherit $[uD^{\text{EPP}}]$ from v , not $[u\text{Asp}^{\text{EPP}}]$ in Korean and Japanese? It is the rule of *economy* in (85b) that plays a role.

Suppose that ASP inherits $[u\text{Asp}^{\text{EPP}}]$ from v . ASP also inherits $[u\Phi]$. Feature inheritance of $[u\Phi, u\text{Asp}^{\text{EPP}}]$ from v to ASP enables both features to be valued as early as possible and it does not violate *multiple agree under antisymmetry*, for only one of the two features inherited by ASP is EPP-specified; the goal with Asp feature will raise to Spec, ASP. To value $[u\Phi, u\text{Asp}^{\text{EPP}}]$, ASP enters into two feature checking relationships, one with the object headed by the D and one with the V. In addition, v enters into feature matching with the object to value its $[uD^{\text{EPP}}]$, which has not transferred to ASP and remains active as a probing feature on v . All in all, v 's features are valued via three rounds of feature matching shown in (88).

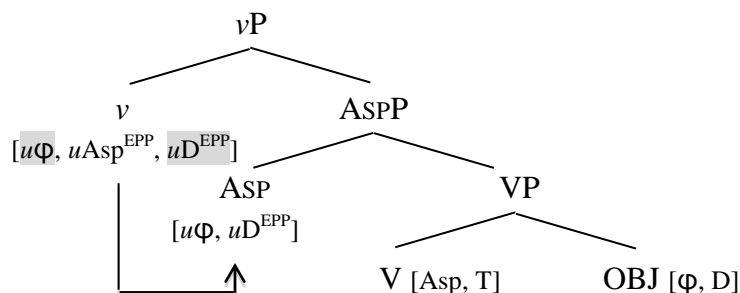
(88)



- (i) feature matching between ASP and OBJ: $[u\Phi]$ is valued
- (ii) feature matching between ASP and V: $[u\text{Asp}^{\text{EPP}}]$ is valued
- (iii) feature matching between v and OBJ: $[uD^{\text{EPP}}]$ is valued

Instead ASP may inherit $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ from v , shown in (89). Under these circumstances, both phi- and D-features on ASP can be valued via a single probe-goal relationship with the object. And $[uAsp^{EPP}]$ on v is valued against V.

(89)



- (i) feature matching between ASP and OBJ: $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ are valued
- (ii) feature matching between v and V: $[uAsp^{EPP}]$ is valued

Although both (88) and (89) obey the rules of *earliness* and *multiple agree under antisymmetry*, the derivation in (89) involves a smaller number of feature matching operations than (88); (88) involves three rounds of feature matching, whereas (89) involves two steps. As a result, the derivation of (89) wins over (88) according to the operational rule of *economy* in (85b), which states that “Minimize the number of feature checking operations”. Hence, it provides an answer to the question why ASP inherit $[uD^{EPP}]$ from v , not $[uAsp^{EPP}]$, in Korean and Japanese. Based on this, I proceed to explain how OV order is derived in light verb *ha* and *su* constructions in Korean and Japanese under the feature inheritance mechanism developed in this chapter.

Before doing so, I would like to add a few words to the general operation of feature inheritance. I assume that features are clustered and valued en-bloc, and the operational rules of feature inheritance certainly support this view: the rule of *economy* demands the number of feature checking operations be minimized, which in turn applies feature checking to as many features at once as possible (cf. the principle of maximized matching in Chomsky 2001).

Although en-bloc feature checking may not seem to play a crucial role in (89), in which the EPP-specifications on $[uD]$ and $[uAsp]$ on v are normally valued by two different goals, the object and the verb, respectively, the notion of feature clusters will become more prominent when $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ enters into a feature checking relationship with a single goal, which is ASP, and all the features of $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$, including the EPP-specifications on $[uD]$ and $[uAsp]$, are clustered and valued against the goal. The details will be provided in Chapter 6.

3.4 Deriving OV in Korean and Japanese

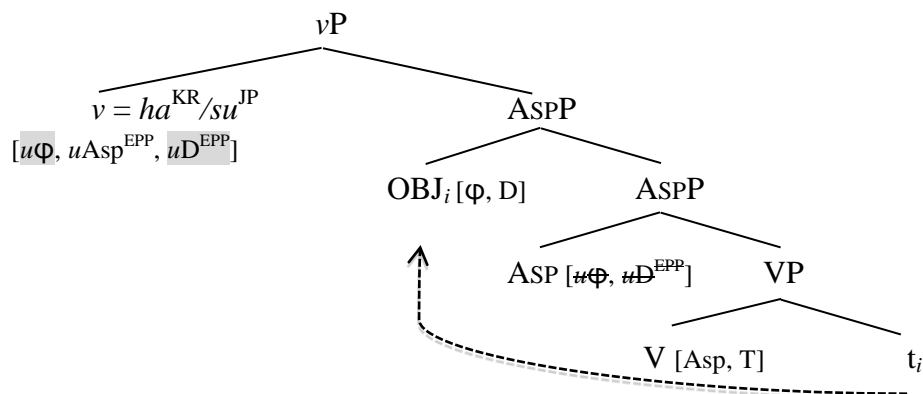
The structure in (89) above, in which ASP inherits $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ from v accounts for the sequence of OV-*ha/su* order in light verb constructions in Korean and Japanese, such as in (90).

- (90) a. Kibo-ka yenge-lul kongpwu hayss-ta Korean
 Kibo-NOM English-ACC study DO.PAST-DECL
- b. Kibo-ga eigo-o benkyoo sita Japanese
 Kibo-NOM English-ACC study DO.PAST-DECL
 ‘Kibo studied English’

After ASP inherits $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ from v , ASP enters into a probe-goal relationship with the D head of the object, which bears the matching features. While $[u\Phi]$ on ASP can be valued against the phi-feature on the object in-situ via Agree, $[uD^{EPP}]$ on ASP triggers the movement of the maximal projection of a goal with the corresponding feature. Consequently, the object (the maximal projection of D head) raises to Spec, ASP, delivering OV order within ASP, as shown in (91).³²

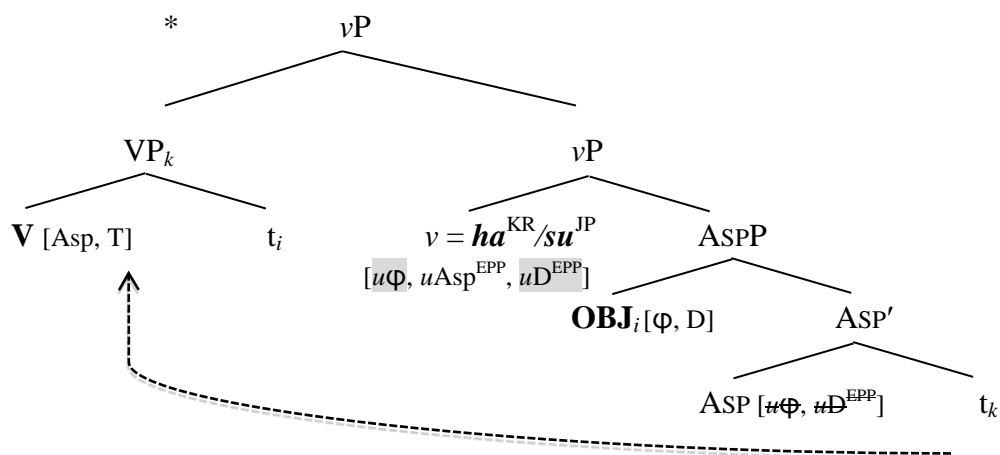
³² DP and NP are not distinguished for the sake of simplicity.

(91)



After feature inheritance from v to ASP, $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ on v no longer function as probing features due to *feature expiration*. On the other hand, $[uAsp^{EPP}]$ on v , which has not been handed down to ASP in (91), still needs to be valued and the EPP property on $[uAsp]$ on v also triggers movement of the maximal projection with the matching feature, which is VP. However, if the VP moves to Spec, vP , OV order is not derived. Instead the surface order would be V-*ha/su*-O, as in (92), which is not a possible derivation for Korean and Japanese. The surface order must be O-V-*ha/su*, as evidenced in (90).

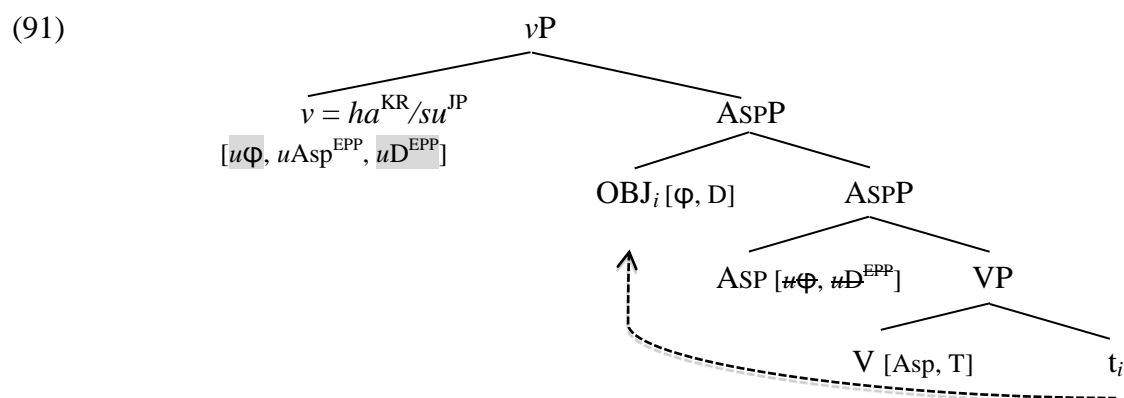
(92)



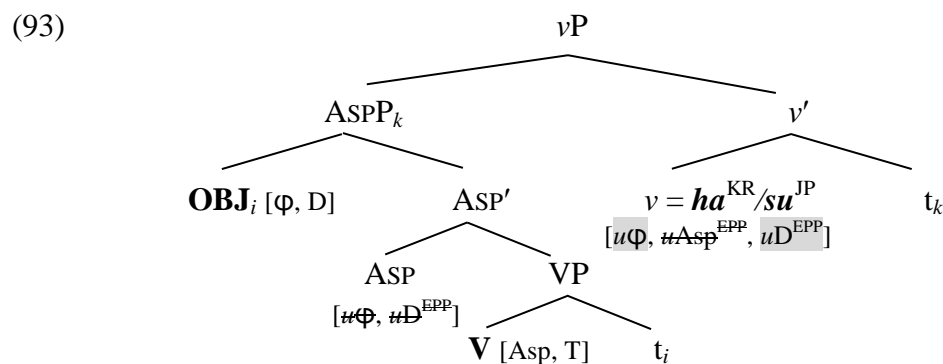
How do we get O-V-*ha/su* order from (91) then? How do we rule out the derivation in (92), which yields to an impossible word order in Korean and Japanese? We will explore these questions in detail in the following section.

3.4.1 ASPP pied-piping and raising

In (91), repeated below, v enters into a probe-goal relation with V and $[u\text{Asp}^{\text{EPP}}]$ on v triggers VP movement, which does not derive OV-*ha/su* order, as we saw in (92).



If ASPP is pied-piped by VP, on the other hand, and the entire ASPP raises to Spec, $v\text{P}$, we do get the correct order, O-V-*ha/su* in (93).



So, how do we rule out (92) on principled grounds and leave (93) as the only legitimate derivation in light *ha/su* constructions in Korean and Japanese? Here, I appeal to a perspective from Distributed Morphology towards functional and lexical categories (Halle & Marantz 1993; Harley & Noyer 1999). Distributed Morphology (DM henceforth) offers a syntactic approach to word formation, in which a word is syntactically derived via merging a category-neutral root with a category-defining functional head (Marantz 2000). On this view, a lexical category (or *l*-morpheme in DM's terminology) such as V, N and A, is a root, whose lexical status is underspecified, and requires selection by a functional category (or *f*-morpheme), such as *v*, *n*, and *a*, in order for its lexical status to be determined and spelled out via Vocabulary Insertion at PF.³³

Under this view, the fact that VP cannot undergo syntactic movement in (92) can be explained by the claim that projections of lexical roots are incapable of undergoing syntactic movement, arguably because the root would be severed from the functional category that determines its category and with the aid of which it can be subjected to Vocabulary Insertion at PF (den Dikken, p.c.). Assuming that the determination of a lexical category is not done derivationally in the syntax but representationally in the PF component, Vocabulary Insertion for any lexical roots requires the local presence of a functional category in the PF representation, which can determine the lexical root's categorial status. As a consequence, movement of VP severing it from its selecting functional head ASP cannot occur, but the entire ASPP pied-piped by VP must be raised to Spec, *v*P to satisfy the EPP property on [*u*Asp] of *v*, as in (93).³⁴

³³ It was mentioned in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.1) that Jung (2003) discusses three properties of *v* proposed in the literature, repeated below, and (46b) represents DM's perspective on *v*.

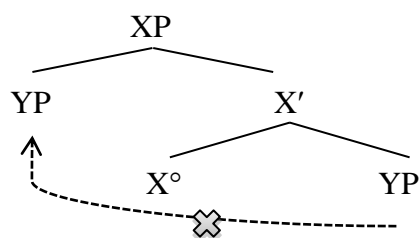
(46)	a.	Transitive property: external argument & accusative Case	(Minimalist Syntax)
	b.	Verbalizing property: $\sqrt{\text{Root}} + v \rightarrow V$	(Distributed Morphology)
	c.	Eventuality property: agentive/causative/process	(Event semantics)

³⁴ On this view, object raising involves *n*P rather than NP, in which a functional category *n* selects NP.

3.4.2 Locality of ASPP raising

One may question whether ASPP raising is licit in (93), asking if the movement of ASPP, the complement of v , to the specifier of the same head v , is too short or local and violates the so-called *anti-locality* constraint that disallows the local movement of the complement of a head to the specifier of the very same head (e.g., Abels 2003; Cinque 2005; Grohmann 2003).

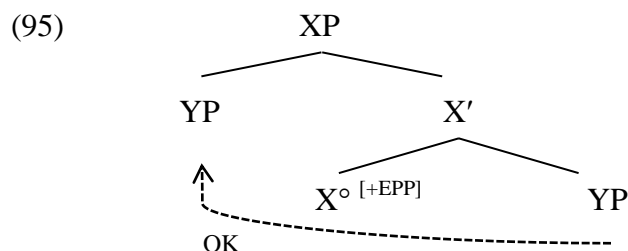
(94) Anti-locality constraint



Working in the framework of the Minimalist Program, Abels (2003) claims that movement is allowed only if a new feature checking relation is established and all features can be satisfied or checked in the head-complement relation, which is the closest relation in syntax. Thus, there is no good reason to move a phrase from the complement to the specifier position of the same head, as in (94), for such a movement does not establish a new feature satisfaction/checking relation.

Assuming that all feature checking occurs uniformly in the checking domain, the c-command domain of the probe (Chomsky 1995, 2000), it is true that all features could be checked, in principle, via Agree; the uninterpretable features on the head/probe can be checked against the matching features of the complement or goal without the movement of the complement/goal. However, if movement is triggered by the EPP property on the probe, then given that the EPP is only satisfiable in the specifier position of the head X bearing the EPP property, all that matters when it comes to satisfaction of X 's EPP property is that the closest match for X 's features raise to X 's specifier. If the closest match is X 's complement, YP , then

X's EPP property will be satisfied by raising of X's complement. Unless this movement is extrinsically constrained, considerations of anti-locality are moot – thus, I conclude that ASPP movement is legitimate in (93).



In fact, comp-to-spec raising as in (95) has been justified by various researchers. Aboh (2004), for instance, proposes that the whole ASPP raises to the specifier position of its dominating functional/F head in OV order of Gungbe, which exhibits OV~VO variation. Outside ν P domain, Richards and Biberauer (2005) also account for expletive elements distribution in Germanic languages, arguing that that ν P raising to T satisfies the EPP-feature of T. Thus, I conclude that ASPP raising, pied-piped by VP, to Spec, ν P a licit movement, which delivers to OV-*ha/su* order in light verb constructions in Korean and Japanese.³⁵

3.5 Chapter Summary and Conclusion

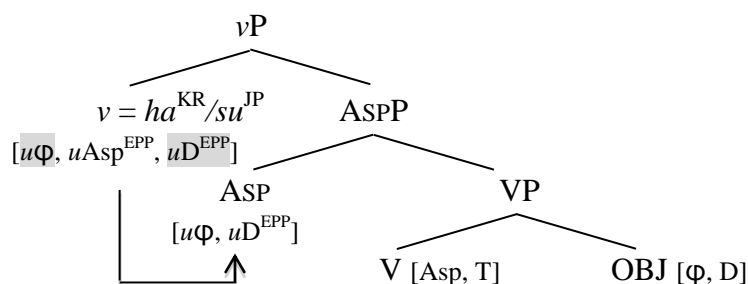
In this chapter, I reviewed several issues of the most recent developments in syntactic theories in the Minimalist Program. Taking into the proposal that morphosyntactic features on functional categories lead to cross-linguistic variation and C and ν are core functional categories, word order variation is attributed to feature contents of these functional categories. Adopting the

³⁵ In Chapter 7, I will show TP is pied-pied and raises to Spec, CP in the C-T domain in Korean and Japanese, entirely analogous to ASPP pied-piping and raising in the ν -ASP domain.

notion of feature inheritance, which was primarily proposed for the domain of C-T by Chomsky, in which T inherits its probing features from C, I proposed feature inheritance for the v -ASP domain, in which ASP inherits its probing features from v . To promote feature inheritance as a fully-fledged mechanism to derive syntactic derivations, I proposed two principles of feature inheritance, *feature selection* and *feature expiration*. In addition, I claimed that feature inheritance is governed by the rules of *earliness*, *economy* and *multiple agree under antisymmetry*.

To account for OV-(*ha/su*) order in Korean and Japanese in comparison with VO order in English, I proposed the following underlying v -ASP structure for Korean and Japanese, repeated from (89), in which two of v 's features have EPP properties.

(96)



- (i) $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ are valued via feature matching between ASP and OBJ
- (ii) $[uAsp^{EPP}]$ is valued via feature matching between v and V

In (96) ASP inherits $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ and triggers object shift, delivering OV order within ASPP. Then entire ASPP is pied-pied by VP and raises to Spec, vP due to feature matching between v and V, presenting OV-*ha/su* order on the surface.

The structure in (96) also accounts for OV-*ha/su* order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. Yet, we will see in Chapter 6 that there are cases in which feature inheritance from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ to ASP is blocked, and the object fails to undergo movement to

Spec, ASPP when a lexical category is inserted in ASP, preventing ASP from being beneficiary of feature inheritance. This is precisely when English light verbs are merged directly under ASP as lexical roots. As a result, object raising does not occur whenever an English light verb is merged under ASP, deriving VO-*ha/su* order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. Thus, OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching is explained as a result of object raising to Spec, ASPP; when object shift occurs, OV order is derived within ASPP. If the object stays in situ, VO is derived. Regardless of object shift, the entire ASPP always raises to Spec, *v*P whenever *v* is Korean or Japanese, and the surface word order would be either OV-*ha/su* or VO-*ha/su* in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. All these movements are as a consequence of feature checking and EPP specification on a functional head, as assumed in the Minimalist Program.

CHAPTER 4

OV~VO VARIATION IN CODE-SWITCHING: PREVIOUS RESEARCH

This chapter reviews and evaluates extant studies on word order variation in code-switching, especially those explaining how OV and VO orders are distributed in code-switched utterances under the assumption that both monolingual speech and code-switching are subject to the same grammatical principles. Despite the fact that word order has been one of the most discussed and debated topics in the field of generative linguistics, it was only in the 1990s that a small number of researchers started making attempts to account for word order variations in code-switching.

Earlier literature on word order variation in code-switching in the 1990s single-mindedly adopts the head parameter approach, for which we already concluded in Chapter 1, that not only is the head parameter approach inadequate to describe diverse word orders attested within a language as well as across languages, it also cannot be sustained under current syntactic theories. Thus, it is not surprising to see that the head parameter approach fails to account for word order facts in code-switching (Section 4.1). The limitations of the head parameter approach to word order variation in code-switching has been pointed out in subsequent studies and alternative accounts have been proposed, either revising the head parameter approach (Section 4.2) or resorting to a derivational approach to OV~VO variations (Section 4.3).

It will be shown that while both the head parameter approach and the revised head parameter approach fail to predict OV-VO distribution in Korean-English and Japanese-English and code-switching, and the derivational approach makes the right predictions for it.

However, less frequent occurrence of VO order in light verb constructions in code-switching *per se* does not justify Chan's decision not to treat them as subject to universal principles. The CS literature clearly shows that both OV and VO patterns exist in various OV-VO language pairs (e.g., Hindi-English, Punjabi-English, Tamil-English, and so on), and OV~VO variations in code-switching should be accounted for.

Although Chan's analysis fails to correctly account for OV~VO variations documented in the code-switching literature, he rightly points out that the code-switched sentences varying between OV and VO order involve a light verb in diverse language pairs, which was not noticed in the preceding studies. As discussed in the previous chapters, the notion of light verbs and their functions play a crucial role in word order in minimalist syntax. However, Chan does not go beyond the head parameter approach and argues that *the language* of a light verb would determine word order, without deliberating the feature specification of a light verb, which differs from language to language. Despite the fact that word order is attributed to a light verb rather than a lexical verb in Chan's proposal unlike the earlier studies, his proposal still seems to remain in the realm of the head parameter approach, in which word order is parametrically set on each language.

4.2.2 González-Vilbazo and López (2011, 2012)

The head parameter approach to word order variation in code-switching was further advanced in González-Vilbazo and López (2011, 2012), who examine *hacer* 'do' light verb constructions in Spanish-German code-switching. In German, the object normally precedes the verb in a construction involving an auxiliary or a modal verb, as shown in (105). However, in a light verb

construction with the Spanish light verb *hacer* ‘do’ in Spanish-German code-switching in (106), the object cannot precede but must follow the verb, exhibiting unexpected Spanish-style VO.

(105) a. Hans hat die Bücher verkauft German
 Hans has the books sold
 ‘Hans has sold the books’

a'. *Hans hat verkauft die Bücher
 Hans has sold the books

b. Hans muss die Bücher verkaufen
 Hans must the books sell
 ‘Hans has to sell the books’

b'. *Hans muss verkaufen die Bücher
 Hans must sell the books

modified from González-Vilbazo and López 2012: 42, (15)

(106) a. *Juan hizo* verkaufen die Bücher *Spanish-German*
 Juan did sell the books
 ‘Juan sold the books’

a'. **Juan hizo* die Bücher verkaufen
 Juan did the books sell

b. *Juan ha* hecho verkaufen die Bücher
 Juan has done sell the books
 ‘Juan has sold the books’

b'. **Juan ha* hecho die Bücher verkaufen
 Juan has done the books sell

modified from González-Vilbazo and López 2012: 42, (16)

González-Vilbazo and López analyze the Spanish verb *hacer* ‘do’ as a light verb lexicalizing *v*, and the order of VP in (106) is determined by *v* in Spanish, which is parameterized to take the object to the right of the verb. The claim that González-Vilbazo and López make is the following.

- (107) The order of the verb and its complement/direct object is determined by v , which has a binary feature that decides whether the object should be linearized to the left or to the right of the verb.

Similar to Chan, González-Vilbazo and López argue that if v comes from the lexicon of an OV language, the order will be OV, even if the lexical items are provided from the lexicon of a VO language. By contrast, if v is extracted from the lexicon of a VO language, the constituents in the VP will show up in the VO order, even if the lexical items come from the lexicon of an OV language (2012: 36). However, their proposal is distinct from Chan's: what determines the order of the VP is not the *language* of v or a light verb *per se* but the feature specification of v that is parameterized to determine either OV or VO order. In this respect, the proposal by González-Vilbazo and López is grounded on the fundamental concepts assumed in the Minimalist Program, despite the fact that they do not discuss how these features play a role in deriving different word order. Instead, they claim that features on v are binary, taking either a preverbal or a postverbal object. In this respect, their proposal seems to reflect the head parameter approach in a way.

Interestingly, in *hacer* constructions in Spanish-German code-switching, one may find OV order in addition to VO order, as shown in (108).

- (108) a. *Juan hizo* verkaufen die Bücher
 Juan did sell the books
- a'. [_{VP} *Juan* $v_{SP} = hizo$ [_{VP} verkaufen die Bücher]]
- b. *Juan hizo ...* die Bücher verkaufen
 Juan did the books sell
- b'. [_{CP} *Juan hizo* [. . .]] [_{VP} $v_{GR} = \emptyset$ [_{VP} die Bücher verkaufen]]

modified from González-Vilbazo and López 2012: 52, (59)

González-Vilbazo and López analyze VO vs. OV contrast found in Spanish-German code-switching in (108) as the result of the selection of v either from Spanish in (108a) or from German in (108b). The Spanish light verb *hacer* lexicalizes v in (108a), which is parameterized to linearize the object right to the verb. In (108b), on the other hand, the v P is parameterized to linearize the object left to the verb as shown in (108b'). This v P is not a constituent of the main clause but subsists independently. González-Vilbazo and López call the hanging v P an orphan, and point to the fact that the prosodic structures of the VO-ordered *hacer*-construction in (108a) and the OV-ordered *hacer*-construction in (108b) differ from one other to support their analysis: in a neutral context, both the object and the verb get pitch accents in Spanish, whereas in German a pitch accents fall on the object only. While both the verb and the object bear their own pitch accent in (108a), just like in Spanish, only the object bears the accent in (108b), following the German pattern. Assuming that the stress patterns exemplified in (108a) and (108b) are determined by v , González-Vilbazo and López argue that v lexicalized by *hizo* in (108a) comes from Spanish and the null v in (108b) comes from German (2012: 52).³⁸

While their analysis accounts for the VO vs. OV order found in a light verb construction in Spanish-German code-switching of the type in (108), it still does not explain OV~VO variation in a light verb construction in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching: unlike Spanish-German CS, there seems to be no difference of prosodic structure between OV and VO ordered *ha/su* constructions in Korean-English and Japanese-English CS. Thus, word order difference in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching cannot be explained by

³⁸ In addition, González-Vilbazo and López present a number of syntactic evidence to support their orphan approach to (108b), such as extraction, anaphor binding, scrambling, etc. Readers are recommended to refer to their own work for details.

the position of the ν P, either inside the matrix clause or as an orphan, as argued in González-Vilbazo and López.

The unsolved problem of OV and VO orders in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching was taken up in Shim (2011), who proposes a derivational approach to OV~VO variations. The following section discusses it.

4.3 The Derivational Approach (Shim 2011)

Shim (2011) observes that corpus data for Korean-English and Japanese-English CS show that if a constituent which consists of a transitive verb and its complement is switched from either Korean or Japanese to English, the internal order of the code-switched constituent may exhibit either order, OV or VO, in which the constituent which is code-switched into English precedes either the Korean light verb *ha* or the Japanese light verb *su*, as in (109) and (110).

(109) O-V-*ha/su*

- a. too much money-*lul* spend *hayss-eyo*
 -ACC DO.PAST-DECL
 ‘(he) spent too much money’
- b. Jasmine, aunt-*nun* *ce* store own *hay*
 -TOP that DO.DECL
 ‘For Jasmine, her aunt owns that store’
- c. Meena, basket-*an-eyta* all the toys-*lul* *ppali* put *ha-ko*
 -inside-LOC -ACC quickly DO-COMP
 cip-ey *ka-ca*
 home-LOC go-ADH
 ‘Meena, let’s put all the toys in the basket quickly and go home’
- d. Chinese food order *suru-tte*
 DO-QUO
 ‘(he) said that (they) will order Chinese food’

(110) **V-O-*ha/su***

- a. catch up cold *ha-myen*
DO-if
'If (you) catch up a cold...'
- b. put the burden on myself *ha-ketunyo*
DO-DECL
'(I) put the burden on myself'
- c. *yooshi* keep an eye *suru-zo*
well I'm going to DO-PRT
'well, I'm really going to keep an eye on you'

Shim analyzes Korean-English and Japanese-English CS corpus data such as (109) and (110), and suggests that the OV and VO contrast is closely related to the *heavy* vs. *light* distinction of the verb within the code-switched constituent; while the verbs in (109) are *heavy* in the sense that they deliver lexical semantic information to their clausal structure, those in (110) are *light* and have little semantic content of their own but only deliver aspectual information. In addition, she also postulates that OV~VO variation in code-switching could also be related to the size of the code-switched constituent: the verb and the internal argument are code-switched into English separately in (109), without changing the OV order of Korean or Japanese. On the other hand, idioms such as *catch a cold*, *keep an eye (on)* in (110) may be listed in the lexicon and switched as a unit, thus, the internal structure of the code-switched constituent exhibits the VO order of English. The two hypotheses, namely selection of light verbs and idiomaticity, were tested against the judgments solicited from a small number of Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual speakers. Based on the results from the questionnaires, she concludes the following:

- (111) a. Selection of light verbs results in OV~VO variation in both non-idiomatic (literal) phrases and compositional idioms. More specifically, when light verbs are selected from *Korean* or *Japanese*, OV is generated, following the grammar of Korean or Japanese. On the contrary, selection of *English* light verbs results in the English-style VO order in the derivation.
- b. Compositional idioms undergo aspectual composition, similar to non-idiomatic phrases, while non-compositional idioms do not undergo aspectual composition in the syntactic derivation.
- c. Non-compositional idioms undergo code-switching as a unit, and the internal order of the code-switched phrase is maintained throughout the derivation.

After she made a generalization about OV and VO distribution in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, she proposes a syntactic derivation for OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English CS. Though the conclusions and proposed accounts seemed to correctly describe word order patterns observed, there are several problems found in the design of the study and questions raised for the analyses.

4.3.1 Problem 1: Verb Classification

The distinction between heavy and light verbs and also between light verbs and light verb constructions was not made very clear in Shim's study. A light verb was defined to refer to a verb with little semantics of its own, in contrast with heavy verbs. Without further attempt to distinguish light verbs from light verb constructions, there were cases in which the verb seemed to be mislabeled in the study. For instance, the verb *catch* in the phrase *catch a cold* was analyzed as a light verb, based on the assumption that the verb does not have its manner component, thus conveys less idiosyncratic lexical meaning of its own. However, given the

definitions on light verbs or light verb constructions in Chapter 2, neither is the verb *catch* categorized as a light verb nor is the phrase considered to be a light verb construction; not only does the verb *catch* have its idiosyncratic lexical meaning of its own as a manner of motion verb, but it also clearly plays a role in determining the aspect of the phrase *catch a cold*, along with the object. Thus, the verb is classified as a heavy verb in the present study.

4.3.2 Problem 2: Compositionality of Idioms

The notion of compositionality of idioms, which Shim adopts for her analysis for CS data, has been contested by a number of researchers despite the fact that it is widely cited for studies on idioms. According to Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow (1994), idioms are divided into two groups based on their semantic compositionality. Most idioms (e.g., *take advantage of*, *pull strings*) are in fact relatively ‘compositional’ in the sense that the idiomatic reading is composed fairly transparently from the parts of the idiom. ‘Non-compositional’ idioms (e.g., *kick the bucket*, *shoot the breeze*), on the other hand, do not compose their meanings from those of their components, but the idiomatic meaning is assigned to the whole phrase.³⁹ Nunberg *et al.* propose that while compositional idioms have the syntax of non-idiomatic expressions, non-compositional idioms are stored in the lexicon as complete phrases (1994: 497, 515). Following their proposal, Shim argues that compositional idioms and non-compositional idioms are predicted to behave differently in code-switching and derive different word orders: while compositional idioms are not frozen as a chunk and their internal arguments are subject to code-

³⁹ Instead of *compositional* vs. *non-compositional* idioms, Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow (1994) use the terms *idiomatically combining expressions* vs. *idiomatic phrases*.

switching, just like non-idiomatic/literal phrases, non-compositional idioms are listed in the lexicon and undergo code-switching as a whole.

However, the distinction between compositional and non-compositional (or similarly, decomposable vs. non-decomposable) idioms does not seem to hold uniformly among researchers. One example of such controversial cases is *spill the beans* ‘reveal a secret’ or ‘divulge secretive information’, which is categorized either as a compositional/decomposable idiom or a non-compositional/non-decomposable idiom in the literature (e.g., Cacciari & Glucksberg 1995; Gibbs & Nayak 1989; Nunberg et al. 1994 vs. Abeillé 1995; Horn 2003). Those who argue that it is compositional explain that the idiomatic or figurative meaning of *spill (the) beans* is distributed over the parts, with the verb *spill* denoting ‘divulge, reveal’ and the NP *beans* being associated with ‘the information/secret that is divulged’, under the assumption that the availability of these meanings of each constituent depends on the presence of the other item which is imposed by conventionality. On the contrary, others argue that the relationship between the concrete spilling of beans and its figurative reading of releasing the information is not transparent, for *beans* is not directly associated with the meaning ‘a secret’ or ‘information’ in any other contexts. Thus, non-transparent idioms such as *spill the beans* and *break the ice* should be further distinguished from semantically transparent idioms such as *lay down the law*, *pay attention*, etc., in which parts of the idioms have literal meanings in these expressions or they may retain their idiomatic meanings outside of the idiomatic phrases.

While the view on the semantic properties of idioms, such as compositionality or analyzability or transparency, varies to a large extent from researcher to researcher, it seems that the syntactic behavior of idioms is less of a contentious issue. Researchers converge on the view that idiomatic expressions can be categorized into three groups based on their syntactic behavior:

(i) one that is syntactically fully flexible; (ii) one that is syntactically less flexible; and (iii) one that is syntactically frozen. Examples are provided in (112)-(114), respectively.⁴⁰

- (112) a. care was taken of all of the orphans
 b. great care seemed to be taken of the refugees by the government
 c. the care that they took of the infants was more than adequate
 d. how much care did they take of the infants?

- (113) a. the beans were spilled (by Stefanie)
 b. the beans appeared to be spilled when he opened his mouth
 c. #the beans that Joe spilled caused us a lot of trouble⁴¹
 d. #which beans did Joe spill?

- (114) a. #the bucket was kicked by all of the bad guys
 b. #the bucket seems to be kicked by John
 c. #the bucket John kicked was astonishing
 d. #which bucket did John kick?

In (112), the idiom *take care of* undergoes various syntactic operations such as passivization (112a), raising (112b), relativization (112c) and *wh*-question (112d). On the other hand, *spill the beans* may partake only in a limited number of syntactic operations such as passivization (113a) and raising (113b), but the DP argument of *spill the beans* does not occur as the head of a relative clause (113c) or in a *wh*-question (113d), in which the idiomatic interpretation is no longer available. Finally, the degree of syntactic flexibility of *kick the bucket* is heavily restricted, thus none of the sentences in (114) delivers its figurative reading ‘die’. Although

⁴⁰ Most of the examples are quoted from Horn 2003 and Schenk 1995.

⁴¹ # indicates that the sentence is grammatical, but the idiomatic reading is not available.

speakers may vary to what extent they accept each sentence in (112)-(114) on an idiomatic reading, it is clear that the degree of syntactic flexibility varies from idiom to idiom, which postulates the possibility that while some idioms may be derived in the syntax, others may not.

Several researchers propose that there is a strong correlation between semantic analyzability and syntactic flexibility of idioms, arguing that compositional idioms are more syntactically flexible than non-compositional idioms (e.g., Nunberg 1978; Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow 1994; Gibbs & Nayak 1989). Especially in the field of psycholinguistics, the notion of semantic compositionality was developed into the idiom decomposition hypothesis by Gibbs and his colleagues (Gibbs & Nayak 1989; Gibbs, Nayak, Bolton and & Keppel 1989), who propose that the processing of semantically compositional idioms differs from that of non-compositional idioms: compositional idioms are involved in the same mechanism of lexical retrieval and syntactic parsing of literal expressions, whereas non-compositional idioms require lexical recognition and retrieval directly from the lexicon. What they found was that not only did participants have a clear intuition about the distinction between compositional and non-compositional idioms but also the processing of compositional idioms was faster than that of non-compositional idioms. However, in subsequent research that replicated their studies, these findings were either not confirmed or contradicted (Titone and Connine 1994; Tabossi, Fanari, and Wolf 2008), revealing that people do not share clear and systematic intuitions on the semantic compositionality of idioms and the processing time of non-compositional idioms did not differ from or was faster than that of compositional idioms. Thus, the notion of semantic compositionality of idioms and its relation to syntactic flexibility has been questioned by a number of linguists and remains subject to further investigation (Abeillé 1995; Ackerman & Webelhuth 1997; Horn 2003; Jackendoff 1997; Ruwet 1991; Tabossi, Fanari, and Wolf 2008).

In light of these considerations, I conclude that the notion of semantic compositionality or analyzability or decomposability or transparency has not been properly defined, thus it cannot be used as a diagnostic tool to understand the nature of idiomatic phrases. Instead, I propose that the syntactic behavior of idioms should dictate how idioms are derived in the syntax. Based on this, I have investigated instead how the syntax of idioms would play a role in deriving word order in code-switching in this dissertation.

4.4 Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter reviewed previous research that accounts for word order variation in code-switching, which has historically evolved from abiding by the strict head parameter approach to revising the head parameter approach or adopting a derivational approach with the development of syntactic theories. We have seen that OV~VO variations in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, especially in a light verb construction with the Korean light verb *ha* and the Japanese light verb *su* ‘do’, are correlated to various factors such as the selection between heavy and light verbs within a code-switched phrase and the idiomaticity of a code-switched phrase, both of which play a role in deriving word order in code-switching. And neither the head parameter approach nor the revised head parameter approach can correctly predict OV~VO variation found in these constructions. Thus, I conclude that a derivational approach is more adequate than a head parameter approach to explaining word order patterns in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, and it was further developed in this dissertation.

The examination of all of these extant proposals on word order in code-switching has provided a solid theoretical and methodological foundation of this thesis, which investigated OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching in an experimental

study (Chapter 5) and provides an analysis of the word order patterns in the framework of the Minimalist Program, especially based on feature inheritances system that I developed in Chapter 3 (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER 5
EXPERIMENT: OV~VO VARIATION IN KOREAN-ENGLISH
AND JAPANESE-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

This chapter presents a study with three interrelated subparts, eliciting judgment data that bear on the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. Under the assumption that parametric variation, such as word order, is determined by the absence or presence of certain features of a functional category as assumed in the Minimalist Program, the study asks the fundamental question of how different functional categories in typologically different languages play a role to derive the various word orders in code-switching. More specifically, the role of light verbs is evaluated in comparison with that of heavy verbs in various code-switched phrases with respect to their contribution to OV and VO order variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching.

In addition, the study also investigates whether the syntactic flexibility of a code-switched phrase, especially that of an idiomatic phrase, is a factor in word order variation in code-switching, under the assumption that while the internal argument of the syntactically flexible phrase is subject to code-switching, the internal argument of the less flexible or inflexible phrase may not undergo code-switching, maintaining the internal order of the phrase throughout the derivation.

The three subparts of the study utilize a CS judgment task (reported in detail in Section 5.2), a syntactic flexibility judgment task (Section 5.3), and an idiom familiarity task (Section

5.4). Working definitions of various terms and a brief description of their consequences for the study are provided in Section 5.1.

5.1 Background

In Chapter 2, the *light verb* (LV) and *light verb construction* (LVC) were distinguished and defined for the purpose of the study, and those definitions are repeated for convenience in (115).

- (115) a. A *light verb* never has idiosyncratic lexical meaning of its own, but only lexicalizes an abstract functional head.
- b. In a *light verb construction*, the verb does not contribute any lexical-semantic information, but its complement does. Both heavy and light verbs may participate in light verb constructions.

Based on the definition given in (115a), the eight English verbs that are listed in (116) were considered as light verbs (however, the list does not mean to be exhaustive). The schematic representation of the light verbs in (116) follows the lexical decomposition approach proposed in the field of semantics (Dowty 1979). However, I represent each atom, such as CAUS, BE, INCH, which corresponds to an operator in Dowty (1979), is not an abstract element playing a role in semantics but represents an abstract syntactic head present in the structure. Further discussions of each light verb will be provided in Chapter 6.

- (116) *have* = BE + TO
give = CAUS [BE + TO]
get = INCH
take = INCH
make = CAUS + exist
keep = CAUS + BE
hold = CAUS + BE⁴²
raise = CAUS + GO (up)

In the present study, the contribution of light verbs in contrast to that of heavy or lexical verbs to the determination of word order in code-switches was investigated in various phrase types, including light verb constructions. That is, although as noted in (115b) these verb types differ in status, both may participate in light verb constructions, as in *have a look* (with a light verb *have*) and *pay a visit* (with a heavy verb *pay*).

In addition to light verb constructions, heavy and light verbs were examined in literal and non-literal or idiomatic VPs. Recall that Shim (2011) hypothesized that not only the distinction between verb types but also the compositionality of the constituent plays a role in deriving different word orders within the code-switched phrase, OV and VO. Since there is little consensus in the literature on what constitutes idioms or even compositionality, a working definition of idioms in the domain of VP was adopted in the present study. This is spelled out in (117).

- (117) The term *VP idiom* refers to a VP in which the verb takes an object, and the two together deliver a non-literal, idiosyncratic reading.

⁴² Results in the code-switching judgment task revealed that the verb *hold* behaved differently from other light verbs on the list, suggesting that this verb may be a heavy rather than light. Details are following in Chapter 6.

The study aimed, broadly, to elicit evidence bearing on the influence of light verb status (cf. heavy) and compositionality in the determination of OV~VO variation in code-switches that import an English VP into utterances otherwise controlled by the grammar of Korean or Japanese. That evidence arises, for appropriately constructed materials, in the judgments of bilingual speakers of Korean or Japanese and English, whose competence and experience in their two languages made them familiar with code-switching behavior. The participant populations of interest are exemplified by the bilingual communities of the New York City area, where daily use of each of the speakers' languages is common, as is switching between languages within a conversation. The study, therefore, made crucial use of a language-history questionnaire (see Appendices A-1 and A-2) and an exit interview probing experience in code-switching, to screen participants recruited from these communities.

5.2 Code-switching Judgment Task

For each of a series of items, the code-switching judgment task asked participants to select between two utterances that were considered as a (near-)minimal pair. Both utterances included an English-sourced VP, which took OV order in one utterance and VO order in the other. The participant's task was to select the utterance that "sounded natural."

Because many of the critical items incorporated VP idioms or light verb constructions, the protocol was designed to provide strong contextual support of the intended interpretation. Each item presentation therefore had three parts:

- (a) A short scenario introduction, mentioning two standard characters (Kibo and Donna) to establish a discourse context. This introduction material was always presented, in written form, in English, and always closed by asking what Donna would say in the situation sketched.
- (b) A cartoon depicting the content of Donna's statement. This was presented in an advance of the statement, and remained visible while two versions of that statement were heard.
- (c) The code-switched pair of utterances, presented in spoken form.

By presenting each code-switched sentence not only in an appropriate context but also with a matching cartoon, the intended meaning of the code-switched phrase in the sentence, whether literal or non-literal, was delivered without ambiguity. Instructions emphasized that the participants should attend to the cartoon while they were listening to the sentences.

As in illustration of this protocol, (118a) below offers an example scenario introduction, and (118b) and (118c) show in turn the accompanying cartoon and Korean-English code-switching pair between which the participant was asked to choose.

(118a) Kibo told Donna that his roommate had an extra iPod to give away, and later asked Donna whether she called and got it. What does Donna say?

(118b)



(118c) i. nwu-ka mence cenhwahayse, **boat-lul miss** hayss-e
 someone-NOM before call.because -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

ii. nwu-ka mence cenhwahayse **miss the boat** hayss-e
 someone-NOM before call.because DO.PAST-DECL

“Someone else called first, so (I) missed the boat.”

5.2.1 Method

Materials and Design

To assess the role of heavy vs. light verb status in code-switching in both literal and non-literal phrases, materials were constructed in accordance with a 2×2 factorial design, combining Verb Type (heavy vs. light) and Interpretation (literal vs. non-literal).

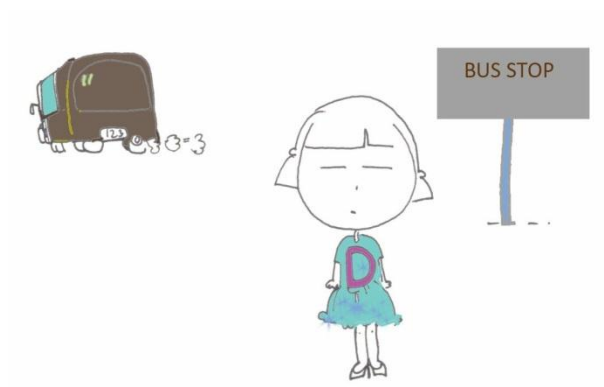
- | | | |
|----------|--|--------------------------|
| (119) a. | Heavy verb, literal interpretation | <i>miss the bus</i> |
| b. | Heavy verb, non-literal interpretation | <i>miss the boat</i> |
| c. | Light verb, literal interpretation | <i>have a small head</i> |
| d. | Light verb, non-literal interpretation | <i>have a big mouth</i> |

For each verb within a given type, items instantiating literal vs. non-literal interpretations were constructed as a closely matched pair, with only those changes necessary made to the introductory scenario, the interpretation-supporting cartoon, and the code-switched sentences between which a choice was to be made.

There were 16 such matched items constructed for each verb type, and these were distributed to form an experiment in two versions, each with 8 items per condition. The counterbalancing of items across versions meant that any participant saw examples of each of the experimental conditions, without repetition of lexical or discourse context (see Appendix B-1). (120a-c) exemplify the closely matched pair to (118a-c), both of which include the same heavy verb *miss* in a non-literal and a literal phrase (*miss the boat* and *miss the bus*), respectively.

(120a) Kibo was disappointed that Donna didn't show up at the party he had told her about, and asked her what happened. What does Donna say?

(120b)



- (120c) i. cengmal ka-ko siph-ess-nuntey, **bus-lul miss** hayss-e
 really go-COMP wish-PAST-but -ACC DO.PAST-DECL
- ii. cengmal ka-ko siph-ess-nuntey, **miss the bus** hayss-e
 really go-COMP wish-PAST-but DO.PAST-DECL

“(I) really wanted to go, but (I) missed the bus.”

The function of heavy vs. light verbs in code-switching was also evaluated in light verb constructions, and materials were constructed in accordance with a 2×1 factorial design, combining Verb Type (heavy vs. light) and Construction (light verb construction).

- (121) a. Heavy verb, light verb construction *pay a visit/a compliment*
 b. Light verb, light verb construction *have a look/have a try*

For each construction, 16 items were constructed with 8 verbs. For each verb, two similar items were constructed as a closely matched pair, limiting any necessary changes to the scenario introduction, the interpretation-supporting cartoon, and the ensuing code-switched sentences. Those matched items in each construction were distributed to form an experiment in two versions, each with 8 items per condition. This allowed the participant taking either version of the experiment to see the same set of verbs for each of the experimental conditions, in closely matched contents (see Appendix B-2). A pair of matching items representing light verb construction with the heavy verb *pay* is provided in (122) and (123).

(122a) Donna was out of town last week and Kibo asks where she went. What does Donna say?

(122b)



(122c) i. mence halmeni halapeci-kkey *visit-ul pay* ha-ko
 first grand.mother grand.father-DAT.HON -ACC DO-and

Seattle-eyse yeli-nun hakhwoy tanyewass-e
 Seattle-LOC be.held-REL conference go.and.come.PAST-DECL

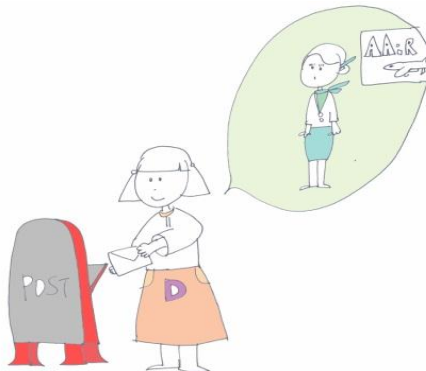
ii. mence halmeni halapeci-kkey *pay a visit* ha-ko
 first grand.mother grand.father-DAT.HON DO-and

Seattle-eyse yeli-nun hakhwoy tanyewass-e
 Seattle-LOC be.held-REL conference go.and.come.PAST-DECL

“First I paid a visit to my grandparents and then went to a conference in Seattle”

(123a) Donna sent a letter to American Airlines and Kibo wonders what she wrote. What does Donna say?

(123b)



(123c) i. mence konghang cikwon-hanthey **compliment-lul pay** ha-ko
 first airport staff-DAT -ACC DO-and

nay pihayngki ciyen toy-n ke hanguyhayss-e
 my flight delay become-REL NM protest.PAST-DECL

ii. mence konghang cikwon-hanthey **pay a compliment** ha-ko
 first airport staff-DAT DO-and

nay pihayngki ciyen toy-n ke hanguyhayss-e
 my flight delay become-REL NM protest.PAST-DECL

“First I paid a compliment to their ground staff and then complained about my flight delay”

For both the Korean and Japanese versions of the experiment, materials were constructed so as to produce two subsets, each of which included 48 critical items and 24 filler items. An additional set of 10 items, ranging across item types, was constructed to provide practice without the task procedure.

The filler items were divided into three different subtypes, 16 items per type. The first filler type was designed to serve two purposes, to enhance the reliability of data obtained from the experiment and to increase item varieties. While the aforementioned critical items were

constructed to see how numerous linguistic variables would play a part in distributing OV and VO orders in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, in which only the verb and the object were code-switched into English, the items of filler type I included a full English sentence, either being followed or preceded by a sentence in Korean or Japanese, as in (124).

- (124) a. nay-ka thulli-myen *I'll eat humble pie*
 I-NOM wrong-if
- a'. *nay-ka thulli-myen *I'll humble pie eat*
 I-NOM wrong-if
 ‘If I’m wrong, I’ll eat humble pie’
- b. *This weekend I'll book my flight, and* ssan swukso alapol-keya
 cheap lodging look.for.FUT-DECL
- b'. **This weekend I'll my flight book, and* ssan swukso alapol-keya
 cheap lodging look.for.FUT-DECL
 ‘This weekend I will book my flight and look for cheap accommodation’

Unlike the critical items, in which code-switching occurs within a sentence (*inter-sentential CS*), switching occurs across a sentential boundary between Korean and English in (124) (*intra-sentential CS*). Thus, the grammar of Korean does not in any direct way influence that of the English sentence, and the only legitimate word order of the English sentence is VO, never OV. If the participant chose OV instead of VO as a natural order for the sentence type of (124), such a response was considered as a performance error. When the occurrence of such errors exceeded more than 3 times out of 16 trials, it indicated that either the participant did not attend to the test materials or might have not been sufficiently familiar with the grammar of English. Thus, he or she was excluded from further data analysis. The exclusion of the participants with a high performance error rate increased the reliability of the overall data obtained from the experiment.

Sixteen items were constructed for filler type I, half of which included an English

sentence followed by a Korean or Japanese sentence, and the other half preceded by a Korean or Japanese sentence. These 16 items were distributed uniformly over two versions, and all participants saw the same examples of this type, allowing the performance error of any participant to be calculated based on the same materials. The items included 7 heavy verbs in literal interpretations, 6 heavy verbs in non-literal interpretations, and 3 light verbs in literal interpretations (Appendix B-3).

Eight additional verbs, whose lexical status was not clear either as a heavy or a light verb, were included in filler type II. These verbs may be regarded as heavy verbs participating in a light verb construction, but the lexical weight of these verbs was judged by some researchers to be not as heavy as that of the verbs included in critical items even in their heavy use (e.g., *bear a heavy burden*), and some of them have been considered as light verbs in the literature. For example, Huddleston & Pullum 2002 list the verbs such as *offer* (e.g., *offer an apology/a suggestion*), *pay* (e.g., *pay attention (to)/a call (on)/a visit (to)*), *put* (e.g., *put the blame on/an end/stop to*), and *raise* (e.g., *raise an objection (to)*) as light verbs appearing with a narrower range of nouns, compared to *give, make, have, take, and do*.⁴³

Due to their less clear lexical status, these verbs were included as fillers instead of critical items. For each verb, items exemplifying its heavy vs. light uses (e.g., *put the bag vs. put a stop*) were constructed as pairs that were as closely matched as possible in the scenario, the cartoon, and the code-switched sentences.

Filler type III included 8 ditransitive verbs of English, which may optionally take a single internal argument, either the direct object (e.g., *pay the gas bill*) or the indirect object (e.g., *pay the gardener*), both of which are assigned accusative Case. The corresponding verbs in Korean

⁴³ The verbs *pay* and *raise* were categorized as a heavy verb and a light verb respectively in this study.

and Japanese, however, have a different case marking on their arguments; while the direct object is accusative-marked, the indirect object is dative-marked, as shown in (125).

- (125) a. Kibo-ka kasu-pi-lul cipwul-hayss-ta Korean
 Kibo-NOM gas-fee-ACC pay-DO.PAST-DECL
 ‘Kibo paid the gas bill’
- b. Kibo-ka cengwensa-hanthey/*^{??}lul cipwul-hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM teacher-DAT/ACC pay-DO.PAST-DECL
 ‘Kibo paid the gardener’

In (125), the verb and the object can be code-switched into English, yet the sentence in (125b) remains ungrammatical when the indirect object is accusative-marked whether the object and/or the verb are code-switched or not, as in (126). One possible strategy to avoid this problem was suggested by some Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual speakers in a pilot study of the present experiment: if the indirect object is accusative-marked, the speaker may choose VO order instead of OV to steer clear of case mismatch. For instance, while (126c) and (126d) might be judged to be unacceptable, (126e) would be accepted as an alternative form in Korean-English code-switching.

- (126) a. Kibo-ka (*the*) gardener-hanthey cipwul-hayss-ta KR-EN
 Kibo-NOM -DAT pay-DO.PAST-DECL
- b. Kibo-ka (*the*) gardener-hanthey pay-hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM -DAT -DO.PAST-DECL
- c. *^{??}Kibo-ka (*the*) gardener-lul cipwul-hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM -ACC pay-DO.PAST-DECL
- d. *^{??}Kibo-ka (*the*) gardener-lul pay-hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM -ACC -DO.PAST-DECL
- e. Kibo-ka *pay the gardener* hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM DO.PAST-DECL

To see if this case mismatch between the direct object and the indirect object in English vs. Korean or Japanese is reflected in the word order of Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, items including direct vs. indirect objects were constructed for each verb, as a closely matched pair.

Before moving on, one cautionary note should be made. For both filler items representing heavy vs. light uses of the verb and of direct vs. indirect objects, 8 matched items were constructed for each verb type and originally planned to be distributed over two versions, each with 4 items per condition. The purpose of counterbalancing items across versions was to prevent a participant from seeing examples of each of the experimental conditions with lexical repetition of any verb. However, an implementation error was made, and the counterbalanced design of these items was not achieved. As a result, the two versions of the experiment ended up including a different set of verbs for each condition, with the lexical repetition of the verb in two closely matched phrases (Appendix B-4). However, due to the nature of these items only being used as fillers, this implementation error did not affect data collection in the experiment.

Item Implementation

All code-switched VPs of English were constructed in two orders, OV and VO, and followed by either the Korean light verb *ha* ‘do’ or the Japanese light verb *su* ‘do’. Except for the examples of a full English sentence, which were also constructed in OV and VO orders (Appendix C-3), the final form of the code-switched sentence in OV order was slightly different from that in VO order.

First, various function words preceding the object, such as articles (*a(n)*, *the*), possessors (*my*, *your*, *his*, *her*, etc), were omitted in OV order. In a pilot study, many Korean-English and

Japanese-English bilingual speakers judged the code-switched sentence to sound more natural without the article in OV but not VO order. Though the exact reason still needs to be investigated, it is speculated that since both Korean and Japanese lack articles, article omission also seems to be preferred (following the grammar of Korean or Japanese) when the code-switched sentence preserves the structure of Korean or Japanese, exhibiting their canonical OV order.

In addition to articles, English-type pronominal possessors do not exist in either Korean or Japanese. Instead, a possessive pronoun is expressed as a phrasal form in which a personal pronoun or a noun is attached by the genitive marker *-uy* in Korean and *-no* in Japanese, respectively. Thus, English-type pronominal possessors were also omitted when the code-switched phrase was constructed in OV order. (127) shows a full paradigm of possessive pronouns in Korean and Japanese.

(127)	a.	na-uy I-GEN	watakushi-no I- GEN	‘my’
	b.	ne-uy you- GEN	anata-no you- GEN	‘your’(SG)
	c.	ku (namca/salam)-uy that man/person- GEN	ano kata-no that person- GEN	‘his’
	d.	ku (yeca/salam)-uy that woman/person- GEN	ano kata-no that person- GEN	‘her’
	e.	wuli-(tul)uy we-PL-GEN	watakushi-tachi-no we-PL-GEN	‘our’
	f.	nehui-(tul)-uy you.PL-PL-GEN	anata-tachi-no you-PL-GEN	‘your’ (PL)
	g.	ku (salam)-tul-uy that man-PL-GEN	ano kata-tachi-no that person-PL-GEN	‘their’

On the other hand, all other noun-modifying elements such as lexical adjectives (e.g., *big* in *a big present*) and quantifiers (e.g., *a few* in *a few brows*) were kept intact both in OV and VO orders of the code-switched sentences. One exception was the phrase *spill the beans*, in which the definite article is indispensable in order for the phrase to deliver its idiomatic reading, ‘to reveal a secret’: there is no grammatical constraint imposed on the presence of the definite article in *spill the beans*; a plural noun can occur without an article in English. Thus, while the phrase *spill beans* is grammatical, it does not denote the idiomatic interpretation that is obtained from *spill the beans*, in which the presence of the definite article is not required by the grammar of English. Thus, the definite article *the* in *spill the beans* was kept both in OV and VO orders.

Additionally, when a code-switched phrase was constructed in OV order, the accusative Case marker, *-(l)ul* in Korean and *-o* in Japanese, was inserted after the object, following the grammar of Korean and Japanese. But while the insertion of the accusative marker did not create a problem in any of the Japanese-English code-switching sentences, it was problematic with several Korean-English code-switching sentences, violating the phonotactic rules of Korean, shown in (128).

- (128) a. Kibo-ka *soup-(ul) spill* ha-nun palamey cenyek ta mangchyess-e
 Kibo-NOM -ACC do-due.to dinner all ruin.PAST-DECL
 ‘The dinner was ruined because Kibo spilled the soup’
- b. Kibo-ka *the beans-(*ul) spill* ha-nun palamey kyeyhoyk ta mangchyess-e
 Kibo-NOM -ACC do-due.to plan all ruin.PAST-DECL
 ‘The surprise was spoiled because Kibo spilled the beans’

When the objects *the soup* and *the beans* end in a consonant as in [su:p] and [bi:nz], the accusative marker *-ul* may be attached to them, resulting in [su: pəɭ] and [bi:n zəɭ], respectively.

While [su: pəɪ] can be syllabified into /su:p/ and /əɪ/ in correspondence with the word boundary between *soup* and *-ul* in Korean, [bi:n zəɪ] cannot be syllabified into /bi:nz/ and /əɪ/ reflecting the word boundary between *beans* and *-ul*: consonant clusters are not permitted in Korean phonotactics, thus /bi:nz/ is ill-formed in Korean. To preserve the phonotactic rules of Korean, it should be re-syllabified into /bi:n/ and /zəɪ/, which no longer matches the English input word *beans*. Alternatively, an epenthetic vowel ə may be inserted after the word *the beans*, and *-lul* is attached to it. As a result, the entire word gets pronounced as [bi:n/zə/rəɪ], which alters the phonetic quality of the English word in return. To keep both the phonotactic rules of Korean and the phonetic quality of English, the accusative marker was omitted after the object *the beans* in the OV order of the phrase *spill the beans* in (128b).⁴⁴

Though the insertion of the accusative marker *-ul* was possible after the object *the soup* in *spill the soup* in OV order in (128a), it was also omitted in order to keep consistency between the closely matched items, *spill the beans* and *spill the soup*. This rule was applied to all the minimally-paired items of heavy vs. light verbs in literal vs. non-literal interpretations (Appendix C-1).

However, the Korean accusative marker *-(l)ul* was inserted in all examples of light verb constructions in OV order despite unavoidable phonotactic constraints observed in some instances, such as examples of (129).

⁴⁴ Such a problem did not occur in Japanese-English code-switching, since the attachment of the Japanese accusative marker *-o* to an English word did not violate the phonotactic rules of Japanese.

- (129) a. myes sikan noncayng-kkuth-ey kyewu **compromise-lul** reach
 several hour dispute-end-LOC finally -ACC
 hayss-ta
 DO.PAST-DECL
 ‘after many hours of dispute, we finally reached a compromise’
- b. myes sikan noncayng-kkuth-ey kyewu **agreement-lul** reach
 several hour dispute-end-LOC finally -ACC
 hayss-ta
 DO.PAST-DECL
 ‘after many hours of dispute, we finally reached an agreement’

Similar to *beans-ul* in (128b), the [z] sound ending in the English word *compromise* in (129a) creates a problem when the Korean accusative marker *-(l)ul* is attached to it. Nonetheless the accusative marker *-lul* was inserted along with the epenthetic vowel ə, which was pronounced as [kɑm prɔ̃ mizə rəɭ]. This way, it was possible to obey the Korean phonotactic rule to forbid consonant clusters, while the pronunciation of the English word *compromise* was altered inevitably.

The reason to add the Korean accusative marker *-(l)ul* in all examples of light verb constructions in OV order is the following: the examples of light verb constructions included cases in which the nominal object has the identical form to the verb, such as (a) *compromise* in *reach a compromise* in (129a). If the phrase was constructed in OV order without an article, such as *compromise reach*, the possibility remained that the bare noun *compromise* would have been interpreted as a verb rather than a noun and the object the verb *reach*. In order to make sure the bare noun would be interpreted as the object in the phrase rather than as a verb, the accusative marker *-(l)ul* was inserted in all similar cases and their closely-matched paired items to keep consistency. For instance, the noun *agreement* has a different from the verb *agree*, thus the bare

noun *agreement* in OV-ordered phrase *agreement reach* in (129b) can be distinguished from the verb *agree*, and is still interpreted as the object of the verb *reach* without the accusative marker. Nonetheless, the accusative particle was inserted too after the object in (129b), *agreement-lul reach*, to maintain consistency with its closely matched item *compromise-lul reach* in (129a). As a result, the accusative marker appeared in all examples of light verb constructions constructed in OV order (Appendix C-2).

The Korean-English code-switched materials were constructed and voice-recorded by the author (a fluent Korean-English bilingual speaker) with extensive consultations with her advisors, including a native speaker of English. The parallel Japanese-English code-switching sentences were created and voice-recorded by a fluent Japanese-English bilingual speaker, who was a graduate student in the Linguistics Program at CUNY Graduate Center.

Procedure

The experiment was conducted via a Power Point slide show. In the beginning of the experiment, participants received instructions on the task before the trial began. The trial session included 6 practice questions (out of 10 in total) in order for the participants to familiarize themselves with the task. After the half of the test items were presented, the participants were encouraged, but not forced, to take a five-minute break. The experiment either continued or resumed, depending on the need of each participant. After the break, 4 additional practice items were covertly presented prior to the rest of test materials, allowing the participants to recover their own performance pace after taking a short break.

As described earlier, each question consisted of three subparts framed in two frames; the short scenario introduction (Frame1) and the interpretation-supporting cartoon and the code-

switched pair of utterances (Frame 2). The participants heard each utterance only once, and the pace of the experiment was pre-programmed by the investigator. The duration of each and all frames was preset, and the transition from Frame 1 to 2 was automatic. However, the transition from one question to another (Frame 2 to next Frame 1) was fully controlled by the participants, allowing them to take as much time as were needed for answering each question. The next question began only when the participant clicked the mouse. See Appendices D-1 and D-2 for all frames implemented in the experiment.

A separate answer sheet was provided, consisting of an abbreviated version of the scenario, a reduced size of the cartoon, and two checkboxes numbered 1 and 2 corresponding to each code-switched sentence the participant heard (Appendices E-1 and E-2). No time limit was imposed on the task, and the participants, on average, took 30 minutes to complete the experiment.

Participants

A total of 28 Korean-English bilingual speakers (age range 18-27; mean age 21.1; 19 female) and 8 Japanese-English bilingual speakers (age range 25-38; mean age 31.9; 7 female) successfully completed the experiment. The onset of learning Korean and English was 0.9 and 4.6 years old, and the onset of learning Japanese and English was 0 and 5.3 years old, respectively.

Data Treatment

Initially 34 Korean-English and 12 Japanese-English bilingual speakers in total participated in the experiment, but 6 Korean-English and 4 Japanese-English participants were excluded from

the data analysis after three screening procedures. First, 4 Korean-English and 2 Japanese-English bilingual participants were excluded because the information provided in the language history questionnaire revealed they started learning one of their two languages, either English or Korean/Japanese, after the age of 12, suggesting they were not early bilinguals, the target population of the study. The rationale for including only early bilingual speakers was based on the fact that code-switching is a property of highly proficient bilinguals, and the delayed acquisition of one of their languages indicates that the speaker may have not reached native or near-native proficiency for one of the languages they speak. Second, 1 Korean-English bilingual speaker was rejected due to her high performance error rate (25%) in filler type I, choosing OV rather than VO as the natural order of a full English sentence 4 times out of 16 trials. It turned out that this participant was already excluded based on the information given in the language history questionnaire. In addition, 2 Korean-English and 2 Japanese-English bilingual participants were excluded, because they exhibited a strongly biased word order preference for the code-switched sentences, either OV or VO, regardless of item types. Except for 1 Korean-English bilingual who chose OV order 77% of his trials, the other 3 participants selected VO order predominantly, ranging from 79% to 95% of their responses. Excluding these 4 participants, the average distribution of VO vs. OV order preferred by 28 Korean-English and 8 Japanese-English bilingual speakers in the study was 47.4% vs. 52.6% and 56.7% vs. 43.3%, respectively.

In sum, 3 Korean-English bilinguals and 2 Japanese-English bilinguals who took the Version A of the experiment, and 3 Korean-English bilinguals and 2 Japanese-English bilinguals who took the Version B of the task were excluded from the formal data analysis.

5.2.2 Results and Discussion

Korean-English code-switching

Figure 5.1 graphically shows the percentage of VO order preference by Verb Type (heavy vs. light) and Interpretation (literal vs. non-literal) in Korean-English code-switching.

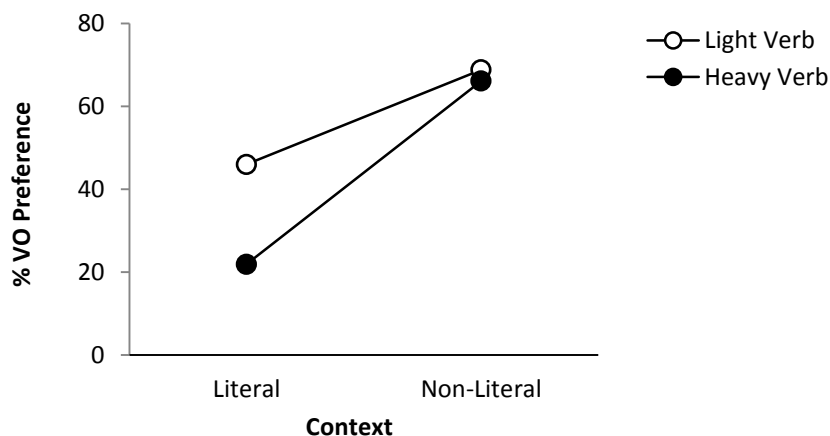


Figure 5.1 % VO preference by Verb Type and Interpretation in Korean-English CS

In the overall analysis, a main effect of verb type (heavy vs. light verbs) was found. The preference of VO order of the code-switched phrase involving a heavy vs. a light verb was 44.0% and 57.4%, respectively ($F_1(1,26)=25.49$, $p<.001$; $F_2(1,28)=3.07$, $.05<p<.10$). A main effect of interpretation (literal vs. non-literal) was also found. The preference of VO order of the code-switched phrase in literal vs. non-literal interpretations was 33.9% and 67.4% ($F_1(1,26)=25.49$, $p<.001$; $F_2(1,28)=52.35$, $p<.001$). These results replicate the previous findings in Shim (2011) that both verb types and interpretations play a role in word order variation in code-switching. In

addition, an interaction between Verb Type and Interpretation was found ($F_1(1,26)=8.95$, $p<.01$; $F_2(1,28)=5.36$, $p<.05$).⁴⁵

The sub-analyses revealed that with heavy verbs, the percentage of VO order preference was significantly lower in literal interpretation than in non-literal interpretation, 21.9% vs. 66.1% ($F_1(1,26)=86.73$, $p<.001$; $F_2(1,14)=41.88$, $p<.001$). A similar pattern has emerged with light verbs; the percentage of VO order preference was significantly lower in literal interpretation than in non-literal interpretation, 46.0% vs. 68.8% ($F_1(1,26)=25.21$, $p<.001$; $F_2(1,14)=13.29$, $p<.005$).

The difference between heavy and light verbs was also found in light verb constructions, presented in Figure 5.2.

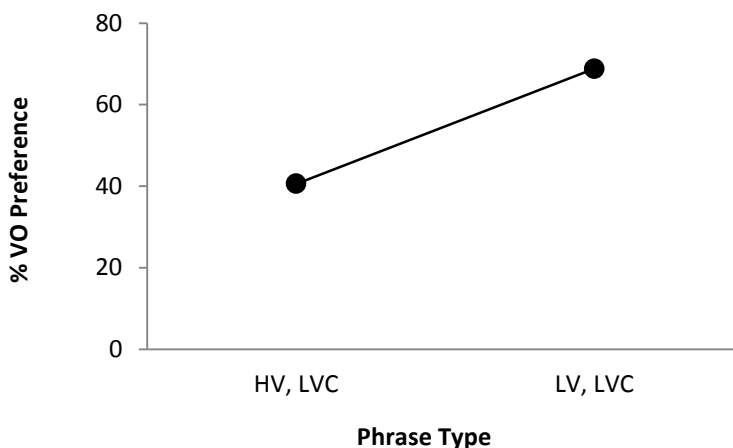


Figure 5.2 % VO preference by Verb Type and Construction in Korean-English CS

⁴⁵ The source of the interaction between Verb Type and Interpretation is not clear. It could be a ceiling effect of the test, revealing that the percentages of VO preference have reached maximum points in non-literal interpretations for both heavy and light verbs (Bradley, p.c.). Alternatively, the interaction could be explained by the fact that not all verbs in (115), which were initially categorized as English light verbs in this study, behave the same way as the analyses of individual items reveal that a subset of these verbs (e.g., *hold*) or their uses follow the pattern of heavy verbs with respect to word order preference in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching data, showing that OV was strongly preferred. Thus, an inclusion of heavy verbs or heavy uses of light verbs in the group of light verbs may have resulted in a lower percentage of VO preference, as observed in the interaction between heavy and light verbs in non-literal interpretations. Detailed discussions of individual light verbs in English will follow in Section 6.2.

A one-way ANOVA analysis of heavy vs. light verbs in light verb constructions showed that while the preference of VO order was 40.6% with heavy verbs, it was 63.8% with light verbs ($F_1(1,26)=29.10$, $p<.001$; $F_2(1,14)=6.51$, $p<.025$).

With the filler materials including heavy vs. light uses of verbs, the preferred word order seemed to differ by the heavy use of the verb and the light use of the verb (54.5% VO vs. 41.1% VO). However, this result was not statistically confirmed due to low item power ($F_1(1,26)=5.70$, $p<.025$; $F_2(1,6)=1.43$, $p>.25$). With the filler materials with direct object vs. indirect objects, the difference of preferred word order was smaller between the verb with the direct object (e.g., *pay the gas bill*) and the verb with the indirect object (e.g., *pay the gardener*), exhibiting 20.5 % VO and 27.7% VO occurrence, respectively. Thus, the prediction that the case mismatch found in the triadic verb with the indirect object between English (accusative case) and Korean (dative case) would result in VO order was not borne out. However, it was not confirmed at a statistically significant level either, again due to the low number of items included in the experiment ($F_1(1,26)=1.30$, $p>.25$; $F_2<1$).

Japanese-English code-switching

In general, the results from the Japanese-English code-switching data were not supported at a statistically significant level due to the small number of subjects. Nonetheless, there was a clearly emerging pattern found between Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, which is illustrated in Figure 5.3.

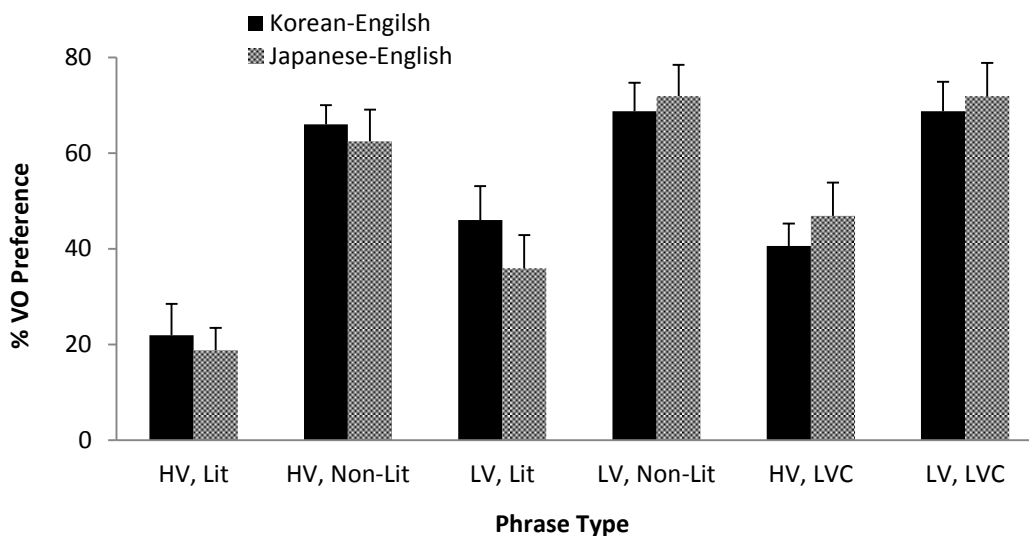


Figure 5.3 % VO preference, overall, as a function of Phrase Type and Speaker Group

Similar to the results obtained from Korean-English code-switching, the overall results from the code-switching judgment experiment with Japanese-English bilinguals revealed that the preference of VO order was higher with light verbs than heavy verbs both in literal interpretations and light verb constructions, while this difference disappeared in non-literal interpretations, in which VO order was strongly preferred regardless of verb type.

In sum, the overall pattern of results found in the code-switching judgment task provides evidence to support the hypothesis that the selection between English light verbs and heavy verbs within a code-switched phrase would lead to word order variation in code-switching; while light verbs lead to VO order, heavy verbs derive OV order. Yet, this difference was only observed in the VPs with literal interpretations light verb constructions, not in non-literal or idiomatic interpretations, to which I will return in Chapter 6.

The present findings are in accordance with the results reported in Shim (2011) that both the selection of heavy vs. light verbs within a code-switched constituent and the idiomaticity of the code-switched phrase play a role in deriving word order in code-switching.

5.3 Syntactic Flexibility Judgment Task

The results from the code-switching judgment task showed that the distinction between heavy and light verbs did not make a difference in non-literal interpretations, both of which were strongly preferred in VO order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. Yet, a microscopic analysis of each code-switched phrase in non-literal or idiomatic interpretations revealed that there still exist variations among them, suggesting that not all idioms behave the same way. Under the assumption that the internal argument of the syntactically flexible phrase is subject to code-switching, while the internal argument of the less flexible or inflexible phrase may not undergo code-switching, the syntactic flexibility judgment task was designed to see whether word order variation in code-switching is related to the syntactic flexibility of the code-switched phrase, especially in non-literal interpretations.

5.3.1 Method

Materials and Design

To see whether different degrees of syntactic flexibility of idiomatic expressions would play a role in deriving different word orders in code-switching, VP idioms (16 HVs, Non-literal and 16 LVs, Non-literal) included in the CS judgment task were selected as critical materials. The items were inserted in an appropriate sentential context and syntactically manipulated with three different operations: (a) passivization, (b) relative clause formation, and (c) *wh*-question formation, as shown in (130).

- (130) At a conference participants can rub shoulders with many leading figures in the field.
- a. At a conference shoulders can be rubbed with many leading figures in the field.
 - b. Naïve participants are only interested in the shoulders that they rub with famous people at a conference.
 - c. How many shoulders did you rub with famous people at the conference?

In addition, 32 filler materials were added, consisting of a light verb construction with 16 heavy verbs and 16 light verbs from the CS judgment task. The filler items were also inserted in an appropriate sentential context and syntactically operated with passivization, relativization, and *wh*-movement, similar to critical materials.

However, there were several items that involve verb-object combination that generally are not subject to passivization, including 1 critical item (*have a big mouth*) and 4 filler items (*have a look, have a try, get a suntan, and get a sense*). Thus these items were only provided in relative clause formation and *wh*-question formation only. (131) exemplifies this.

- (131) Kibo has a big mouth, so his friends don't like to tell him any secrets.
- a. Because of the big mouth Kibo has, his friends don't want to share any secrets with him.
 - b. How big a mouth does Kibo have, which makes his friends not tell any secrets to him?

Four filler items (*get a suntan, make a request, pay a visit, deliver a speech*) were used as practice items and 2 additional practice items (*kick the habit, kill time*), which were presented at the beginning of the task.

Procedure

The experiment was a self-paced pencil-and-paper task. On the first page of the questionnaire, given in (132), participants were instructed to read each sentence and judge to what extent the meaning associated with the underscored phrase is available in the following two or three sentences, using a 4-point Likert scale.

- (132) In this task, sentences are presented in groups. Within each group, the first sentence is the “standard”, and it contains an underscored expression. Two or three further sentences in the group use something similar to that expression, but in slightly varied forms. Your task is to decide whether *the meaning of the underscored expression* in the standard sentence remains available in the sentences that follow.

To give your opinion, please choose the best-fitting value on the scale below. Value 1 is used to say that the expression’s meaning is no longer available at all, and Value 4 to say that exactly the original meaning remains available. Values 2 and 3 are used for intermediate judgments.

Meaning not available				Same meaning, exactly
1	2	3		4

Let’s practice a few questions first.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Can you <u>get a suntan</u> through a glass window? | 1 2 3 4 |
| a. That’s a great suntan that you’ve got through a glass window! | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. How much of a suntan can you get through a glass window? | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. The company <u>made a request</u> for the workers to return to their jobs immediately. | 1 2 3 4 |
| a. A request was made for the workers to return to their jobs immediately. | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The request the company made to the workers is their immediate return to their jobs. | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What request did the company make of the workers? | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |

After the participant read the written instructions and tried the first 2 practice items the participant was offered a verbal clarification of the instructions from the investigator before the experiment began. The participants were allowed to take a break whenever needed, but every

participant continued non-stop until they had completed the task. A full version of the syntactic flexibility task is provided in Appendix F.

Participants and Data Treatment

A total of 34 Korean-English and 12 Japanese-English bilingual speakers who participated in the code-switching judgment task continued to participate in the syntactic flexibility task. However, only 28 Korean-English and 8 Japanese-English bilinguals whose data were analyzed for the code-switching judgment task were also included for the data analysis of this task. In addition, 7 monolingual English speakers (age range 23-57; mean age 32.6; 3 female) participated as a control group. The results from bilingual speakers were compared to those obtained from the monolingual native speakers of English.

The time the participants spent to finish the experiment varied from less than an hour to 90 minutes, but on average, they took 60 minutes.

5.3.2 Results and Discussion

Figure 5.4 below shows the mean syntactic flexibility scores for different types of code-switched phrases by Speaker group.

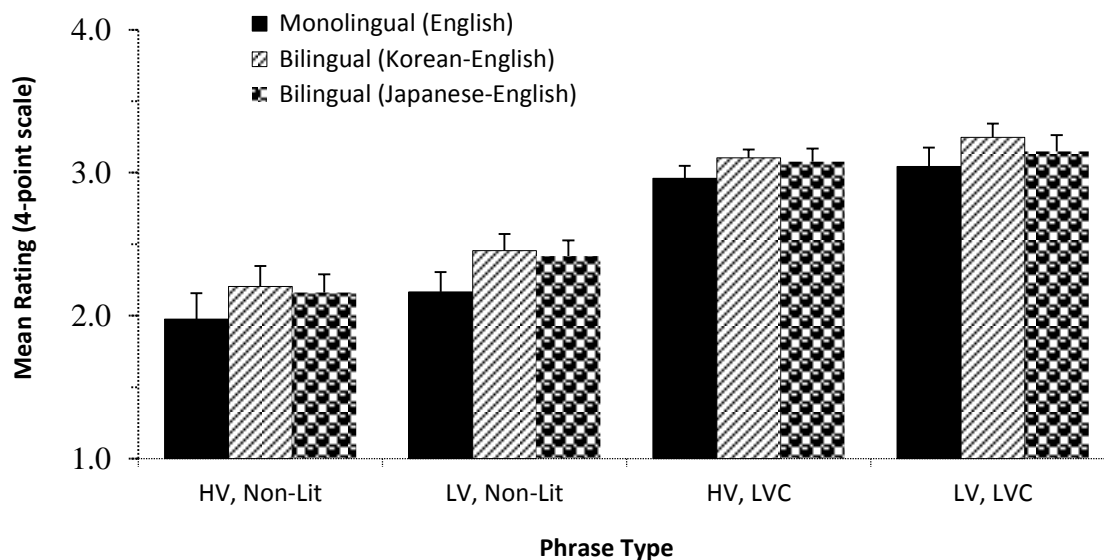


Figure 5.4 Mean syntactic flexibility rating, overall, as a function of Phrase Type and Speaker Group. ‘Overall’ rating collapses individually scored passivization, relativization, and *wh*-question formation tests.

The results showed that the idioms (HV, Non-Lit and LV, Non-Lit) were judged less syntactically flexible than the non-idiomatic expressions (HV, LVC and LV, LVC), as predicted, by all three speaker groups. The minor difference between the English monolingual group and the Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual groups was that the scores for flexibility assigned by the two bilingual groups were slightly higher than those assigned by the monolingual group, regardless of phrase type.

To see whether syntactic flexibility plays a role in deriving word order in code-switching, the results obtained from the Korean-English/Japanese-English bilingual speakers in the syntactic flexibility judgment task was compared to the results from the code-switching judgment task, illustrated in Figure 5.5 below.

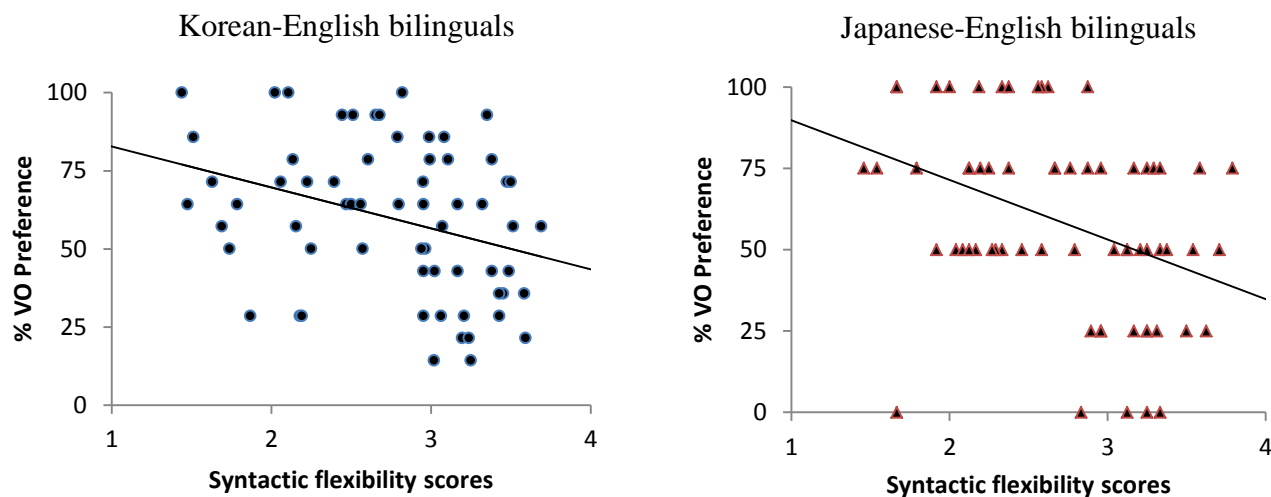


Figure 5.5 Percentages of VO order preference predicted by syntactic flexibility scores assigned by Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual speakers

Figure 5.5 shows that the more flexible the phrase was judged, the less it was favored in VO order in code-switching in both Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual groups. For instance, the syntactic flexibility score for the idiom *take a hike*, meaning ‘leave’, was 1.44, which was much lower than the mean syntactic flexibility score 2.75, thus showing that the phrase was judged much less flexible than most phrases included. And it was preferred in VO order 100% in the CS judgment task by Korean-English bilinguals. On the other hand, when the same phrase *take a hike* was interpreted literally, it was judged much more flexible and scored 3.32 in the syntactic flexibility judgment task. And the VO preference of the literal phrase *take a hike* was 64% by the same group of bilinguals. In other words, the more syntactically flexible code-switched phrase was preferred in OV order in code-switching.

The overall pattern of results found in the task supports the hypothesis that syntactically flexible and inflexible phrases behave differently with respect to word order derivation in code-switching, leading to OV and VO, respectively. This can be further corroborated by the argument that while the internal argument of the syntactically flexible phrase is subject to code-switching,

the syntactically inflexible phrase is frozen and undergoes code-switching as a unit. Hence, the internal order of the phrase is maintained throughout the derivation.

However, the correlation between the preferred word order and the syntactic flexibility of a code-switched phrase was found to be rather weak in both groups ($r = -.033$ for Korean-English and $r = -.038$ for Japanese-English), revealing that there are variations found among the idiomatic phrases.⁴⁶ The weak correlation between the syntactic flexibility of the code-switched phrase and word order variation found in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching may be accounted for by the fact that the three syntactic operations that were experimented in the present task, passivization, relative clause formation, and *wh*-question formation, may not be directly related to the syntactic phenomenon that derives OV~VO variation under the assumption that OV is derived from VO via object shift. Although it is true that the results from passivization, relative clause formation, and *wh*-question formation revealed different degrees of syntactic flexibility of the code-switched phrases, the nature of these three syntactic operations is different from that of object shift leading to OV~VO variation in code-switching, summarized in (133).

- (133) a. Object shift is object movement caused by the EPP property on v ⁴⁷
 $[_{vP} OBJ_i v [_{VP} V t_i]]$
- b. Passivization is due to Case: the underlying object is assigned nominative Case from T, which is specified for EPP
 $[_{TP} OBJ_i T [_{vP} v [_{VP} V t_i]]]$

⁴⁶ An item-based analysis is provided in Chapter 6.

⁴⁷ In Chapter 3, the object landing site was identified Spec, ASP, not Spec, vP , which does not concern us here. The assumption that the EPP property on v derives object movement, resulting in OV, will remain constant regardless of the object landing site.

- c. (Object) Relativization is a syntactic dependency between the head noun in the matrix clause and the gap in the embedded clause (no movement involved)
 ... head noun_i ... [_{CP} C [_{TP} T [_{vP} v [_{VP} V gap_i]]]]
- d. (Object) *Wh*-question is movement caused by *Wh*-feature on C, which is specified for EPP
 [_{CP} OBJ_i C [_{TP} T [_{vP} v [_{VP} V t_i]]]]

From (133), we can see that neither relativization nor *wh*-movement have the same driving force as object shift, whereas syntactic procedures for object shift and passivization appear to be similar; the object raises to a specifier of a functional head, such as *v* and T, due to the EPP specification on it, respectively.⁴⁸ Yet, there are additional properties found in passive constructions cross-linguistically, distinguished from object shift. The grammatical subject of a passive sentence is the internal argument of the verb, which gets nominative case, and the external argument of the verb is not projected as an argument but may be realized as an adjunct phrase (the *by*-phrase in English and the dative phrase in Korean and Japanese, for instance). Most importantly, the demotion of the external argument coupled with the accusative case absorption brings about valency decrease, which is reflected in a morphological change in the verb. Examples are provided in (134).⁴⁹

⁴⁸ The EPP property T is not intrinsic to T but is inherited from C, as discussed in Chapter 3.

⁴⁹ Both Korean and passive constructions are analyzed as a causative construction with an experiencer-reading in Shim (2008) and Shim and Nakajima (2012).

- (134) a. John kicked the dog
 a'. The dog was kicked by John
- b. Kibo-ka kay-lul cha-ss-ta Korean
 Kibo-NOM dog-ACC kick-PAST-DECL
 'Kibo kicked the dog'
- b'. kay-ka Kibo-eykey cha-i-ess-ta
 dog-NOM Kibo-DAT kick-PASS-PAST-DECL
 'The dog was kicked by Kibo'
- c. Kibo-ga inu-o ker-ta Japanese
 Kibo-NOM dog-ACC kick-PAST
 'Kibo kicked the dog'
- c'. inu-ga Kibo-ni ker-are-ta
 dog-NOM Kibo-DAT kick-PASS-PAST
 'The dog was kicked by Kibo'

In this regard, the passive construction differs from object shift, for it involves a valency-reducing operation on the verb in addition to the NP/object raising. It is likely that the valency-changing morphological operation involved in passivization is subject to restrictions that constrain the applicability of passive *beyond* the restrictions imposed by DP/object raising *per se*. For that reason, it is to be expected that object shift and passives will not have identical distributions.

Hence, from the fact that none of the three syntactic procedures included in the syntactic flexibility task, passivization, relativization and *wh*-questions, involve the same syntactic process as object shift, which is the source of OV~VO variation in code-switching, it is perhaps not surprising that there is no strong correlation between the syntactic flexibility of the code-switched phrase based on the results from these operations and word order patterns obtained in the code-switching judgment task.

5.4 Idiom Familiarity Task

The test items of the code-switching judgment task included a number of idiomatic expressions, thus an idiom familiarity task was designed to measure the bilingual participants' familiarity with English idioms included in the CS judgment task and the syntactic flexibility judgment task.

5.4.1 Method

Materials and Design

A total of 32 VP idioms tested in in the code-switching judgment task and the syntactic flexibility judgment task were included in this task. In the syntactic flexibility task, each idiom was inserted in an appropriate sentential context and used as an input sentence. These sentences continued to serve as the test items of the present task. Since the idiom familiarity task was originally designed to be used as a screening tool, no additional filler materials were added.

Procedure

The experiment was a self-paced pencil-and-paper task. Each idiom was incorporated in a sentence and underscored. Participants were asked to read each sentence and write down the meaning of the underscored phrase of the sentence in their own words (Appendix G).

To prevent the two judgment tasks, code-switching and syntactic flexibility, from being affected by lexical and contextual redundancy, the present task was administered *after* these tasks.

Participants and Data Treatment

The same group of Korean-English bilinguals, Japanese-English bilinguals, and native speakers of English that participated in the syntactic flexibility task continued to participate in the idiomatic familiarity task. Except for 1 Japanese-English bilingual, who did not answer more than half of the questions of the experiment, all the other participants successfully completed the task. The results from 28 Korean-English and 8 Japanese-English bilingual speakers whose data were analyzed for the code-switching judgment task and the syntactic flexibility judgment task were included for further analysis and compared to the results from the 7 monolingual native speakers of English. No time limit was imposed on the task, and the participants, on average, took 30 minutes or less to finish it.

5.4.2 Results and Discussion

All responses provided by the participants were analyzed into 5 categories: (a) a correct description or interpretation of the phrase, (b) no response, (c) a wrong interpretation of the phrase, (d) a literal interpretation of the phrase, (e) an approximate description of the phrase, yet not correct. For each speaker group, English monolingual, Korean-English bilingual, and Japanese-English bilingual, a correct answer response rate was calculated based only on (a) a correct description/interpretation of the phrase among the answer types. Figure 5.6 shows the correct response rate by Phrase Type and Speaker Group.

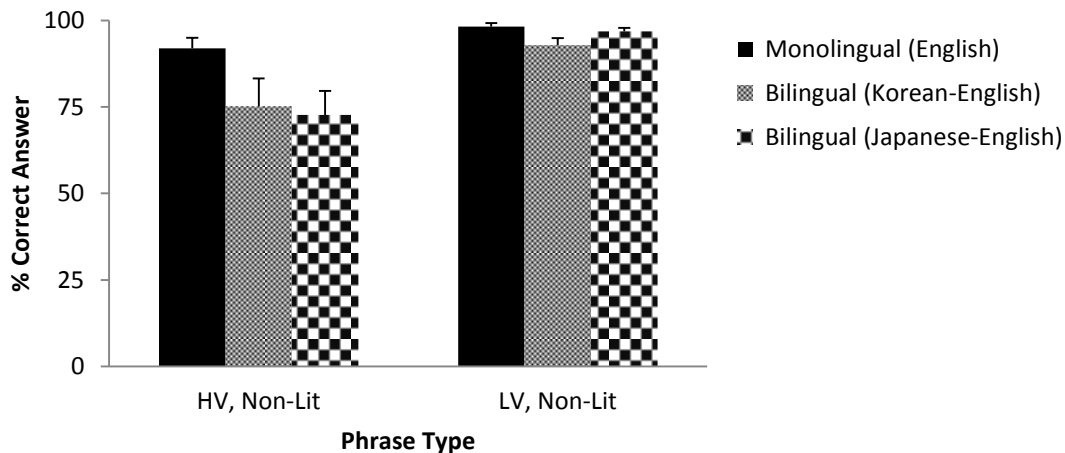


Figure 5.6 Percentages of correct answers by Phrase Type and Speaker Group

Overall, the percentages of correct answers provided by the English monolingual, Korean-English bilingual and Japanese-English bilingual were 95%, 84%, and 85%, respectively, indicating that the two bilingual groups were slightly less familiar with English idioms than the monolingual native speakers of English. However, such a difference between the monolingual and the bilingual speakers was limited to the idioms involving heavy verbs, especially only to those in which the usual meaning of a lexical verb is not available at all in the idiomatic phrase. Figure 5.7 graphically lists 5 idiomatic phrases that were most frequently understood incorrectly by the Korean-English and Japanese-English speakers in the experiment.

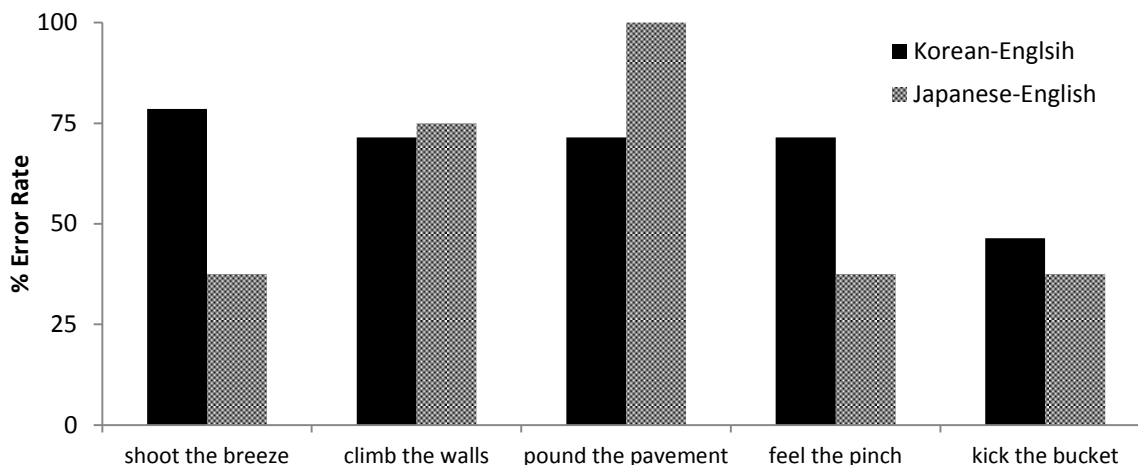


Figure 5.7 Idioms of the highest error rates obtained from the bilingual speakers

Among the 5 idioms listed in Figure 5.7 above, *shoot the breeze* ‘to talk aimlessly’ and *climb the walls* ‘to be anxious or frantic’ were interpreted close to their literal sense by some speakers, such as ‘to feel the breeze’ and ‘to promote’, respectively. While either the object or the verb seemed to be literally interpreted in the idioms *shoot the breeze* and *climb the walls*, the idiom *pound the pavement* ‘to look for a job’ was interpreted literally in its aspectual sense by the majority of Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual speakers, such as ‘to do something repeatedly’, which preserved the aspectual meaning of the verb, iterativeness. Interestingly, *pound the pavement* was strongly preferred in OV order in the code-switching judgment task, suggesting the possibility that the emergence of an aspectually literal meaning leads to OV order, parallel to the predominant OV order with a heavy verb in literal interpretations. However, other idioms interpreted close to their literal sense such as *shoot the breeze* and *climb the walls* were both favored in VO order in both Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. Thus, it seems that the unexpected order of the idiom *pound the pavement* unlike other idioms was not related to the failure of its idiomatic reading.

5.5 Chapter Summary and Conclusion

The pattern of the results found in the code-switching judgment task and the syntactic flexibility judgment task from 28 Korean-English and 8 Japanese-English bilingual speakers confirms the two research hypotheses that *(i)* the selection between English heavy verbs and light verbs within a code-switched constituent leads to OV~VO variation, and *(ii)* syntactically flexible and inflexible phrases also lead to OV~VO variation in code-switching.

Based on the results obtained in the CS judgment task, I now proceed to move on to provide a feature-inheritance account of deriving OV and VO order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching in the framework of the Minimalist Program in next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

DERIVING WORD ORDER IN KOREAN-ENGLISH AND JAPANESE-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

The overall outcome of the experimental study on Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching supports the hypothesis that the selection between English heavy verbs and light verbs within a code-switched phrase would lead to OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, replicating the findings of Shim (2011). However, this difference was only observed in the phrases of literal interpretations and in light verb constructions, but not in those of non-literal or idiomatic interpretations. Given these results, the present chapter proposes a grammatical account of OV~VO variations in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching in the framework of the Minimalist Program, especially based on the feature inheritance system that I developed in Chapter 3.

6.1 *OV-ha/su* vs. *VO-ha/su*

In Chapter 3, I proposed two principles of feature inheritance and also three operational rules that regulate feature inheritance, repeated for convenience in (135) and (136), respectively.

(135) Principles of Feature Inheritance

a. *Feature Selection*

Features may be selectively inherited.

b. *Feature Expiration*

Inherited features are only active on the heir (T, ASP) and lose their probing capability on the donor (C, v).

(136) Operational Rules of Feature Inheritance

a. *Earliness* (cf. Pesetsky 1989)

Value features and satisfy EPP as early as possible.

b. *Economy*

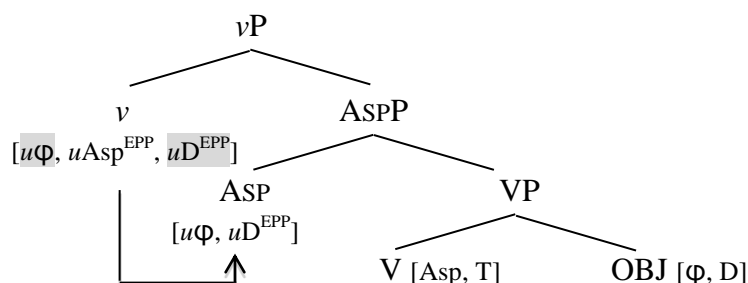
Minimize the number of feature checking operations.

c. *Multiple Agree under Antisymmetry*

Only one goal can be spelled-out at the specifier of a probe in multiple agree relations.

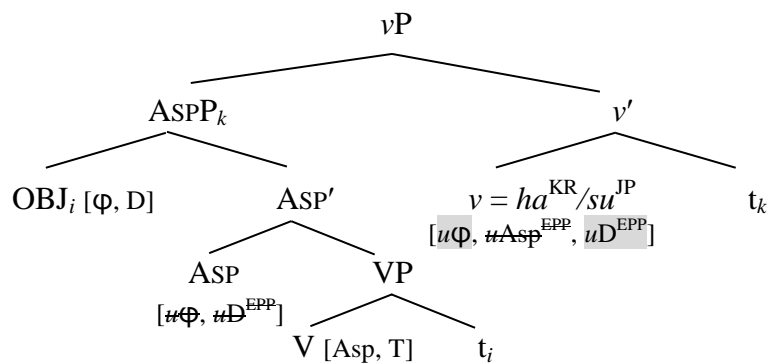
Based on (135) and (136), I also proposed the underlying structure for v -ASP in Korean and Japanese, in which ASP inherits $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ from v , shown in (137).

(137)



In light *ha/su* constructions, the Korean light verb *ha* and the Japanese light verb *su* lexicalize v in (137), and OV-*ha/su* order is derived from object shift to Spec, ASPP and ASP raising to Spec, v P, as shown in (138).

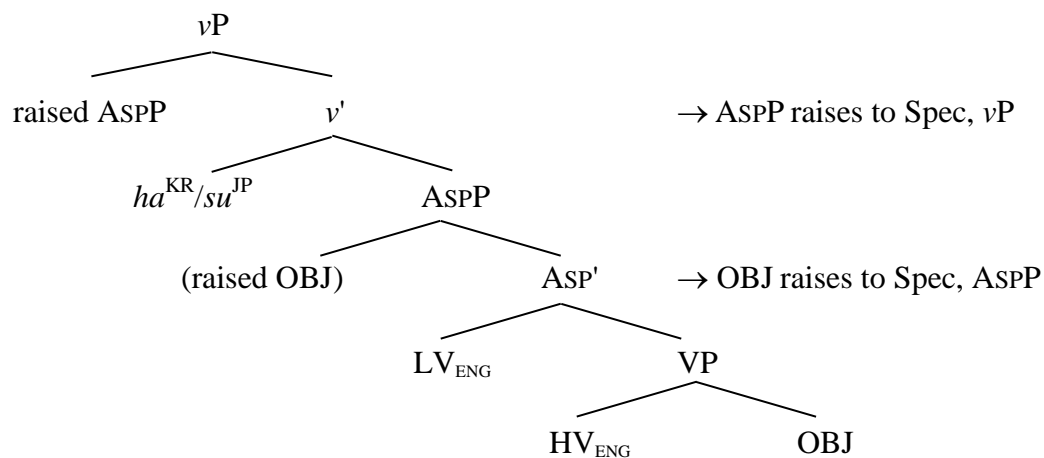
(138)



The OV~VO variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching is explained as a result of object raising to Spec, ASPP: when object shift occurs, OV order is derived within ASP; if the object stays in situ, VO is derived. Regardless of object shift, the entire ASPP always raises to Spec, vP whenever v is Korean or Japanese, and the surface word order would be either OV-*ha/su* or VO-*ha/su* in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. All these movements are a consequence of feature checking and EPP specification on a functional head, as assumed in the Minimalist Program.

Based on this, I proposed (139) as the underlying structure for deriving OV and VO order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching.

(139)



In the following subsections, I will provide a feature inheritance-based account of OV-*ha/su* and VO-*ha/su* orders obtained from the Korean-English and Japanese-English CS judgment task.

Figure 5.2, reproduced from Chapter 5, shows the results from the CS judgment task, the percentage of VO order preference for different types of code-switched constituents in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching.⁵⁰

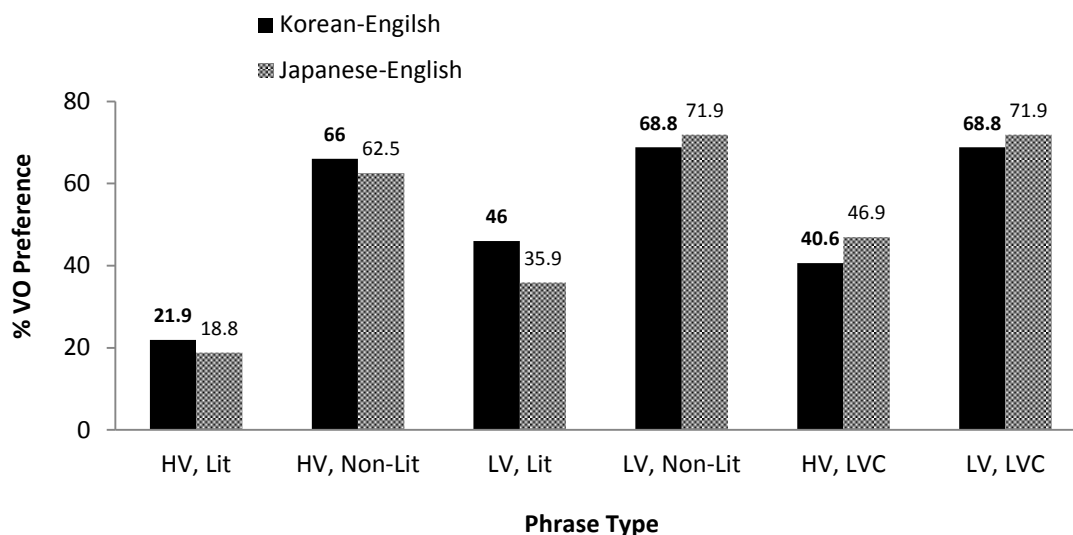


Figure 5.2 % VO preference, overall, as a function of Phrase Type and Speaker Group

It should be noted that the results from Japanese-English code-switching were not confirmed at a statically significant level due to its small sample size. Nonetheless, it is clearly shown that the overall outcomes of Japanese-English code-switching exhibit a pattern similar to those of Korean-English code-switching. Based on this, in the following, the results from Korean-English code-switching will be used primarily for further grammatical accounts of OV vs. VO distinction

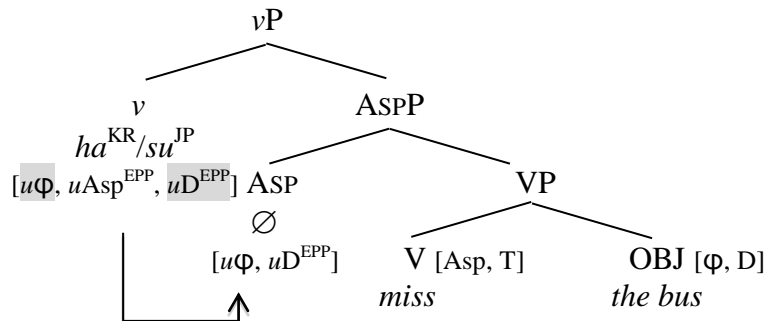
⁵⁰ Peter Sells asked why VO preference ever goes down below 50% in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching; if the underlying structure is VO, the preference of VO order should be above 50%. However, the assumption made in this thesis that VO is the underlying order of OV order in Korean and Japanese as well Korean-English and Japanese-English CS does not state that VO is the default order in them. On the contrary, in Korean and Japanese and Korean-English and Japanese-English CS, the default order is OV, which is necessarily derived from VO via feature inheritance. As will be discussed in the following sub-chapters, the underlying VO order surfaces only if feature inheritance from *v* to ASP fails to occur.

in Korean-English code-switching, but the same accounts hold for Japanese-English code-switching as well.

6.1.1 OV with an English Heavy Verb in Literal Interpretation

In the code-switched phrase in which an English lexical verb takes an object in a literal interpretation, such as *miss the bus*, OV order was strongly preferred (the percentage of VO occurrence was 22% for Korean-English CS and 19% for Japanese-English CS), similar to OV order in light *ha/su* constructions in monolingual Korean and Japanese grammar. The structure in (140) represents the underlying structure for the phrase *miss the bus*, for instance, which was favored in OV order, [(the) bus-ACC miss]-*ha/su*, in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching.

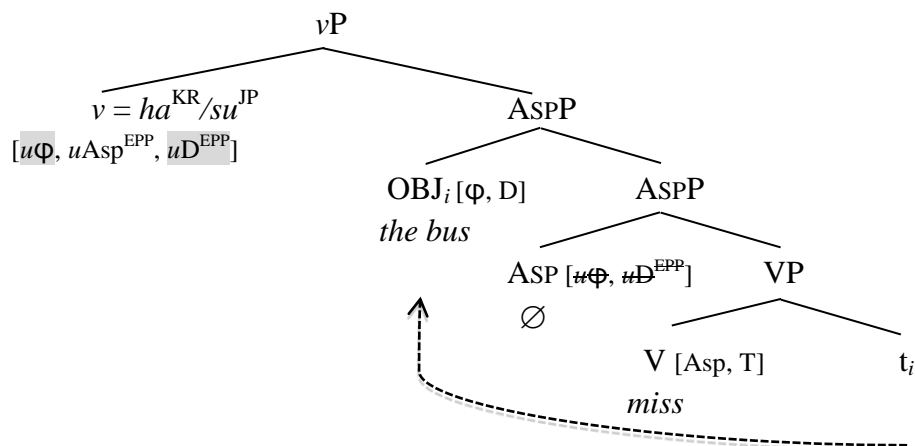
(140)



The null headed ASP does not bear any formal features of its own, and is selected by $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$, which is a Case-checking light verb with EPP specifications. Via feature inheritance, ASP is endowed with $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$: recall from Chapter 3 that v tries to transfer all of its features according to the rule of *earliness*, yet ASP inherits $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ only, not $[uASP^{EPP}]$, obeying the operational rules of *economy* and *multiple agree under antisymmetry*. The uninterpretable Φ and D-features on ASP are valued against the interpretable Φ and D-

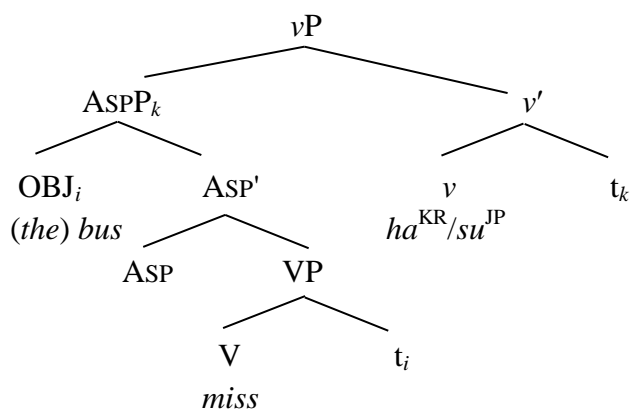
features on the object, and the object raises to Spec, ASPP caused by the EPP property of [uD] on ASP and gets accusative Case; D-feature is Case feature.

(141)



While [$u\Phi$, uD^{EPP}] transferred from v to ASP are no longer active as probing features on v , [$uASP^{EPP}$] on v still needs to be valued. $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ enters into a probe-goal relationship with V, and movement of VP is triggered by the EPP specification of the aspect feature on $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$. However, movement of VP, the projection of a lexical root, is not possible and ASPP is pied-piped by VP and raises to Spec, vP , which correctly derives the surface order OV-*ha/su* in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, shown in (142).

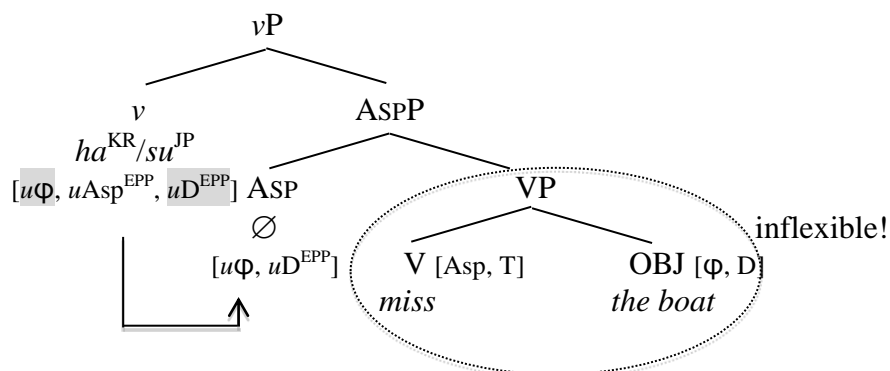
(142)



6.1.2 VO with an English Heavy Verb in Non-literal Interpretation

While OV order was strongly preferred when an English heavy verb included in the phrase of literal interpretation, VO order was favored, by contrast, in the environment where an English heavy or lexical verb takes an object in non-literal or idiomatic interpretations (e.g., *miss the boat* meaning ‘miss the opportunity’) in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching (66% for the former and 63% for the latter). Since the same set of English verbs were included both in literal and non-literal interpretations, the OV-VO contrast between them can be only explained by the fact that object shift occurs in literal interpretations, while it fails to occur in non-literal interpretations. What prevents the object from raising to Spec, ASPP in non-literal interpretations?

(143)



Similar to (140), the null ASP head in (143) may inherit $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ via feature inheritance and trigger object shift. Yet, the object resists being extracted out of the VP due to the fact that the VP of a non-literal interpretation (or the VP idiom) is not as flexible as that of a literal interpretation, as confirmed in the results from the syntactic flexibility judgment task in Chapter 5: as shown in Figure 5.4, reproduced below, the idioms (HV, Non-Lit and LV, Non-Lit) were judged less syntactically flexible than the non-idiomatic expressions (HV, LVC and LV, LVC) by all three speaker groups.

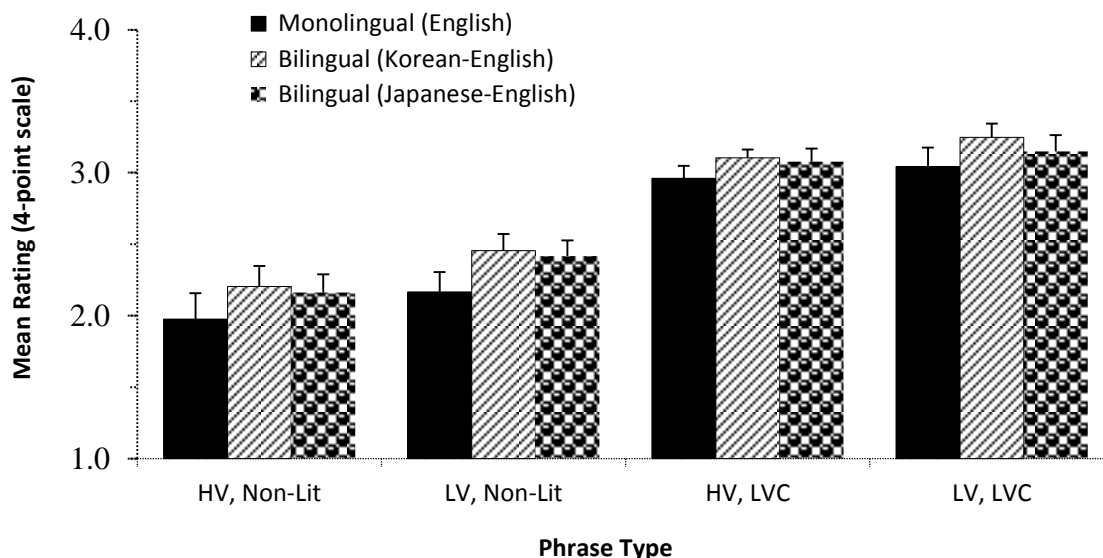
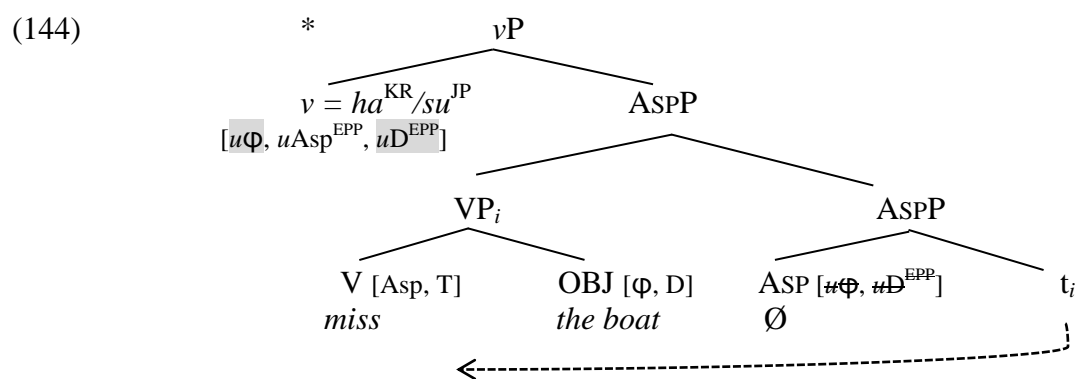


Figure 5.4 Mean syntactic flexibility rating, overall, as a function of phrase type and speaker group. ‘Overall’ rating collapses individually scored passivization, relativization, and *wh*-question formation tests.

Suppose that the object cannot be extracted out of the VP due to the syntactic inflexibility of the VP. The EPP property on ASP still needs to be satisfied; otherwise, the derivation crashes in (143). One way to save the derivation from crashing is for the object to pied-pipe the VP and for the entire VP to raise to Spec, ASPP, shown in (144).

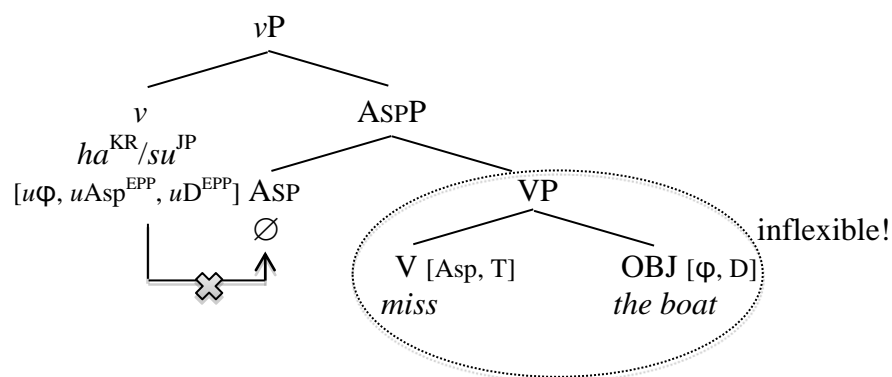


However, VP severed from its selecting functional category ASP cannot undergo phrasal movement and must pied-pipe ASPP, as discussed in Chapter 3. Thus, (144) is an illicit

movement and the smallest unit that is pied-piped by object movement is ASPP. Since ASPP raising to Spec, ASPP is not a possible derivation, the derivation crashes. Then how do we derive VO-*ha/su* order with an English heavy verb in non-literal interpretation?

Feature inheritance system is designed to value uninterpretable features on a phase head in a more efficient and economical way, and it happens automatically as long as a derivation converges. Put another way, while feature inheritance from v to ASP is otherwise spontaneous, it is blocked in (143), for it leads to a derivational crash. Instead, $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ may not transmit any of its features to ASP and v itself enters into a probe-goal relationship, so all of its features can be valued.

(145)

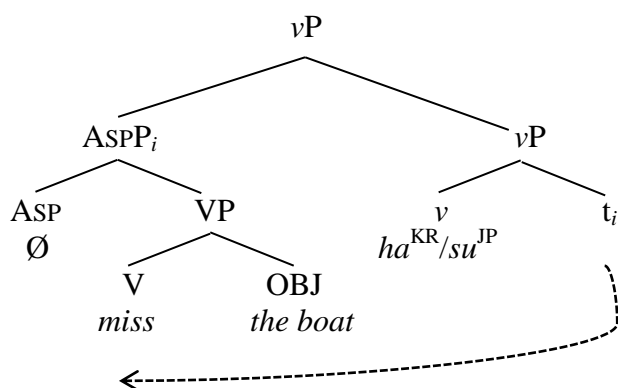


Notice that two of v 's features are EPP-specified, which attracts a goal to Spec, vP . In (145), $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ enters into multiple feature matching relationships with both V and OBJ, each of which is able to satisfy the EPP property on $[uAsp]$ and $[uD]$ of v . However, following the rule of *multiple agree under antisymmetry*, only one of them, either V or OBJ, can move to Spec, vP .⁵¹ Usually, when feature inheritance from v to ASP does not occur as in (145), the EPP specifications on $[uAsp]$ and $[uD]$ of $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ cannot both be satisfied because both goals

⁵¹ I assume that Spec, vP is the final landing site for both the verb and the object, and V does not raise to T in Korean and Japanese.

are not allowed to move simultaneously. However, thanks to the fact that the VP is inflexible and both V-raising, which satisfies the EPP-specification on $[uAsp]$ of $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ and object raising, which fulfills the EPP-requirement on $[uD]$ of $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$, must target ASPP, ASPP raising can perform its dual role to satisfy both EPP-specifications of $[uAsp]$ and $[uD]$ on $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$: movement of both VP and the object pied-pipe ASPP, satisfying the EPP-specifications on $[uD]$ and $[uAsp]$ on $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ via one single movement, whose effect is “killing two birds with one stone.” Thus, the entire ASPP raises to Spec, vP , delivering VO-*ha/su*.

(146)



Some comments are in order: in (146) above, ASPP raising satisfies both EPP-specifications of $[uAsp]$ and $[uD]$ on $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$, yet the ASP head *per se* is not a goal: it shares no matching features with v . Instead, the EPP specifications on v induce the movement of (the maximal projection of) the two goals, the verb and the object, which are in the complement domain of ASP. VP and the object pied-pipe ASPP and ASPP raising as a single step values all the features of v , including its EPP specifications. Although it may sound economical that both EPP specifications on $[uAsp]$ and $[uD]$ on $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ are satisfied by ASPP raising, ASPP pied-piping by the object shift is the last resort strategy to save the derivation, which otherwise crashes as a result of failure of object shift.

In sum, when an English heavy or lexical verb takes an object in non-literal or idiomatic interpretations, feature inheritance from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ to ASP does not occur and all of v 's features including its EPP-specifications are valued via ASPP raising. In this way, VO-*ha/su* order is derived in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching.

6.1.3 VO with an English Light Verb in Literal Interpretation

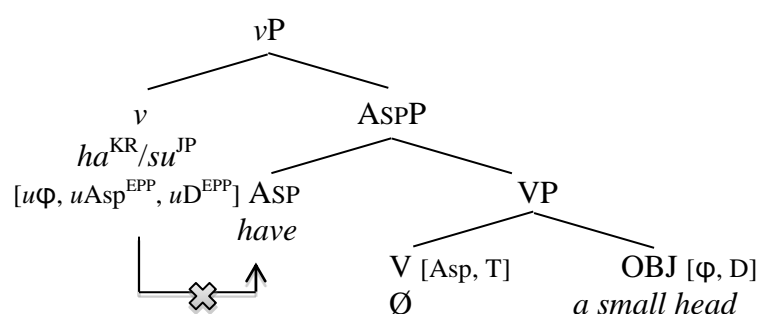
The results from the code-switching judgment task (Figure 5.2) shows that the occurrence of VO order with an English light verb in literal interpretation (e.g., *have a small head*) is 46% for Korean-English code-switching (and 36% for Japanese-English CS). At first glance, this seems to suggest that OV and VO orders are more or less equally distributed in Korean-English code-switching. However, as reported in Chapter 5, a main effect of verb types, heavy vs. light verbs, was found, revealing a higher preference of VO order with light verbs than heavy verbs in literal interpretations, which should be accounted for. In addition, an item-based analysis, provided in Section 6.2, suggests that with some of the light verbs, VO order was exceptionally high in literal interpretations, above and around 80%, exhibiting a stark contrast with heavy verbs in literal interpretations, most of which were preferred in OV higher than 90%. Based on this, I conclude that VO order is derived with light verbs in literal interpretations, and will provide an account of showing how it is derived.

In Chapter 2, I proposed that English light verbs merge under ASP. With the assumption that the English light verb lexicalizes ASP in place, the fact that preverbal object placement does not happen when an English light verb is code-switched can be explained. In (147), for example, *have* qua light verb lexicalizes ASP, and it prevents ASP from inheriting probing features from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$. Feature inheritance will take place successfully if and only if the functional head of

the complement of the phase head is empty (cf. Richards 2007). If it is already equipped with idiosyncratic lexical properties, as filled by a lexical item such as an English light verb, for example, feature inheritance does not occur.

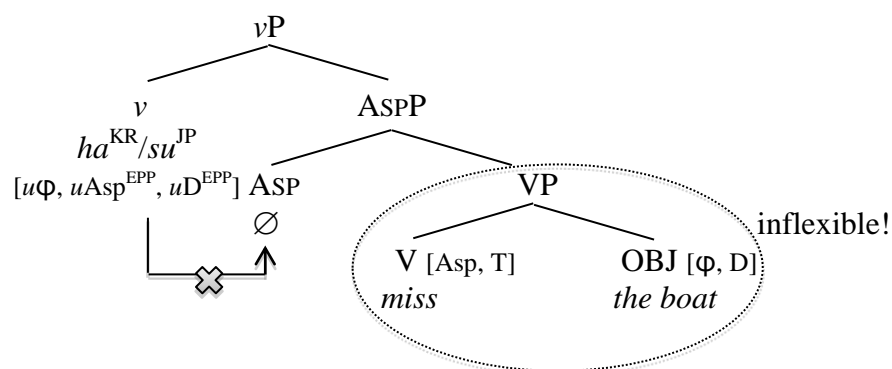
As a consequence, none of v 's features are discharged to ASP, lexicalized by an English light verb in (147). v enters into a probe-goal relationship and all of its features need to be valued. Otherwise, the derivation will crash.

(147)



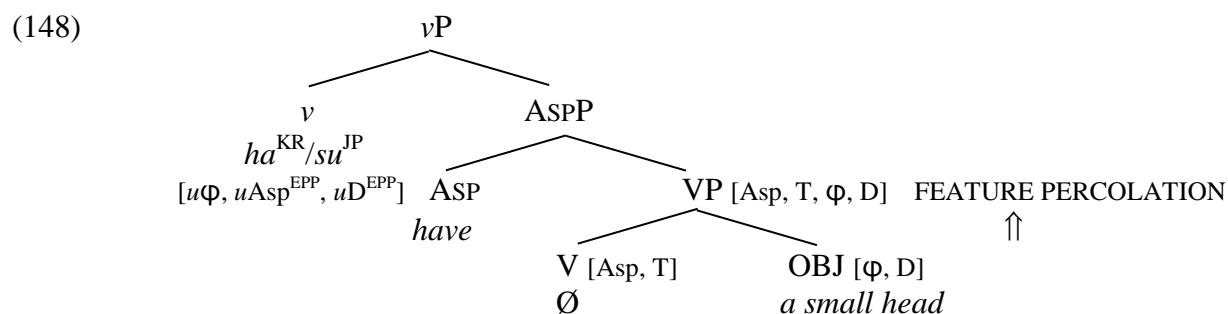
In (147), the two of v 's features, $[uD, uAsp]$, are EPP-specified and induce a goal to raise to the specifier of vP . Since no multiple specifiers are spelled-out via movement, the EPP properties on both $[uD]$ and $[uAsp]$ cannot be satisfied unless it is satisfied via one single movement, such as ASPP raising to Spec, vP , as we have seen in (145), in which VP and the object pied-pipe ASPP, satisfying the EPP-specifications on $[uD]$ and $[uAsp]$ on $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$, repeated below.

(145)



Unlike the VP in (145), however, the VP in (147) is flexible and the extraction of the object is not prohibited. Thus, object shift does not trigger ASPP pied-piping. Then how does $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ get its features valued and EPP specifications fulfilled in (147)?

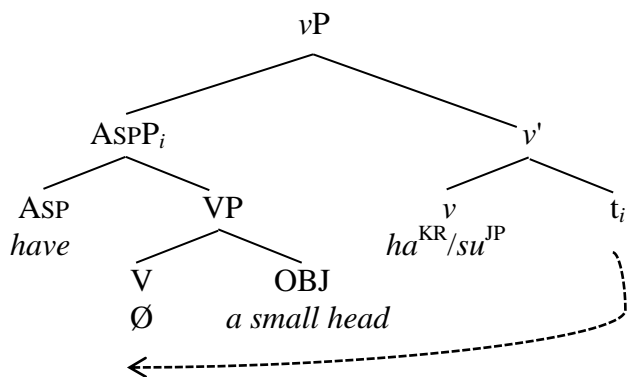
The answer is found in the empty status of V head. Normally, when V is filled and fully featurally specified, the features of the object do not manifest themselves on VP because the presence of contradictory features on V (and hence VP) prevents these features from manifesting themselves on VP. But when V is empty and arguably *only* specified for an aspect feature, not for any other features that make a verb a verb (including, perhaps, a [-D] feature indicating that it is not a noun), the object's features can be represented on VP without penalty. Thus, in (147), all the features on V head and the object percolate onto VP, as in (148).



The VP has an aspect feature thanks to percolation from its head and also phi- and D-features thanks to percolation from the non-head, the object.⁵² Now all the uninterpretable features on v and their EPP properties can be valued and satisfied via feature matching between v and VP that pied-pipes ASPP, and ASPP raises to Spec, vP , fulfilling the EPP-specifications on both $[uAsp]$ and $[uD]$ on v . Consequently, the final surface order VO-*ha/su* is derived after ASPP raises to the left of $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$, as in (149).

⁵² T feature on VP percolated from V will play a role in feature inheritance in the C-T domain, which will be discussed in Chapter 7.

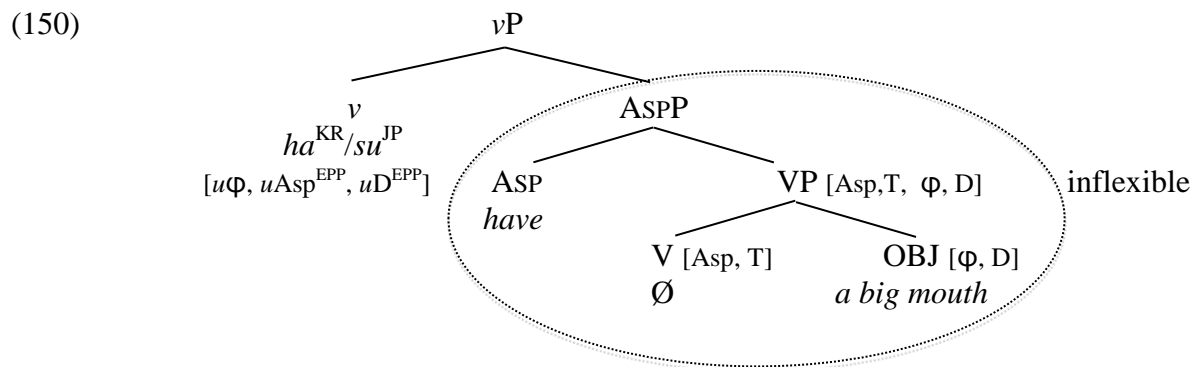
(149)



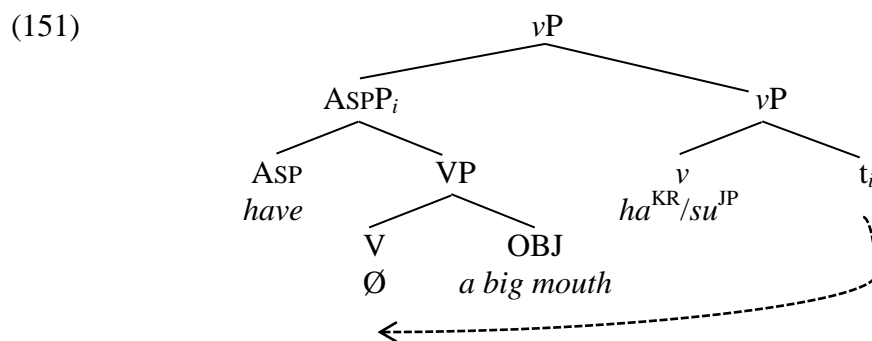
Under the assumption that English light verbs lexicalize ASP, the V head remains empty in (148), whose status may be questioned. The existence of null lexical verbs has been argued in many languages (e.g., Slovenian in Marušič and Žaucer 2005 and various Germanic languages such as Dutch, German, West Flemish, Luxemburgish, Afrikaans, Swedish, Swiss German, and others in Van Riemsdijk 2002). This supports the validity of the null V in (148). It is not clear whether empty verbs need formal licensing, as argued by Van Riemsdijk, or not, as claimed by Marušič and Žaucer, and more research is needed to understand the nature of empty verbs. I will leave the topic for future research.

6.1.4 VO with an English Light Verb in Non-literal Interpretation

When an English light verb takes an object in a non-literal or idiomatic interpretation (e.g., *have a big mouth*), VO order was preferred both in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching (69% and 72%, respectively), similar to non-literal phrases with an English heavy verb. As shown in Figure 5.2, VP idioms with both heavy verbs and light verbs were judged less flexible than non-idiomatic phrases, thus the ASPP headed by the light verb *have* in (150), for instance, is inflexible, making object extraction difficult.



In (150), ASP head filled by an English light verb does not inherit probing features from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$, and all of v 's features need to be valued against a goal with corresponding features. Thanks to the fact that V is null, the VP gets all of the formal features from its head and non-head via feature percolation and is equipped with all of matching features of $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$. Thus, v and VP enter into feature matching and ASPP pied-piped by VP raises to Spec, vP , satisfying the EPP property on v . As a result, the surface VO-*ha/su* order is derived in (151).



Both English idioms with a heavy verb and a light verb in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switches were preferred in VO order alike, yet the syntactic derivations for deriving VO order with a heavy verb and a light verb slightly differ from each other under the current proposal that lexical verbs merge under V and light verbs merge as ASP. With a VP idiom including a heavy verb, ASP can in principle inherit v 's features and value v 's features as soon as possible. However, feature inheritance is blocked because of the failure of object shift caused by

the inflexibility of the VP idiom. The inflexibility of the VP results in ASPP pied-piping by object shift, and the EPP-specifications on both aspect and D-features on $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ are satisfied by ASPP raising; movement of both VP and the object pied-pipe ASPP, whose effect is “killing two birds with one stone.”

With the idiom with a light verb, on the other hand, feature inheritance cannot happen from v to lexically filled ASP by an English light verb. Thus, $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ keeps all of its features, $[u\Phi, uAsp^{EPP}, uD^{EPP}]$, with it. Thanks to the fact that V is empty, all the features of V and the object percolate onto VP, and VP enters into a probe-goal relation with $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$. The EPP-specifications on both aspect and D-features on $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ are satisfied by VP movement, which pied-pipes ASPP.

What is common between VP idioms with a heavy verb and a light verb is that VO order is derived in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, which is accounted for by no feature inheritance from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ to ASP and ASPP raising without object shift.⁵³

⁵³ Marcel den Dikken asks how, if object shift is impossible when the VP has a non-literal interpretation of, OV languages can have object-verb idioms at all if their underlying structure is VO. To answer the question how idioms are derived in OV order in Korean and Japanese, I first of all would like to point out an important fact: unlike VP idioms in English, most (transitive) idioms in Korean and Japanese include not only the object but also the subject, suggesting that the domain of most idiomatic expressions in these languages is the vP not the VP. Thus, the object still can be extracted out of the VP and raise to the specifier of ASPP within the vP , which may be syntactically inflexible. However, there still exist a small number of VP idioms in Korean and Japanese, and one may still wonder how object shift occurs. My answer to this question is the following: it is not an idiom *per se* that prevents object shift. What matters is the degree of syntactic flexibility of the idiom. Interestingly, various VP idioms in Korean show that the object can still be extracted out of the VP. An example is provided below.

- (i) a. Kibo-ka han wumwul-ul pha-teni, machimnay sengkonghayss-ta
 -NOM one well-ACC dig-and.then finally succeed.PAST-DECL
 ‘Kibo made continuous efforts on something and finally succeeded’
- b. olay-tongan phan han wumwul-tekey Kibo-ka machimnay sengkonghayss-ta
 long.time-while dig.REL one well-thanks.to -NOM finally succeed.PAST-DECL
 ‘Thanks to his continue efforts, Kibo finally succeeded’

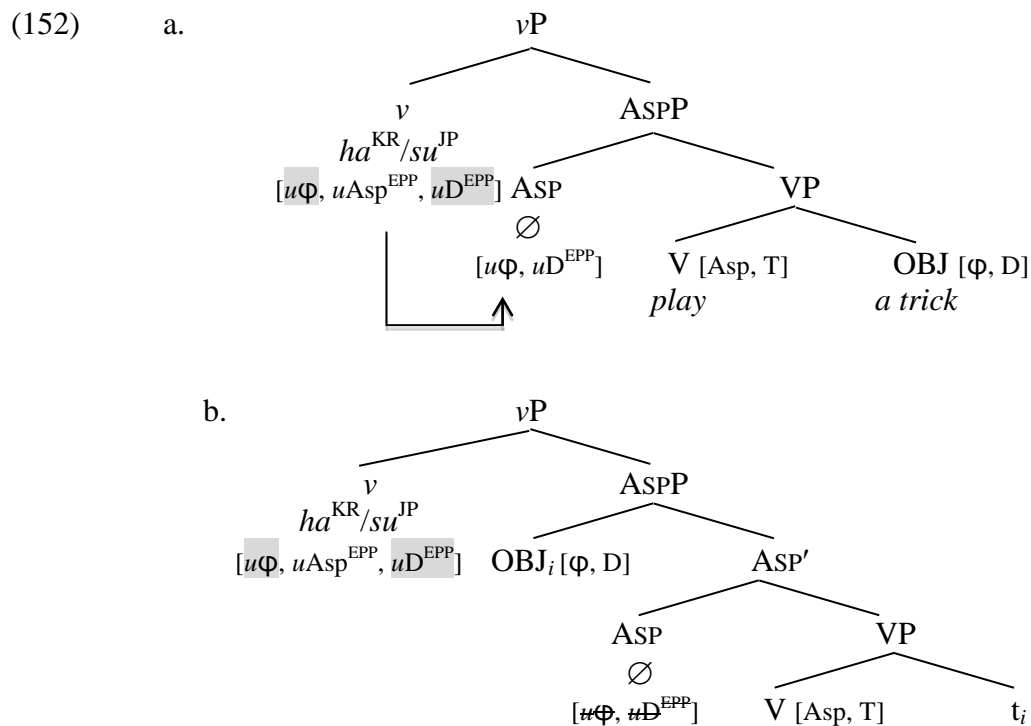
Whether the following facts hold all idioms in Korean and Japanese as well as other OV languages still need to be verified, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

6.1.5 Either OV or VO with an English Heavy Verb in a Light Verb Construction

In a light verb construction in which an English heavy verb takes an object (e.g., *play a trick*), the average percentage of VO order preference was 41% in Korean-English code-switching (and 47% in Japanese-English CS). While OV order was slightly preferred with several items (e.g., *deliver a talk*, *deliver a speech*, *reach an agreement*, *pass sentence*, *play a joke*, and *pay a compliment*), the majority of the items were not biased towards either order, ranging from 36% x to 64% VO preference, in Korean-English CS. The only exception was *pay a visit*, which was strongly preferred in VO order 86%, in contrast with its closely matched phrase *pay a compliment*, which occurred in VO order 29%. Though we need to investigate why only *pay a visit* was preferred in VO order, at this point I have no clear explanation for it, especially considering its pattern was far from the closely matched item *pay a compliment*.⁵⁴ While leaving this for future research, I now proceed to explain why both OV and VO orders are possible with a light verb construction with a heavy verb.

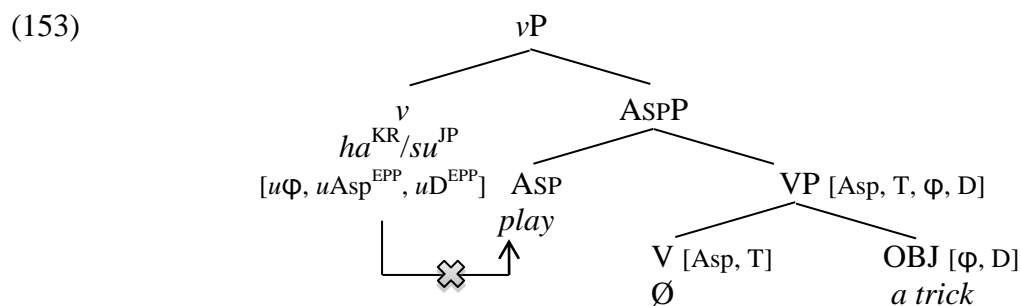
In a light verb construction with a heavy verb, the verb may have a choice between merging as V, following its lexical root, and merging as ASP, based on its “light” use in a light verb construction. If the verb maintains its identity as a lexical verb and merges under V despite its light use in a light verb construction, as in (152a), OV order is derived; the null headed ASP inherits [$u\Phi$, uD^{EPP}] from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ and triggers the object to move to its specifier position, shown in (152b).

⁵⁴ One may ask if the contrast between *pay a visit* (VO preferred) and *pay a compliment* (OV preferred) is perhaps related to their different degrees of syntactic flexibility; *pay a visit* is less flexible than *pay a compliment*, therefore, object shift does not occur. However, the results from the syntactic flexibility judgment tasks showed that the *pay a visit* was judged to be less flexible than *pay a compliment* only in relative clause formation (2.78 vs. 3.52), not in passivization (3.07 vs. 2.93) nor *wh*-question formation (2.52 vs. 2.74), which may suggest that object shift and relativization are closely related in terms of information structure (Peter Sells, p.c.). This pattern was not consistent across items, and more research is needed.



After that, ASPP is pied-pied and raises to Spec, vP via feature matching between $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ and V and an EPP specification on v . As a result, OV order is derived.

Alternatively, the verb may merge under as ASP, following its function similar to the light verb in a light verb construction, despite the fact that it is originally a lexical verb. If the verb merges as ASP, feature inheritance from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ to the lexically filled ASP does not take place, as in (153). VP bears all the matching features of v via feature percolation from V and the object, and ASPP pied-piped by VP moves to the specifier of vP , delivering VO order.

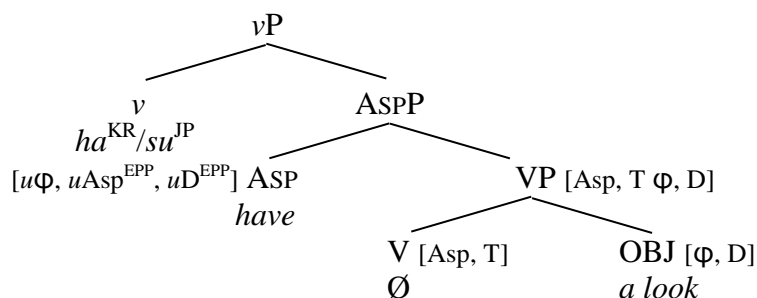


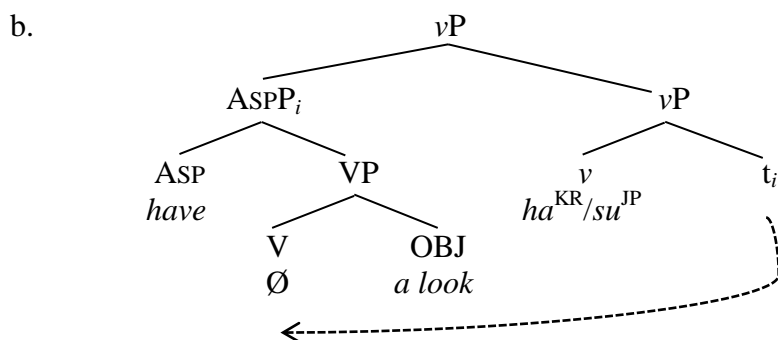
So the proposal that the heavy verb in a light verb construction may merge either as V or as ASP accounts for the results from the Korean-English and Japanese-English CS judgment task, showing the preferred word order of most examples was not biased towards either OV or VO order and both orders are possible derivations in a light verb construction with a heavy verb.

6.1.6 VO with an English Light Verb in a Light Verb Construction

In a light verb construction where an English light verb takes an object (e.g., *have a look*), the average percentage of VO order preference was 69% in Korean-English CS and 71% in Japanese-English CS. The proposal that an English light verb is base-generated as ASP correctly accounts for the surface VO-*ha/su* order; feature inheritance from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ to the lexically filled ASP is blocked, and the object remains in situ. Thanks to feature percolation from V and the object to VP, VP bears all of v 's features. The EPP property on $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ induces phrasal movement of a goal with the matching features, and VP pied-pipes AspP and moves left to $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$, resulting in VO-*ha/su* order. An example is provided in (154).

(154) a.





6.1.7 Summary

To summarize, I have provided a grammatical account of OV~VO variations in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. It seems that what crucially determines OV~VO variations in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching is feature specification on v in Korean and Japanese and feature inheritance from v to ASP. When the null headed ASP is endowed with $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ obeying the three rules of feature inheritance, *earliness*, *economy* and *multiple agree under asymmetry*, object shift occurs within ASPP due to the feature matching between ASP and the nominal head of the object. By contrast, if ASP is overtly realized by an English light verb, feature inheritance is blocked and all of v 's features are valued and its specifications are satisfied by ASPP raising to Spec, vP .

I assume that feature inheritance is obligatory whenever possible.⁵⁵ When an English light verb or a lexical verb in a light verb construction merges under ASP, it prevents feature

⁵⁵ If feature inheritance is in principle obligatory whenever possible, we expect to see all participants choose to do so, which is not the case; the results from the code-switching judgment experiment revealed that the distribution of OV vs. VO order predicted by a feature inheritance account did not occur 100% in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, in fact in general in the ratio of 20/80 %, as pointed out by William McClure (p.c.). To explain why such is the case, there are several aspects to consider. First, even in informal grammaticality judgment methods that are used as a standard practice in the field of syntax, getting a perfect agreement among a small number of people hardly happens, and there remains individual variation. In an experimental setting where a large number of people participate and a large number of items are tested, variation among the subjects and the items even increases, and it is not common to get results that are supported 100% statistically. Yet, one may ask then whether the word order patterns predicted by the feature inheritance account are clear in individual speakers. A microscopic

inheritance from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$. When an English lexical root merges under ASP, ASP cannot inherit probing features and cannot be specified for EPP specification from v , since lexical roots are by definition ineligible for being a probe and EPP specification, which is restricted to functional categories. So, whenever ASP is filled by an English lexical root, there is no feature inheritance from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ to ASP. On the other hand, when ASP is null, nothing prevents feature inheritance, for feature inheritance is obligatory whenever possible. Nonetheless, feature inheritance is inhibited if it leads to derivational failure, as we have seen in the case of an idiomatic phrase with a heavy verb. After all, feature inheritance is a system to help a syntactic derivation to proceed faster and more economically, reflecting the spirit of the Minimalist Program.

6.2 Reanalyzing English Light Verbs

Overall, the study found light verbs behave differently from lexical verbs. Except for idiomatic phrases, a code-switched phrase with an English heavy verb was preferred in OV order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. A code-switched phrase including an English light verb, on the other hand, was generally preferred in VO order in all phrase types, including in a light verb construction and literal interpretations. Under the proposal that English light verbs merge as a functional category Asp while lexical verbs are base-generated under V, this is a welcome result. However, there were instances in which OV order was preferred with a light verb, showing a similar pattern to heavy verbs. Assuming that light verbs lexicalize the ASP

analysis of individual speakers shows that in a given condition (e.g. verb type and interpretation), a dominant word order pattern, either OV or VO, was preferred by many individual speakers, suggesting that feature inheritance is at play at the individual level. Yet, there exists subject variation: while the word order patterns that are more robust among some speakers, it may not be the case with others, which I have no immediate answer for and still needs to be explained.

head, OV order is unexpected. Especially, the strong OV order preference of some code-switched phrases with a light verb suggests that the verb is used as a heavy verb and base-generated as V in those cases. Detailed item-based analyses will follow based on the results from the Korean-English CS judgment task. Unless it is mentioned separately, the patterns from Japanese-English code-switching are parallel to Korean data.

6.2.1 *Have*

Table 6.1 below shows the percentages of VO order preference of the code-switched phrases with the verb *have* in Korean-English code-switching.

code-switched phrase	phrase type	preferred word order	% VO	# of occurrence
have a look	LVC	VO	100	14
have a try	LVC	VO	93	13
have a small head	Literal	VO	86	12
have an upset stomach	Literal	VO	86	12
have a big mouth	Non-Lit	VO	79	11
have a total blast	Non-Lit	neither OV nor VO	64	9

Table 6.1 Item-based analysis for *HAVE* in Korean-English code-switching
(# of occurrence 0 – 4: OV biased // 5 – 9: not biased // 10 – 14: VO biased)

Except for the idiom *have a total blast*, which was not favored in any particular order, VO was the robustly preferred order with the verb *have* in all of its occurrences, revealing a stark contrast with heavy verbs, with which most VO occurrences were limited to idiomatic phrases. The contrast with heavy verbs is further highlighted in light verb constructions and literal interpretations: while VO order was preferred very strongly with *have* both in light verb constructions (*have a look* and *have a try*) and literal interpretations (*have a small head* and *have an upset stomach*), only one heavy verb in a light verb construction was favored in VO order

(*pay a visit*), and 12 out of 16 heavy verbs in literal interpretations were very strongly preferred in OV order.

Such a remarkably consistent word order pattern with the verb *have* distinct from heavy verbs confirms the fact that the nature of this verb is very different from that of heavy verbs. Also, the fact that VO order was consistent with *have* not only in a light verb construction, in which the verb does not contribute any lexical-semantic information but also in other phrases in which the meaning of possession arises with *have* (e.g., *have a small head*, *have a big mouth*), tells us that the possessive meaning of *have* is not intrinsic to the verb, but is derived from the syntactic structure of the light verb *have*. For instance, researchers have proposed that *have* is underlyingly decomposed into BE + TO (Benveniste 1966; Den Dikken 1995; Kim 2012), from which the possessive interpretation of *have* is derived. Cross-linguistically, we find possessive constructions are expressed by copular(-like) constructions with a dative preposition, shown in (155).

- (155) a. Kibo-ka chayk-ul kaci-ess-ta *Korean*
 Kibo-NOM book-ACC have-PAST-DECL
- a'. Kibo-eykey chayk-i iss-ta
 Kibo-DAT book-NOM exist-PAST-DECL
- b. Jean a le livre *French*
 Jean has the book Den Dikken 1995: 129, (44);
 adopted from Lumsden 1991
- b'. le livre est à Jean
 the book is to
- c. mihi est liber *Latin*
 me.DAT is book.NOM Den Dikken 1995: 130, (46)
- c'. habeo libram
 I-have book.ACC

I conclude that *have* is a light verb in all its uses and only lexicalizes a functional category, which I claimed to be ASP.

6.2.2 *Get*

VO order was favored with the verb *get* in 3 out of 6 examples, including an idiom (*get a grip*) and a light verb construction (*get a sense*, *get a suntan*), while the other 3 examples were not biased toward either OV or VO order, shown in Table 6.2.

code-switched phrase	phrase type	preferred word order	% VO	# of occurrence
get a grip	Non-lit	VO	100	14
get a sense	LVC	VO	71	10
get a suntan	LVC	VO	71	10
get a cold sore	Lit	neither OV nor VO	64	9
get a new girlfriend	Lit	neither OV nor VO	64	9
get a cold feet	Non-lit	neither OV nor VO	64	9

Table 6.2 Item-based analysis for *GET* in Korean-English code-switching

Since VO order was preferred for both heavy verbs and light verbs in non-literal interpretations, the fact that the idiomatic phrase *get a grip* was chosen in VO may not provide useful information about the status of *get*. Nonetheless, the fact that *get a grip* was selected in VO order 100% in Korean-English code-switching (and Japanese-English CS too) is noticeable, given that no idiom with a heavy verb was 100% preferred in VO. In addition, both *get*-light verb constructions (*get a sense*, *get a suntan*) were also favored in VO, in contrast with light verb constructions with heavy verbs, in which only one item was preferred in VO, while 6 items were selected in OV. Although VO was strongly preferred with the half of the examples with *get*, OV order was never more favored than VO in any example, which is another piece of information suggesting the verb *get* still behaves in a very different way from heavy verbs. Thus, it is

reasonable to conclude that *get*, along with *have*, is a light verb, and it does not merge as V but lexicalizes a functional category.

The present finding supports existing analyses of *get* in the literature, in which *get* was proposed to be an abstract syntactic head representing inchoativity, such as BECOME (McIntyre 2005) or INCH (Shim 2006).

English full-paradigm *get* (*to get, get(s), getting, got, got(ten)*) has a variety of uses, ranging from ‘onset of possession’ (156a), via ‘*get*-passive’ (156d) and ingressive (156c,e,f), to ‘experiencer-*get*’ (156g). With the exception of (156g), each use of full-paradigm *get* has an inchoative (156a-f) as well as a causative (156a'-f') version.

- | | | | |
|----------|---|-----|---------------------------------------|
| (156) a. | Kibo got a present (from a friend) | a'. | Donna got Kibo a present |
| b. | Kibo got to the station on time | b'. | Donna got Kibo to the station on time |
| c. | Kibo got tired | c'. | Donna got Kibo tired |
| d. | Kibo got fired/hired | d'. | Donna got Kibo fired/hired |
| e. | Kibo got to see the solution | e'. | Donna got Kibo to see the solution |
| f. | Kibo got going | f'. | Donna got Kibo going |
| g. | Donna got people telling lies about her | | |

McIntyre (2005) categorizes (156) into unaccusative vs. transitive uses of *get*, as in (157) and (158), with only a subset of (158) (viz., (153d-f)) involving CAUSE. McIntyre’s underlying structures for the various examples are reproduced in the right-hand column.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| (157) | unaccusative uses | (156b, c, d, e, f) | <i>get</i> = BECOME (throughout) |
| a. | Kibo got to the station on time | | |
| b. | Kibo got tired | | |
| c. | Kibo got fired/hired | | |
| d. | Kibo got to see the solution | | |
| e. | Kibo got going | | |

- (158) transitive uses (155a, b', c', d', e', f', g)
- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| a. | Kibo got a present | <i>get</i> = BECOME + HAVE |
| b. | Donna got Kibo a present | <i>get</i> = BECOME + HAVE |
| c. | Donna got Kibo to the station | <i>get</i> = BECOME + HAVE ^{resp} |
| d. | Donna got Kibo tired | <i>get</i> = CAUSE + BECOME |
| e. | Donna got Kibo fired/hired | <i>get</i> = CAUSE + BECOME |
| f. | Donna got Kibo going | <i>get</i> = CAUSE + BECOME |
| g. | Donna got people telling lies about her | <i>get</i> = BECOME + HAVE ^{unint} |

What is common to all uses of *get* in (157) - (158) is BECOME, which McIntyre argues is the underlying representation of *get* in most of its uses, adopting Dowty's (1979) BECOME operator.

To put it differently, *get* is underlyingly an unaccusative verb and is analyzed as a spell-out of BECOME.

Similar to McIntyre, Shim (2006) also proposes a unified analysis of various *get*-constructions, in which *get* spells-out an abstract head INCH, which denoting pure inchoativity.⁵⁶ The view that *get* is an inchoative operator unifies the syntax of various constructions involving *get* in (156). In (156a-g), INCH takes a small-clause complement, whose predicates vary: a dative PP (156a, a', g), a directional PP (156b, b'), an AP (156c, c'), a passive participial VP in (156d, d'), a *to*-infinitive in (156e, e'), and a gerund in (156f, f'). The structures for (156a-g) are schematically represented in (159).

⁵⁶ See Shim (2006) for further comparison between BECOME and INCH.

(159) INCH [_{RP}SUBJECT [RELATOR [PREDICATE]]]⁵⁷

- | | | | |
|----|--|-----------|--|
| a. | <i>a present</i> | | $P_{\text{DAT}}(\emptyset)$ <i>Kibo</i> |
| b. | <i>Kibo</i> | | <i>to the station</i> |
| c. | <i>Kibo</i> | BE | <i>tired</i> |
| d. | <i>Kibo</i> | | <i>fired/hired</i> |
| e. | <i>Kibo</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>see the solution</i> |
| f. | <i>Kibo</i> | | <i>going</i> |
| g. | <i>people telling
lies about her</i> | | $P_{\text{DAT}}(\emptyset)$ <i>Donna</i> |

(159) shows that (156a) *Kibo got a present (from a friend)* and (156g) *Donna got people telling lies about her* share the similar underlying structure, in which INCH takes a small-clause complement whose predicate is a null-headed PP. One may wonder then how different semantics, ‘onset of possession’ in (156a) and ‘experiencer-*get*’ in (156g), derive from the same syntactic configuration. The ‘experiencer-*get*’ construction in (156g) involves a gerund with an overt subject following *get* and thus seemingly belongs in the right-hand column in (156), similar to (156f) *Donna got Kibo going*.

However, (156g) is semantically and structurally aligned with non-causative (156a) such that the grammatical subjects, *Kibo* in (156a) and *Donna* in (156g), are not causers but a recipient and an experiencer, respectively. Both (156a) and (156g) involve derivations in which the null head of the dative predicate of the small-clause complement of INCH, $P_{\text{DAT}}(\emptyset)$, incorporates into INCH, yielding transitive *get*. Then P’s complement, *Kibo* in (156a) and *Donna* in (156g), is promoted to surface subject, which gives the correct surface word order in (156a) and (156g). What is crucial is that with the structural configurations in (159), the semantic

⁵⁷ Den Dikken (2006) proposes RP, whose head R accommodates the subject and the predicate in its minimal domain. RP corresponds to SC (small clause) in a more familiar sense.

meaning of possession in (156a) is not intrinsic to *get* but comes from the complement of INCH, more precisely the dative PP, just like the meaning of possession of *have*, which is decomposed into BE + TO . For further discussion of *get*, readers are advised to refer to Shim (2006).

6.2.3 *Keep*

Similar to *have* and *get*, a phrase with the verb *keep* was also mostly preferred in VO order in Korean-English code-switching 5 out of 6 times, suggesting that *keep* is also a light verb. Yet, there was one instance of *keep* which exhibited a noticeable difference from other phrases. Table 6.3 below shows this.

code-switched phrase	phrase type	preferred word order	% VO	# of occurrence
keep close watch	LVC	VO	93	13
keep track	LVC	VO	93	13
keep your cool	Non-Lit	VO	79	11
keep a respectful manner	Lit	VO	71	10
keep a civil tongue	Non-Lit	VO	71	10
keep your receipt	Lit	OV	0	0

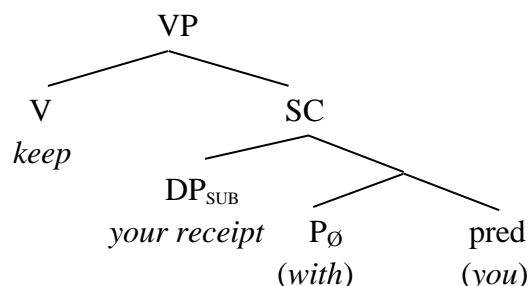
Table 6.3 Item-based analysis for *KEEP* in Korean-English code-switching

It is striking to see that not only was the phrase *keep your receipt* chosen in OV order, in contrast with the predominance of VO order with the verb *keep*, but it was also unanimously favored in OV by all Korean-English (and also Japanese-English) bilingual speakers. Besides the phrase *keep your receipt*, the only instances in which OV order was selected 100% in Korean-English code-switching involved 4 heavy verbs in literal interpretations (*break the glass, spill the soup, throw his cell phone, feel the pain*). While both *keep your receipt* and *keep a respectful manner* are interpreted literally, it is only the former that was preferred in OV order. What makes the verb *keep* in *keep your receipt* very different from *keep a respectful manner* and other instances?

In Chapter 5, the verb *keep* was proposed to be a light verb, representing *keep* = CAUS + BE. While this analysis can represent the meaning of the verb *keep* in most phrases, including *keep a respectful manner*, it does not seem to convey the meaning of the verb in *keep your receipt*, in which the verb is interpreted as ‘to retain or to save’, suggesting *keep* in *keep your receipt* is not as light as *keep* in other examples. And this contrast is reflected in OV and VO order preference in code-switching, respectively.

The difference of *keep* in *keep your receipt* from other uses of the verb is not just limited to its semantics. The verb *keep* in *keep your receipt* arguably selects a secondary predicate, as in *keep your receipt with you* (den Dikken, p.c.), and I propose that the verb *keep* in *keep your receipt* takes a small clause headed by a null preposition as its complement, shown in (160).

(160)



In (160), the verb *keep* merges under V rather than ASP, and takes a null-headed small-clause complement, in which *your receipt* is the subject of the null predicate. What is crucial is that *keep* base-generates as V, not ASP, based on the fact that a small clause is selected only by V but nothing else. The fact that only verbs can select a small clause as its complement is further supported by the contrast shown in (161) and (162) (cf. Kayne 1984).

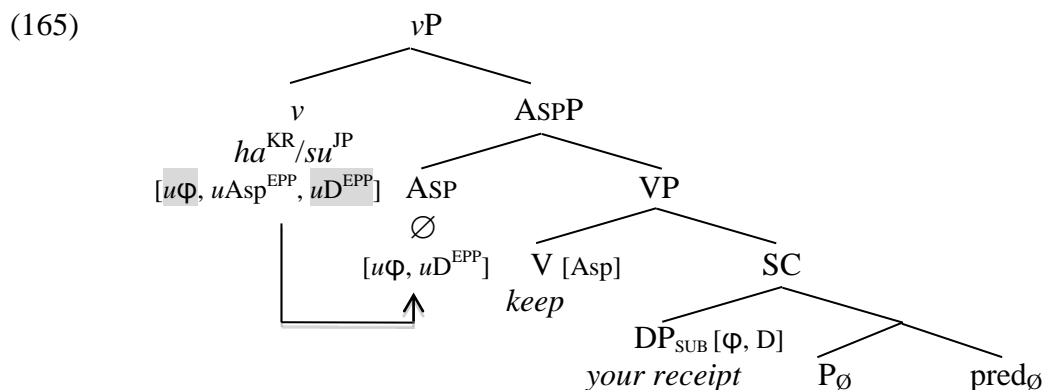
- (161) a. Kibo considers [_{SC} Donna smart]
 b. The old man robbed [_{SC} Donna of her wallet]
 c. The bank credited [_{SC} her with the money]

- (162) a. *Kibo's consideration of [_{SC} Donna smart]
 b. *The old man's robbery of [_{SC} Donna of her wallet]
 c. *The bank's credit of [_{SC} her with the money]

In (161), the verb takes a small clause as its complement. On the contrary, their nominal counterparts, including derived nominals in (162), do not accept secondary predicates. The same is true for deverbal adjectives: the subject of the small clause in (162) can be passivized shown in (163). However, their adjectival counterparts in (164) are ungrammatical, indicating that adjectives cannot co-occur with a secondary predicate.

- (163) a. Donna is considered smart
 b. Donna was robbed of her wallet
 c. She was credited with her money
- (164) a. *Donna is considerable smart
 b. *Donna was robbable of her wallet
 d. *She was creditable with her money

As shown in (161-164), it is really only verbs that select secondary predicates. So whenever there is a small clause complement, there needs to be a verb, V. Thus, from the structure in (160), OV order of the phrase *keep the receipt* is derived, shown in (165).



In (165), the null-headed Asp inherits [$u\Phi$, uD^{EPP}] from v via feature inheritance and enters into a probe-goal relationship with the subject of the small clause. As a result, DP_{SUB} (*your receipt*) raise to Spec, ASPP, deriving the string of *your receipt keep* in OV order. Due to feature matching $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ and V and the EPP-specification on v , the entire ASPP further moves left of $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$, yielding to surface OV-*ha/su* order. So, the fact that *keep* in *keep your receipt* is a verb taking a secondary predicate explains that the verb *keep* here is not a light verb but is a lexical verb taking a small-clause complement, and the OV order of the phrase *keep your receipt* in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching.

The analysis that the English verb *keep* meaning ‘to retain or to save’ is a lexical verb taking a small-clause complement, otherwise it is an aspectual light verb, is also corroborated by cross-linguistic facts: in the sense of ‘to retain or to save’, the verb *keep* in Dutch is translated as a particle verb, containing an additional secondary predicate, the prefixal particle *be-* as in (166a) (Hoesktra, Lansu & Westerduin 1987).⁵⁸ On the other hand, *keep* is not compatible with the prefixal particle in its aspectual interpretation, shown in (166b).

- (166) a. je moet het bonnetje behouden/bewaren
 you must the receipt BE-keep/BE-keep
 ‘you must keep your receipt’
- b. je moet je mond (*be)houden
 you must your mouth BE-keep/hold
 ‘you must hold your tongue’ (den Dikken, p.c.)

If we follow den Dikken’s (1995) proposal that a particle merges as a small-clause head, the verb in (166a) must merge under V rather than ASP, which takes a small clause headed by the particle *be-* as its complement, similar to its counterpart in English in (160). So, cross-linguistic evidence

⁵⁸ The term *particle* refers to the class of non-Case-assigning, argument-taking prepositional elements (den Dikken 1995: 33, fn 31).

obtained from English and Dutch delivers a uniform analysis of *keep* as a light verb except for its sense of ‘to retain or save’, which is a lexical verb taking a secondary predicate.

6.2.4 *Hold*

In the present study, the verb *hold* was included as an English light verb, decomposed into CAUS + BE, which is also proposed as the structure for a synonymous verb *keep*. However, the results from the CS judgment test revealed a big contrast between these two verbs. As we saw, the verb *keep* behaved as a light verb in most cases, exhibiting the verb phrase including *keep* was preferred in VO order in code-switching, except for it was used as a heavy verb meaning ‘to retain’.

By contrast, OV order prevailed with *hold*, and the only instance in which VO order was favored was when it occurred in the idiomatic phrase *hold water* in both Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, shown in Table 6.4.

code-switched phrase	phrase type	preferred word order	% VO	# of occurrence
hold water	Non-Lit	VO	71	10
hold water	Lit	neither OV or VO	43	6
hold the bowl	Lit	OV	29	4
hold the fort	Non-Lit	OV	29	4
hold a conversation	LVC	OV	29	4
hold a debate	LVC	OV	21	3

Table 6.4 Item-based analysis for *HOLD* in Korean-English code-switching

The contrast between *hold* and the rest of the verbs classified as light verbs in the study highlights the word order contrast in a light verb construction; none of the light verb constructions with other light verbs were favored in OV order, whereas the two *hold*-LVCs were

preferred in OV order, similar to the patterns observed in a number of light verb constructions with various heavy verbs. This suggests that *hold* is not a light verb but a heavy or a lexical verb. While *hold* and *keep* are usually considered to be synonyms, Levin makes a subtle distinction between *hold* verbs (e.g., *clasp, clutch, grasp, handle, hold, wield*) and *keep* verbs (e.g., *hoard, keep, leave, store*); while the former describes “prolonged contact with an entity”, the latter relates to “maintaining something at some location” (1993: 145 - 146). Along this line, while the decomposed structure, CAUS + BE, can represent the meaning of the light verb *keep*, maintaining something, it may not reflect the extra semantic information contributed by *hold*.

Although I have no further insight to explain how such subtle differences among diverse near-synonymous verbs are encoded in the argument structure, the heavy vs. light distinction of verbs is not only a matter of lexical semantics, but is reflected in the syntactic structure, as evidenced by word order variation in code-switching. This is certainly a very interesting finding presented by the present code-switching research, one that would not perhaps have emerged from the study of monolingual data alone.

6.2.5 *Make and Take*

Tables 6.5 and 6.6 show the percentages of VO order occurrence with the verbs *make* and *take*, respectively.

code-switched phrase	phrase type	preferred word order	% VO	# of occurrence
make waves	Non-Lit	VO	100	14
make a request	LVC	VO	86	12
make friends	Lit	VO	79	11
make a suggestion	LVC	neither OV or VO	57	8
make a bundle	Non-Lit	OV	29	4
make a million bucks	Lit	OV	7	1

Table 6.5 Item-based analysis for *MAKE* in Korean-English code-switching

code-switched phrase	phrase type	preferred word order	% VO	# of occurrence
take a hike	Non-Lit	VO	100	14
take a walk	LVC	VO	71	10
take a hike	Lit	neither OV or VO	64	9
take a vacation	LVC	neither OV or VO	57	8
take a back seat	Non-Lit	OV	29	4
take a window seat	Lit	OV	7	1

Table 6.6 Item-based analysis for *TAKE* in Korean-English code-switching

Interestingly, the word order pattern of a code-switched phrase including *make* in Table 6.5 and that of a code-switched phrase including *take* in Table 6.6 resemble each other. First, three phrases with *make*, including an idiom (*make waves*), a light verb construction (*make a request*) and a literal expression (*make friends*), were preferred in VO order. Analogously, 2 examples with *take*, including an idiom (*take a hike*) and a light verb construction (*take a walk*), were preferred in VO. On the other hand, two instances with *make* and *take*, including an idiom (*make a bundle*, *take a back seat*) and a literal expression (*make a million bucks*, *take a window seat*), were favored in OV, respectively.

While most idioms, regardless of the status of a verb, either heavy or light, were rarely preferred in OV order for both Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching, the idioms *make a bundle* and *take a back seat* were favored in OV along with their closely matched non-

idiomatic expressions such as *make a million bucks* and *take a window seat*. Thus, it seems that idiomaticity is not a factor determining word order for these examples, calling for an explanation. An immediate suspicion was whether these two idioms were judged more flexible than other idioms by the bilingual speakers who participated in the study. The results from the syntactic flexibility judgment task confirmed this: the idioms with *make* and *take* preferred in OV order were judged more syntactically flexible than those preferred in VO order, shown in Table 6.7, suggesting that the syntactic flexibility plays a role to derive OV vs. VO contrast found in *make-* and *take-*idioms.

code-switched phrase	syntactic flexibility mean score	preferred word order
make a bundle	2.95	OV
make waves	2.11	VO
take a back seat	2.19	OV
take a hike (non-lit)	1.44	VO

Table 6.7 Word order predicted by syntactic flexibility scores for *make-* and *take-*idioms in Korean-English code-switching

However, as discussed in Chapter 5, the correlation between the syntactic flexibility of a code-switched phrase and word order in code-switching did not hold strongly across all items, and it needs further investigation in future research.

Returning to Tables 6.5 and 6.6, the fact that light verb constructions such as *make a request* and *take a walk* are preferred in VO order suggests that these verbs belong to the class of light verbs, exhibiting a similar pattern obtained from *have*, *get*, and *keep*, with which VO order was preferred in a light verb construction. By contrast, in a light verb construction with a heavy verb, OV order dominated. Yet, in some of the examples with *make* and *take*, OV order was

avored, for instance, *make a million bucks*, *make a bundle*, *take a window seat*, and *take a back seat*.

In Chapter 5, I proposed that *make* represents ‘CAUS + exist’ in (116). While this proposal can capture the meaning of most phrases with the light verb *make*, it fails to express the meaning of the verb in *make a million bucks* and *make a bundle*, expressing ‘to earn’. Similarly, the proposal that *take* is an aspectual light verb lexicalizing INCH (or BECOME) does not reflect the meaning of the verb in *take a window seat* and *take a back seat*, in which *take* means ‘to accept’ or ‘to be prepared to get’. Thus, it seems that the verbs *make* and *take* in these phrases, which are preferred in OV order, denote idiosyncratic lexical meanings beyond the meaning of the light verbs *make* and *take*, and might have a heavy use in these examples. As a consequence, OV order is chosen than VO order in heavy uses of these verbs in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching.

6.2.6 Give and Raise

The word order pattern for a code-switched phrase with the verb *give* and *raise* was similar to each other, presented in Tables 6.8 and 6.9.

code-switched phrase	phrase type	preferred word order	% VO	# of occurrence
give a big hand	Non-Lit	VO	93	13
give a presentation	LVC	neither OV or VO	57	8
give the axe	Non-Lit	neither OV or VO	50	7
give a big present	Lit	neither OV or VO	36	5
give a speech	LVC	neither OV or VO	36	5
give the job	Lit	OV	14	2

Table 6.8 Item-based analysis for *GIVE* in Korean-English code-switching

code-switched phrase	phrase type	preferred word order	% VO	# of occurrence
raise the bar	Non-Lit	VO	79	11
raise their hands	Lit	neither OV or VO	64	9
raise a few eyebrows	Non-Lit	neither OV or VO	64	9
raise some objection	LVC	neither OV or VO	43	6
raise some suspicions	LVC	neither OV or VO	36	5
raise the fee	Lit	OV	29	4

Table 6.9 Item-based analysis for *RAISE* in Korean-English code-switching

The fact that the majority of code-switched phrases with *give* and *raise* were not biased towards either OV or VO in Korean-English code-switching suggests that these verbs are not as light as verbs like *have*, *get*, or *keep*, with which VO is strongly preferred. However, it is not clear whether they belong to heavy verbs based on the results of the CS judgment task. While the occurrence of VO order was limited to an idiomatic expression (*give a big hand*, *raise the bar*), similar to heavy verbs, the selection of OV order was also limited to only one example in literal interpretations (*give the job*, *raise the fee*), different from most lexical verbs included in the study, with which OV order was predominant. For instance, with the verb *hold*, which was initially proposed as a light verb, OV order was favored 4 out of 6 examples, including its occurrence in a light verb construction, exhibiting a pattern close to most heavy verbs in the study (Table 6.4).

Due to the fact that the present findings do not show either OV or VO as a choice of word order with the verbs *give* and *raise*, I do not attempt to provide an analysis of their lexical status, and will leave it for future research.

6.3 Revisiting the Contrast between Light Verbs and Light Verb Constructions

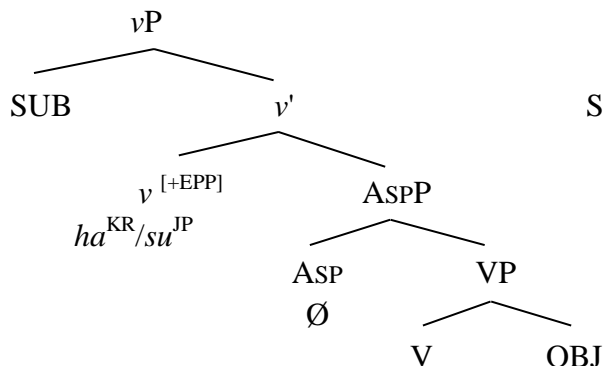
In this thesis, light verbs and light verb constructions were distinguished from each other. Their definitions were provided in Chapter 2, reproduced in (167).

- (167) a. A *light verb* never has idiosyncratic lexical meaning of its own, but only lexicalizes an abstract functional head.
- b. In a *light verb construction*, the verb may not contribute any lexical-semantic information, but only its complement does. Both heavy and light verbs may participate in light verb constructions.

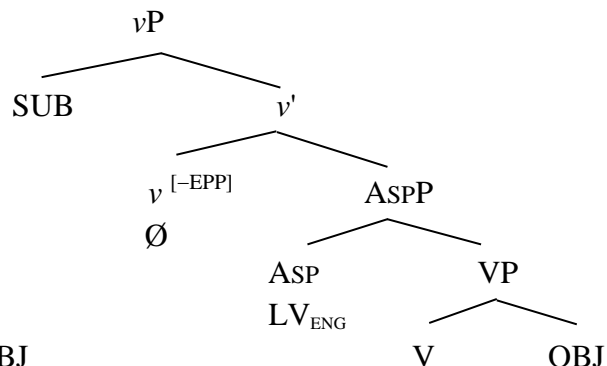
According to (167a), both Korean and Japanese-type light verbs and English-type light verbs lexicalize an abstract functional head, but the precise syntax of Korean and Japanese light verbs differs from that of English light verbs, as proposed in (45) and (59), repeated in (168) and (169) below.

- (168) a. The Korean and Japanese light verbs *ha* and *su* in the [bare VN + *ha/su*] construction lexicalize the functional category *v*.
- b. In English, *v* is never overtly lexicalized (cf. Chomsky 1995: 351). Instead, English light verbs merge under a different functional category, which I propose to be ASPECT.

(169) a. Korean and Japanese



b. English



The syntactic structures in (169) also represent light verb constructions in Korean and Japanese, (169a) and (169b), in which the light verb itself does not contribute any lexical-semantic information.⁵⁹ While the structure in (169a) is the only possible syntactic configuration for light verb constructions in Korean and Japanese, in which the abstract category v is always lexicalized by either the Korean light verb *ha* or the Japanese light verb *su*, the structure in (169b) is one of two possible syntactic configurations for English-type light verbs, in which both heavy and light verbs may participate. As discussed earlier in Section 6.1.5, in a light verb construction with a heavy verb, the verb may merge either as ASP, as in (169b), or under V. Thus, the proposal that the verb may merge either as ASP or V in an English light verb construction can further explain that the verb may not contribute any lexical-semantic information in a light verb construction given that an abstract functional head is devoid of any lexical semantic information of its own.

6.4 Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter offered a feature-inheritance based account of OV~VO variation in code-switching, which was tested against 28 Korean-English and 8 Japanese-English bilingual speakers'

⁵⁹ The verbal noun merges as V in Korean and Japanese LVCs in (169a).

introspective judgments of the CS patterns presented to them in an experimental setting. Based on the proposal that morphosyntactic features on a phase head, such as C and v , lead to linguistic parameterization and feature inheritance occurs from a phase head to the head of its complement, I have shown that OV order is a result of feature inheritance from v to ASP, which results in object raising. When feature inheritance does not happen from v to ASP, on the other hand, the object stays in situ and the underlying VO order surfaces.

In conclusion, both the overall results from the experiments and grammatical accounts of word order patterns in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching confirm the two research hypotheses advanced in Chapter 1, repeated below.

Research Hypothesis 1

Under the assumption that word order is determined by feature specifications on a functional category, as proposed in the Minimalist Program, feature specifications on a light verb in Korean, Japanese, and English and how these features are valued in syntactic derivations will determine word order in code-switching. More specifically, the choice between functional or light verbs and lexical or heavy verbs is expected to result in different word order.

Research Hypothesis 2

Syntactically flexible phrases and inflexible phrases will behave differently with respect to word order derivation in code-switching. More specifically, while the internal argument of the syntactically flexible phrase is subject to code-switching, the syntactically inflexible phrase is frozen and undergoes code-switching as a unit. Hence, the internal order of the phrase is maintained throughout the derivation.

CHAPTER 7

GENERAL DISCUSSION

In the Minimalist Program, parametric variations are due to feature specifications on functional categories. On the assumption that probing features are exclusive to phase heads, such as C and ν , and they can be inherited by the head of the complement of a phase head, feature specifications on C and ν and feature inheritance from C to T and ν to ASP determine linguistic variation, including word order. Based on this, I have proposed feature specifications on C and ν in Korean and Japanese, OV languages, in comparison with those in English, a VO language, shown in (170).

- (170) a. C $[u\Phi, uT^{EPP}, uD^{EPP}]$ Korean, Japanese
 ν $[u\Phi, uAsp^{EPP}, uD^{EPP}]$
- b. C $[u\Phi, uT, uD^{EPP}]$ English
 ν $[u\Phi, uAsp, uD]$

In the previous discussion of feature inheritance in Chapter 3, I proposed that structural case is an uninterpretable D-feature on C (for nominative) and ν (for accusative), which is valued against the D-feature on a noun phrase. In addition, $[uD]$ on C and ν are parameterized for EPP specifications and may be inherited by T and ASP, respectively. In Section 7.1, I will show how the presence and the absence of overt case morphology in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching can be explained by the proposal that structural case is an uninterpretable D-feature on ν , which is also compatible with cross-linguistic data. In Section 7.2, I explore feature

inheritance in the C-T domain in Korean and Japanese, in which TP is pied-piped and raises Spec, CP. Not only is this proposal entirely parallel to ASPP pied-piping and raising in the ν -ASP domain, but it also accounts for consistent head-final structure in these languages. Section 7.3 concludes the dissertation.

7.1 Case

In generative syntax, structural case (or Case), such as nominative and accusative case, is generally assumed to be an uninterpretable feature, [μ F], of noun phrases, which needs to be valued against a probe, nominative for T and accusative for ν (Chomsky 1995; 2001). In this dissertation, I proposed that structural case is an uninterpretable D-feature on C (for nominative) and ν (for accusative), which is valued against the D-feature of a noun phrase. In addition, [μ D] on C and ν are parameterized for EPP specifications and may be inherited by T and ASP, respectively.

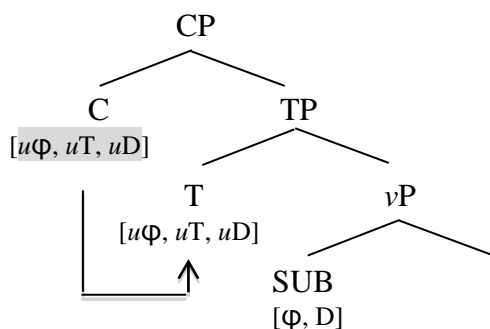
In many languages, Case is morphologically marked. For instance, nominative Case and the accusative Case are marked in *-i/ka* and *-(l)ul* in Korean and *-ga* and *-o* in Japanese, respectively, shown in (171).

- (171) a. Kibo-ka Donna-wa hapsek-ul hayss-ta
 Kibo-NOM Donna-with table-sharing-ACC do.PAST-DECL
- b. Kibo-ga Donna-to aiseki-o shita
 Kibo-NOM Donna-with table-sharing-ACC do.PAST
 ‘Kibo shared the table with Donna’

Assuming that Case is an uninterpretable D-features on phase heads C (for nominative) and ν (for accusative) and a head in the nominal extended projection (most likely D) bears a D-feature,

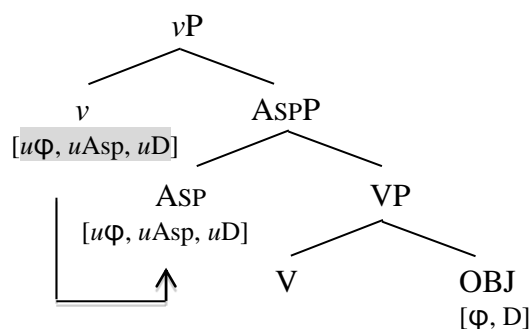
I propose that the nominative case is a morphological manifestation of Agree between T and the subject/external argument and the accusative case is a morphological manifestation of Agree between ASP and the object/internal argument.

(172) a. Nominative case



Agree between T and SUB

b. Accusative Case



Agree between ASP and OBJ

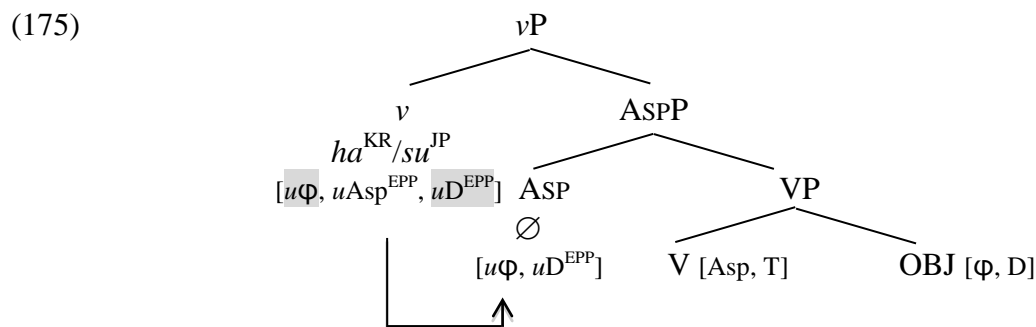
Interestingly, it seems that overt case morphology on the object is possible only in *OV-ha/su* order, not in *VO-ha/su* order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching: the direct object is overtly marked with the Korean accusative case marker *-lul* and the Japanese accusative case marker *-o* in (173), whereas the English direct object is not morphologically marked for case in (174).⁶⁰

- (173) a. too much money-lul spend *hayss-eyo*
 -ACC DO.PAST-DECL
 ‘(he) spent too much money’
- b. one algebra question-o mark *site*
 -ACC DO
 ‘You mark one algebra question’

⁶⁰ Some of the informants indicated that insertion of the accusative case particle immediately following the object of the light verb in (174) is not strictly speaking impossible, but that when this happens, the entire string [*take a walk/keep an eye*] is what is marked accusative — in other words, *ha/su* ‘do’ is then used as a ‘heavy’ verb taking its own accusative complement. This does not affect the proposal made here.

- (174) a. *cenyek mek-ko take a walk hal-kka?*
 dinner eat-and DO.FUT-COH
 ‘Shall we take a walk after dinner?’
- b. *yooshi keep an eye suru-zo*
 well I’m going to DO-PRT
 ‘well, I’m really going to keep an eye on you’

With structural accusative case identified as [*u*D] and accusative marking on the object as a morphological manifestation of Agree between ASP and the internal argument, the presence and the absence of case marking contrasted in (173) and (174) can be accounted for: the presence of the accusative case marker in (173) is a reflection of feature matching between ASP and the object, shown in (175).

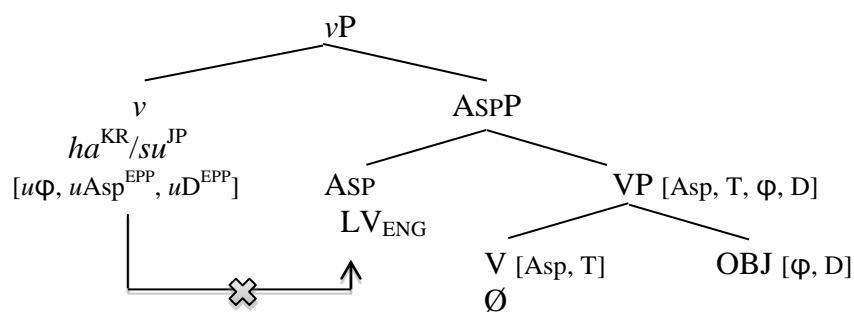


In (175), ASP inherits [*u* ϕ , *uD*^{EPP}] from *v* = *ha*^{KR}/*su*^{JP} and enters into a probe-goal relationship with the object, and the object raises to Spec, ASPP, resulting in OV order. Accusative case marking on the object is the morphological manifestation of Agree between the probe ASP and the goal/object, as a result of which [*u*D] on ASP is spelled out as the accusative marker *-lul* in Korean and *-o* in Japanese.⁶¹

⁶¹ Similarly, Kim (1993) proposes that structural Case must be overtly realized when the object moves out of the VP: more specifically, when the object moves to the specifier of μ P above VP, which corresponds to ASPP in (175), the object must be morphologically marked with the accusative Case marker in Korean.

On the other hand, in (176), which is the underlying structure for (174), feature inheritance from v to ASP does not take place because ASP is lexicalized by an English light verb. So, ASP does not enter into a probe-goal relationship with the object. Instead, feature matching occurs between $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ and VP, and ASP is pied-piped by VP and raises to left of $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$, delivering VO order. Thus, the proposal that accusative case marking on the object is the morphological manifestation of Agree between ASP and the internal argument accounts for the absence of accusative case marking in (174), in which there is no Agree relation between ASP and the object.⁶²

(176)



Richardson (2003) presents a similar account of the accusative Case/case in Russian: the accusative case marker in Russian is a result of Agree between ASP and the internal argument. Yet, she claims that it is *aspect* feature matching between ASP and the internal argument/object: an (uninterpretable) aspectual feature on ASP (more precisely [\pm telic]) is valued against the interpretable aspectual feature on the object. In addition, she also argues that the nominative case in Russian is the morphological manifestation of phi-(complete) feature on T in a feature

⁶² The account of case morphology in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching provided in this dissertation differs from my earlier analysis in den Dikken and Shim (2011), in which Case was proposed as [$uAsp$] instead of D-feature.

matching relationship with the external argument.⁶³ However, as discussed earlier, telicity is not in fact tied one-to-one to accusative Case: telic unaccusative constructions do not involve accusative Case feature checking, thus it provides no direct link between accusative Case and telicity (or aspect in general).

Pesetsky (2012) recently proposed a new analysis of case morphology in Russian, arguing that the nominative Case is a result of D-feature on a noun phrase assigned by its selecting head and nominative case morphology is an affixal realization of D-feature on a noun phrase. Pesetsky's analysis of the nominative case as a reflection of D-feature on the subject converges with the present proposal that the nominative Case is D-feature matching between T and a noun and nominative case morphology is a morphological manifestation of Agree between T and the subject. On the other hand, Pesetsky says that the accusative case is a V-feature rather than D-feature on a noun, assigned from the verb, which differs from the uniform view on Case as a D-feature both in nominative and accusative proposed in this dissertation. Although more research is needed to investigate this, I maintain the unified view analyzing Case as a D-feature both on the subject and the object and will show that it seems to be a plausible approach to analyze the accusative Case as a D-feature based on various cross-linguistic data.

7.1.1 Accusative Case as D-feature

The proposal that Case is a D-feature and the accusative case marking is a morphological manifestation of a D-feature in Agree between ASP and the object can be supported by empirical evidence from various languages other than Korean and Japanese.

⁶³ By contrast, the dative case is the morphological manifestation of phi-incomplete T and arises in the absence of any feature matching relationship (Richardson 2003: 56).

In Turkish and Hebrew, for instance, the accusative case-marked objects denote definite/specific readings, whereas indefinite/non-specific readings arise with their morphologically null or unmarked counterparts as in (177). Assuming that definite/specific readings arise from DPs, not from NPs, definite objects/DPs are overtly marked for the accusative case both in (177a) and (177b), whereas case marking on indefinite objects/NPs is not possible in (177a') and (177b'), showing that the accusative case is related to a D-feature.

- (177) a. Mehmet kitab-i oku-du *Turkish*
 book-ACC read-PAST Nagai & Özçelik 2012
 ‘Mehmet read the book’
- a.' Mehmet kitab oku-du
 book read-PAST
 ‘Mehmet read a book’
- b. ha-seret her'a et-ha-milxama *Hebrew*
 the-movie showed ACC-the-war Aissen 2003
 ‘the movie showed the war’
- b.' ha-seret her'a ha-milxama
 the-movie showed the-war
 ‘the movie showed a war’

Similarly, in Palauan only a definite object can trigger agreement on the verb, while an indefinite object triggers no agreement in (178). Since Palauan is not a nominative-accusative language, the agreement morpheme on the verb, *ii*, which agrees with the object *bilis* ‘dog’ in (178a), may not be considered equivalent to the accusative marker. However, along the lines of the current proposal that (accusative) case is a morphological reflex of Agree between a probe and a goal (object) sharing D-features, the DP object-verb agreement in (178a) can be explained as well.

- (178) a. te-‘illebed-ii a bilis a rengalek *Palauan*
 3.PL-PERF-hit-3s dog children Georgopoulos 1991
 ‘the kids hit the dog’
- b. te-‘illebed a bilis a rengalek
 3.PL-PERF-hit dog children
 ‘the kids hit a dog/some dog(s)’

In Korean and Japanese, definiteness or specificity may not arise from the presence of overt case morphology, in general.⁶⁴ Yet, specificity seems to be closely related to the presence of the accusative marker in Korean, shown in (179).

- (179) a. Kibo-ka etten haksayng-ul po-ass-ta
 -NOM certain student-ACC see-PAST-DECL
- b. *Kibo-ka etten haksayng po-ass-ta
 -NOM certain student see-PAST-DECL
 ‘Kibo saw a certain student’ modified from Kim 1993: 23

Instead, accusative-case marked nouns may induce a *focal* reading in Korean and Japanese (Jun 2005; Ko 2000; Lee 2006; Matsuda 1995).

- (180) a. (yesnal-ey) Kibo-ka han/etten yeca-lul manness-ta
 long.time-LOC -NOM one/some woman-ACC meet.PAST-DECL
 ‘(long time ago) Kibo met a woman’ (focalized/emphatic)
- b. (yesnal-ey) Kibo-ka han/etten yeca manness-ta
 long.time-LOC -NOM one/some woman meet.PAST-DECL
 ‘(long time ago) Kibo met a woman’

Korean, modified from Ahn & Cho 2007: 58, (5)

Neither Korean nor Japanese possess overt definite or indefinite articles and bare noun phrases may be interpreted as definite or indefinite in a given context. Thus, some researchers argue that

⁶⁴ Kim (1993) argues that the specific/non-specific distinction in Korean is transparent and related to accusative case marking in Korean. However, some of his data need further verification, for the informants that I consulted with did not agree with the (un)acceptability/grammaticality patterns of many examples provided in his work.

a determiner phrase (DP) is not projected in these languages (Chierchia 1988; Fukui 1986; Tomioka 2003). By contrast, many others argue for the presence of DPs in Korean and Japanese (Furuya 2009; Koike 1999; Kakegawa 2003; Park, S-Y. 2008; Tateishi 1989), and the proposal has been made that case markers represent D heads (Kakegawa 2003; Koike 1999; Tateishi 1989), providing positive evidence for the present proposal that Case is a D-feature.

Thus, I maintain that Case is uninterpretable D-features on phase heads C (for nominative) and v (for accusative). When T and ASP inherits [uD] from C and v , respectively, Agree between T and a noun with the corresponding feature is morphologically manifested as the nominative case, and Agree between ASP and a noun with the matching feature is morphologically manifested as the accusative case.

7.2 Feature Inheritance and Language Typology

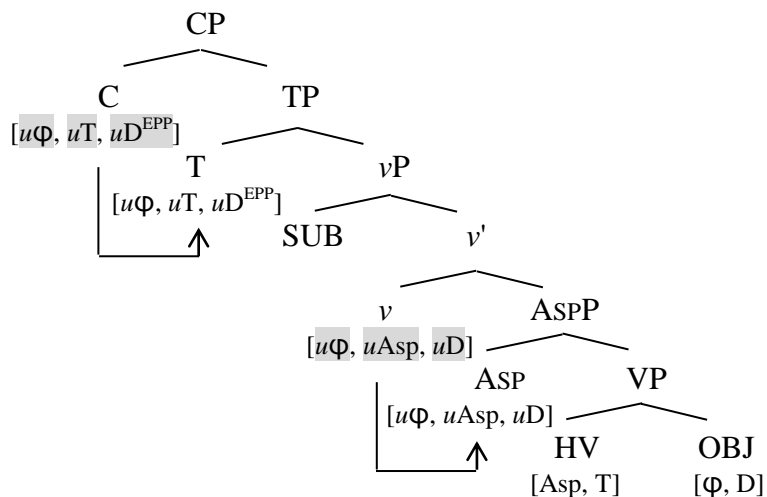
7.2.1 SVO in English

(181) shows feature matrices for phase heads in English, based on which its SVO order is derived via different ways of feature inheritance from C to T and v to ASP in (182) and (183), in which a heavy/lexical verb (e.g., *eat*) merges under V and a light verb (e.g., *have*) lexicalizes ASP, respectively.

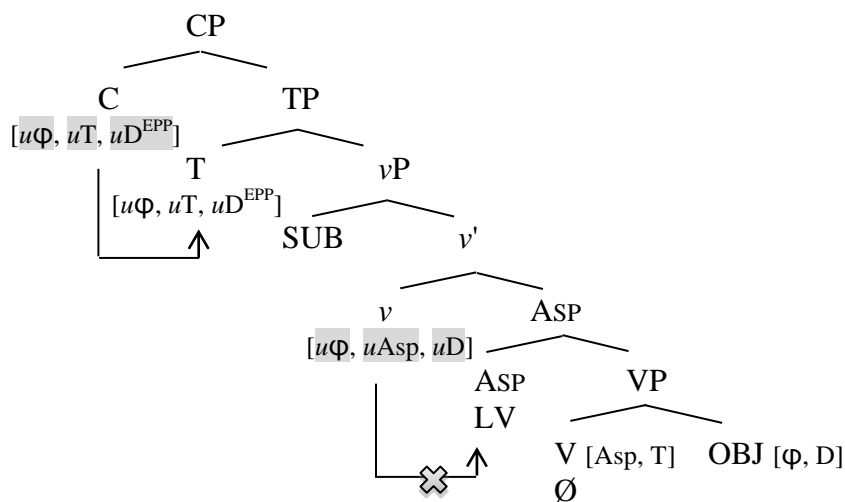
(181) C [$u\Phi$, uT , uD^{EPP}]

v [$u\Phi$, $uAsp$, uD]

(182)

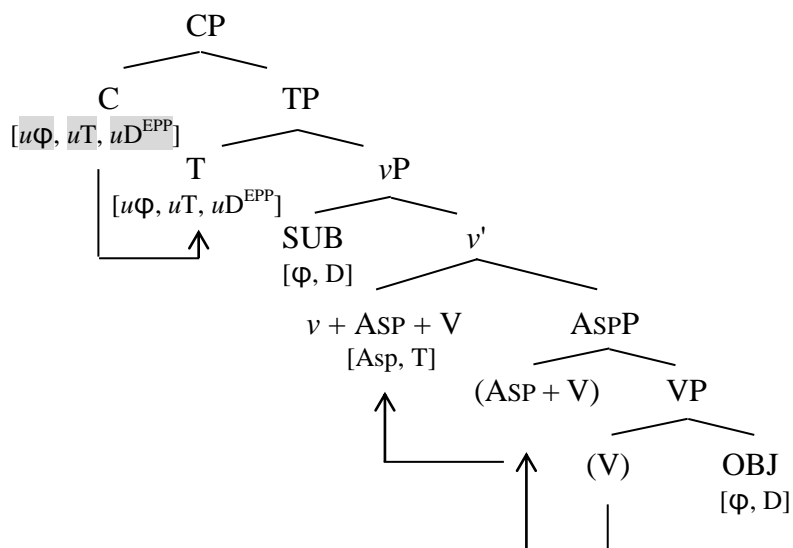


(183)



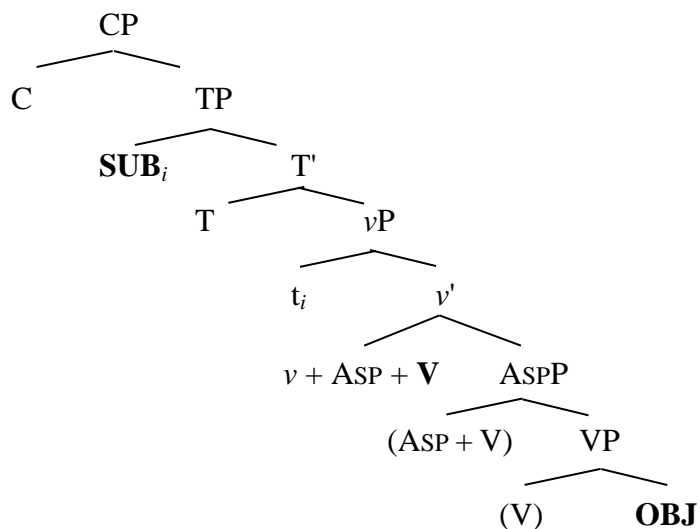
In (182), all of ν 's features are inherited by ASP, which enters into multiple agree relations with V and the object. Since none of the features on ν are EPP-specified, no movement is induced. Following Chomsky (1995) in assuming that V overtly raises to ν in English, I assume that V first raises to ASP and the ASP +V complex then raises on to ν , as in (184).

(184)



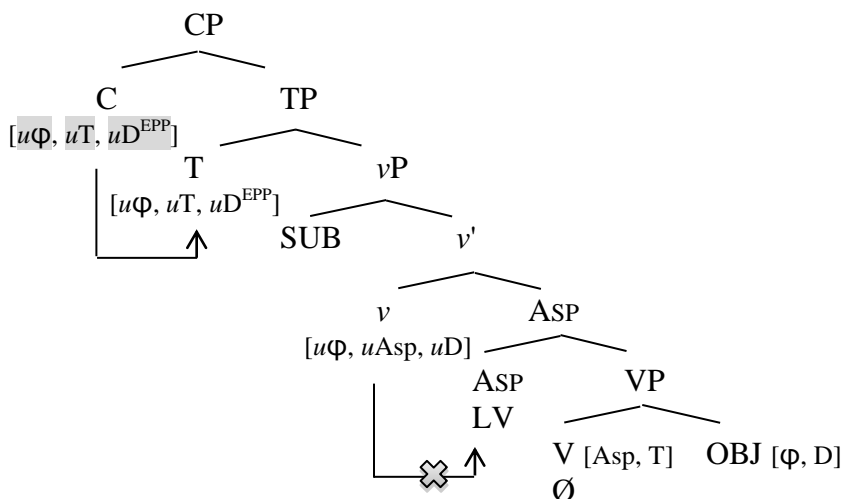
After feature inheritance from v to ASP, v is no longer a probe; none of probing features on v are active, following the principle of *feature expiration*. Instead, v (more precisely, the amalgam $v + ASP + V$) now bears [Asp, T] features after V-to-ASP-to- v raising, and gets attracted by the uninterpretable tense-feature on T, inherited from C. In addition, T enters into feature matching (Φ and D-features) with the subject, and the EPP property of the D-feature on T triggers subject raising to Spec, TP. As a result, SVO order is derived in (185). The nominative Case on the subject is the morphological manifestation of Agree between T and the subject.

(185)



When the verb is a light verb, on the other hand, feature inheritance from v to ASP does not take place. Instead v itself enters into Agree relations with V and the object shown in (183), repeated below.⁶⁵

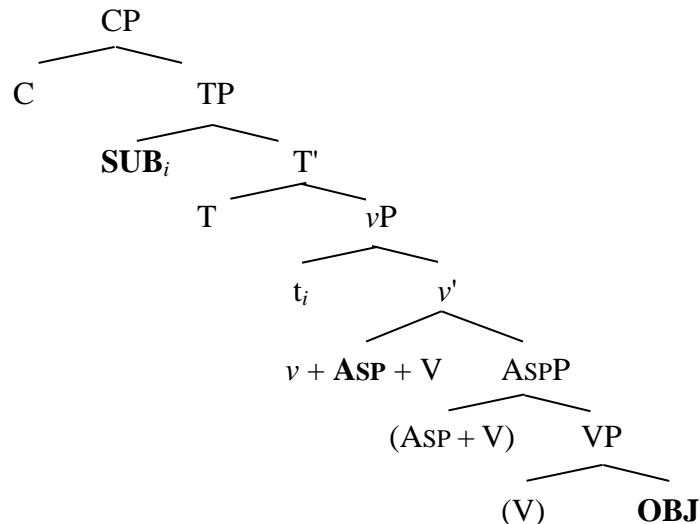
(183)



Similar to (184), V raises to v , as a result of which v (or $v + ASP + V$) bears Asp and T features. T inherits all of C's features via feature inheritance and enters into multiple agree relations with v (more precisely, $v + ASP + V$) and the subject, and the subject moves to Spec, TP, deriving SVO order, as shown in (186). Thus, SVO order (in which ASP head is lexicalized by the light verb) is always derived in English whether the verb is heavy or light.

⁶⁵ Alternatively, we can think that all the features of V and the object percolate into VP, as proposed in Chapter 6, and v enters into a probe-goal relationship with VP. However, once V raises to ASP, VP cannot bear V's features. Thus, I will not pursue this story.

(186)



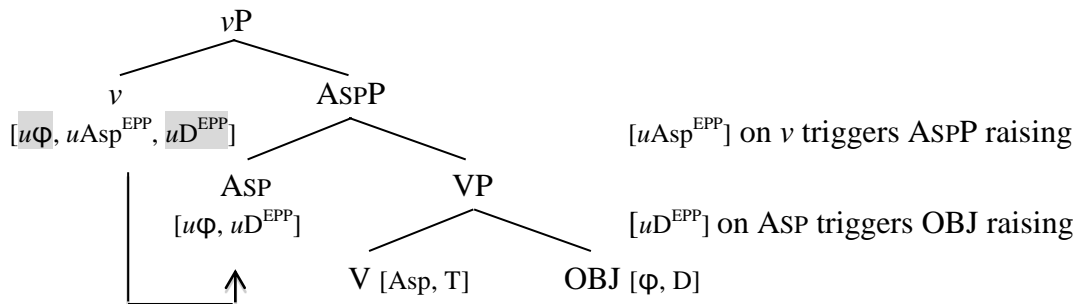
7.2.2 SOV in Korean and Japanese

(187) shows the feature matrices for the phase heads C and v in Korean and Japanese, based on which SOV order is derived via feature inheritance from C to T and v to ASP .

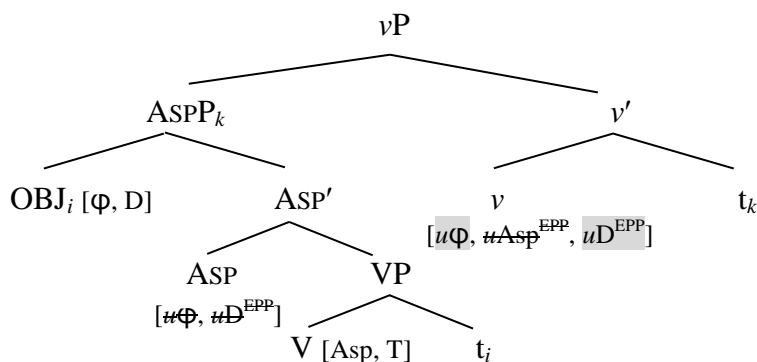
(187) C $[u\Phi, uT^{EPP}, uD^{EPP}]$ Korean, Japanese
 v $[u\Phi, uAsp^{EPP}, uD^{EPP}]$

In the v -ASP domain, shown in (188), ASP inherits $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ from v and enters into a probe-goal relation with the object. The object raises to Spec, ASPP to satisfy the EPP requirement on ASP and OV order is derived within ASPP. Then $[uAsp^{EPP}]$ on v is valued against the matching feature on V and the maximal projection of V is triggered to move to Spec, vP . However, the lexical projection VP cannot move by itself and pied-pipes ASPP (Chapter 3), resulting in the structure in (189).

(188)

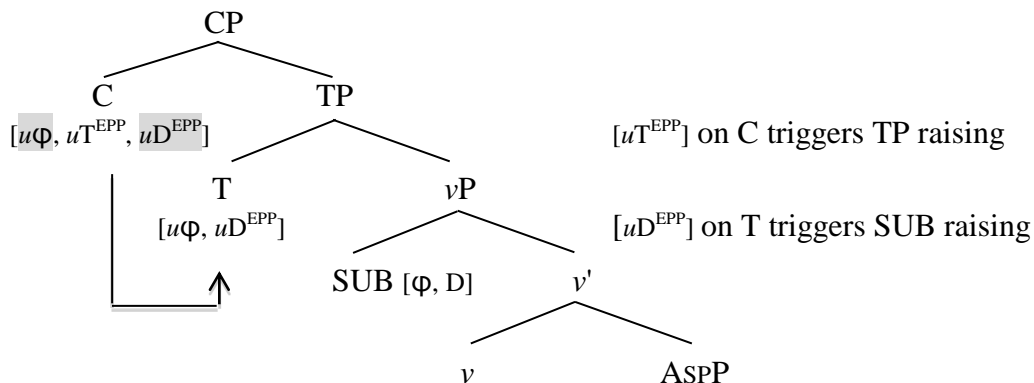


(189)

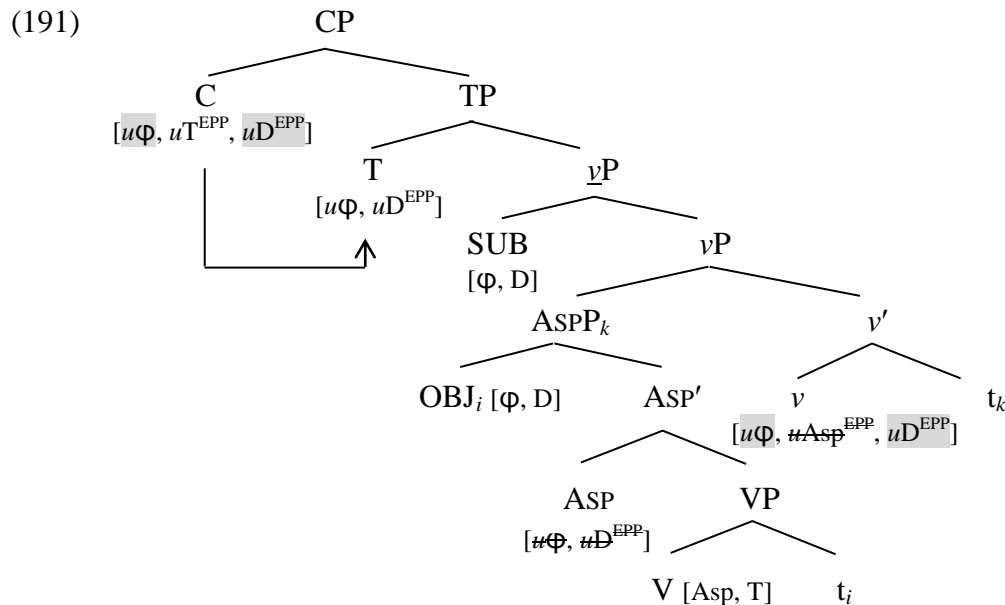


vP in (189) is then further selected by T and feature inheritance occurs from C to T in the C - T domain. I will show that feature inheritance from C to T in Korean and Japanese is entirely parallel to feature inheritance from v to ASP , in which the subject raises to $Spec, TP$ and TP further moves to the left of C , resulting in consistent head-final structure in Korean and Japanese, shown in (190).

(190)



To do so, we will look at the entire CP structure including the ν P structure of (191).



In (191), T inherits $[u\Phi, uD^{EPP}]$ from C and enters into a feature matching relationship with the subject, which raises to Spec, TP due to the EPP-specification on the D-feature of T.⁶⁶ The uninterpretable tense feature on C still needs to be valued and V has the corresponding feature. Also a maximal projection, not just a head, must raise to satisfy EPP on C. We now know that ASPP must be piped-pied by VP movement. However, ASPP cannot raise in (191) according to Criterial Freezing stated in (192).

(192) *Criterial Freezing*

Rizzi 2004: 11, (32)

A phrase meeting a criterion is frozen in place.

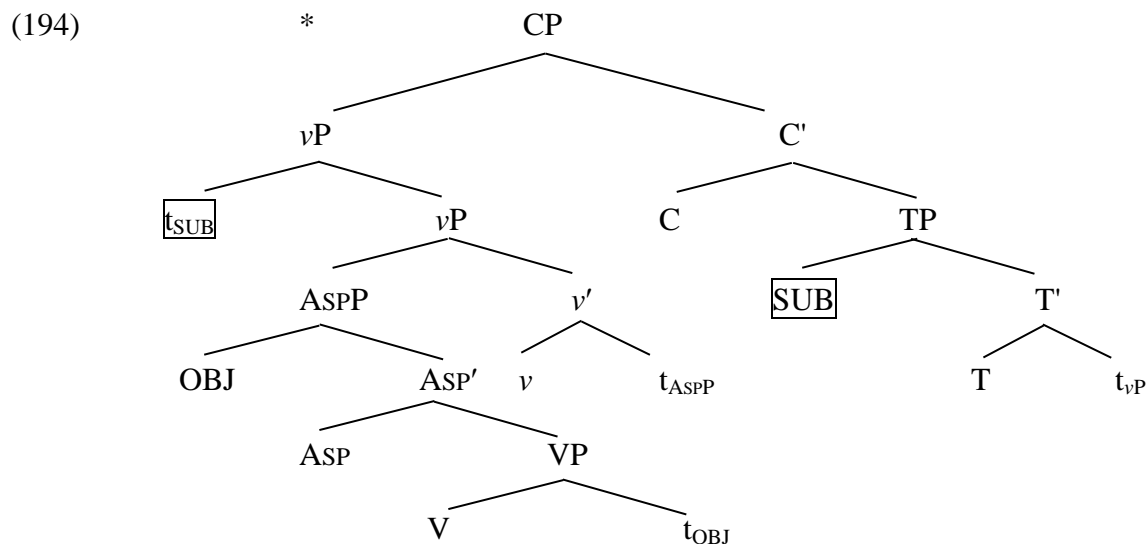
⁶⁶ Multiple specifiers of ν P does not violate *multiple agree under antisymmetry* here. As discussed in Chapter 3, antisymmetry is a PF constraint, and since the subject moves to Spec, TP and leaves a trace, only one specifier of ν P is spelled out at the PF.

In a case of (successive-cyclic) movement, a chain is formed, in which the head of the chain indicates the final landing position of a moved element while the foot of the chain shows its base-generated position of, shown in (193).

(193) $\langle X_i, \dots t_i \rangle$

Rizzi calls the last merging position of X in (193) a criterial position, at which X fulfills the criterion (or features in Chomsky's term) of a probe via spec-head configuration. And the element at a criterial position is frozen and cannot be extracted any further in the derivation.

Returning to (191), ASPP raises to Spec, ν P and fulfills the criterion of the probe ν , the uninterpretable Asp feature including its EPP specification, via a spec-head agreement. In other words, ASPP is at a criterial position and is frozen in place. Thus, ASPP cannot move to Spec, CP. It might conceivably pied-pipe ν P, as shown in (194).



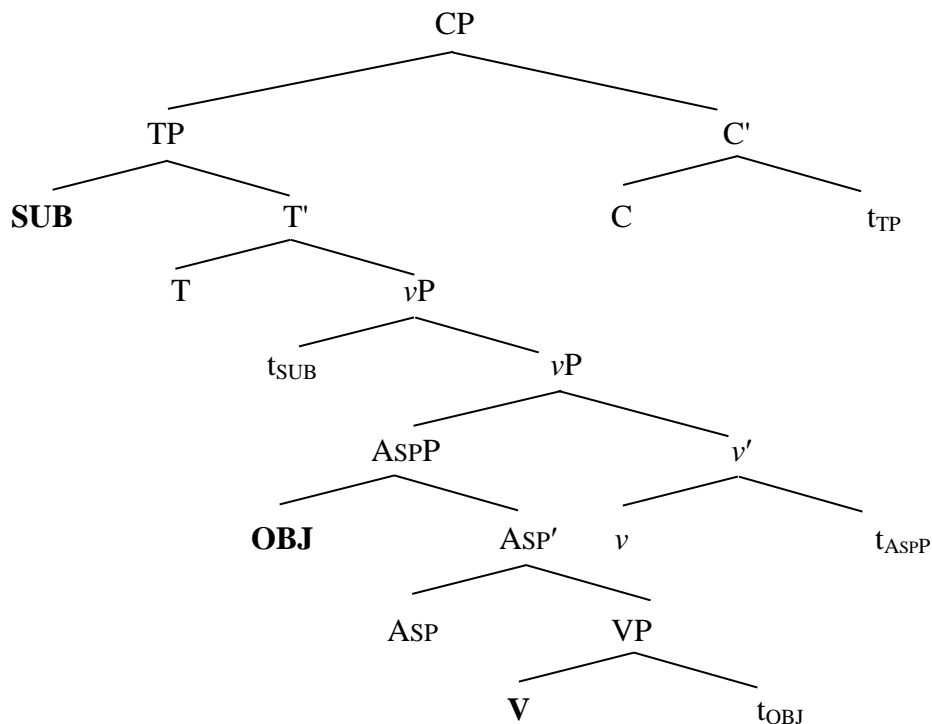
However, ν P movement to Spec, CP violates the Proper Binding Condition (Fiengo 1977) and is ruled out: the trace of the subject is not c-commanded by its antecedent and therefore not properly bound in (194). Since neither ASPP nor ν P can be pied-piped by VP, it turns out that the

smallest phrase that VP can pied-pipe is TP, which raises to Spec, CP in Korean and Japanese (cf. Kayne 1994). Analogous to ASPP pied-piping and raising in the *v*-ASP domain, TP is pied-piped and raises in the C-T domain in Korean and Japanese, and surface order S-O-V-Complementizer is derived. Examples are provided in (195), repeated from (77), and (196).

- (195) a. Kibo-ka [CP [TP Donna-ka chayk-ul sass-ta]-**ko**] malhayss-ta
 -NOM -NOM book-ACC buy.PAST-DECL-COMP say.PAST-DECL
- b. Kibo-ga [CP [TP Donna-ga hon-o kat-ta]-**to**] it-ta
 -NOM -NOM book-ACC buy.PAST-COMP say.PAST
 ‘Kibo said that Donna bought a book’
- (196) a. Donna-ka ku chayk-ul sass-eyo?
 -NOM that book-ACC buy.PAST-INT
- b. Donna-ga soon hon-o kat-ta-ka?
 -NOM that book-ACC buy.PAST-INT
 ‘Did Donna buy that book?’

The structure in (197) illustrates TP raising in Korean and Japanese, resulting in S-O-V-Comp order.

(197)



While vP cannot raise to Spec, CP in Korean and Japanese, as shown in (194), vP raising is not categorically ruled out across languages. As a matter of fact, vP can raise to Spec, CP: for instance, various types of so-called VP topicalization (arguably involving fronting of vP) is evidenced in Germanic V2 languages, shown in (198).

- (198) a. [_{vP} dem Peter ein Buch gegeben]₃ hat die Claudia gestern t₃
 ART Peter_{dat} a book_{acc} given has ART Claudia_{nom} yesterday
- b. [_{vP} t₁ gelesen]₃ hat das Buch₁ keiner t₃
 read has the book no-one
- c. [_{vP} dem Peter t₂ gegeben]₃ hat die Claudia ein Buch₂ t₃
 ART Peter_{dat} given has ART Claudia_{nom} a book_{acc}
- d. [_{vP} t₁ t₂ gegeben]₃ hat die Claudia dem Peter₁ ein Buch₂ t₃
 given has ART Claudia_{nom} ART Peter_{dat} a book_{acc}

German, adopted from Müller 1998: 187, (5)

In (198a), the entire vP is fronted to the beginning of the sentence, which has been argued to involve raising to Spec, CP (e.g., Thiersch 1985; den Besten & Webelhuth 1987). Similarly, the vP is topicalized in (198b-d). However, the vPs in (198b-d) are remnant vPs including a trace of the scrambled direct object in (198b), the trace of a direct object in a double object construction in (198c), and traces of both the direct and indirect objects in (198d). And these traces inside the VP are not bound, violating the Proper Binding Condition. Yet, the sentences remain grammatical in remnant vP topicalization in German. On the contrary, we have seen that vP raising in Korean and Japanese is ruled out because it violates the Proper Binding Condition. How can we explain this contrast between vP topicalization in Germanic languages, on the one hand, and the ban on vP raising in Korean and Japanese, on the other hand?

I suggest that purely EPP-driven movement, as in vP raising in Korean and Japanese, cannot reconstruct (Nevins & Anand 2003), whereas topicalization, which is not a case of pure EPP-driven movement (because it leads to the interpretive effect of topic-comment articulation), as in vP raising in Germanic languages, can reconstruct, thus allowing an unbound trace in the VP to be bound at its reconstructed base position in V2 Germanic languages. It is worth investigating the cross-linguistic variation regarding vP raising, including various verb-initial languages such as Niuean, which is arguably a VP fronting language exhibiting VSO order (Massam 2000; 2001), which I will leave for future research.

7.3 Thesis Summary and Conclusion

Based on an earlier proposal that Case is a D-feature, I have proposed in this chapter that structural Case is a D-feature on phase heads, C and v , and case morphology is a morphological manifestation of Agree (D-feature matching) between T and a noun phrase (for nominative) and

ASP and a noun phrase (for accusative) after feature inheritance takes place from C to T and v to ASP.

I have also shown the detailed mechanism of feature inheritance in the C-T domain in English, Korean and Japanese, based on which head-initial structure in English and head-final structure in Korean and Japanese can be accounted for. In Korean and Japanese, various types of pied-piping are observed, ASPP pied-piping in the v -ASP domain and TP pied-piping in the C-T domain, which explains the consistent head-final structure in these languages.

Pied-piping is observed in various domains across languages, and PP pied-piping in *wh*-movement in English is one of many examples. In (199a, b), for instance, the object moves up to Spec, CP triggered by the EPP specification on *wh*-feature on C. On the other hand, the object (the Goal) may pied-pipe its mother node PP and move up to Spec, CP in (199a', b').

- (199) a. Who did you speak to? a'. To whom did you speak?
 b. What do you mix your Vodka with? b'. With what do you mix your Vodka?

Researchers have proposed various accounts for pied-piping constructions like those in (199), such as feature percolation from the *wh*-object to its dominating node PP or restricting the *wh*-feature in a local domain, in which no phrasal boundary must be present between the probe and the goal. However, a feature percolation approach to pied-piping has been criticized for its overgeneralization, and the nature of pied-piping is still open to debate. Instead, pied-piping may be dealt with differently under the feature inheritance system, as proposed in this dissertation. I will leave further investigation of this topic for future research.

The main purpose of this dissertation was to investigate word order variation in code-switching, especially OV vs. VO in two typologically similar language pairs, Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. To do so, I first reviewed the two competing approaches

to word order in generative linguistics, namely the head parameter approach and the derivational approach. The head parameter approach, stating that the head takes its complement either to its left or to its right, has drawbacks: from a theoretical point of view, it is no longer tenable under current Minimalist syntax, in which language parameterization is attributed to morphosyntactic features on a functional category, not of a lexical category. Also previous research on word order in code-switching based on the head parameter approach is shown to fail to account for OV and VO occurrence in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching.

The derivational approach, on the other hand, assumes that all languages share the same underlying structure, from which various surface orders are derived. The Minimalist Program advocates the derivational approach, especially the view that VO is the underlying structure for both OV and VO languages and OV is derived via object shift. The proposal that object shift is triggered by an EPP specification of a syntactic category v , representing a light verb, was further developed in the v -ASP structure, in which feature inheritance from v to ASP takes place and the object raises to Spec, ASP in Korean and Japanese. I also proposed that the Korean and Japanese light verbs, *ha* and *su* ‘do’ merge under v and trigger object shift, whereas English-type light verbs lexicalize ASP.

The role of light verbs, in comparison with heavy or lexical verbs, was explored in code-switching, its contribution to deriving OV and VO order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching. In addition the role of syntactic flexibility of a code-switched phrase was also investigated, assuming that while the internal argument of a syntactically flexible VP is subject to code-switching, a less flexible phrase undergoes code-switching as a unit. These two research questions were investigated in 3 interrelated experimental tasks, eliciting judgments of the word order patterns of code-switching from Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual

speakers. The overall results confirmed the two research hypotheses made in this thesis: light verbs and heavy verbs behave differently and lead to different word order, OV and VO, respectively, and syntactic flexibility also plays a role in word order in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching.

To account for OV and VO patterns obtained from the CS judgment data, I developed feature inheritance system in the v -ASP domain and identified feature specifications on v in Korean/Japanese and English. OV vs. VO contrast in Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switching was argued to be a result of raising in the derivation: when feature inheritance occurs from $v = ha^{KR}/su^{JP}$ to ASP, the object raises to Spec, ASPP triggered by the EPP property on ASP. As a result, OV order is derived. If feature inheritance does not occur, on the other hand, the object stays in situ, and the underlying VO order surfaces.

The feature inheritance system that was originally proposed for the domain of C-T by Chomsky was fully developed both in C-T and v -ASP domains. I proposed that feature inheritance is subject to two principles, *feature selection* and *feature expiration*, and is governed by three rules, *earliness*, *economy* and *multiple agree under antisymmetry*. In so doing, I showed that feature inheritance is designed to facilitate a derivation to proceed economically and efficiently in the syntax, reflecting the very spirit of Minimalist syntax.

Appendix A-1

LANGUAGE HISTORY QUESTIONNAIRE

Participant's code □□□

Age _____ Sex _____ Occupation _____

Place of birth _____ Current place of residence _____

Please list the places you have lived for more than 6 months, and say how long you lived there

How old were you when you began learning Korean? _____ English? _____

Which language comes first to mind when you are about to speak? Korean or English

In which language do you feel more comfortable? Korean or English

In which language do you usually think? Korean or English

What language do you mostly speak with the following conversation partners? Please check one box to indicate your usual choice of language.

	Korean only				English only	
to your parents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to your brothers or sisters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to other relatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to intimate friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to school/work colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
in other social contexts?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you speak both Korean and English with the aforementioned conversation partners, do you also mix the two languages with any of them? Please list all conversation partners who you may mix the two languages when you speak to them.

How would you rate yourself? Please check one box to indicate your overall ability in each language.

		Very good				Very poor			
listening in	Korean	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
speaking in	Korean	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
reading in	Korean	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
writing in	Korean	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(Optional) Do you have any other comments on your language background which you think are important for us to know?

감사합니다!

THANK YOU!

Appendix A-2 LANGUAGE HISTORY QUESTIONNAIRE

Participant's code □□□

Age _____ Sex _____ Occupation _____

Place of birth _____ Current place of residence _____

Please list the places you have lived for more than 6 months, and say how long you lived there

How old were you when you began learning Japanese? _____ English? _____

Which language comes first to mind when you are about to speak? Japanese or English

In which language do you feel more comfortable? Japanese or English

In which language do you usually think? Japanese or English

What language do you mostly speak with the following conversation partners? Please check one box to indicate your usual choice of language.

	Japanese only				English only	
to your parents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to your brothers or sisters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to other relatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to intimate friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to school/work colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
in other social contexts?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you speak both Japanese and English with the aforementioned conversation partners, do you also mix the two languages with any of them? Please list all conversation partners who you may mix the two languages when you speak to them.

How would you rate yourself? Please check one box to indicate your overall ability in each How would you rate yourself?

		Very good				Very poor			
listening in	Japanese	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
speaking in	Japanese	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
reading in	Japanese	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
writing in	Japanese	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(Optional) Do you have any other comments on your language background which you think are important for us to know?

ありがとうございます!

THANK YOU!

Appendix B-1: Items of heavy vs. light verbs and literal vs. non-literal interpretations counterbalanced across two versions for the CS judgment task

VERSION A	VERSION B
<p>HV, Literal (first half) miss the bus break the glass spill the soup kick the umpire serve Korean/Japanese food lend some money ring the bell climb the stairs</p>	<p>HV, Literal (second half) play baseball lose your job pound the dough throw his cellphone rub noses feel the pain pull weeds shoot the aliens</p>
<p>HV, Non-Literal (second half) play hooky lose your marbles pound the pavement throw the book rub shoulders feel the pinch pull strings shoot the breeze</p>	<p>HV, Non-Literal (first half) miss the boat break the bank spill the beans kick the bucket serve hard time lend an ear ring a bell climb the walls</p>
<p>LV, Literal (first half) make a million bucks have a small head take a vacation keep a respectful manner give the job raise their hands get cold sores hold the bowl</p>	<p>LV, Literal (second half) make friends have an upset stomach take a window seat keep your receipt give a big present raise the fee get a new girlfriend hold water (LIT)</p>
<p>LV, Non-literal (second half) make waves have a total blast take a back seat keep your cool give a big hand raise the bar get a grip hold water (NON-LIT)</p>	<p>LV, Non-Literal (first half) make a bundle have a big mouth take a hike (NON-LIT) keep a civil tongue give the axe raise a few eyebrows get cold feet hold the fort</p>

Appendix B-2: Items of heavy vs. light verbs in light verb constructions distributed over two versions for the CS judgment task

VERSION A	VERSION B
HV, LVC	HV, LVC
play a trick	play a joke
cast blame	cast doubt
pay a visit	pay a compliment
offer an explanation	offer an apology
deliver a talk	deliver a speech
pass judgment	pass sentence
catch a glimpse	catch sight
reach a compromise	reach an agreement
LV, LVC	LV, LVC
make a suggestion	make a request
take a hike (LIT)	take a walk
raise some objection	raise some suspicion
get a sense	get a suntan
have a look	have a try
keep close watch	keep track
give a presentation	give a speech
hold a conversation	hold a debate

Appendix B-3 Items included as a full English sentence in the CS judgment task

VERSION A	VERSION B
	<p>HV, Literal book my flight change her mind check our luggage win the lottery watch TV call the customer service sell used books</p>
	<p>HV, Non-Literal bury the hatchet hit bottom cut his class eat humble pie watch your mouth touch a sore spot</p>
	<p>LV, Literal bring a CD player have a lunch buffet send my comments</p>

Appendix B-4 Items of heavy vs. light uses of verbs and items of direct vs. indirect objects distributed over two versions for the CS judgment task

VERSION A	VERSION B
Heavy use	Heavy use
bear a heavy burden	set the temperature
put the bag	lay your head
place the napkins	pose a problem
gain a small fortune	carry a bottle of vitamin water
Light use	Light use
bear a strong resemblance	set your hopes
put a stop	lay more emphasis
place an order	pose a threat
gain full control	carry a taste of home cooking
Direct object	Direct object
pay the gas bill	ask any question
write your diary	tell the whole story
serve the nuts	show your confidence
promise my holiday picture	refund the full amount
Indirect object	Indirect object
pay the gardener	ask any librarian
write your parents	tell your whole family
serve the guests	show your audience
promise my pen pal	refund their customers

Appendix C-1: Implementation of items of heavy vs. light verbs and literal vs. non-literal interpretations in OV order

Note: For the Korean-English code-switched sentences, the accusative marker *-(l)ul* was optionally inserted after the object, whereas the accusative marker *-o* was attached to the object at all times for Japanese-English code-switched sentences. Except for the idiomatic phrase *spill the beans*, all functional elements preceding the object (e.g., articles, possessive pronouns) were omitted both in Korean-English and Japanese-English CS.

VERSION A	VERSION B
HV, Literal (first half)	HV, Non-Literal (first half)
bus- <i>lul</i> miss	boat- <i>lul</i> miss
glass- <i>lul</i> break	bank- <i>lul</i> break
soup spill	the beans spill
umpire- <i>lul</i> kick	bucket- <i>ul</i> kick
Korean food serve	hard time serve
some money lend	ear lend
bell ring	bell ring
stairs climb	walls climb
HV, Non-Literal (second half)	HV, Literal (second half)
hooky- <i>lul</i> play	basketball- <i>ul</i> play
marbles lose	job lose
pavement- <i>lul</i> pound	dough- <i>lul</i> pound
book- <i>ul</i> throw	cellphone- <i>ul</i> throw
shoulders rub	noses rub
pinch- <i>lul</i> feel	pain- <i>ul</i> feel
strings pull	weeds pull
breeze shoot	aliens shoot

Appendix C-2: Implementation of items of heavy vs. light verbs in light verb constructions in OV order

Note: The Korean accusative marker *-lul* and the Japanese accusative marker *-o* was inserted after the object at all times for both Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switched sentences. All functional elements preceding the object (e.g., articles, possessive pronouns) were omitted both in Korean-English and Japanese-English CS.

VERSION A	VERSION B
<p>HV, LVC trick-<i>ul</i> play blame-<i>ul</i> cast visit-<i>ul</i> pay explanation-<i>ul</i> offer talk-<i>lul</i> deliver judgment-<i>lul</i> pass glimpse-<i>lul</i> catch compromise-<i>lul</i> reach</p>	<p>HV, LVC joke-<i>ul</i> play doubt-<i>ul</i> cast compliment-<i>ul</i> pay apology-<i>lul</i> offer speech-<i>lul</i> deliver sentence-<i>lul</i> pass sight-<i>lul</i> catch agreement-<i>lul</i> reach</p>
<p>LV, LVC suggestion-<i>ul</i> make hike-<i>lul</i> take some objection-<i>ul</i> raise sense-<i>lul</i> get look-<i>ul</i> have close watch-<i>lul</i> keep presentation-<i>ul</i> give a conversation-<i>ul</i> hold</p>	<p>LV, LVC request-<i>lul</i> make walk-<i>lul</i> take suspicion-<i>ul</i> raise suntan-<i>ul</i> get try-<i>lul</i> have track-<i>ul</i> keep speech-<i>lul</i> give debate-<i>lul</i> hold</p>

Appendix C-3 Implementation of a full English sentence in OV order

VERSION A	VERSION B
	<p>HV, Literal book my flight change her mind check our luggage win the lottery watch TV call the customer service sell used books</p>
	<p>HV, Non-Literal bury the hatchet hit bottom cut his class eat humble pie watch your mouth touch a sore spot</p>
	<p>LV, Literal bring the CD player have a lunch buffet send my comments</p>

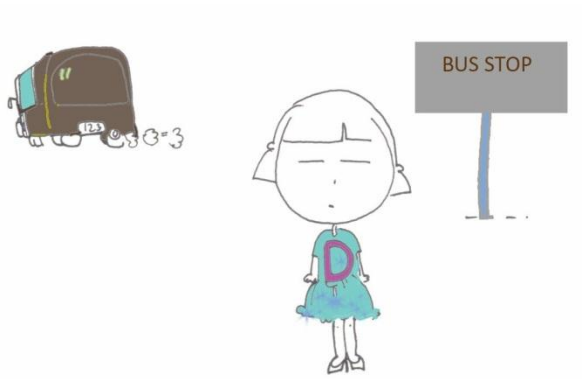
Appendix C-4 Implementation of items of heavy vs. light uses of verbs and items of direct vs. indirect objects in OV order

Note: The Korean accusative marker *-(l)ul* and the Japanese accusative marker *-o* was inserted after the object at all times for both Korean-English and Japanese-English code-switched sentences. All functional elements preceding the object (e.g., articles, possessive pronouns) were omitted both in Korean-English and Japanese-English CS.

VERSION A	VERSION B
<p>Heavy use heavy burden-<i>ul</i> bear bag-<i>ul</i> put napkin-<i>ul</i> place small fortune-<i>ul</i> gain</p>	<p>Heavy use temperature-<i>lul</i> set head-<i>lul</i> lay problem-<i>ul</i> pose a bottle of vitamin water-<i>lul</i> carry</p>
<p>Light use strong resemblance-<i>lul</i> bear stop-<i>ul</i> put order-<i>lul</i> place full control-<i>ul</i> gain</p>	<p>Light use set your hopes-<i>lul</i> set more emphasis-<i>lul</i> lay threat-<i>ul</i> set a taste of home cooking-<i>ul</i> carry</p>
<p>Direct object gas bill-<i>ul</i> pay diary-<i>lul</i> write nuts-<i>lul</i> serve holiday picture-<i>lul</i> promise</p>	<p>Direct object any question-<i>ul</i> ask whole story-<i>lul</i> tell confidence-<i>lul</i> show full amount-<i>lul</i> refund</p>
<p>Indirect object gardener-<i>lul</i> pay parents-<i>lul</i> write the guests-<i>lul</i> serve pen pal-<i>lul</i> promise</p>	<p>Indirect object any librarian-<i>ul</i> ask whole family-<i>lul</i> tell audience-<i>lul</i> show customer-<i>lul</i> refund</p>

Appendix D-1 Version A of the Korean-English and Japanese-English CS judgment task

Kibo was disappointed that Donna didn't show up at the party he had told her about, and asked her what happened. What does Donna say?



- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. | cengmal
really | ka-ko
go-COMP | siph-ess-nuntey,
wish-PAST-but | bus-lul miss
-ACC | hayss-e
DO.PAST-DECL | KR-EN |
| 2. | cengmal
really | ka-ko
go-COMP | siph-ess-nuntey,
wish-PAST-but | miss the bus | hayss-e
DO.PAST-DECL | |
| 1. | hontooni
really | iki-takat-ta-nda-kedo,
go-want-PAST-DECL-but | bus-o miss
-ACC | si-ta-no
DO.PAST-DECL | JP-EN | |
| 2. | hontooni
really | iki-takat-ta-nda-kedo,
go-want-PAST-DECL-but | miss the bus | si-ta-no
DO.PAST-DECL | | |

“I really wanted to go, but I missed the bus.”

Donna went to a wine tasting hosted by a local shop, and Kibo asks how it was. What does Donna say?



- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|--|
| 1. | silswu-lo
misitake-INS | glass-lul break
-ACC | hayse
DO.because | nemwu
very | changphihayss-e
embarrassed.PAST-DECL |
| 2. | silswu-lo
misitake-INS | break the glass | hayse
DO.because | nemwu
very | changphihayss-e
embarrassed.PAST-DECL |
| 1. | ukkari
by.mistake | glass-o break
-ACC | si-ta-kara
SU-PAST-because | totemo
very | hazukasikat-ta
embarrassed.PAST-DECL |
| 2. | ukkari
by.mistake | break the glass | si-ta-kara
SU-PAST-because | totemo
very | hazukasikat-ta
embarrassed.PAST-DECL |

“I was so embarrassed because I broke the glass by mistake.”

Donna cooked dinner for her sister Mary's birthday, but Kibo carelessly knocked over the cooking pot. What does Donna say?



1. Kibo-ka *soup spill* ha-nun palamey cenyek ta mangchyess-e
-NOM DO-due.to dinner-NOM all ruin.PAST-DECL
2. Kibo-ka *spill the soup* ha-nun palamey cenyek ta mangchyess-e
-NOM DO-due.to dinner-NOM all ruin.PAST-DECL

1. Kibo-ga *soup-o spill* si-ta-kara ryoori-ga dainasi-ni nat-tyatta-no
-NOM -ACC DO-PAST-because dish-NOM spoiled-to become-PAST-DECL
2. Kibo-ga *spill the soup* si-ta-kara ryoori-ga dainasi-ni nat-tyatta-no
-NOM DO-PAST-because dish-NOM spoiled-to become-PAST-DECL

“The dinner was ruined because Kibo spilled the soup.”

Kibo heard that Donna was going to a soccer game this weekend to see her favorite guy playing. But to his surprise, Donna didn't go. What does Donna say?



1. nay-ka cohaha-nun senswu-ka sihap cen nal *umpire-lul kick* hayse
 I-NOM like-REL player-NOM match before day -ACC DO.because

kyengki-ese cchochkyenass-e
 match-LOC kicked.out.PAST-DECL

2. nay-ka cohaha-nun senswu-ka sihap cen nal *kick the umpire* hayse
 I-NOM like-REL player-NOM match before day DO.because

kyengki-ese cchochkyenass-e
 match-LOC kicked.out.PAST-DECL

1. watasi-ga sukina sensyu-ga siai-no zenjitsuni *umpire-o kick* si-ta-kara
 I-NOM like player-NOM match-GEN before -ACC DO-PAST-because

kyoogi-kara hazus-are-tyatta-no
 match-LOC kick.out-PASS-PAST-DECL

2. watasi-ga sukina sensyu-ga siai-no zenjitsuni *kick the umpire* si-ta-kara
 I-NOM like player-NOM match-GEN before DO-PAST-because

kyoogi-kara hazus-are-tyatta-no
 match-LOC kick.out-PASS-PAST-DECL

“My favorite player kicked the umpire the day before the match, so he was asked to withdraw from the game.”

Kibo walks a restaurant called Tony's Pizza, and notices that it has a different name. Kibo asks Donna why they changed the name. What does Donna say?



1. ku siktang incey ***Korean food serve*** han-tay
that restaurant now DO.PRES-DECL

2. ku siktang incey ***serve Korean food*** han-tay
that restaurant now DO.PRES-DECL

“(I heard that) the restaurant now serves Korean food.”

1. ano resutoran-wa ima ***Japanese food-o serve*** si-teiru-rasii-yo
that -TOP now -ACC DO-PROG-seem-DECL

2. ano resutoran-wa ima ***serve Japanese food*** si-teiru-rasii-yo
that -TOP now DO-PROG-seem-DECL

“(I heard that) the restaurant now serves Japanese food.”

Donna heard that Kibo is having money problems, and she wants to help out. What does Donna say?



1. ne ton mwuncey iss-umyen malhay
you money problem exist-if tell.DECL

na enceytunci **some money lend** hal swu iss-unikka
I always DO.FUT ability exist-because

2. ne ton mwuncey iss-umyen malhay
you money problem exist-if tell.DECL

na enceytunci **lend some money** hal swu iss-unikka
I always DO.FUT ability exist-because

1. okane-no koto-de mondai-ga areba it-te
money-GEN matter-with problem- NOM exist-if tell

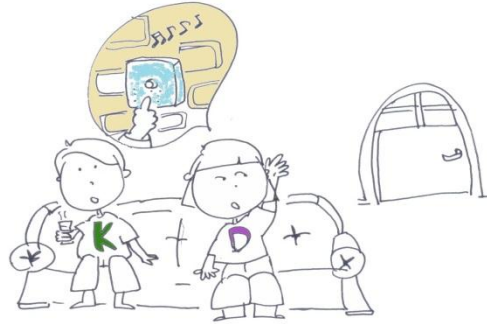
itsudemo **some money-o lend** su-ru-kara
always -ACC DO-PRES-because

2. okane-no koto-de mondai-ga areba it-te
money-GEN matter-with problem- NOM exist-if tell

itsudemo **lend some money** su-ru-kara
always DO-PRES-because

“If you’re having financial problems, let me know. I can always lend some money.”

Kibo and Donna are chatting in the back room, and Donna thinks she heard someone at the door. What does Donna say?



1. e, tul-ess-e? nwu-ka mak **bell ring** hayss-nuntay
uh, hear-PAST-INT someone-NOM just DO.PAST-DECL
 2. e, tul-ess-e? nwu-ka mak **ring the bell** hayss-nuntay
uh, hear-PAST-INT someone-NOM just DO.PAST-DECL
-
1. e, kii-ta? dareka-ga ima **bell-o ring** si-ta-kamo
uh, hear-PAST- someone-NOM just -ACC DO-PAST-maybe
 2. e, kii-ta? dareka-ga ima **ring the bell** si-ta-kamo
uh, hear-PAST- someone-NOM just DO-PAST-maybe

“Did you hear that? Somebody just rang the bell.”

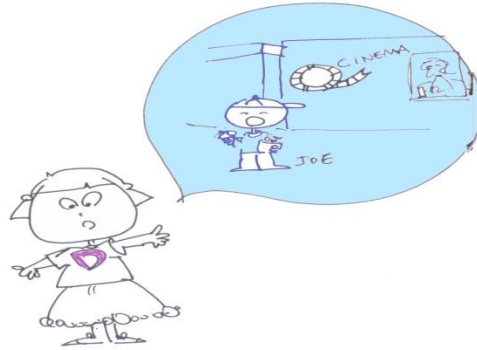
Donna complains about the elevator of her apartment building, which often breaks down. What does Donna say?



- | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. | ku | mengchenghan | elleypeithe | kakkumssik | <i>stairs climb</i> | ha-key | mantun-tanikka |
| | DEM | stupid | elevator | sometimes | | DO-COMP | make-DECL |
| 2. | ku | mengchenghan | elleypeithe | kakkumssik | <i>climb the stairs</i> | ha-key | mantun-tanikka |
| | DEM | stupid | elevator | sometimes | | DO-COMP | make-DECL |
| 1. | kono | bakana | erebeetaa | tokitoki | <i>stairs-o climb</i> | sa-seru-no | |
| | DEM | stupid | elevator | sometimes | -ACC | DO-CAUS.PRES-DECL | |
| 2. | kono | bakana | erebeetaa | tokitoki | <i>climb the stairs</i> | sa-seru-no | |
| | DEM | stupid | elevator | sometimes | | DO-CAUS.PRES-DECL | |

“That stupid elevator makes me climb the stairs sometimes.”

Kibo tells Donna that his nephew Joe has been getting home late after school. What does Donna say?



1. Joe-ka tto *hooky-lul play* ha-koiss-ni?
 -NOM again -ACC DO-PROG-INT

2. Joe-ka tto *play hooky* ha-koiss-ni?
 -NOM again DO-PROG-INT

1. Joe-wa matta *hooky-o play* si-teru-no?
 -TOP again -ACC DO-ASP-INT

2. Joe-wa matta *play hooky* si-teru-no?
 -TOP again DO-ASP-INT

“Is Joe playing hooky again?”

Kibo has been acting really strange since he got home from work, and Donna wonders if he has gone crazy. What does Donna say?



1. Kibo-ya way kulay? ne *marbles lose* hayss-nya?
 -VOC why is.it you DO.PAST-INT

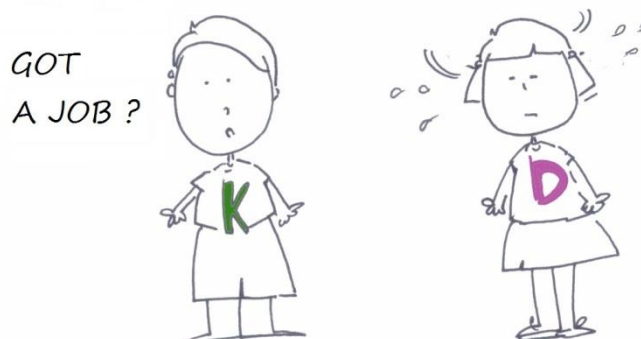
2. Kibo-ya way kulay? ne *lose your marbles* hayss-nya?
 -VOC why is.it you DO.PAST-INT

1. Kibo doosita-no? *marbles-o lose* si-ta?
 how.did-INT -ACC DO-ASP

2. Kibo doosita-no? *lose your marbles* si-ta?
 how.did-INT DO-ASP

“What’s wrong? Have you lost your marbles?”

Kibo heard that Donna wants to find a job in town, and asks how her search is going. What does Donna say?



1. pyello cincen eps-e. acik *pavement-lul pound* ha-koiss-e
 in.particular progress non.exist-DECL still -ACC DO-PROG-DECL

2. pyello cincen eps-e. acik *pound the pavement* ha-koiss-e
 in.particular progress non.exist-DECL still DO-PROG-DECL

1. amari susunde-nai. mada *pavement-o pound* si-teru-yo
 much progress-NEG still -ACC DO-ASP-DECL

2. amari susunde-nai. mada *pound the pavement* si-teru-yo
 much progress-NEG still DO-ASP-DECL

“There’s not much progress yet. I’m still pounding the pavement.”

Kibo wonders what has happened to Sally, who often used to drink and drive. What does Donna say?



1. phansa-ka Sally-hanthey **book-ul throw** hayse
 judge-NOM -DAT -ACC DO.as.a.result

kyelkwuk myenhecung cengci-twayss-tay
 finally license suspend-PASS.PAST-QUO

2. phansa-ka Sally-hanthey **throw the book** hayse
 judge-NOM -DAT DO.as.a.result

kyelkwuk myenhecung cengci-twayss-tay
 finally license suspend-PASS.PAST-QUO

1. saibankan-ga Sally-ni **book-o throw** si-te
 saibankan-ga -DAT -ACC DO-and.then

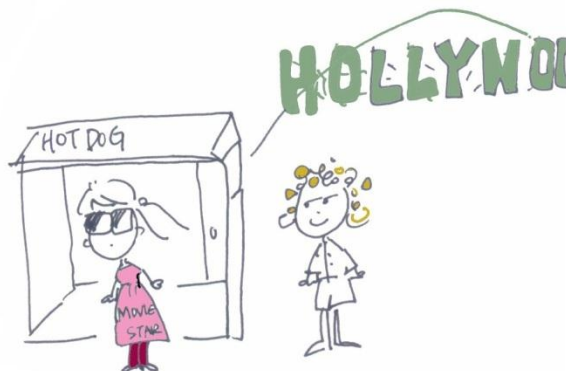
tootoo menkyo-ga teisi-ni nat-ta-nda-tte
 finally license-NOM suspend-to become-PAST-DECL-QUO

2. saibankan-ga Sally-ni **throw the book** si-te
 saibankan-ga -DAT DO-and.then

tootoo menkyo-ga teisi-ni nat-ta-nda-tte
 finally license-NOM suspend-to become-PAST-DECL-QUO

“The judge finally threw the book at her, and her license is suspended.”

Donna had lunch with her friend Jessie, who lives in Hollywood. What does Donna say?



1. Jessie-ka caki-nun yumyunghan yenghawpaywu-tul-ilang cacwu
 -NOM self-TOP famous movie.actor-PL-with often

shoulders rub han-ta-ko ha-tela
 DO.PRES-DECL-COMP DO-QUO

2. Jessie-ka caki-nun yumyunghan yenghawpaywu-tul-ilang cacwu
 -NOM self-TOP famous movie.actor-PL-with often

rub shoulders han-ta-ko ha-tela
 DO.PRES-DECL-COMP DO-QUO

1. Jessie-ga yuumeina eigahaiyuu-tati-to yoku
 -NOM famous movie.actor-PL-with often

shoulders-o rub si-teru-tte it-teta
 -ACC DO- ASP-DECL-QUO say-ASP.PAST

2. Jessie-ga yuumeina eigahaiyuu-tati-to yoku
 -NOM famous movie.actor-PL-with often

rub shoulders si-teru-tte it-teta
 DO- ASP-DECL-QUO say-ASP.PAST

“Jessie says she rubs shoulders with famous movie stars very often”

Kibo heard that Donna's father has lost his job, and asks how the family is doing. What does Donna say?



1. cheumeyn kwoynchanh-ass-nuntey *pinch-lul feel* ha-ki cicakhayss-e
at.first fine-PAST-but -ACC HA-NM start. PAST-DECL
2. cheumeyn kwoynchanh-ass-nuntey *feel the pinch* ha-ki cicakhayss-e
at.first fine-PAST-but HA-NM start. PAST-DECL

1. saisyo-wa daijoobu dat-tta kedo *pinch-o feel* si-hajime-teru-no
at.first find-BE-PAST-but -ACC DO-start-ASP-DECL
2. saisyo-wa daijoobu dat-tta kedo *feel the pinch* si-hajime-teru-no
at.first find-BE-PAST-but DO-start-ASP-DECL

“We were doing ok at first, but we’re starting to feel the pinch.”

Kibo asks how Donna got her free round-trip tickets to Korea (or Japan). What does Donna say?



1. nay chinkwu-tul-i tayhanhangkong-eyse ilhayse *strings pull* ha-nun kes
 I.GEN friend-PL-NOM Korean.Air-LOC work.so DO-REL NM

towacwess-e
 help.PAST-DECL

2. nay chinkwu-tul-i tayhanhangkong-eyse ilhayse *pull strings* ha-nun kes
 I.GEN friend-PL-NOM Korean.Air-LOC work.so DO-REL NM

towacwess-e
 help.PAST-DECL

1. tomodachi-ga nihon kookuu-de hatarai-teru-kar *strings-o pull*
 friends-NOM Japanese.Airline-LOC work-ASP-because -ACC

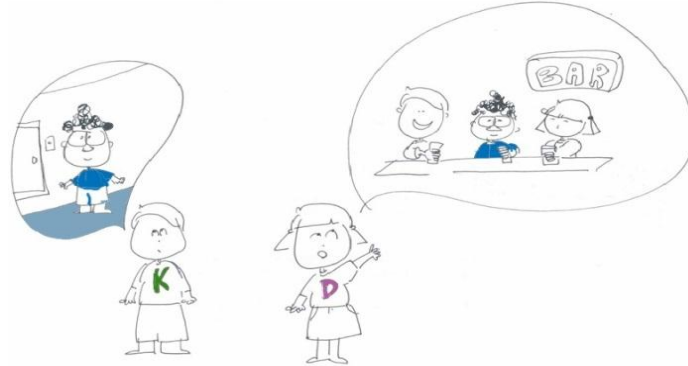
site-kure-ta-no
 DO.and-help-PAST-DECL

2. tomodachi-ga nihon kookuu-de hatarai-teru-kar *pull strings*
 friends-NOM Japanese.Airline-LOC work-ASP-because

site-kure-ta-no
 DO.and-help-PAST-DECL

“My friends work for Korean Air. They helped me pull strings (with the airline).”

Kibo tells Donna that he is having a friend visit over the weekend, and he doesn't know what to do with him. What does Donna say?



1. mwe-ka elye-we? kunyang pa-ey ka-se **breeze-lul shoot**
 what-NOM difficult-INT just bar-LOC go-and.then -ACC

ha-myen-tway
 DO-if-possible.DECL

2. mwe-ka elye-we? kunyang pa-ey ka-se **shoot the breeze**
 what-NOM difficult-INT just bar-LOC go-and.then

ha-myen-tway
 DO-if-possible.DECL

1. sorenara kantan-da-yo baa-ni it-te **breeze-o shoot** su-reba-ii-yo
 then easy-DECL bar-to go.and -ACC DO-if-good.DECL

2. sorenara kantan-da-yo baa-ni it-te **shoot the breeze** su-reba-ii-yo
 then easy-DECL bar-to go.and DO-if-good.DECL

“That’s easy. Just hang out at a bar and shoot the breeze.”

Donna came back from her high school reunion and tells Kibo about their old friends. What does Donna say?



1. John kiek-na? kyay olhay cwusik-ulo
remember-INT that.guy this.year stock-INS

million bucks-lul make hayss-tay
-ACC DO.PAST-QUO

2. John kiek-na? kyay olhay cwusik-ulo
remember-INT that.guy this.year stock-INS

make a million bucks hayss-tay
DO.PAST-QUO

1. John-o oboe-teru? kare kotosi kabu-de
-ACC remember-ASP.PRES he this.year stock-INS

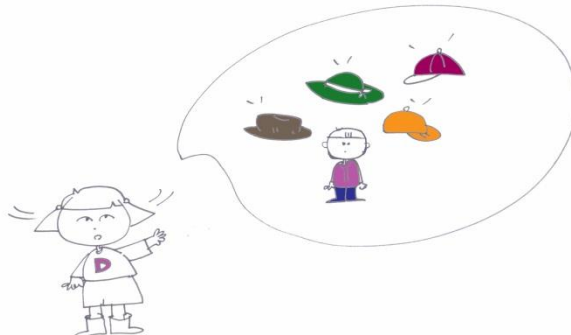
million bucks-o make si-ta-nda-tte
-ACC DO-PAST-DECL-QUO

2. John-o oboe-teru? kare kotosi kabu-de
-ACC remember-ASP.PRES he this.year stock-INS

make a million bucks si-ta-nda-tte
DO-PAST-DECL-QUO

“Do you remember John? I heard that he made a million bucks in the stock market this year.”

Kibo wants to give a fishing hat to his nephew, Joe, as a present, and Donna expresses some concerns. What does Donna say?



1. Joe-nun *small head have* ha-nikka mac-nun moca kolu-ki elyewe
 -TOP DO-because fit-REL hat choose-NM difficult.DECL

2. Joe-nun *have a small head* ha-nikka mac-nun moca kolu-ki elyewe
 -TOP DO-because fit-REL hat choose-NM difficult.DECL

1. Joe-wa *small head-o have* si-teru-kara pittarina bousi-o mitsuke
 -TOP -ACC DO-ASP.PRES-because fit hat-ACC choose
 nikui-yo
 difficult.DECL

2. Joe-wa *have a small head* si-teru-kara pittarina bousi-o mitsuke
 -TOP DO-ASP.PRES-because fit hat-ACC choose
 nikui-yo
 difficult.DECL

“Joe has a small head, so it’s difficult to choose a hat for him.”

Kibo has been working non-stop for several weeks, and Donna thinks he needs a rest. What does Donna say?



1. ne cincca yelsimhi ilhayss-e. incey ***vacation-ul take*** hay
 you really hard work.PAST-DECL now -ACC DO.IMP

2. ne cincca yelsimhi ilhayss-e. incey ***take a vacation*** hay
 you really hard work.PAST-DECL now DO.IMP

1. moo juubun hatarai-ta-yo onegaidakara ***vacation-o take*** si-te
 already enough work.PAST-DECL please -ACC DO.IMP

2. moo juubun hatarai-ta-yo onegaidakara ***take a vacation*** si-te
 already enough work.PAST-DECL please DO.IMP

“You’ve worked so hard. It’s time for you to take a vacation.”

Donna started working at a department store, and came back from the training sessions for new employees. What does Donna say?



1. hangsang sonnim-tul-hanthey *respectful manner-lul keep* ha-lay
at.all.times customer-PL-DAT -ACC DO-they.say

2. hangsang sonnim-tul-hanthey *keep a respectful manner* ha-lay
at.all.times customer-PL-DAT DO-they.say

1. itsumo okyakusan-ni *respectful manner-o keep* su-ru-yooni iwa-re-ta-yo
at.all.times customer-PL-DAT -ACC DO-PRES-to tell-PASS-PAST-DECL

2. itsumo okyakusan-ni *keep a respectful manner* su-ru-yooni iwa-re-ta-yo
at.all.times customer-PL-DAT DO-PRES-to tell-PASS-PAST-DECL

“I was told to keep a respectful manner with customers at all times.”

Donna and her coworker Jenny were competing for a promotion. Since Donna came from work, she looks upset and Kibo asks why. What does Donna say?



1. onul wuli posu-ka Jenny-hanthey **job-ul give** hayss-e
 today our boss-NOM -DAT -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

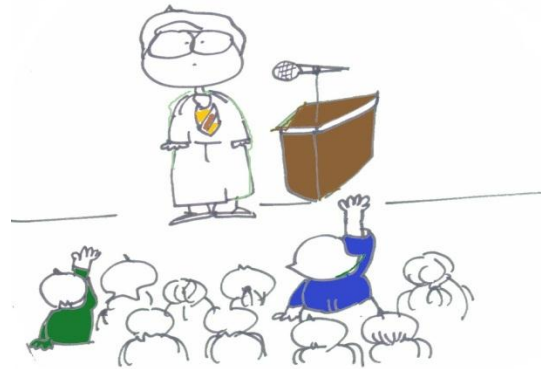
2. onul wuli posu-ka Jenny-hanthey **give the job** hayss-e
 today our boss-NOM -DAT DO.PAST-DECL

1. kyoo bosu-ka Jenny-ni **job-o give** si-ta-no
 today boss-NOM -DAT -ACC DO-PAST-DECL

2. kyoo bosu-ka Jenny-ni **give the job** si-ta-no
 today boss-NOM -DAT DO-PAST-DECL

“Today my boss gave the job to Jenny.”

Donna went to a talk by Bill Gates, the founder of Microsoft. What does Donna say?



1. kanguy-nun kkuthnaycwu-ess-nuntey ttak twu salam-man cilmwunha-lyeko
 lecture-TOP awesome-PAST-but just two person-FOC ask-in.order.to

hands raise hayss-e
 DO.PAST-DECL

2. kanguy-nun kkuthnaycwu-ess-nuntey ttak twu salam-man cilmwunha-lyeko
 lecture-TOP awesome-PAST-but just two person-FOC ask-in.order.to

raise their hands hayss-e
 DO.PAST-DECL

1. koogi-wa omosirokat-ta-kedo tatta futari-sika cilmwunha-lyeko
 lecture-TOP interesting-PAST-but just two.people-only ask-in.order.to

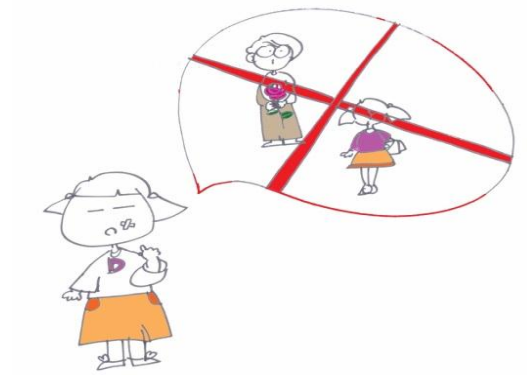
hands-o raise si-nakat-ta
 -ACC DO-NEG-PAST

2. koogi-wa omosirokat-ta-kedo tatta futari-sika cilmwunha-lyeko
 lecture-TOP interesting-PAST-but just two.people-only ask-in.order.to

raise their hands si-nakat-ta
 DO-NEG-PAST

“The lecture was interesting. But just two people raised their hands to ask a question.”

Donna was going to have a blind date this weekend, but it has been postponed. What does Donna say?



1. ku salam ***cold sores get*** hayss-tay
DEM man DO.PAST-QUO

2. ku salam ***get cold sores*** hayss-tay
DEM man DO.PAST-QUO

1. aite-ga ***cold sores-o get*** si-ta-mitai
partner-NOM -ACC DO-PAST-seem

2. aite-ga ***get cold sores*** si-ta-mitai
partner-NOM DO-PAST-seem

“(I heard that) my date has got cold sores.”

Donna and Kibo are making pancakes, and Donna asks to Kibo to help her. What does Donna say?



1. nay-ka kyelan cec-nun-tongan ***bowl-ul hold*** haycwul-lay?
I-NOM egg stir-PRES-while -ACC DO.FUT-INT
2. nay-ka kyelan cec-nun-tongan ***hold the bowl*** haycwul-lay?
I-NOM egg stir-PRES-while DO.FUT-INT

1. tamago-o kakimaze-teru-aida ***bowl-o hold*** si-te-kure-ru?
egg-ACC stir- ASP-while -ACC DO-help-PRES
2. tamago-o kakimaze-teru-aida ***hold the bowl*** si-te-kure-ru?
egg-ACC stir- ASP-while DO-help-PRES

“Can you hold the bowl while I stir the eggs?”

Donna talks about her new boss Susan at work, who came last week. What does Donna say?



1. Susan-un acwu yununghay-se talun pwuse salam-tul-ilang
 -TOP very efficient-because other department people-PL-with

waves make ha-cianh-ul kes kath-a
 DO-NEG-FUT.REL NM seem-DECL

2. Susan-un acwu yununghay-se talun pwuse salam-tul-ilang
 -TOP very efficient-because other department people-PL-with

make waves ha-cianh-ul kes kath-a
 DO-NEG-FUT.REL NM seem-DECL

1. Susan-wa totemo sigoto-ga dekiru-kara hokano busyo-no
 -TOP very work-NOM be.capable.of-because other department-GEN

hito-tati-tomo *waves-o make* si-nasasoo-yo
 people-PL-with -ACC DO-NEG.seem-DECL

2. Susan-wa totemo sigoto-ga dekiru-kara hokano busyo-no
 -TOP very work-NOM be.capable.of-because other department-GEN

hito-tati-tomo *make waves* si-nasasoo-yo
 people-PL-with DO-NEG.seem-DECL

“Susan is very efficient and is unlikely to make waves with the heads of other departments.”

Donna went to Korea (or Japan) with her family for the Christmas break, and Kibo asks how it was. What does Donna say?



1. wuli masiss-nun ke manhi mek-ko mayil **total blast have**
 we delicious-REL NM a.lot eat-CONJ every.day

hayss-e
 DO.PAST-DECL

2. wuli masiss-nun ke manhi mek-ko mayil **have a total blast**
 we delicious-REL NM a.lot eat-CONJ every.day

hayss-e
 DO.PAST-DECL

1. takusan oisii mono-o tabe-te mainichi **total blast-o have** si-ta-yo
 a.lot delicious thing-ACC eat-CONJ every.day -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. takusan oisii mono-o tabe-te mainichi **have a total blast** si-ta-yo
 a.lot delicious thing-ACC eat-CONJ every.day DO.PAST-DECL

“We had lots of good food and had a total blast every day.”

Kibo and Donna are giving an oral presentation together, and Donna thinks Kibo is a better speaker. What does Donna say?



1. Kibo-ya, ney-ka palphyohal-lay? nan **back seat-ul take** hayto
 -VOC you-NOM present.FUT-INT I.TOP -ACC DO.though

kwaynchanh-a
 fine-DECL

2. Kibo-ya, ney-ka palphyohal-lay? nan **take a back seat** hayto
 -VOC you-NOM present.FUT-INT I.TOP DO.though

kwaynchanh-a
 fine-DECL

1. Kibo-ga happyoo-su-reba? watasi-wa **back seat-o take** si-temo
 -NOM presentation-DO-why.not I.TOP -ACC DO.though

ii-yo
 fine-DECL

2. Kibo-ga happyoo-su-reba? watasi-wa **take a back seat** si-temo
 -NOM presentation-DO-why.not I.TOP DO.though

ii-yo
 fine-DECL

“Why don’t you give the talk? I’ll be happy to take a back seat.”

Kibo isn't sure how to deal with the big problem he came across at work. What does Donna say to Kibo?



1. ne-man *cool-ul keep* ha-myen enceyna haykyelchayk chac-ul swu
 you-FOC -ACC DO-if always solution find-FUT possibility
 iss-e
 exist-DECL

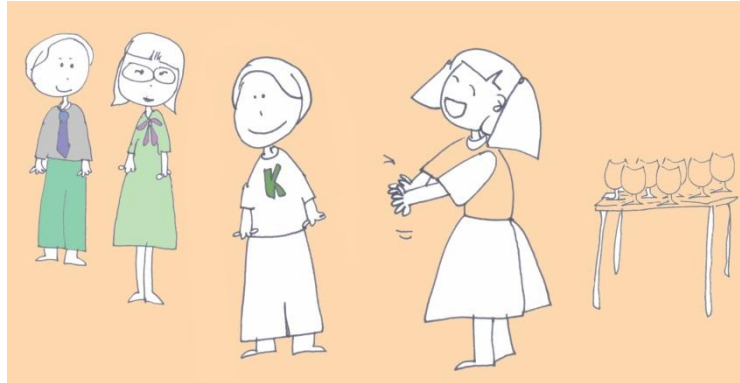
2. ne-man *keep your cool* ha-myen enceyna haykyelchayk chac-ul swu
 you-FOC DO-if always solution find-FUT possibility
 iss-e
 exist-DECL

1. tonikaku *cool-o keep* si-teireba itsudemo kaiketsuhoo-ga mitsuka-ru-yo
 in.any.case -ACC DO-ASP.if always solution-NOM be.found-PRES-DECL

2. tonikaku *keep your cool* si-teireba itsudemo kaiketsuhoo-ga mitsuka-ru-yo
 in.any.case DO-ASP.if always solution-NOM be.found-PRES-DECL

“You can always find a solution if you keep your cool.”

Kibo won the first prize in a speech contest, and Donna has organized a party to congratulate him. What does Donna say?



1. wuli motwu Kibo-hanthey **big hand-lul give** ha-ca
we all -DAT -ACC DO-COH

2. wuli motwu Kibo-hanthey **give a big hand** ha-ca
we all -DAT DO-COH

1. minna-de Kibo-ni **big hand-o give** si-yoo
all -DAT -ACC DO-COH

2. minna-de Kibo-ni **give a big hand** si-yoo
all -DAT DO-COH

“Let us all give a big hand to Kibo.”

Donna enjoys her job very much, but has been under pressure recently. What does Donna say?



1. wuli posu-ka **bar-lul raise** hayse aphulo te cal hayya-hay
 our boss-NOM -ACC DO.because from.now.on more well have.to.do-DECL

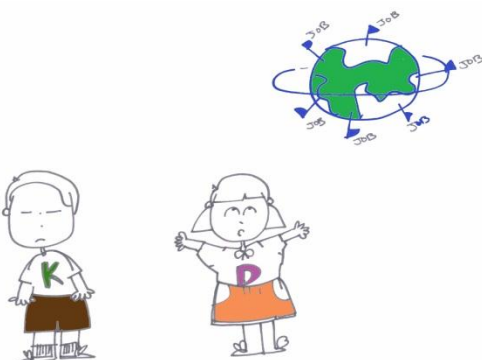
2. wuli posu-ka **raise the bar** hayse aphulo te cal hayya-hay
 our boss-NOM DO.because from.now.on more well have.to.do-DECL

1. joosi-ga **bar-o raise** si-ta-kara motto tyanto yara-nakya
 boss-NOM -ACC DO-PAST-because more better do-have.to

2. joosi-ga **raise the bar** si-ta-kara motto tyanto yara-nakya
 boss-NOM DO-PAST-because more better do-have.to

“My boss has raised the bar, so I have to perform even better.”

Kibo has been depressed since he didn't get the summer job that he really wanted. What does Donna say?



1. ne silmangha-n ke a-nuntey ***grip-ul get*** ha-laku!
 you disappointed-REL NM know-but -ACC DO-IMP

te coh-un cali elmatunci manh-a
 more good-REL position any.number a.lot-DECL

2. ne silmangha-n ke a-nuntey ***get a grip*** ha-laku!
 you disappointed-REL NM know-but -ACC DO-IMP

te coh-un cali elmatunci manh-a
 more good-REL position any.number a.lot-DECL

1. zannenna-no-wa wakarukedo ***grip-o get*** si-te!
 disappointed-GEN-TOP know-but -ACC DO-IMP

motto ii sigoto-ga aru-yo
 more good job-NOM exist-DECL

2. zannenna-no-wa wakarukedo ***get a grip*** si-te!
 disappointed-GEN-TOP know-but DO-IMP

motto ii sigoto-ga aru-yo
 more good job-NOM exist-DECL

“I know you’re disappointed, but get a grip! There are better jobs out there.”

Donna read Kibo's term paper, which she finds incoherent. What does Donna say?



1. ney cwucang-i **water hold** hal kes katch-cianh-untey
 you.GEN argument-NOM DO.FUT NM seem-NEG-DECL

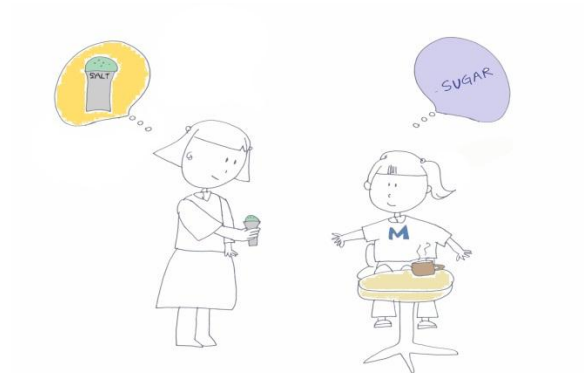
2. ney cwucang-i **hold water** hal kes katch-cianh-untey
 you.GEN argument-NOM DO.FUT NM seem-NEG-DECL

1. sono giron-wa **water-o hold** si-nai-to omou-nda-kedo
 DEM argument-TOP -ACC SU-NEG-COMP think-DECL-but

2. sono giron-wa koppu-wa **hold water** si-nai-to omou-nda-kedo
 DEM argument-TOP cup-TOP SU-NEG-COMP think-DECL-but

“I’m afraid that your arguments won’t hold water.”

Donna hasn't spoken to her sister Mary for a few days, and Kibo asks why. What does Donna say?



1. nay-ka enni-hanthey *trick-ul play* hayse na-hanthey hwanass-e
 I-NOM sister-DAT -ACC DO.because I-DAT get.mad.PAST-DECL

2. nay-ka enni-hanthey *play a trick* hayse na-hanthey hwanass-e
 I-NOM sister-DAT DO.because I-DAT get.mad.PAST-DECL

1. watasi-ga imooto-ni *trick-o play* si-ta kara watasi-ni okot-teru-no
 I-NOM sister-DAT -ACC DO.because I-DAT get.mad.ASP-DECL

2. watasi-ga imooto-ni *play a trick* si-ta kara watasi-ni okot-teru-no
 I-NOM sister-DAT DO.because I-DAT get.mad.ASP-DECL

“My sister is mad at me because I played a trick on her.”

Donna has been working on a class project together with Sally, who she thinks is a difficult person to work with. What does Donna say?



1. Sally-nun caki maum-taylo il-i an-toy-myen talun salam-tul-hanthey
 -TOP self heart-as.the.way work-NOM NEG-become-if other person-PL-DAT

blame-ul cast hay
 -ACC DO.DECL

2. Sally-nun caki maum-taylo il-i an-toy-myen talun salam-tul-hanthey
 -TOP self heart-as.the.way work-NOM NEG-become-if other person-PL-DAT

cast blame hay
 DO.DECL

1. Sally-wa omoidoori-ni ara-nai-to hito-ni
 -TOP heart-in.one's.way become-NEG-when other.person-DAT

blame-o cast si-gachi-nano
 -ACC DO-tend.to-DECL

2. Sally-wa omoidoori-ni ara-nai-to hito-ni
 -TOP heart-in.one's.way become-NEG-when other.person-DAT

cast blame si-gachi-nano
 DO-tend.to-DECL

“Sally has a tendency to cast blame on others when things don’t turn out the way she wants.”

Donna was out of town last week and Kibo asks where she went. What does Donna say?



1. mence halmeni halapeci-kkey *visit-ul pay* ha-ko Seattle-eyse
 first grand.mother grand.father-DAT.HON -ACC DO-and -LOC

yeli-nun hakhwoy tanyewass-e
 be.held-REL conference go.and.come.PAST-DECL

2. mence halmeni halapeci-kkey *pay a visit* ha-ko Seattle-eyse
 first grand.mother grand.father-DAT.HON DO-and -LOC

yeli-nun hakhwoy tanyewass-e
 be.held-REL conference go.and.come.PAST-DECL

1. saishoni ojiisan-to obaasan-ni *visit-o pay* site Seattle-de
 first grand.father-and grand.mother-DAT -ACC DO.and -LOC

at-ta gakkai-ni itteki-ta-yo
 exist- PAST conference-LOC go.and.come.PAST-DECL

2. saishoni ojiisan-to obaasan-ni *pay a visit* site Seattle-de
 first grand.father-and grand.mother-DAT DO.and -LOC

at-ta gakkai-ni itteki-ta-yo
 exist- PAST conference-LOC go.and.come.PAST-DECL

“First I paid a visit to my grandparents and then went to a conference in Seattle.”

Kibo failed to submit his term paper in his Korean class last week, and wonders whether he should visit the professor and explain. What does Donna say?



- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------|------------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. | cikum | <i>explanation-ul offer</i> | ha-ki-eyn | nemwu | nuc-un | kes | kath-a |
| | now | -ACC | DO-NM-as.to | too | late-REL | NM | seem-DECL |
| | | | | | | | |
| 2. | cikum | <i>offer an explanation</i> | ha-ki-eyn | nemwu | nuc-un | kes | kath-a |
| | now | | DO-NM-as.to | too | late-REL | NM | seem-DECL |
| | | | | | | | |
| 1. | imasara | <i>explanation-o offer</i> | suru-no wa | oso-sugiru-to | | omou-kedo | |
| | now | -ACC | DO-NM-as.to | late-too.much-COMP | | think-but | |
| | | | | | | | |
| 2. | imasara | <i>offer an explanation</i> | suru-no wa | oso-sugiru-to | | omou-kedo | |
| | now | | DO-NM-as.to | late-too.much-COMP | | think-but | |

“It’s probably too late to offer an explanation now.”

Donna heard that Kibo had good news and congratulates him. What does Donna say?



1. Kibo-ya, chwukhahay. ne Harvard-ese *talk-lul deliver* han-tamye?
 -VOC congratulate.DECL you -LOC -ACC DO.PRES-QUO.INT
2. Kibo-ya, chwukhahay. ne Harvard-ese *deliver a talk* han-tamye?
 -VOC congratulate.DECL you -LOC DO.PRES-QUO.INT
1. Kibo, omedetoo. Harvard-de *talk-o deliver* suru-nda-tte?
 congratulations -LOC -ACC SU.PRES-DECL-QUO.INT
2. Kibo, omedetoo. Harvard-de *deliver a talk* suru-nda-tte?
 congratulations -LOC SU.PRES-DECL-QUO.INT

“Congratulations, Kibo. I heard that you’re invited to deliver a talk at Harvard.”

Donna wonders what has happened to Sally, who has been accused of tax fraud. What does Donna say?

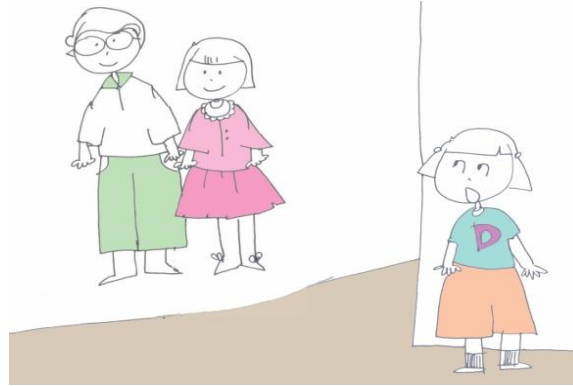


1. pepwuen-eyse Sally-hanthey **judgment-lul pass** hayss-ni?
 court-LOC -DAT -ACC DO.PAST-INT
2. pepwuen-eyse Sally-hanthey **pass judgment** hayss-ni?
 court-LOC -DAT DO.PAST-INT

1. saibansyo-wa Sally-ni **judgment-o pass** si-ta-no?
 court-TOP -DAT -ACC DO.PAST-INT
2. saibansyo-wa Sally-ni **pass judgment** si-ta-no?
 court-TOP -DAT DO.PAST-INT

"Has the court passed judgment on Sally?"

Donna enters the classroom, looking agitated, and Kibo asks what happened. What does Donna say?



1. pangkum nay yes-nal namca-chinkwu-ka etten yeca-lang iss-nun ke
just I.GEN old-day male-friend-NOM some female-with exist-REL exist-REL

glimpse-lul catch hayss-e
-ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. pangkum nay yes-nal namca-chinkwu-ka etten yeca-lang iss-nun ke
just I.GEN old-day male-friend-NOM some female-with exist-REL exist-REL

catch a glimpse hayss-e
DO.PAST-DECL

1. ima mukasi-no karesi-ga atarasii kanojo-to issyoni iru-no-o
just old.day-GEN boyfriend-NOM new girlfriend-with together exist-NM-ACC

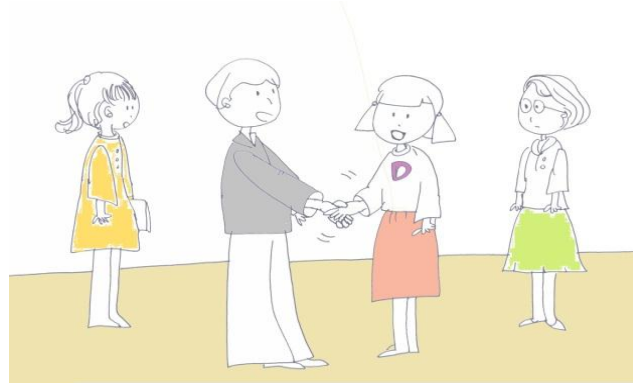
glimpse-o catch si-ta-no
-ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. ima mukasi-no karesi-ga atarasii kanojo-to issyoni iru-no-o
just old.day-GEN boyfriend-NOM new girlfriend-with together exist-NM-ACC

catch a glimpse si-ta-no
DO.PAST-DECL

“I just caught a glimpse of my ex-boyfriend with a new girl.”

Donna recently participated in a mock trial organized by CUNY law school and tells Kibo about it. What does Donna say?



1. myes sikan noncayng-kkuth-ey kyewu **compromise-lul reach** hayss-ta
 several hour dispute-end-LOC finally -ACC DO.PAST-DECL
2. myes sikan noncayng-kkuth-ey kyewu **reach a compromise** hayss-ta
 several hour dispute-end-LOC finally DO.PAST-DECL

1. nanzikanka-no giron-no ato yatto **compromise-o reach** si-ta-no
 several.hours-GEN dispute-GEN-after finally -ACC DO.PAST-DECL
2. nanzikanka-no giron-no ato yatto **reach a compromise** si-ta-no
 several.hours-GEN dispute-GEN-after finally DO.PAST-DECL

“After many hours of dispute, we finally reached a compromise.”

Kibo cannot find a book that he needs at the library on campus and asks Donna how to get it. What does Donna say?



1. sincheng-se nay-myen chayk kwuip ha-nun ke *suggestion-ul make*
 application.form submit-if book purchase HA-REL NM -ACC

hal swu iss-e
 DO.FUT way exist-DECL

2. sincheng-se nay-myen chayk kwuip ha-nun ke *make a suggestion*
 application.form submit-if book purchase HA-REL NM

hal swu iss-e
 DO.FUT way exist-DECL

1. moosikomi-yoosi-o daseba hon-no koonyuu-no-tameni
 application-form-ACC submit.if book-GEN purchase-GEN-in.order.to

suggestion-o make su-ru-koto-ga dekiru-yo
 -ACC DO-PRES-fact-NOM can.do-DECL

2. moosikomi-yoosi-o daseba hon-no koonyuu-no-tameni
 application-form-ACC submit.if book-GEN purchase-GEN-in.order.to

make a suggestion su-ru-koto-ga dekiru-yo
 DO-PRES-fact-NOM can.do-DECL

“You can make a suggestion for book purchases by completing a form.”

Donna looks excited since she saw her sister Mary, who likes outdoor activities. What does Donna say?



1. nalssi-ka nemwu coh-ase wuli kongown-ese **hike-lul take** hayss-e
 weather-NOM very good-because we park-LOC -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. nalssi-ka nemwu coh-ase wuli kongown-ese **take a hike** hayss-e
 weather-NOM very good-because we park-LOC -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

1. tenki-ga totemo yokat-ta-kara watasitati kooen-de **hike-o take**
 weather-NOM very good-PAST-because we park-LOC -ACC

si-ta-no
 DO-PAST-DECL

2. tenki-ga totemo yokat-ta-kara watasitati kooen-de **take a hike**
 weather-NOM very good-PAST-because we park-LOC

si-ta-no
 DO-PAST-DECL

“It was a beautiful day, so Mary and I took a hike in the park.”

Donna had a meeting with her professor after submitting a research paper. What does Donna say?

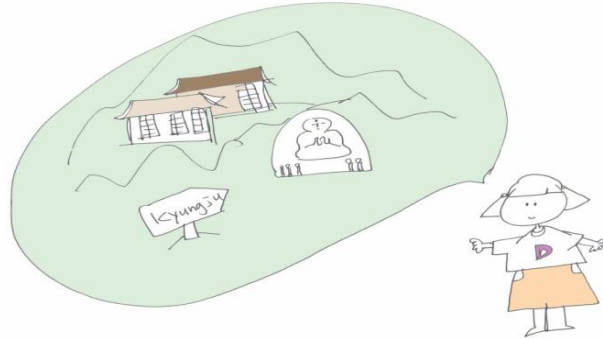


1. kyoswunim-kkeyse nay nonmwun cwucey-ey *some objection-ul raise*
 professor-NOM.HON I.GEN thesis theme-DAT -ACC
 ha-si-ess-e
 DO-HON-PAST-DECL
2. kyoswunim-kkeyse nay nonmwun cwucey-ey *raise some objection*
 professor-NOM.HON I.GEN thesis theme-DAT
 ha-si-ess-e
 DO-HON-PAST-DECL

1. kyooju-ga watasi-no ronbun-no syudai-ni *some objection-o raise*
 professor-NOM I-GEN thesis-GEN theme-DAT -ACC
 si-ta-no
 DO-PAST-DECL
2. kyooju-ga watasi-no ronbun-no syudai-ni *raise some objection*
 professor-NOM I-GEN thesis-GEN theme-DAT
 si-ta-no
 DO-PAST-DECL

"The professor has raised some objection about the main idea of my paper."

Donna went to Korea (or Japan) over the summer, and shares her experience with Kibo. What does Donna say?



1. hankwuk centhong-ey tayhay **sense-lul get** ha-nun ceyil coh-un pangpep-un
Korea tradition-LOC about -ACC DO-REL most good-REL way-TOP

Kyengcwu-ey ka-nun ke-ya
-LOC go-REL NM-DECL

2. hankwuk centhong-ey tayhay **get a sense** ha-nun ceyil coh-un pangpep-un
Korea tradition-LOC about DO-REL most good-REL way-TOP

Kyengcwu-ey ka-nun ke-ya
-LOC go-REL NM-DECL

“The best way to get a sense of more traditional aspects of Korea is to go to Kyungju.”

1. Nihon-no dentoo-ni tsuite **sense-o get** su-ru itiban ii hoohoo-wa
Japan-GEN tradition-LOC about -ACC DO-PRES most good way-TOP

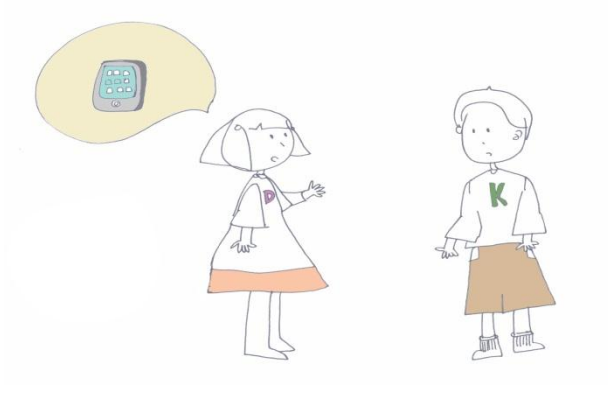
Kyoto-ni iku-koto dayo
-LOC go-thing DECL

2. Nihon-no dentoo-ni tsuite **get a sense** su-ru itiban ii hoohoo-wa
Japan-GEN tradition-LOC about DO-PRES most good way-TOP

Kyoto-ni iku-koto dayo
-LOC go-thing DECL

“The best way to get a sense of more traditional aspects of Japan is to go to Kyoto.”

Kibo has recently bought a new cell phone, which Donna wanted to buy herself. What does Donna say?



1. na ku ke **look-ul have** hayto tway?
I DEM thing -ACC DO.COMP possible.INT

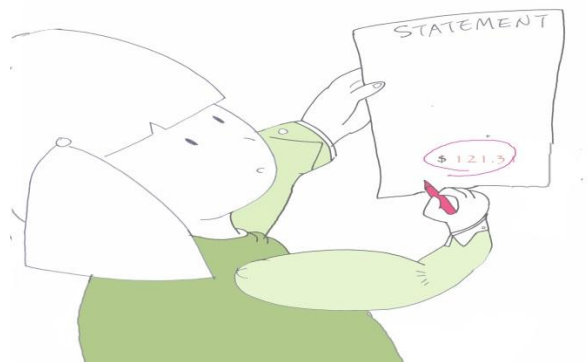
2. na ku ke **have a look** hayto tway?
I DEM thing DO.COMP possible.INT

1. sore **look-o have** si-temo ii?
that.thing -ACC DO-if fine.INT

2. sore **have a look** si-temo ii?
that.thing DO-if fine.INT

“Can I have a look at it?”

Donna noticed that there was an unexpected charge on her credit card bill last month. What does Donna say?



1. aphulo sinyong khatu ssu-n ke *close watch-lul keep* hal-keya
 from.now.on credit card use-REL NM -ACC DO.FUT-DECL

2. aphulo sinyong khatu ssu-n ke *keep close watch* hal-keya
 from.now.on credit card use-REL NM DO.FUT-DECL

1. korekara-wa kurezitto kaado-no siyoo-ni *close watch-o keep* su-ru-yo
 from.now.on-TOP credit card-GEN use-LOC -ACC DO-PRES-DECL

2. korekara-wa kurezitto kaado-no siyoo-ni *keep close watch* su-ru-yo
 from.now.on-TOP credit card-GEN use-LOC DO-PRES-DECL

“I will keep close watch on my credit card spending from now on.”

Donna is taking Korean (or Japanese) civilization class, in which she has to present a paper in Korean next week. What does Donna tell Kibo?



1. nay hankwuk-mal kwaynchanh-untey acik hankwuk-mal-lo
 I.GEN Korea-language fine-but still Korea-language-INST

presentation-ul give ha-nun ke-n elye-we
 -ACC DO-REL NM-TOP difficult-DECL

2. nay hankwuk-mal kwaynchanh-untey acik hankwuk-mal-lo
 I.GEN Korea-language fine-but still Korea-language-INST

give a presentation ha-nun ke-n elye-we
 DO-REL NM-TOP difficult-DECL

“My Korean isn’t bad, but to give a presentation in Korean is still difficult for me.”

1. watashi-no nihongo-wa daijoobuna-nda-kedo nihongo-de
 I-GEN Japanese-TOP fine-DECL-but Japanese-INST

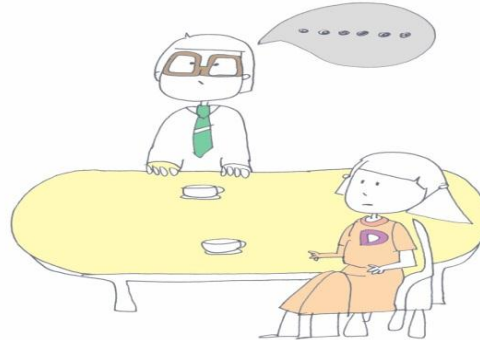
presentation-o give suru-no-wa mada muzukasii
 -ACC DO.PRES-NM-TOP still difficult

2. watashi-no nihongo-wa daijoobuna-nda-kedo nihongo-de
 I-GEN Japanese-TOP fine-DECL-but Japanese-INST

give a presentation suru-no-wa mada muzukasii
 DO.PRES-NM-TOP still difficult

“My Japanese isn’t bad, but to give a presentation in Japanese is still difficult for me.”

Donna went on a blind date on the weekend, and Kibo asks how it went. What does Donna say?



1. ku salam yeca-lang ettehkey **conversation-ul hold** ha-nun cwul
 DEM person woman-with how -ACC DO-REL way.ACC

mol-lase caymi eps-ess-e
 don't.know-because fun nonexist-PAST-DECL

2. ku salam yeca-lang ettehkey **hold a conversation** ha-nun cwul
 DEM person woman-with how DO-REL way.ACC

mol-lase caymi eps-ess-e
 don't.know-because fun nonexist-PAST-DECL

1. watashi-no aite-ga onnanohito-to dooyatte **conversation-o hold** su-ru-ka
 I-GEN partner-NOM woman-with how -ACC DO-PRES-INT

wakat-tei-naku-te omosiroku-nakat-ta
 know-ASP-NEG-because fun-NEG-PAST

2. watashi-no aite-ga onnanohito-to dooyatte **hold a conversation** su-ru-ka
 I-GEN partner-NOM woman-with how DO-PRES-INT

wakat-tei-naku-te omosiroku-nakat-ta
 know-ASP-NEG-because fun-NEG-PAST

“It wasn’t much fun, because my date didn’t know how to hold a conversation with a woman.”

Donna is excited about her upcoming summer trip to Australia. What does Donna say?

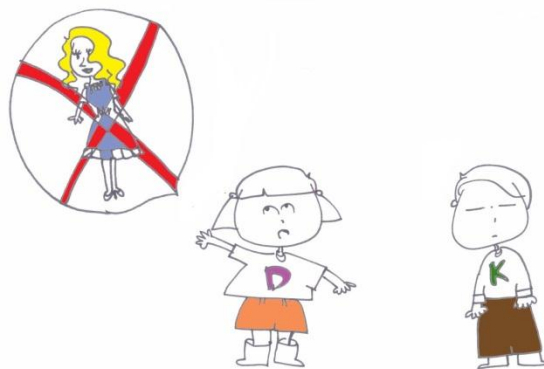


1. ***This weekend I'll my flight book and*** ssan swukso alapol-keya
cheap lodging look.for-FUT-DECL
2. ***This weekend I'll book my flight and*** ssan swukso alapol-keya
cheap lodging look.for-FUT-DECL

1. ***This weekend I'll my flight book and*** yasui shukusya-o sagasu-yo
cheap lodging-ACC look.for-DECL
2. ***This weekend I'll book my flight and*** yasui shukusya-o sagasu-yo
cheap lodging-ACC look.for-DECL

“This weekend I will book my flight and look for cheap accommodation.”

Kibo still misses his ex-girlfriend, and Donna doesn't think she'll come back. What does Donna say?



1. *She won't her mind change, so* icepelye
forget-IMP
2. *She won't change her mind, so* icepelye
forget-IMP

1. *She won't her mind change, so* wasure-tara
forget-why.not
2. *She won't change her mind, so* wasure-tara
forget-why.not

“She won't change her mind, so you gotta forget her.”

Kibo and Donna went on their conference trip together, and arrived at a hotel before check-in time. What does Donna say?



1. *Let's first our luggage check, and* cemsim mek-ule ka-ca
 lunch eat-in.order.to go-COH

2. *Let's first check our luggage, and* cemsim mek-ule ka-ca
 lunch eat-in.order.to go-COH

1. *Let's first our luggage check, and* ohirugohan-o tabe-ni ikoo
 lunch-ACC eat-in.order.to go-COH

2. *Let's first check our luggage, and* ohirugohan-o tabe-ni ikoo
 lunch-ACC eat-in.order.to go-COH

“Let's first check our luggage and go out for lunch.”

Donna got a call from her sister Mary, and screams in excitement. What does Donna say?



1. **Mary just the lottery won and** na say cha sa-cwun-tay
me new car buy-give-QUO

2. **Mary just won the lottery and** na say cha sa-cwun-tay
me new car buy-give-QUO

1. **Mary just the lottery won** sorede watasi-ni atarasii kuruma-o
and me-DAT new car-ACC

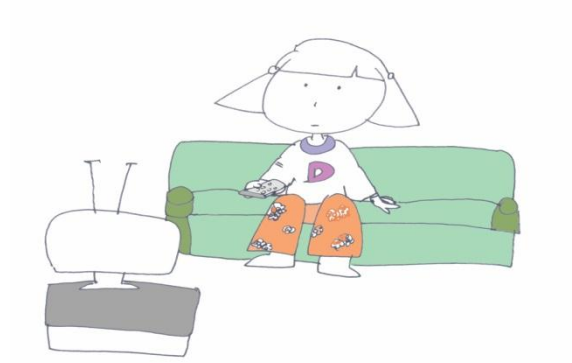
katte-kureru-nda-tte
buy.and-give-DECL-QUO

2. **Mary just won the lottery** sorede watasi-ni atarasii kuruma-o
and me-DAT new car-ACC

katte-kureru-nda-tte
buy.and-give-DECL-QUO

“Mary just won the lottery and is going to buy me a new car!”

Kibo returns home from his trip, and asks what Donna did during her Spring break. What does Donna say?



1. na kunyang cip-ey iss-ko ***TV watched***
I just home-LOC exist-CONJ

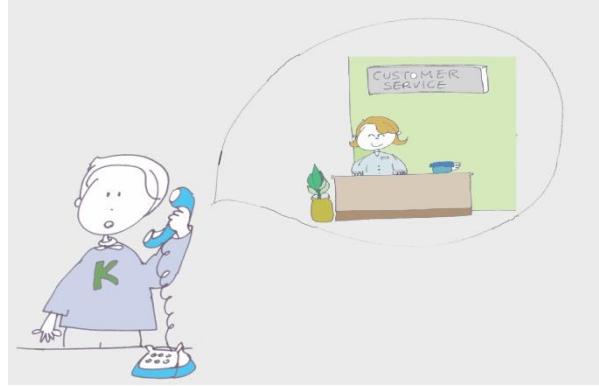
2. na kunyang cip-ey iss-ko ***watched TV***
I just home-LOC exist-CONJ

1. tada ie-ni i-te ***TV watched***
just home-LOC exist-CONJ

2. tada ie-ni i-te ***watched TV***
just home-LOC exist-CONJ

“I just stayed home and watched TV.”

Kibo accidentally dropped his new cellphone into water, and the phone isn't working. What does Donna say?



1. mence hyutayphon malli-ko *then the customer service call*
 first cell.phone dry.CONJ

2. mence hyutayphon malli-ko *then call the customer service*
 first cell.phone dry.CONJ

1. mazu keitai-o kawakasi-te *then the customer service call*
 first cell.phone-ACC dry-CONJ

2. mazu keitai-o kawakasi-te *then call the customer service*
 first cell.phone-ACC dry-CONJ

“Let it dry first, and then call the customer service.”

Kibo doesn't want to keep his old textbooks and asks Donna what he should do. What does Donna say?



1. hakkyoo secem-ey ka-se *see if they used books sell*
 school bookstore-LOC go-CONJ

2. hakkyoo secem-ey ka-se *see if they sell used books*
 school bookstore-LOC go-CONJ

1. gakko-no honya-ni it-te *see if they used books sell*
 school-GEN bookstore-LOC go-CONJ

2. gakko-no honya-ni it-te *see if they sell used books*
 school-GEN bookstore-LOC go-CONJ

“Go to the campus bookstore and see if they sell used books.”

Kibo asks if Sally and her boyfriend made peace after their bad break-up. What does Donna say?

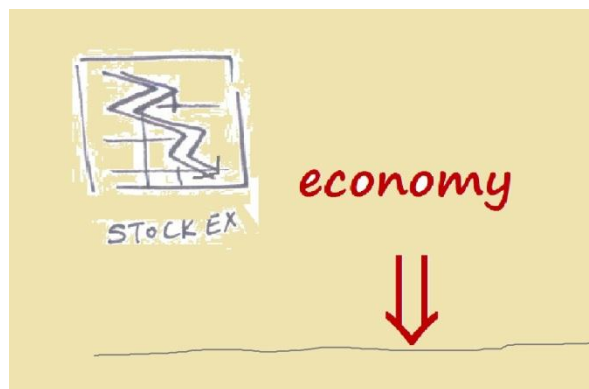


1. ***They finally the hatchet buried, and*** tasi chinha-eci-ess-e
again friendly-become-PAST-DECL
2. ***They finally buried the hatchet, and*** tasi chinha-eci-ess-e
again friendly-become-PAST-DECL

1. ***They finally the hatchet buried, and*** mata nakayoku-natta-mitai
again friendly-become-PAST-seem
2. ***They finally buried the hatchet, and*** mata nakayoku-natta-mitai
again friendly-become-PAST-seem

“They finally buried the hatchet and they’re now friendly again.”

Kibo asked Donna about headline news today, when he came home. What does Donna say?



- | | | | |
|----|---|---------------------|---|
| 1. | <i>Last year the economy bottom hit, but</i> | cemcem
gradually | naaci-koiss-tay
improve-PROG-DECL |
| 2. | <i>Last year the economy hit bottom, but</i> | cemcem
gradually | naaci-koiss-tay
improve-PROG-DECL |
| 1. | <i>Last year the economy bottom hit, but</i> | dandan
gradually | yoku-natteru-yo
improve-become.PROG-DECL |
| 2. | <i>Last year the economy hit bottom, but</i> | dandan
gradually | yoku-natteru-yo
improve-become.PROG-DECL |

“Last year the economy hit bottom last year, but it is starting to improve.”

Kibo tells Donna that his nephew Joe hasn't been going to school lately. What does Donna say?



1. ***Did Joe his class cut, and*** tto kukcang kass-ni?
again movie.theater go.PAST-INT

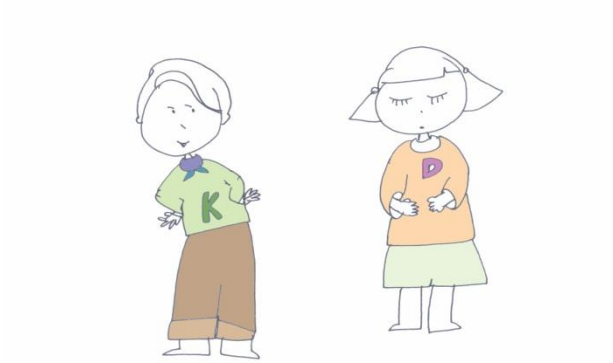
2. ***Did Joe cut his class, and*** tto kukcang kass-ni?
again movie.theater go.PAST-INT

1. ***Did Joe his class cut, and*** mata eiga-ni itteru-no?
again movie-DAT go.ASP-INT

2. ***Did Joe cut his class, and*** mata eiga-ni itteru-no?
again movie-DAT go.ASP-INT

“Did Joe cut class and go to a movie again?”

Kibo and Donna have been arguing and Donna still disagrees with what Kibo says. What does Donna say?



1. nay-ka thulli-myen *I'll humble pie eat*
 I-nom wrong-if

2. nay-ka thulli-myen *I'll eat humble pie*
 I-nom wrong-if

1. watasi-ga machigat-tetara *I'll humble pie eat*
 I-nom wrong-ASP.if

2. watasi-ga machigat-tetara *I'll eat humble pie*
 I-nom wrong-ASP.if

“If I’m wrong, I’ll eat humble pie.”

Kibo thinks his final grade for History class is unfair, and will talk to the professor about it. What does Donna say?



1. sensayng-nim-hanthey pwulphyengha-l ttay ***your mouth watch***
 teacher-HON-DAT complain-FUT time

2. sensayng-nim-hanthey pwulphyengha-l ttay ***watch your mouth***
 teacher-HON-DAT complain-FUT time

1. sensei-ni monku-o-iu toki-wa ***your mouth watch***
 teacher-DAT complaint-ACC-say time-TOP

2. sensei-ni monku-o-iu toki-wa ***watch your mouth***
 teacher-DAT complaint-ACC-say time-TOP

“When you complain to your teacher, watch your mouth.”

Jessie has been avoiding Donna for several weeks, and Kibo asks why. What does Donna say?



1. cal molukeyss-nuntey *I seem to have a sore spot touched*
well not.know-but
2. cal molukeyss-nuntey *I seem to have touched a sore spot*
well not.know-but

1. uum wakara-nai-kedo *I seem to have a sore spot touched*
well know-NEG-but
2. uum wakara-nai-kedo *I seem to have touched a sore spot*
well know-NEG-but

“I’m not sure, but I seem to have touched a sore spot.”

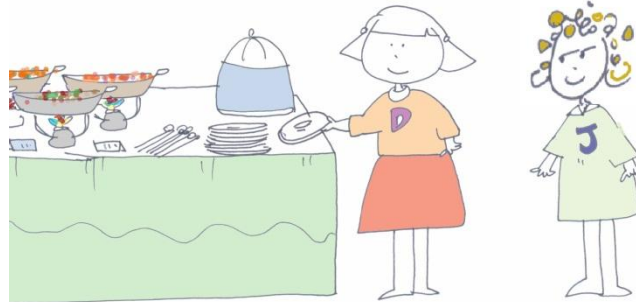
Kibo is helping Donna with hosting a party, and asks what he should do. What does Donna say?



- | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>If you can a CD player bring</i> | cengmal
really | komap-kayss-e
grateful-FUT-DECL |
| 2. | <i>If you can bring a CD player</i> | cengmal
really | komap-kayss-e
grateful-FUT-DECL |
| | | | |
| 1. | <i>If you can a CD player bring</i> | hontooni
really | tasukaru-wa
grateful.FUT-DECL |
| 2. | <i>If you can bring a CD player</i> | hontooni
really | tasukaru-wa
grateful.FUT-DECL |

“If you can bring a CD player, that’ll be really great.”

Donna went to see her friend Jessie, and Kibo asks where they went. What does Donna say?



1. wuli into siktang ka-se ***lunch buffet had***
we India restaurant go-CONJ

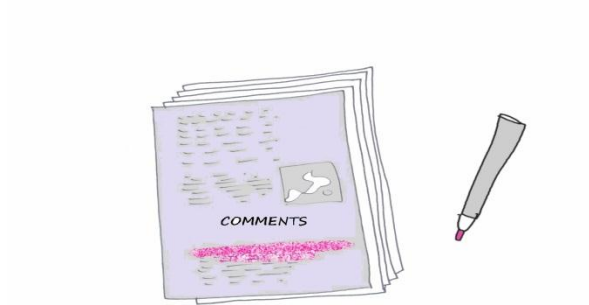
2. wuli into siktang ka-se ***had lunch buffet***
we India restaurant go-CONJ

1. watasitachi indo-ryori resutoran-ni it-te ***lunch buffet had***
we Indian cuisine restaurant go-CONJ

2. watasitachi indo-ryori resutoran-ni it-te ***had lunch buffet***
we Indian cuisine restaurant go-CONJ

“We went to an Indian restaurant and had lunch buffet.”

Kibo asks Donna to read through his term paper before he gives it to the professor. What does Donna say?



1. alasseo ilk-konase *I'll my comments send*
 ok read-after

2. alasseo ilk-konase *I'll send my comments*
 ok read-after

1. wakatta yon-de-kara *I'll my comments send*
 ok read-CONJ-after

2. wakatta yon-de-kara *I'll send my comments*
 ok read-CONJ-after

“OK. I'll send my comments after reading it.”

Donna had a meeting with Brian, who is an accountant, and tells Kibo about it. What does Donna say?



1. Brian-un olhay wuli-ka noph-un sekum-ulo *heavy burden-ul bear*
 -TOP this.year we-NOM high-REL tax-INST -ACC

hal kes kath-tay
 DO.FUT NM seem-QUO

2. Brian-un olhay wuli-ka noph-un sekum-ulo *bear a heavy burden*
 -TOP this.year we-NOM high-REL tax-INST

hal kes kath-tay
 DO.FUT NM seem-QUO

1. Brian-wa watasitati kotosi takai zekin-de *heavy burden-o bear*
 -TOP we this.year high tax-with -ACC

su-ru-to omot-teru-mitai
 DO-PRES-COMP think-ASP- seem

2. Brian-wa watasitati kotosi takai zekin-de *bear a heavy burden*
 -TOP we this.year high tax-with

su-ru-to omot-teru-mitai
 DO-PRES-COMP think-ASP- seem

“Brian thinks we bear a heavy burden with high tax rates this year.”

Kibo helped Donna with grocery shopping and came to her place. What does Donna say?



1. sikthak wi-ey **bag-ul put** ha-ca
 table top-LOC -ACC DO-COH

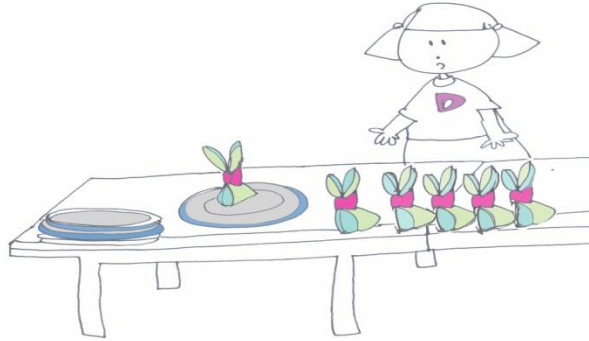
2. sikthak wi-ey **put the bag** ha-ca
 table top-LOC DO-COH

1. teeburu-no ue-ni **bag-o put** si-masyo
 table-GEN top-LOC -ACC DO-COH

2. teeburu-no ue-ni **put the bag** si-masyo
 table-GEN top-LOC DO-COH

“Let’s put the bags on the table.”

Donna asked Kibo to help her with hosting a party. Kibo arrives and finds Donna busy with setting the table. What does Donna say?



1. sikthak wi-ey *napkin-ul place* ha-lye-nun cwung-iya
 table top-LOC -ACC DO-try-REL middle-DECL
2. sikthak wi-ey *place the napkin* ha-lye-nun cwung-iya
 table top-LOC DO-try-REL middle-DECL

1. syokutaku-ni *napkins-o place* si-te-iru-tokoro dayo
 table-LOC -ACC DO-ASP-going.to DECL
2. syokutaku-ni *place the napkins* si-te-iru-tokoro dayo
 table-LOC DO-ASP-going.to DECL

“I’m trying to place the napkins on the table.”

Donna took a free Stock Market course offered on campus, and Kibo asks how good it was. What does Donna say?



1. acwu coh-ass-e. na cungkwen sicang-eyse *small fortune-ul gain* hayss-ta
 very good-PAST-DECL I stock market-LOC -ACC DO.PAST-DECL
2. acwu coh-ass-e. na cungkwen sicang-eyse *gain a small fortune* hayss-ta
 very good-PAST-DECL I stock market-LOC DO.PAST-DECL

1. totemo yokat-ta-yo. kabusiki sijoo-de *small fortune-o gain* si-ta-yo
 very good-PAST-DECL stock market-LOC -ACC DO-PAST-DECL
2. totemo yokat-ta-yo. kabusiki sijoo-de *gain a small fortune* si-ta-yo
 very good-PAST-DECL stock market-LOC DO-PAST-DECL

“It was great. I’ve gained a small fortune in the market.”

Donna had a date with Brian, who is a close friend of Kibo's, and tells Kibo about it. What dose Donna say?



1. Brian-un ne-lang nay-ka **strong resemblance-lul bear** han kes kath-tay
 -top you-and I-nom -ACC DO.REL NM seem-QUO

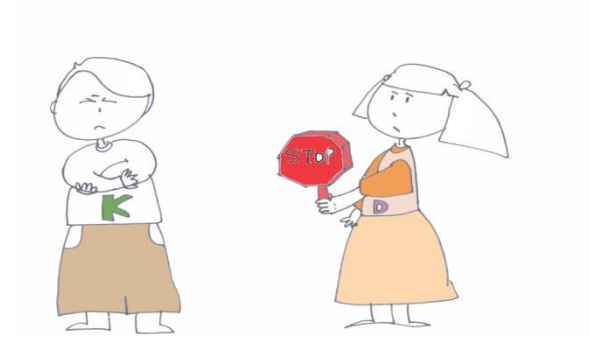
2. Brian-un ne-lang nay-ka **bear a strong resemblance** han kes kath-tay
 -top you-and I-nom DO.REL NM seem-QUO

1. Brian-wa anata-to watasi-ga **strong resemblance-o bear** si-teru-to omot-teru-mitai
 -top you-and I-nom -ACC DO-ASP-COMP think-ASP- seem

2. Brian-wa anata-to watasi-ga **bear a strong resemblance** si-teru-to omot-teru-mitai
 -top you-and I-nom DO-ASP-COMP think-ASP- seem

“Brian thinks that you and I bear a strong resemblance.”

Kibo and Donna have been arguing and Donna thinks the discussion leads nowhere. What does Donna say?



1. i noncyang *stop-ul put* ha-ca
 this argument -ACC DO-COH

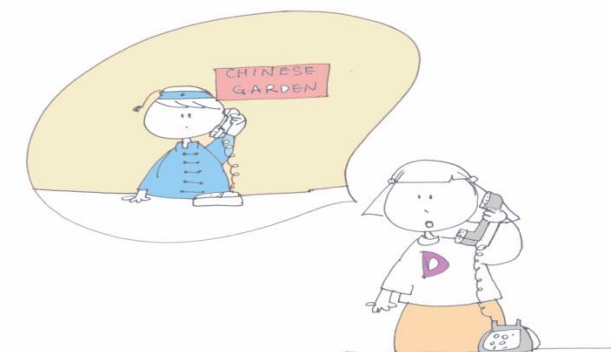
2. i noncyang *put a stop* ha-ca
 this argument DO-COH

1. kono giron-wa *stop-o put* si-mayo
 this argument-TOP -ACC DO-COH

2. kono giron-wa *put a stop* si-mayo
 this argument-TOP DO-COH

“Let’s put a stop to this argument.”

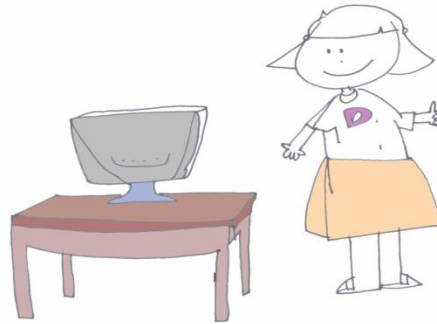
Donna asked Kibo to help her with hosting a party. Kibo arrives and finds Donna busy with making a phone call. What does Donna say?



- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Chinese Garden-ey
-LOC | order-lul place
-ACC | ha-lye-nun
DO-try-REL | cwung-iyā
middle-DECL |
| 2. | Chinese Garden-ey
-LOC | place an order | ha-lye-nun
DO-try-REL | cwung-iyā
middle-DECL |
| 1. | Chinese Garden-ni
-LOC | order-o place
-ACC | su-ru-tokoro
DO-PRES-going.to | dayo
DECL |
| 2. | Chinese Garden-ni
-LOC | place an order | su-ru-tokoro
DO-PRES-going.to | dayo
DECL |

“I’m trying to place an order with the Chinese Garden.”

Donna took a free Information Technology course offered on campus, and Kibo asks how good it was. What does Donna say?



1. acwu coh-ass-e. na icey say Window phlokuraym-ey
 very good-PAST-DECL I now new program-DAT

full control-ul gain hayss-ta
 -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. acwu coh-ass-e. na icey say Window phlokuraym-ey
 very good-PAST-DECL I now new program-DAT

gain full control hayss-ta
 DO.PAST-DECL

1. totemo yokat-ta-yo. tarasii Window puroguramu-ni
 very good-PAST-DECL new program-DAT

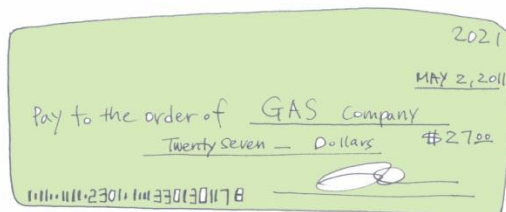
full control-o gain si-ta-yo
 -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. totemo yokat-ta-yo. tarasii Window puroguramu-ni
 very good-PAST-DECL new program-DAT

gain full control si-ta-yo
 DO.PAST-DECL

“It was great. I’ve gained full control of the new Window programs.”

Donna asks Kibo to take care of her house while she is away. What does Donna say?



1. ne **gas bill-ul pay** ha-nun ke ic-cima
 you -ACC DO-REL NM forget-NEG.IMP

2. ne **pay the gas bill** ha-nun ke ic-cima
 you DO-REL NM forget-NEG.IMP

1. zettaini **gas bill-o pay** su-ru-no-o wasure-naide
 ever -ACC DO-PRES-NM-ACC forget-NEG.IMP

2. zettaini **pay the gas bill** su-ru-no-o wasure-naide
 ever DO-PRES-NM-ACC forget-NEG.IMP

“Don’t forget to pay the gas bill.”

Kibo and Donna have been away from home for several weeks, and Donna notices that Kibo writes a journal on a regular basis. What does Donna say?



1. ne elmana cacwu *diary-lul write* ha-ni?
 you how often -ACC DO-INT

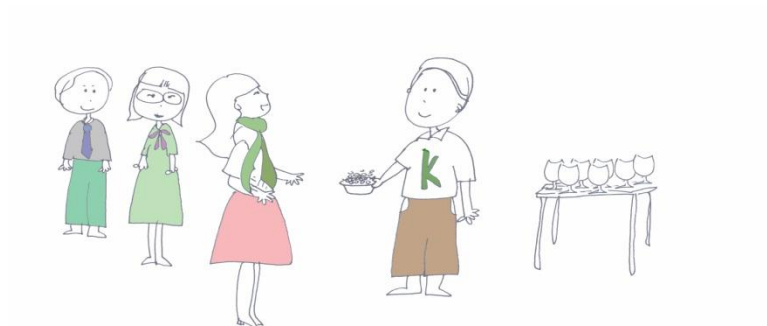
2. ne elmana cacwu *write your diary* ha-ni?
 you how often DO-INT

1. doregurai yoku *diary-o write* si-teru-no?
 how often -ACC DO-ASP.PRES-INT

2. doregurai yoku *write your diary* si-teru-no?
 how often DO-ASP.PRES-INT

“How often do you write your diary?”

Kibo and Donna are hosting a party. A few guests arrive early and the food isn't ready. Kibo asks Donna what he should do with the guests. What does Donna say?



1. mence **nuts-lul serve** ha-nun key ettay?
 first -ACC DO-REL NM.NOM how about

2. mence **serve the nuts** ha-nun key ettay?
 first DO-REL NM.NOM how about

1. mazu **nuts-o serve** suru-no-wa doo?
 first -ACC DO.PRES-NM-TOP how about

2. mazu **serve the nuts** suru-no-wa doo?
 first DO.PRES-NM-TOP how about

“Perhaps we can first serve the nuts.”

Donna has been busy sorting pictures for a few days, and Kibo asks what she is doing. What does Donna say?



1. unni-ka kacok aylpem mantu-nuntey *my holiday picture-lul promise* hayss-ketun
 sister-NOM family album make-as.to -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. unni-ka kacok aylpem mantu-nuntey *promise my holiday picture* hayss-ketun
 sister-NOM family album make-as.to DO.PAST-DECL

1. imooto-ga kazoku arubamu-o tsukuru-no-ni *my holiday picture-o promise*
 sister-NOM family album-ACC make-NM-as.to -ACC

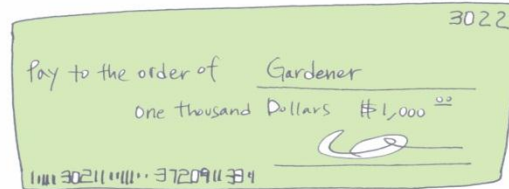
si-teru-no
 DO-ASP.PRES.DECL

2. imooto-ga kazoku arubamu-o tsukuru-no-ni *promise my holiday picture*
 sister-NOM family album-ACC make-NM-as.to

si-teru-no
 DO-ASP.PRES.DECL

“I’ve promised my holiday pictures for my sister to make a family album.”

Donna asks Kibo to take care of her house while she is away. What does Donna say?



1. ne ***gardener-lul pay*** ha-nun ke ic-cima
 you -ACC DO-REL NM forget-NEG.IMP

2. ne ***pay the gardner*** ha-nun ke ic-cima
 you DO-REL NM forget-NEG.IMP

1. zettaini ***gardener-o pay*** su-ru-no-o wasure-naide
 ever -ACC DO-PRES-NM-ACC forget-NEG.IMP

2. zettaini ***pay the gardener*** su-ru-no-o wasure-naide
 ever DO-PRES-NM-ACC forget-NEG.IMP

“Don’t forget to pay the gardener.”

Kibo and Donna have been away from home for several weeks, and Donna notices that Kibo mails out letters on a regular basis. What does Donna say?



1. ne elmana cacwu *parents-lul write* ha-ni?
you how often -ACC DO-INT

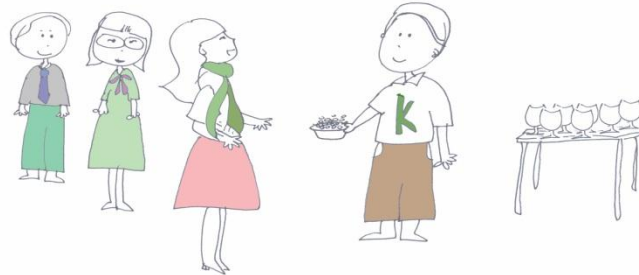
2. ne elmana cacwu *write your parents* ha-ni?
you how often DO-INT

1. doregurai yoku *parents-o write* si-teru-no?
how often -ACC DO-ASP.PRES-INT

2. doregurai yoku *write your parents* si-teru-no?
how often DO-ASP.PRES-INT

“How often do you write your parents?”

Kibo and Donna are hosting a party. A few guests arrive early and Donna brings nuts. Kibo asks what he should do with them. What does Donna say?

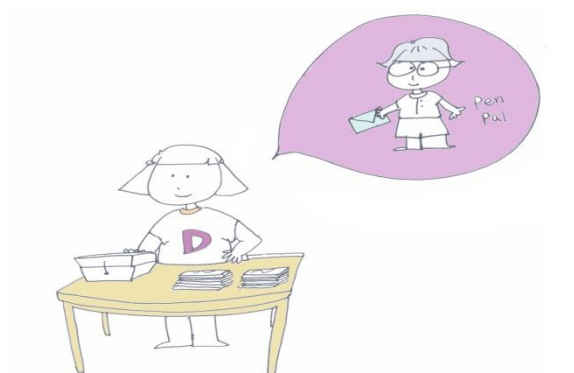


1. ku ke ciwum **guests-lul serve** ha-nun key ettay?
the thing now -ACC DO-REL NM.NOM how about
2. ku ke ciwum **serve the guests** ha-nun key ettay?
the thing now DO-REL NM.NOM how about

1. ima **guests-o serve** suru-no-wa doo?
now -ACC DO.PRES-NM-TOP how about
2. ima **serve the guests** suru-no-wa doo?
now DO.PRES-NM-TOP how about

“Perhaps we can now serve the guests (with them).”

Donna has been busy sorting pictures for a few days, and Kibo asks what she is doing. What does Donna say?



1. aypem mantu-nuntey sacin ponayn-ta-ko **my pen pal-lul promise**
 album make-as.to pictures send.PRES-DECL-COMP -ACC

hayss-ketun
 DO.PAST-DECL

2. aypem mantu-nuntey sacin ponayn-ta-ko **promise my pen pal**
 album make-as.to pictures send.PRES-DECL-COMP

hayss-ketun
 DO.PAST-DECL

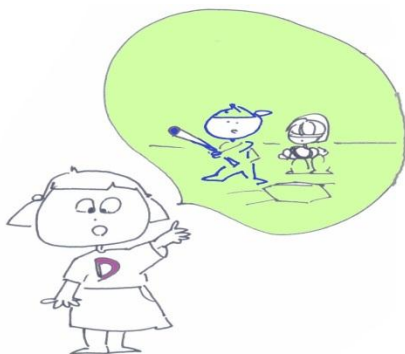
1. watasi-no syasin-o okuru-tte **my pen pal-o promise** si-teru-no
 I-GEN pictures-ACC send.PRES-COMP -ACC DO-ASP.PRES.DECL

2. watasi-no syasin-o okuru-tte **promise my pen pal** si-teru-no
 I-GEN pictures-ACC send.PRES-COMP DO-ASP.PRES.DECL

“I’ve promised my pen pals to send pictures for a photo album.”

Appendix D-2 Version B of the Korean-English and Japanese-English CS judgment task

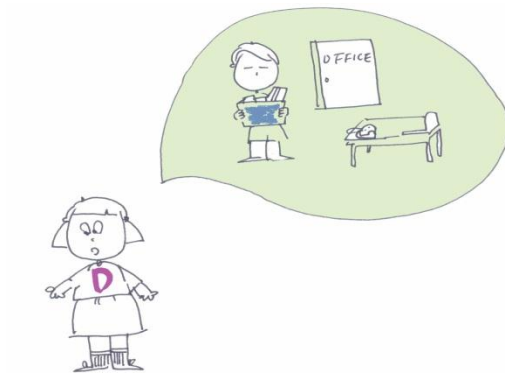
Kibo tells Donna that his nephew Joe has been getting home late after school. What does Donna say?



- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------|-------|----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------|
| 1. | Joe-ka | tto | <i>baseball-ul</i> | <i>play</i> | ha-koiss-ni? | KR-EN |
| | -NOM | again | -ACC | | DO-PROG-INT | |
| 2. | Joe-ka | tto | <i>play baseball</i> | | ha-koiss-ni? | KR-EN |
| | -NOM | again | | | DO-PROG-INT | |
| 1. | Joe-wa | matta | <i>baseball-o</i> | <i>play</i> | si-teru-no? | JP-EN |
| | -TOP | again | -ACC | | DO-ASP-INT | |
| 2. | Joe-wa | matta | <i>play baseball</i> | | si-teru-no? | JP-EN |
| | -TOP | again | | | DO-ASP-INT | |

“Is Joe playing baseball again?”

Kibo has been really depressed since he got home from work, and Donna wonders what has happened. What does Donna say?



1. Kibo-ya way kulay? ne **job lose** hayss-e?
 -VOC why is.it you DO.PAST-INT

2. Kibo-ya way kulay? ne **lose your job** hayss-e?
 -VOC why is.it you DO.PAST-INT

1. Kibo doosita-no? **job-o lose** si-ta?
 how.did-INT -ACC DO-ASP

2. Kibo doosita-no? **lose your job** si-ta?
 how.did-INT DO-ASP

“What’s wrong? Have you lost your job?”

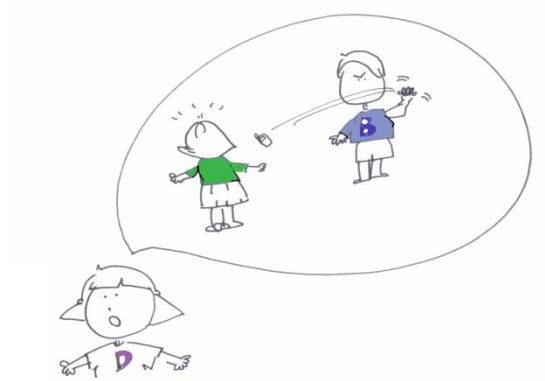
Kibo heard that Donna wants to make pizza from scratch, and asks how her cooking is coming along. What does Donna say?



- | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. | pyello
in.particular | cincen
progress | eps-e.
non.exist-DECL | acik
still | dough-lul pound
-ACC | ha-koiss-e
DO-PROG-DECL |
| 2. | pyello
in.particular | cincen
progress | eps-e.
non.exist-DECL | acik
still | pound the dough | ha-koiss-e
DO-PROG-DECL |
| 1. | amari
much | susunde-nai.
progress-NEG | mada
still | dough-o pound
-ACC | si-teru-yo
DO-ASP-DECL | |
| 2. | amari
much | susunde-nai.
progress-NEG | mada
still | pound the dough | si-teru-yo
DO-ASP-DECL | |

“There’s not much progress yet. I’m still pounding the dough.”

Kibo wonders what has happened to Sally, who often used to argue with her boyfriend. What does Donna say?



1. namca chinkwu-ka Sally-hanthey **cell phone-ul throw** hayse
 boy friend-NOM -DAT -ACC DO.as.a.result

kyelkwuk kyay-lang heyecyess-tay
 finally that.guy-with part.PAST-QUO

2. namca chinkwu-ka Sally-hanthey **throw his cell phone** hayse
 boy friend-NOM -DAT DO.as.a.result

kyelkwuk kyay-lang heyecyess-tay
 finally that.guy-with part.PAST-QUO

1. karesi-ga Sally-ni **cell phone-o throw** si-te
 boyfriend-NOM -DAT -ACC DO-and.then

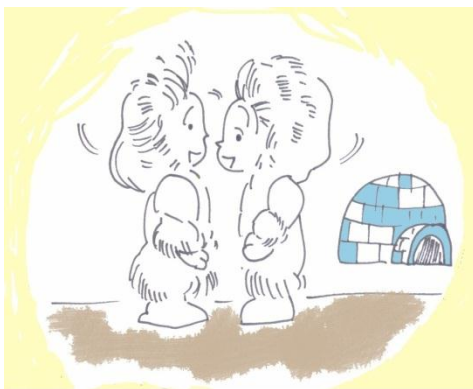
tootoo sono kare-to wakare-ta-nda-tte
 finally DEM he-with part.PAST-DECL-QUO

2. karesi-ga Sally-ni **throw his cell phone** si-te
 boyfriend-NOM -DAT DO-and.then

tootoo sono kare-to wakare-ta-nda-tte
 finally DEM he-with part.PAST-DECL-QUO

“Her boyfriend threw his cell phone at her, and Sally finally broke up with him.”

Donna had lunch with her friend Jessie, who lives in Alaska. What does Donna say?



1. Jessie-ka Eskimo-tul-un insahal ttay selo
 -NOM -PL-TOP greet.REL time each.other

noses rub han-ta-ko ha-tela
 DO.PRES-DECL-COMP DO-QUO

2. Jessie-ka Eskimo-tul-un insahal ttay selo
 -NOM -PL-TOP greet.REL time each.other

rub noses han-ta-ko ha-tela
 DO.PRES-DECL-COMP DO-QUO

1. Jessie-ga esukimojin-wa aisatsu-su-ru toki otaga
 -NOM Eskimos-TOP greet-DO-PRES time each.other

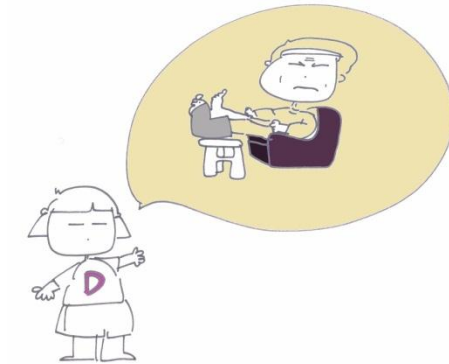
noses-o rub su-ru-tte it-teta
 -ACC DO-PRES-QUO say-ASP.PAST

2. Jessie-ga esukimojin-wa aisatsu-su-ru toki otaga
 -NOM Eskimos-TOP greet-DO-PRES time each.other

rub noses su-ru-tte it-teta
 DO-PRES-QUO say-ASP.PAST

“Jessie says Eskimos rub noses with each other when they greet.”

Kibo heard that Donna's father has injured his ankle, and asks how he's doing. What does Donna say?



- | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | cheumeyn | kwoynchanhu-syess-nuntey | <i>pain-ul feel</i> | ha-ki | cicakha-syess-e |
| | at.first | fine-HON.PAST-but | -ACC | HA-NM | start-HON.PAST-DECL |
| 2. | cheumeyn | kwoynchanhu-syess-nuntey | <i>feel the pain</i> | ha-ki | cicakha-syess-e |
| | at.first | fine-HON.PAST-but | | HA-NM | start-HON.PAST-DECL |
| 1. | saisyo-wa | daijoobu dat-ta kedo | <i>pain-o feel</i> | si-hajime-teru-mitai-nano | |
| | at.first | find-BE-PAST-but | -ACC | DO-start-ASP-seem-DECL | |
| 2. | saisyo-wa | daijoobu dat-ta kedo | <i>feel the pain</i> | si-hajime-teru-mitai-nano | |
| | at.first | find-BE-PAST-but | | DO-start-ASP-seem-DECL | |

“He was doing ok at first, but he’s starting to feel the pain.”

Kibo asks how Donna got her backyard looking so good. What does Donna say?



1. nay chinkwu-tul-i sikan-i iss-ese *weeds pull* ha-nun kes towacwess-e
I.GEN friend-PL-NOM time-NOM exist-so DO-REL NM help.PAST-DECL

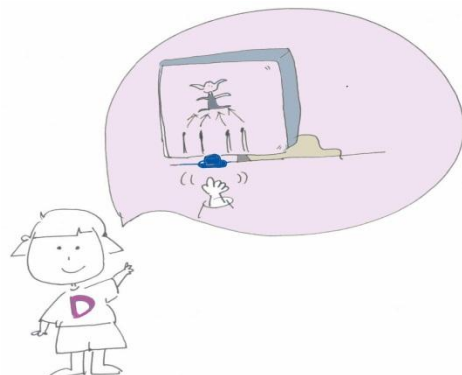
2. nay chinkwu-tul-i sikan-i iss-ese *pull weeds* ha-nun kes towacwess-e
I.GEN friend-PL-NOM time-NOM exist-so DO-REL NM help.PAST-DECL

1. tomodachi-ga zikan-ga at-ta-kara *weeds-o pull* site-kure-ta-no
friends-NOM time-NOM exist- PAST-because -ACC DO.and-help-PAST-DECL

2. tomodachi-ga zikan-ga at-ta-kara *pull weeds* site-kure-ta-no
friends-NOM time-NOM exist- PAST-because DO.and-help-PAST-DECL

“My friends had spare time. They helped me pull weeds (in the garden).”

Kibo tells Donna that all of his friends are into a new video game, and he doesn't know how to play it. What does Donna say?



1. ku-ke shwi-we kunyang pethun nwulu-ko *alien-ul shoot* ha-myen-tway
 DEM-thing easy-DECL just button press-and -ACC DO-if-possible.DECL

2. ku-ke shwi-we kunyang pethun nwulu-ko *shoot the alien* ha-myen-tway
 DEM-thing easy-DECL just button press-and DO-if-possible.DECL

1. sorenara kantan-da-yo sono botan-o osi-te
 then easy-DECL that button-ACC press-and then

alien-o shoot su-reba-ii-yo
 -ACC DO-if-good.DECL

2. sorenara kantan-da-yo sono botan-o osi-te
 then easy-DECL that button-ACC press-and then

shoot the alien su-reba-ii-yo
 DO-if-good.DECL

“It’s easy. Just press the button and shoot the aliens.”

Kibo told Donna that his roommate had an extra iPod to give away, and later asked Donna whether she called and got it. What does Donna say?



1. nwu-ka mence cenhwahayse **boat-lul miss** hayss-e
 someone-NOM before call.because -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. nwu-ka mence cenhwahayse **miss the boat** hayss-e
 someone-NOM before call.because DO.PAST-DECL

1. dareka-ga sakini denwa-sita-kara **boat-o miss** si-ta-no
 someone-NOM before call-PAST-because -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. dareka-ga sakini denwa-sita-kara **miss the boat** si-ta-no
 someone-NOM before call-PAST-because DO.PAST-DECL

“Someone else called first, so I missed the boat.”

Donna went to Europe for 2 weeks, and Kibo asks how it was. What does Donna say?



1. wancenhi **bank-lul break** hayss-nuntey kulayto caymi-iss-ess-e
 completely -ACC DO.PAST-although nevertheless fun-exist-PAST-DECL

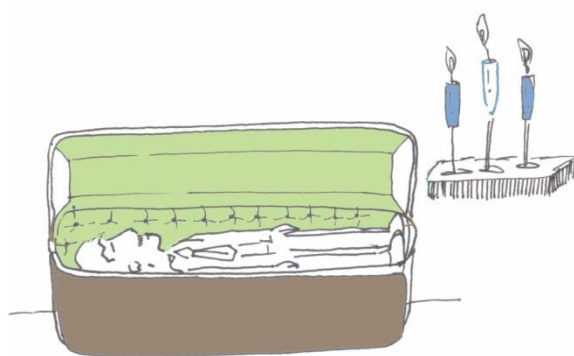
2. wancenhi **break the bank** hayss-nuntey kulayto caymi-iss-ess-e
 completely DO.PAST-although nevertheless fun-exist-PAST-DECL

1. monosugoku **bank-o break** si-ta-kedo totemo tanosikat-ta-yo
 excessively -ACC DO.PAST-although very fun-PAST-DECL

2. monosugoku **break the bank** si-ta-kedo totemo tanosikat-ta-yo
 excessively DO.PAST-although very fun-PAST-DECL

“I had fun even though I broke the bank big time.”

Kibo heard that Donna was going to a golf tournament this weekend to see her favorite golfer playing. But to his surprise, Donna didn't go. What does Donna say?



1. han senswu-ka sihap cen nal kapcaki **bucket-ul kick** hayse
 one player-NOM match before day suddenly -ACC DO.because

kyengki-ka chwiso-twayss-e
 game-NOM cancel-become.PAST-DECL

2. han senswu-ka sihap cen nal kapcaki **kick the bucket** hayse
 one player-NOM match before day suddenly DO.because

kyengki-ka chwiso-twayss-e
 game-NOM cancel-become.PAST-DECL

1. sensyu-ga hitori siai-no zenjitsuni\ totsuzen **bucket-o kick**
 player-NOM one match-GEN before.day suddenly -ACC

si-ta-kara kyoogi-kara tyuusi-ni nat-tyatta-no
 DO-PAST-because match-LOC cancel-to become-PAST-DECL

2. sensyu-ga hitori siai-no zenjitsuni\ totsuzen **kick the bucket**
 player-NOM one match-GEN before.day suddenly

si-ta-kara kyoogi-kara tyuusi-ni nat-tyatta-no
 DO-PAST-because match-LOC cancel-to become-PAST-DECL

“One golfer suddenly kicked the bucket the day before the match, so the game was cancelled.”

Kibo walks past a restaurant called Tony's Pizza, and notices that it has a different name. Kibo asks Donna why they changed the name. What does Donna say?



1. cwuin-i sakichye-se cikum *hard time serve* han-tay
owner-NOM swindle-because now DO.PRES-QUO
 2. cwuin-i sakichye-se cikum *serve hard time* han-tay
owner-NOM swindle-because now DO.PRES-QUO
-
1. oonaa-ga sagi-o si-te ima *hard time-o serve* si-teiru-rasii-yo
owner-NOM swindle-ACC DO-and now -ACC DO-PROG-seem-DECL
 2. oonaa-ga sagi-o si-te ima *serve hard time* si-teiru-rasii-yo
owner-NOM swindle-ACC DO-and now DO-PROG-seem-DECL

“(I heard that) the fraudulent owner is serving hard time.”

Donna heard that Kibo is having problems with his girlfriend, and she wants to help out. What does Donna say?

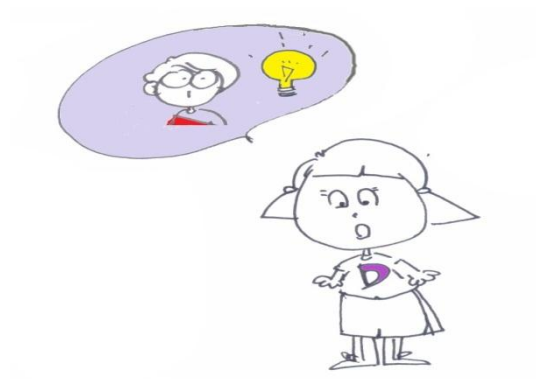


1. ne yeca-chinkwu-lang mwuncey iss-umyen malhay
 you girl-friend-with problem exist-if tell.DECL
- na enceytunci *ear lend* hal swu iss-unikka
 I always DO.FUT ability exist-because
2. ne yeca-chinkwu-lang mwuncey iss-umyen malhay
 you girl-friend-with problem exist-if tell.DECL
- na enceytunci *lend an ear* hal swu iss-unikka
 I always DO.FUT ability exist-because

1. kanojo-to-no koto-de mondai-ga areba it-te
 girlfriend-with-GEN matter-with problem- NOM exist-if tell
- itsudemo *ear-o lend* su-ru-kara
 always -ACC DO-PRES-because
2. kanojo-to-no koto-de mondai-ga areba it-te
 girlfriend-with-GEN matter-with problem- NOM exist-if tell
- itsudemo *lend an ear* su-ru-kara
 always DO-PRES-because

“If (you)’re having relationship problems, let me know. (I) can always lend an ear.”

Kibo and Donna are talking about Alex Kim, a friend of Kibo's from his hometown, and Donna thinks she may know him. What does Donna say?



1. e, Alex Kim? ku ilum **bell ring** ha-nuntay
uh, DEM name DO-DECL

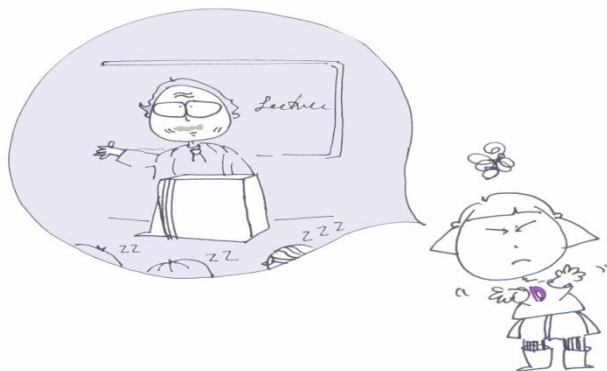
2. e, Alex Kim? ku ilum **ring a bell** ha-nuntay
uh, DEM name DO-DECL

1. e, Alex Kim? sono namae **bell-o ring** su-ru-kamo
uh, DEM name -ACC DO-PRES-m

2. e, Alex Kim? sono namae **ring a bell** su-ru-kamo
uh, DEM name DO-PRES-m

“Did you say Alex Kim? That name rings a bell.”

Donna complains about the old professor of her history class, who cannot teach well at all. What does Donna say?



1. ku cikyewun swuep kakkumssik *walls climb* ha-key mantun-tanikka
 DEM boring class sometimes DO-COMP make-DECL

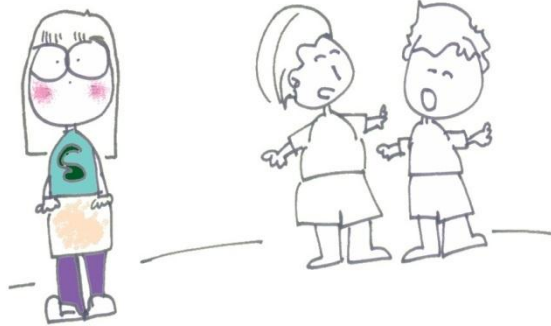
2. ku cikyewun swuep kakkumssik *climb the walls* ha-key mantun-tanikka
 DEM boring class sometimes DO-COMP make-DECL

1. kono tsumaranai jugyoo tokitoki *walls-o climb* sa-seru-no
 DEM boring class sometimes -ACC DO-CAUS.PRES-DECL

2. kono tsumaranai jugyoo tokitoki *climb the walls* sa-seru-no
 DEM boring class sometimes DO-CAUS.PRES-DECL

“His boring lecture makes me climb the walls sometimes.”

Donna talks about her new roommate Susan, who moved in last week. What does Donna say?



1. Susan-un nemwu sosimhay-se kathun chung-ey sa-nun salam-tul-ilang
 -TOP very shy-because same floor-LOC live-REL people-PL-with

friends make ha-cianh-ul kes kath-a
 DO-NEG-FUT.REL NM seem-DECL

2. Susan-un nemwu sosimhay-se kathun chung-ey sa-nun salam-tul-ilang
 -TOP very shy-because same floor-LOC live-REL people-PL-with

make friends ha-cianh-ul kes kath-a
 DO-NEG-FUT.REL NM seem-DECL

1. Susan-wa totemo otonasii-kara onaji kai-no hito-tati-tomo
 -TOP very shy-because same floor-GEN people-PL-with

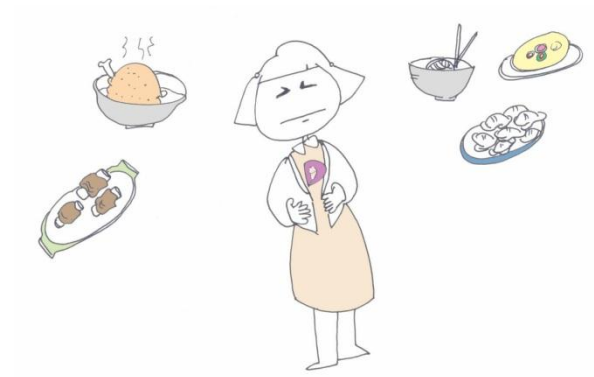
friends-o make si-nasasoo-yo
 -ACC DO-NEG.seem-DECL

2. Susan-wa totemo otonasii-kara onaji kai-no hito-tati-tomo
 -TOP very shy-because same floor-GEN people-PL-with

male friends si-nasasoo-yo
 DO-NEG.seem-DECL

“Susan is very shy and is unlikely to make friends with the other people on the floor.”

Donna went to Korea with her family for the Christmas break, and Kibo asks how it was. What does Donna say?



1. na nemwu manhi mek-ko il-cwuil-tongan **upset stomach have** hayss-e
 I too much eat-CONJ one-week-while DO.PAST-DECL

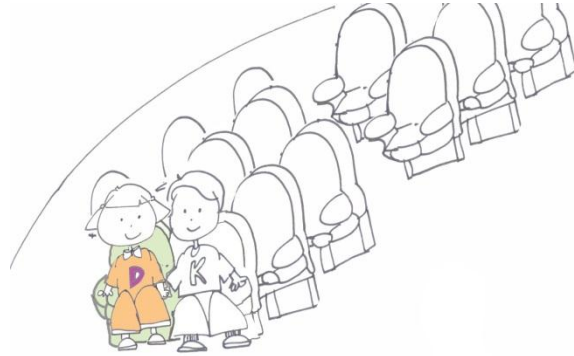
2. na nemwu manhi mek-ko il-cwuil-tongan **have an upset stomach** hayss-e
 I too much eat-CONJ one-week-while DO.PAST-DECL

1. tabe-sugi-te issyu-kan **upset stomach-o have** si-ta-yo
 eat-too.much.and one.week-for -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. tabe-sugi-te issyu-kan **have an upset stomach** si-ta-yo
 eat-too.much.and one.week-for DO.PAST-DECL

“I ate too much food and had an upset stomach for a week.”

Kibo and Donna are taking a flight together, and Donna thinks that Kibo needs more space. What does Donna say?



1. Kibo-ya, ney-ka pokto-ccok anc-ul-lay? nan **window seat-ul take** hayto
 -VOC you-NOM aisle-side sit-FUT-INT I.TOP -ACC DO.though

kwaychanh-a
 fine-DECL

2. Kibo-ya, ney-ka pokto-ccok anc-ul-lay? nan **take a window seat** hayto
 -VOC you-NOM aisle-side sit-FUT-INT I.TOP DO.though

kwaychanh-a
 fine-DECL

1. Kibo-ga tsuuro-gawa-ni suwa-reba? watasi-wa **window seat-o take** si-temo
 -NOM aisle-side-LOC sit-why.not I.TOP -ACC DO.though

ii-yo
 fine-DECL

2. Kibo-ga tsuuro-gawa-ni suwa-reba? watasi-wa **take a window seat** si-temo
 -NOM aisle-side-LOC sit-why.not I.TOP DO.though

ii-yo
 fine-DECL

“Why don’t you have the aisle seat? I’ll be happy to take a window seat.”

It is Kibo's 30th birthday this Sunday, and Donna is organizing a party to congratulate him. What does Donna say?



1. wuli motwu Kibo-hanthey **big present-lul give** ha-ca
we all -DAT -ACC DO-COH

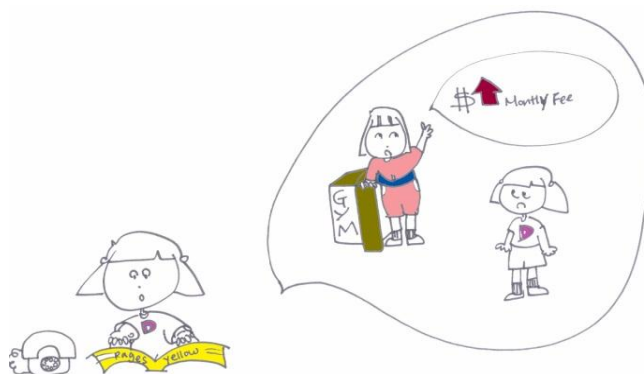
2. wuli motwu Kibo-hanthey **give a big present** ha-ca
we all -DAT DO-COH

1. minna-de Kibo-ni **big present-o give** si-yoo
all -DAT -ACC DO-COH

2. minna-de Kibo-ni **give a big present** si-yoo
all -DAT DO-COH

“Let us all give a big present to Kibo.”

Donna enjoys her gym very much, but has been looking for another one. What does Donna say?



1. na tani-nun gim-i **fee-lul raise** hayse te ssan tey alapwa-yahay
 I go.to-REL gym-NOM -ACC DO.because more cheap place find-have.to.DECL

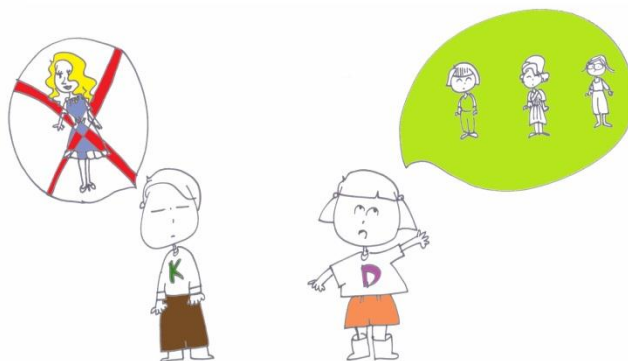
2. na tani-nun gim-i **raise the fee** hayse te ssan tey alapwa-yahay
 I go.to-REL gym-NOM DO.because more cheap place find-have.to.DECL

1. jimu-ga **fee-o raise** si-ta-kara motto yasui tokoro-o mitsuke-nakya
 gym-NOM -ACC DO-PAST-because more cheap place-ACC find-have.to

2. jimu-ga **raise the fee** si-ta-kara motto yasui tokoro-o mitsuke-nakya
 gym-NOM DO-PAST-because more cheap place-ACC find-have.to

“My gym has raised the fee, so I have to find a cheaper place.”

Kibo has been depressed since he broke up with his glamorous girlfriend. What does Donna say?



1. ne soksangha-n ke a-nuntey **new girlfriend-lul get** ha-laku!
 you upset-REL NM know-but -ACC DO-IMP

te coh-un yeca elmatunci manh-a
 more good-REL girl any.number a.lot-DECL

2. ne soksangha-n ke a-nuntey **get a new girlfriend** ha-laku!
 you upset-REL NM know-but DO-IMP

te coh-un yeca elmatunci manh-a
 more good-REL girl any.number a.lot-DECL

1. kuyokuyo-su-ru-no-wa wakarukedo **new girlfriend-o get** si-te!
 upset-DO-PRES-GEN-TOP know-but -ACC DO-IMP

motto ii hito-ga iru-yo
 more good person-NOM exist-DECL

2. kuyokuyo-su-ru-no-wa wakarukedo **get a new girlfriend** si-te!
 upset-DO-PRES-GEN-TOP know-but DO-IMP

motto ii hito-ga iru-yo
 more good person-NOM exist-DECL

“I know you’re upset, but get a new girlfriend! There are better girls out there.”

Kibo bought cheap paper cups, which Donna finds too thin. What does Donna say?



1. ku khep **water hold** hal kes katch-cianh-untey
 DEM cup DO.FUT NM seem-NEG-DECL

2. ku khep **hold water** hal kes katch-cianh-untey
 DEM cup DO.FUT NM seem-NEG-DECL

1. sono koppu-wa **water-o hold** si-nai-to omou-nda-kedo
 DEM cup-TOP -ACC SU-NEG-COMP think-DECL-but

2. sono koppu-wa **hold water** si-nai-to omou-nda-kedo
 DEM cup-TOP SU-NEG-COMP think-DECL-but

“I’m afraid that those cups won’t hold water.”

Donna came back from her high school reunion and tells Kibo about their old friends. What does Donna say?



1. John kiek-na? kyay olhay cwusik-ulo
remember-INT that.guy this.year stock-INS

bundle-ul make hayss-tay
-ACC DO.PAST-QUO

2. John kiek-na? kyay olhay cwusik-ulo
remember-INT that.guy this.year stock-INS

make a bundle hayss-tay
DO.PAST-QUO

1. John-o oboe-teru? kare kotosi kabu-de
-ACC remember-ASP.PRES he this.year stock-INS

bundle-o make si-ta-nda-tte
-ACC DO-PAST-DECL-QUO

2. John-o oboe-teru? kare kotosi kabu-de
-ACC remember-ASP.PRES he this.year stock-INS

make a bundle si-ta-nda-tte
DO-PAST-DECL-QUO

“Do you remember John? I heard that he made a bundle in the stock market this year.”

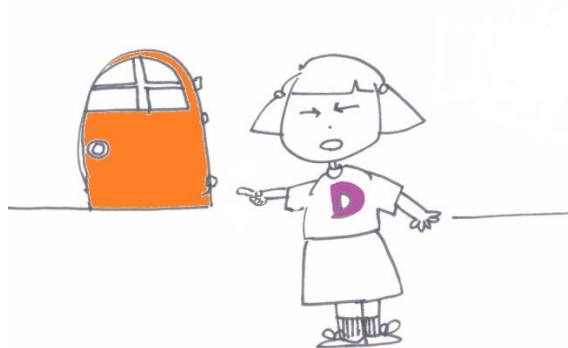
Kibo likes to share his personal stories with his friend, John, and Donna objects to his behavior. What does Donna say to Kibo?



1. John-un *big mouth have* ha-nikka ney pimil malha-cima
-TOP DO-because you.GEN secret tell-NEG.IMP
2. John-un *have a big mouth* ha-nikka ney pimil malha-cima
-TOP DO-because you.GEN secret tell-NEG.IMP
1. John-wa *big mouth-o have* si-teru-kara himitsu-o iwa-naide
-TOP -ACC DO-ASP.PRES-because secret-ACC tell-NEG.IMP
2. John-wa *have a big mouth* si-teru-kara himitsu-o iwa-naide
-TOP DO-ASP.PRES-because secret-ACC tell-NEG.IMP

“John has a big mouth, so don’t tell your secrets to him.”

Kibo has been annoying Donna for hours, and Donna finally decides to tell him to leave. What does Donna say?



1. ne cincca nemwu ccacungna-n-ta. ceypal **hike-lul take** hay
 you really very annoy-PRES-DECL please -ACC DO.IMP

2. ne cincca nemwu ccacungna-n-ta. ceypal **take a hike** hay
 you really very annoy-PRES-DECL please DO.IMP

1. moo iikagenni si-te-yo! onegaidakara **hike-o take** si-te
 already stop.to do.IMP-DECL please -ACC DO.IMP

2. moo iikagenni si-te-yo! onegaidakara **take a hike** si-te
 already stop.to do.IMP-DECL please DO.IMP

“I’ve had enough! It’s time for you to take a hike.”

Donna started working at a department store, and came back from the training sessions for new employees. What does Donna say?



1. hangsang sonnim-tul-hanthey **civil tongue-ul keep** ha-lay
 at.all.times customer-PL-DAT -ACC DO-they.say

2. hangsang sonnim-tul-hanthey **keep a civil tongue** ha-lay
 at.all.times customer-PL-DAT DO-they.say

1. itsumo okyakusan-ni **civil tongue -o keep** su-ru-yooni iwa-re-ta-yo
 at.all.times customer-PL-DAT -ACC DO-PRES-to tell-PASS-PAST-DECL

2. itsumo okyakusan-ni **keep a civil tongue** su-ru-yooni iwa-re-ta-yo
 at.all.times customer-PL-DAT DO-PRES-to tell-PASS-PAST-DECL

“I was told to keep a civil tongue with customers at all times.”

Donna and her coworker Jenny are very close friends. Since Donna came from work, she looks sad and Kibo asks why. What does Donna say?



1. onul wuli posu-ka Jenny-hanthey *axe-lul give* hayss-e
 today our boss-NOM -DAT -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. onul wuli posu-ka Jenny-hanthey *give the axe* hayss-e
 today our boss-NOM -DAT DO.PAST-DECL

1. kyoo bosu-ka Jenny-ni *axe-o give* si-ta-no
 today boss-NOM -DAT -ACC DO-PAST-DECL

2. kyoo bosu-ka Jenny-ni *give the axe* si-ta-no
 today boss-NOM -DAT DO-PAST-DECL

“Today my boss gave the axe to Jenny.”

Donna went to a concert by Lady Gaga, who is notorious of her provocative fashion style. What does Donna say?



1. kongyen-un kkuthnaycwu-ess-nuntey Lady Gaga uysang-i kwankyak-tul-sai-eyse
concert-TOP awesome-PAST-but costume-NOM audience-PL-among-LOC

a few eyebrows raise hayss-e
DO.PAST-DECL

2. kongyen-un kkuthnaycwu-ess-nuntey Lady Gaga uysang-i kwankyak-tul-sai-eyse
concert-TOP awesome-PAST-but costume-NOM audience-PL-among-LOC

raise a few eyebrows hayss-e
DO.PAST-DECL

1. konsaato-wa sugokat-ta-kedo kankyaku-no-aida-de Lady Gaga-no isyoo-wa
concert-TOP awesome-PAST-but audience-GEN-between-LOC -GEN costume-TOP

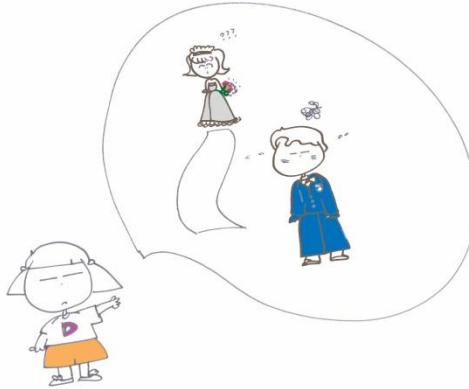
a few eyebrows-o raise si-nakat-ta
-ACC DO-NEG-PAST

2. konsaato-wa sugokat-ta-kedo kankyaku-no-aida-de Lady Gaga-no isyoo-wa
concert-TOP awesome-PAST-but audience-GEN-between-LOC -GEN costume-TOP

raise a few eyebrows si-nakat-ta
DO-NEG-PAST

“The concert was great. But her costume raised a few eyebrows in the audience.”

Donna was going to attend a friend's wedding this weekend, but it has been cancelled. What does Donna say?



1. ku salam **cold feet get** hayss-tay
 DEM man DO.PAST-QUO

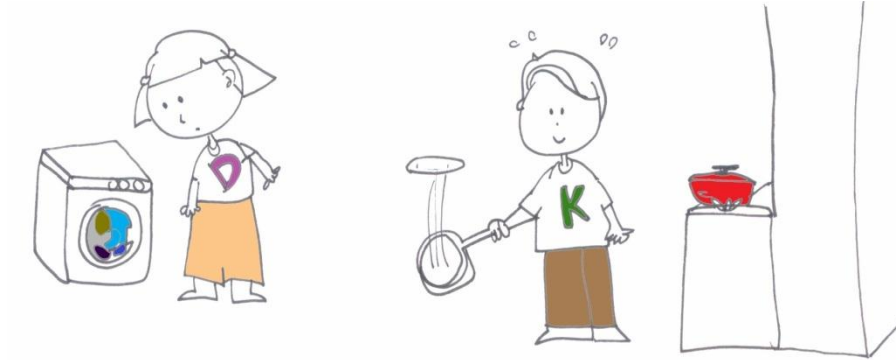
2. ku salam **get cold feet** hayss-tay
 DEM man DO.PAST-QUO

1. sinroo-ga **cold feet-o get** si-ta-mitai
 groom-NOM -ACC DO-PAST-seem

2. sinroo-ga **get cold feet** si-ta-mitai
 groom-NOM DO-PAST-seem

“(I heard that) the groom has got cold feet.”

Donna and Kibo are cooking together and Donna needs to do something else. What does Donna say?



1. nay-ka ppallay po-ko-o-nuntongan *fort-lul hold* haycwul-lay?
I-NOM laundry see-and-come-while -ACC DO.FUT-INT

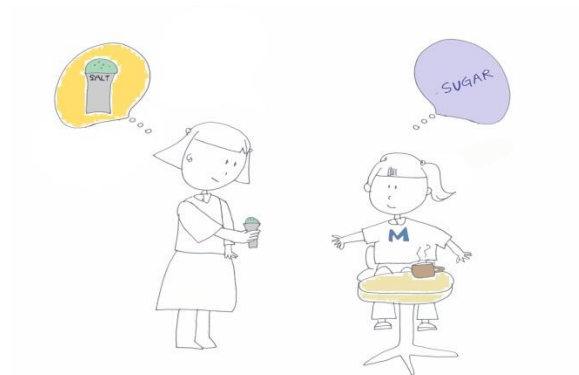
2. nay-ka ppallay po-ko-o-nuntongan *hold the fort* haycwul-lay?
I-NOM laundry see-and-come-while DO.FUT-INT

1. sentakuki-o mite-kuru-aida *fort-o hold* si-te-kure-ru?
washing.machine-ACC see-and-come-while -ACC DO-help-PRES

2. sentakuki-o mite-kuru-aida *hold the fort* si-te-kure-ru?
washing.machine-ACC see-and-come-while DO-help-PRES

“Can you hold the fort while I check my laundry?”

Donna hasn't spoken to her sister Mary for a few days, and Kibo asks why. What does Donna say?



1. nay-ka enni-hanthey *joke-lul play* hayse na-hanthey hwanass-e
 I-NOM sister-DAT -ACC DO.because I-DAT get.mad.PAST-DECL

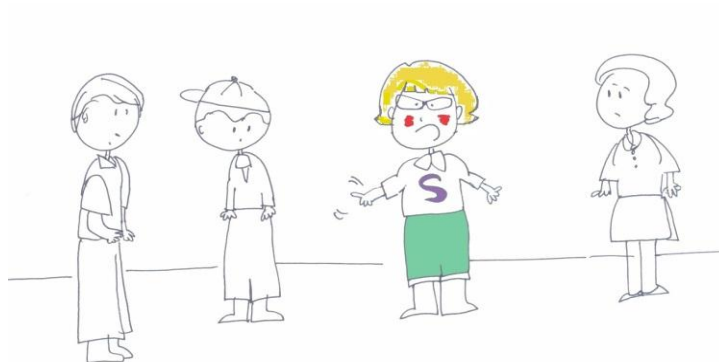
2. nay-ka enni-hanthey *play a joke* hayse na-hanthey hwanass-e
 I-NOM sister-DAT DO.because I-DAT get.mad.PAST-DECL

1. watasi-ga imooto-ni *joke-o play* si-ta kara watasi-ni okot-teru-no
 I-NOM sister-DAT -ACC DO.because I-DAT get.mad.ASP-DECL

2. watasi-ga imooto-ni *play a joke* si-ta kara watasi-ni okot-teru-no
 I-NOM sister-DAT DO.because I-DAT get.mad.ASP-DECL

“My sister is mad at me because I played a joke on her.”

Donna has been working on a class project together with Sally, who she thinks is a difficult person to work with. What does Donna say?



1. Sally-nun caki uykyen-ilang talu-myen talun talun salam-tul-i ha-nun mal-ey
 -TOP self opinion-with different-if other person-PL-NOM DO-REL word-DAT

doubt-ul cast hay
 -ACC DO.DECL

2. Sally-nun caki uykyen-ilang talu-myen talun talun salam-tul-i ha-nun mal-ey
 -TOP self opinion-with different-if other person-PL-NOM DO-REL word-DAT

cast doubt hay
 DO.DECL

1. Sally-wa hito-to iken-ga hito-no iu-koto-ni
 -TOP other.person-with opinion- NOM other.person-GEN say-thing-DAT

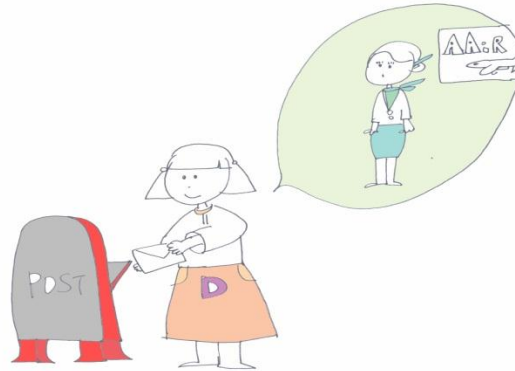
doubt-o cast si-gachi-nano
 -ACC DO-tend.to-DECL

2. Sally-wa hito-to iken-ga hito-no iu-koto-ni
 -TOP other.person-with opinion- NOM other.person-GEN say-thing-DAT

cast doubt si-gachi-nano
 DO-tend.to-DECL

“Sally has a tendency to cast doubt on what others say when they don’t agree with her.”

Donna sent a letter to American Airline and Kibo wonders what she wrote. What does Donna say?



1. mence konghang cikwon-hanthey **compliment-lul pay** ha-ko nay pihayngki
 first airport staff-DAT -ACC DO-and my flight

yeli-nun hakhwoy tanyewass-e
 be.held-REL conference go.and.come.PAST-DECL

2. mence konghang cikwon-hanthey **pay a compliment** ha-ko nay pihayngki
 first airport staff-DAT DO-and my flight

yeli-nun hakhwoy tanyewass-e
 be.held-REL conference go.and.come.PAST-DECL

1. saishoni kuukoo-no tijoo-shokuin-ni **compliment-o pay** site hikooki-ga
 first airport-GEN ground-staff-DAT -ACC DO.and flight-NOM

okure-ta koto-ni kujoo-o
 delay-PAST fact-to complaint-ACC

2. saishoni kuukoo-no tijoo-shokuin-ni **pay a compliment** site hikooki-ga
 first airport-GEN ground-staff-DAT DO.and flight-NOM

okure-ta koto-ni kujoo-o
 delay-PAST fact-to complaint-ACC

“First I paid a compliment to their ground staff and then complained about my flight delay.”

Kibo failed to attend a meeting with his Korean professor last week, and wonders whether he should visit the professor and apologize. What does Donna say?



1. cikum *apology-lul offer* ha-ki-eyn nemwu nuc-un kes kath-a
now -ACC DO-NM-as.to too late-REL NM seem-DECL
2. cikum *offer an apology* ha-ki-eyn nemwu nuc-un kes kath-a
now DO-NM-as.to too late-REL NM seem-DECL

1. imasara *apology-o offer* suru-no wa oso-sugiru-to omou-kedo
now -ACC DO-NM-as.to late-too.much-COMP think-but
2. imasara *offer an apology* suru-no wa oso-sugiru-to omou-kedo
now DO-NM-as.to late-too.much-COMP think-but

“It’s probably too late to offer an apology now.”

Donna heard that Kibo had good news and congratulates him. What does Donna say?

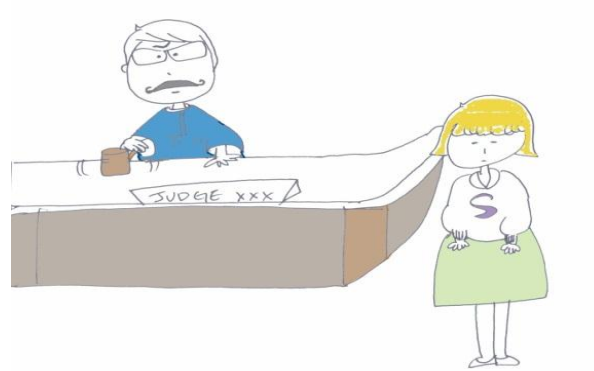


1. Kibo-ya, chwukhahay. ne Harvard-ese *speech-lul deliver* han-tamye?
 -VOC congratulate.DECL you -LOC -ACC DO.PRES-QUO.INT
2. Kibo-ya, chwukhahay. ne Harvard-ese *deliver a speech* han-tamye?
 -VOC congratulate.DECL you -LOC DO.PRES-QUO.INT

1. Kibo, omedetoo. Harvard-de *speech-o deliver* suru-nda-tte?
 congratulations -LOC -ACC SU.PRES-DECL-QUO.INT
2. Kibo, omedetoo. Harvard-de *deliver a speech* suru-nda-tte?
 congratulations -LOC SU.PRES-DECL-QUO.INT

“Congratulations, Kibo. I heard that you’re invited to deliver a speech at Harvard.”

Donna wonders what has happened to Sally, who has been accused of tax fraud. What does Donna say?

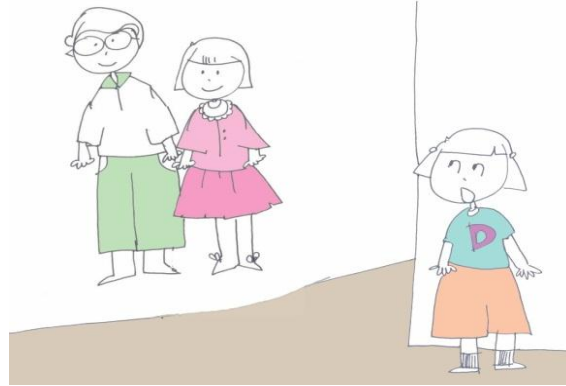


1. pepwuen-eyse Sally-hanthey *sentence-lul pass* hayss-ni?
 court-LOC -DAT -ACC DO.PAST-INT
2. pepwuen-eyse Sally-hanthey *pass sentence* hayss-ni?
 court-LOC -DAT DO.PAST-INT

1. saibansyo-wa Sally-ni *sentence-o pass* si-ta-no?
 court-TOP -DAT -ACC DO.PAST-INT
2. saibansyo-wa Sally-ni *pass sentence* si-ta-no?
 court-TOP -DAT DO.PAST-INT

"Has the court passed sentence on Sally?"

Donna enters the classroom, looking agitated, and Kibo asks what happened. What does Donna say?



1. pangkum nay yes-nal namca-chinkwu-ka etten yeca-lang iss-nun ke
just I.GEN old-day male-friend-NOM some female-with exist-REL exist-REL

sight-lul catch hayss-e
-ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. pangkum nay yes-nal namca-chinkwu-ka etten yeca-lang iss-nun ke
just I.GEN old-day male-friend-NOM some female-with exist-REL exist-REL

catch sight hayss-e
 DO.PAST-DECL

1. ima mukasi-no karesi-ga atarasii kanojo-to issyoni iru-no-o
just old.day-GEN boyfriend-NOM new girlfriend-with together exist-NM-ACC

sight-o catch si-ta-no
-ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. ima mukasi-no karesi-ga atarasii kanojo-to issyoni iru-no-o
just old.day-GEN boyfriend-NOM new girlfriend-with together exist-NM-ACC

catch sight si-ta-no
 DO.PAST-DECL

“I just caught sight of my ex-boyfriend with a new girl.”

Donna recently participated in a mock trial organized by CUNY law school and tells Kibo about it. What does Donna say?



1. myes sikan noncayng-kkuth-ey kyewu **agreement-lul reach** hayss-ta
 several hour dispute-end-LOC finally -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. myes sikan noncayng-kkuth-ey kyewu **reach an agreement** hayss-ta
 several hour dispute-end-LOC finally DO.PAST-DECL

1. nanzikanka-no giron-no ato yatto **agreement-o reach** si-ta-no
 several.hours-GEN dispute-GEN-after finally -ACC DO.PAST-DECL

2. nanzikanka-no giron-no ato yatto **reach an agreement** si-ta-no
 several.hours-GEN dispute-GEN-after finally DO.PAST-DECL

“After many hours of dispute, we finally reached an agreement.”

Kibo cannot find a book that he needs at the library on campus and asks Donna how to get it. What does Donna say?



1. sincheng-se nay-myen chayk tayye ha-nun ke *request-lul make*
 application.form submit-if book loan HA-REL NM -ACC

 hal iss-e
 DO.FUT exist-DECL

2. sincheng-se nay-myen chayk tayye ha-nun ke *make a request*
 application.form submit-if book loan HA-REL NM

 hal iss-e
 DO.FUT exist-DECL

1. moosikomi-yoosi-o daseba hon-no interlibrary loan-no *request-o make*
 application-form-ACC submit.if book-GEN purchase-GEN -ACC

 su-ru-koto-ga dekiru-yo
 DO-PRES-fact-NOM can.do-DECL

2. moosikomi-yoosi-o daseba hon-no interlibrary loan-no *make a request*
 application-form-ACC submit.if book-GEN purchase-GEN

 su-ru-koto-ga dekiru-yo
 DO-PRES-fact-NOM can.do-DECL

“You can make a request for interlibrary loans by completing a form.”

Donna looks excited since she saw her sister Mary, who likes outdoor activities. What does Donna say?



1. nalssi-ka nemwu coh-ase wuli kongown-ese **walk-lul take**
 weather-NOM very good-because we park-LOC -ACC

hayss-e
 DO.PAST-DECL

2. nalssi-ka nemwu coh-ase wuli kongown-ese **take a walk**
 weather-NOM very good-because we park-LOC -ACC

hayss-e
 DO.PAST-DECL

1. tenki-ga totemo yokat-ta-kara watasitati kooen-de **walk-o take**
 weather-NOM very good-PAST-because we park-LOC -ACC

si-ta-no
 DO-PAST-DECL

2. tenki-ga totemo yokat-ta-kara watasitati kooen-de **take a walk**
 weather-NOM very good-PAST-because we park-LOC

si-ta-no
 DO-PAST-DECL

“It was a beautiful day, so Mary and I took a walk in the park.”

Donna had a meeting with her professor after submitting a research paper. What does Donna say?



1. kyoswunim-kkeyse nay nonmwun cwucey-ey *some suspicion-ul raise*
 professor-NOM.HON I.GEN thesis theme-DAT -ACC

ha-syess-e
 DO-HON.PAST-DECL

2. kyoswunim-kkeyse nay nonmwun cwucey-ey *raise some suspicion*
 professor-NOM.HON I.GEN thesis theme-DAT

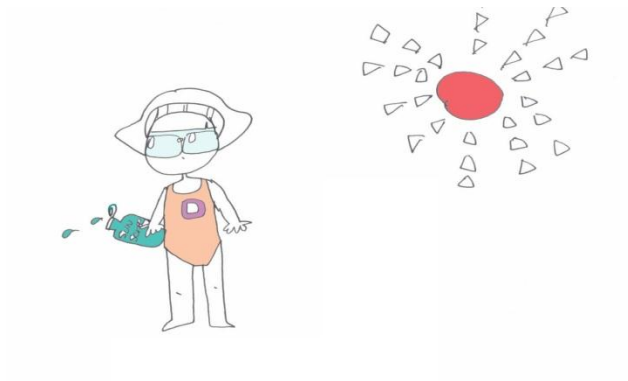
ha-syess-e
 DO-HON.PAST-DECL

1. kyooju-ga watasi-no ronbun-no syudai-ni *some suspicion-o raise* si-ta-no
 professor-NOM I-GEN thesis-GEN theme-DAT -ACC DO-PAST-DECL

2. kyooju-ga watasi-no ronbun-no syudai-ni *raise some suspicion* si-ta-no
 professor-NOM I-GEN thesis-GEN theme-DAT DO-PAST-DECL

"The professor has raised some suspicion about the main idea of my paper."

Donna developed a nice tan over the summer, and shares her experience with Kibo. What does Donna say?



1. hwasang an ip-ko **suntan-ul get** ha-nun ceyil coh-un pangpep-un
burn NEG wear-CONJ -ACC DO-REL most good-REL way-TOP

cawaysen chatan-cey palu-nun ke-ya
ultraviolet.rays block-product apply-REL NM-DECL

2. hwasang an ip-ko **get a suntan** ha-nun ceyil coh-un pangpep-un
burn NEG wear-CONJ DO-REL most good-REL way-TOP

cawaysen chatan-cey palu-nun ke-ya
ultraviolet.rays block-product apply-REL NM-DECL

1. yaka-zu-ni **suntan-o get** su-ru itiban ii hoohoo-wa
burn-without -ACC DO-PRES most good way-TOP

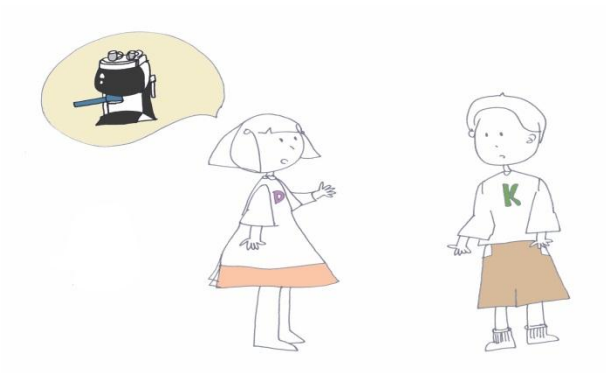
hiyakedome-kuriimu-o nuru-koto dayo
sunscreen-cream-ACC apply-thing DECL

2. yaka-zu-ni **get a suntan** su-ru itiban ii hoohoo-wa
burn-without DO-PRES most good way-TOP

hiyakedome-kuriimu-o nuru-koto dayo
sunscreen-cream-ACC apply-thing DECL

“The best way to get a suntan without getting sunburned is to use a sunscreen lotion.”

Kibo has recently bought a new espresso machine, which Donna wanted to buy herself. What does Donna say?



1. na ku ke **try-ul have** hayto tway?
I DEM thing -ACC DO.COMP possible.INT

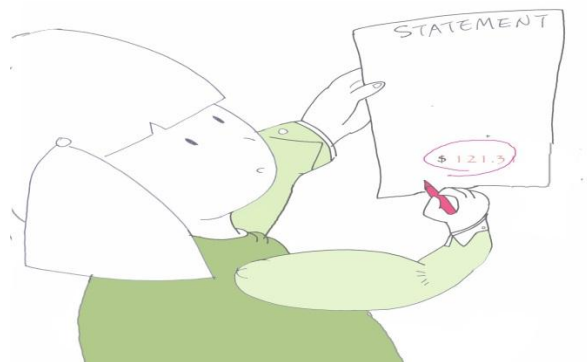
2. na ku ke **have a try** hayto tway?
I DEM thing DO.COMP possible.INT

1. sore **try-o have** si-temo ii?
that.thing -ACC DO-if fine.INT

2. sore **have a try** si-temo ii?
that.thing DO-if fine.INT

“Can I have a try at it?”

Donna noticed that there was an unexpected charge on her credit card bill last month. What does Donna say?



1. aphulo sinyong khatu ssu-n ke *track-ul keep* hal-keya
 from.now.on credit card use-REL NM -ACC DO.FUT-DECL

2. aphulo sinyong khatu ssu-n ke *keep track* hal-keya
 from.now.on credit card use-REL NM DO.FUT-DECL

1. korekara-wa kurezitto kaado-no siyoo-ni *track-o keep* su-ru-yo
 from.now.on-TOP credit card-GEN use-LOC -ACC DO-PRES-DECL

2. korekara-wa kurezitto kaado-no siyoo-ni *keep track* su-ru-yo
 from.now.on-TOP credit card-GEN use-LOC DO-PRES-DECL

“I will keep track of my credit card spending from now on.”

Donna is taking Korean (or Japanese) civilization class, in which she has to present a paper in Korean next week. What does Donna tell Kibo?



1. nay hankwuk-mal kwaynchanh-untey acik hankwuk-mal-lo
I.GEN Korea-language fine-but still Korea-language-INST

speech-lul give ha-nun ke-n elye-we
 -ACC DO-REL NM-TOP difficult-DECL

2. nay hankwuk-mal kwaynchanh-untey acik hankwuk-mal-lo
I.GEN Korea-language fine-but still Korea-language-INST

give a speech ha-nun ke-n elye-we
 DO-REL NM-TOP difficult-DECL

“My Korean isn’t bad, but to give a presentation in Korean is still difficult for me.”

1. watashi-no nihongo-wa daijoobuna-nda-kedo nihongo-de
I-GEN Japanese-TOP fine-DECL-but Japanese-INST

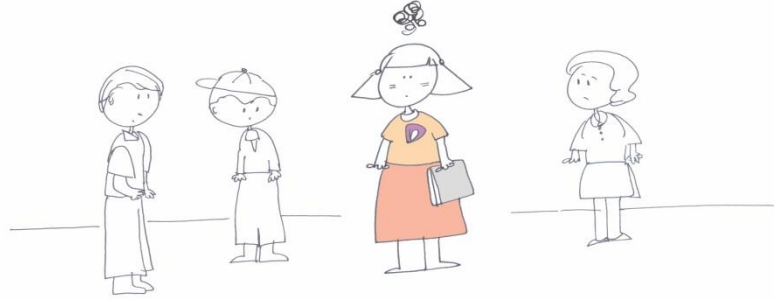
speech-o give suru-no-wa mada muzukasii
 -ACC DO.PRES-NM-TOP still difficult

2. watashi-no nihongo-wa daijoobuna-nda-kedo nihongo-de
I-GEN Japanese-TOP fine-DECL-but Japanese-INST

give a speech suru-no-wa mada muzukasii
 DO.PRES-NM-TOP still difficult

“My Japanese isn’t bad, but to give a speech in Japanese is still difficult for me.”

Donna had a debate session in her Foreign Policy class yesterday, and Kibo asks how it went. What does Donna say?



1. etten haksayng-tul-i talun ettehkey **debate-ul hold** ha-nun cwul
 some student-PL-NOM other how -ACC DO-REL way.ACC
 mol-lase caymi eps-ess-e
 don't.know-because fun nonexist-PAST-DECL

2. etten haksayng-tul-i talun ettehkey **hold a debate** ha-nun cwul
 some student-PL-NOM other how DO-REL way.ACC
 mol-lase caymi eps-ess-e
 don't.know-because fun nonexist-PAST-DECL

1. nanninka-no gakusee-ga hokano-hitotati-to dooyatte **debate-o hold** su-ru-ka
 I-GEN partner-NOM woman-with how -ACC DO-PRES-INT
 wakat-tei-naku-te omosiroku-nakat-ta
 know-ASP-NEG-because fun-NEG-PAST

2. nanninka-no gakusee-ga hokano-hitotati-to dooyatte **hold a debate** su-ru-ka
 I-GEN partner-NOM woman-with how DO-PRES-INT
 wakat-tei-naku-te omosiroku-nakat-ta
 know-ASP-NEG-because fun-NEG-PAST

“It wasn’t much fun, because some students didn’t know how to hold a debate with other students.”

Donna is excited about her upcoming summer trip to Australia. What does Donna say?

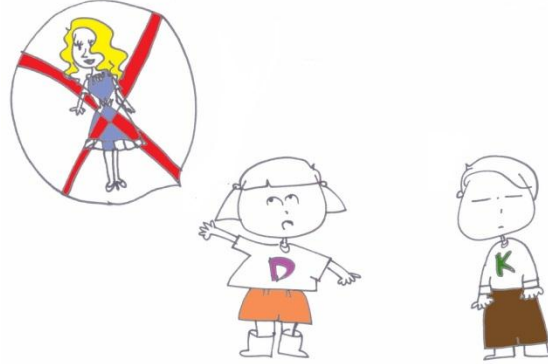


1. ***This weekend I'll my flight book and*** ssan swukso alapol-keya
cheap lodging look.for-FUT-DECL
2. ***This weekend I'll book my flight and*** ssan swukso alapol-keya
cheap lodging look.for-FUT-DECL

1. ***This weekend I'll my flight book and*** yasui shukusya-o sagasu-yo
cheap lodging look.for-DECL
2. ***This weekend I'll book my flight and*** yasui shukusya-o sagasu-yo
cheap lodging look.for-DECL

“This weekend I will book my flight and look for cheap accommodation.”

Kibo still misses his ex-girlfriend, and Donna doesn't think she'll come back. What does Donna say?



1. *She won't her mind change, so* icepelye
forget-IMP
2. *She won't change her mind, so* icepelye
forget-IMP

1. *She won't her mind change, so* wasure-tara
forget-why.not
2. *She won't change her mind, so* wasure-tara
forget-why.not

“She won't change her mind, so you gotta forget her.”

Kibo and Donna went on their conference trip together, and arrived at a hotel before check-in time. What does Donna say?



1. ***Let's first our luggage check, and*** cemsim mek-ule ka-ca
lunch eat-in.order.to go-COH

2. ***Let's first check our luggage, and*** cemsim mek-ule ka-ca
lunch eat-in.order.to go-COH

1. ***Let's first our luggage check, and*** ohirugohan-o tabe-ni ikoo
lunch-ACC eat-in.order.to go-COH

2. ***Let's first check our luggage, and*** ohirugohan-o tabe-ni ikoo
lunch-ACC eat-in.order.to go-COH

“Let's first check our luggage and go out for lunch.”

Donna got a call from her sister Mary, and screams in excitement. What does Donna say?



1. *Mary just the lottery won and* na say cha sa-cwun-tay
me new car buy-give-QUO

2. *Mary just won the lottery and* na say cha sa-cwun-tay
me new car buy-give-QUO

1. *Mary just the lottery won* sorede watasi-ni atarasii kuruma-o
and me-DAT new car-ACC

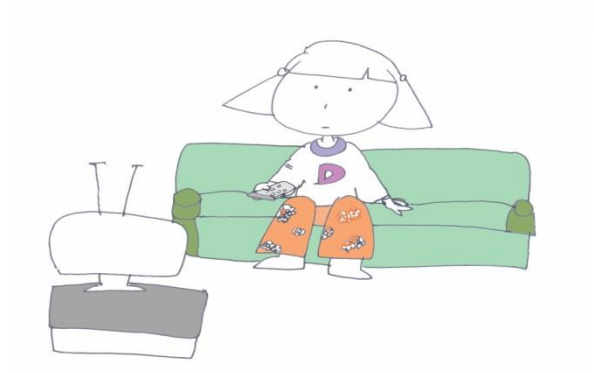
katte-kureru-nda-tte
buy.and-give-DECL-QUO

2. *Mary just won the lottery* sorede watasi-ni atarasii kuruma-o
and me-DAT new car-ACC

katte-kureru-nda-tte
buy.and-give-DECL-QUO

“Mary just won the lottery and is going to buy me a new car!”

Kibo returns home from his trip, and asks what Donna did during her Spring break. What does Donna say?



1. na kunyang cip-ey iss-ko ***TV watched***
I just home-LOC exist-CONJ

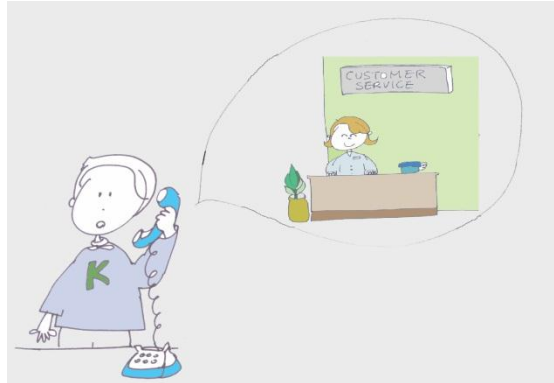
2. na kunyang cip-ey iss-ko ***watched TV***
I just home-LOC exist-CONJ

1. tada ie-ni i-te ***TV watched***
just home-LOC exist-CONJ

2. tada ie-ni i-te ***watched TV***
just home-LOC exist-CONJ

“I just stayed home and watched TV.”

Kibo accidentally dropped his new cellphone into water, and the phone isn't working. What does Donna say?



1. mence hyutayphon malli-ko *then the customer service call*
first cell.phone dry.CONJ
2. mence hyutayphon malli-ko *then call the customer service*
first cell.phone dry.CONJ

1. mazu keitai-o kawakasi-te *then the customer service call*
first cell.phone-ACC dry-CONJ
2. mazu keitai-o kawakasi-te *then call the customer service*
first cell.phone-ACC dry-CONJ

“Let it dry first, and then call the customer service.”

Kibo doesn't want to keep his old textbooks and asks Donna what he should do. What does Donna say?



1. hakkyoo secem-ey ka-se *see if they used books sell*
 school bookstore-LOC go-CONJ

2. hakkyoo secem-ey ka-se *see if they sell used books*
 school bookstore-LOC go-CONJ

1. gakko-no honya-ni it-te *see if they used books sell*
 school-GEN bookstore-LOC go-CONJ

2. gakko-no honya-ni it-te *see if they sell used books*
 school-GEN bookstore-LOC go-CONJ

“Go to the campus bookstore and see if they sell used books.”

Kibo asks if Sally and her boyfriend made peace after their bad break-up. What does Donna say?

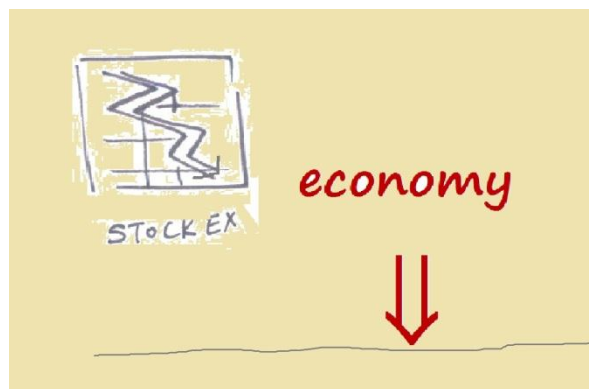


1. ***They finally the hatchet buried, and*** tasi chinha-eci-ess-e
again friendly-become-PAST-DECL
2. ***They finally buried the hatchet, and*** tasi chinha-eci-ess-e
again friendly-become-PAST-DECL

1. ***They finally the hatchet buried, and*** mata nakayoku-natta-mitai
again friendly-become-PAST-seem
2. ***They finally buried the hatchet, and*** mata nakayoku-natta-mitai
again friendly-become-PAST-seem

“They finally buried the hatchet and they’re now friendly again.”

Kibo asked Donna about headline news today, when he came home. What does Donna say?



- | | | | |
|----|---|---------------------|---|
| 1. | <i>Last year the economy bottom hit, but</i> | cemcem
gradually | naaci-koiss-tay
improve-PROG-DECL |
| 2. | <i>Last year the economy hit bottom, but</i> | cemcem
gradually | naaci-koiss-tay
improve-PROG-DECL |
| 1. | <i>Last year the economy bottom hit, but</i> | dandan
gradually | yoku-natteru-yo
improve-become.PROG-DECL |
| 2. | <i>Last year the economy hit bottom, but</i> | dandan
gradually | yoku-natteru-yo
improve-become.PROG-DECL |

“Last year the economy hit bottom last year, but it is starting to improve.”

Kibo tells Donna that his nephew Joe hasn't been going to school lately. What does Donna say?



1. ***Did Joe his class cut, and*** tto kukcang kass-ni?
again movie.theater go.PAST-INT

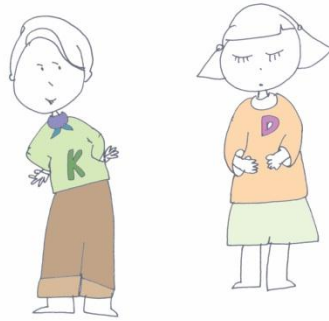
2. ***Did Joe cut his class, and*** tto kukcang kass-ni?
again movie.theater go.PAST-INT

1. ***Did Joe his class cut, and*** mata eiga-ni itteru-no?
again movie-DAT go.ASP-INT

2. ***Did Joe cut his class, and*** mata eiga-ni itteru-no?
again movie-DAT go.ASP-INT

“Did Joe cut class and go to a movie again?”

Kibo and Donna have been arguing and Donna still disagrees with what Kibo says. What does Donna say?



1. nay-ka thulli-myen *I'll humble pie eat*
 I-nom wrong-if

2. nay-ka thulli-myen *I'll eat humble pie*
 I-nom wrong-if

1. watasi-ga machigat-tetara *I'll humble pie eat*
 I-nom wrong-ASP.if

2. watasi-ga machigat-tetara *I'll eat humble pie*
 I-nom wrong-ASP.if

“If I’m wrong, I’ll eat humble pie.”

Kibo thinks his final grade for History class is unfair, and will talk to the professor about it. What does Donna say?



1. sensayng-nim-hanthey pwulphyengha-l ttay ***your mouth watch***
 teacher-HON-DAT complain-FUT time

2. sensayng-nim-hanthey pwulphyengha-l ttay ***watch your mouth***
 teacher-HON-DAT complain-FUT time

1. sensei-ni monku-o-iu toki-wa ***your mouth watch***
 teacher-DAT complaint-ACC-say time-TOP

2. sensei-ni monku-o-iu toki-wa ***watch your mouth***
 teacher-DAT complaint-ACC-say time-TOP

“When you complain to your teacher, watch your mouth.”

Jessie has been avoiding Donna for several weeks, and Kibo asks why. What does Donna say?



1. cal molukeyss-nuntey *I seem to have a sore spot touched*
well not.know-but
2. cal molukeyss-nuntey *I seem to have touched a sore spot*
well not.know-but

1. uum wakara-nai-kedo *I seem to have a sore spot touched*
well know-NEG-but
2. uum wakara-nai-kedo *I seem to have touched a sore spot*
well know-NEG-but

“I’m not sure, but I seem to have touched a sore spot.”

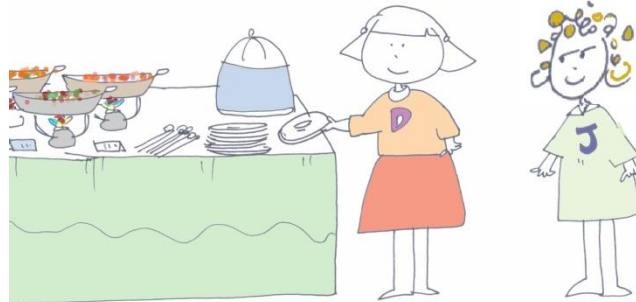
Kibo is helping Donna with hosting a party, and asks what he should do. What does Donna say?



- | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>If you can a CD player bring</i> | cengmal
really | komap-kayss-e
grateful-FUT-DECL |
| 2. | <i>If you can bring a CD player</i> | cengmal
really | komap-kayss-e
grateful-FUT-DECL |
| | | | |
| 1. | <i>If you can a CD player bring</i> | hontooni
really | tasukaru-wa
grateful.FUT-DECL |
| 2. | <i>If you can bring a CD player</i> | hontooni
really | tasukaru-wa
grateful.FUT-DECL |

“If you can bring a CD player, that’ll be really great.”

Donna went to see her friend Jessie, and Kibo asks where they went. What does Donna say?



1. wuli into siktang ka-se ***lunch buffet had***
we India restaurant go-CONJ

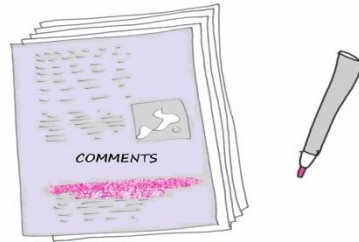
2. wuli into siktang ka-se ***had lunch buffet***
we India restaurant go-CONJ

1. watasitachi indo-ryori resutoran-ni it-te ***lunch buffet had***
we Indian cuisine restaurant go-CONJ

2. watasitachi indo-ryori resutoran-ni it-te ***had lunch buffet***
we Indian cuisine restaurant go-CONJ

“We went to an Indian restaurant and had lunch buffet.”

Kibo asks Donna to read through his term paper before he gives it to the professor. What does Donna say?



1. alasseo ilk-konase *I'll my comments send*
 ok read-after

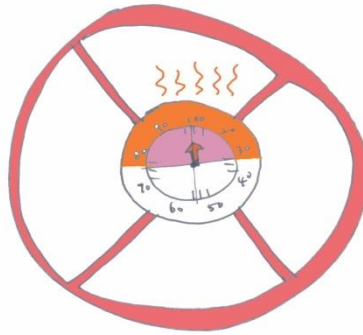
2. alasseo ilk-konase *I'll send my comments*
 ok read-after

1. wakatta yon-de-kara *I'll my comments send*
 ok read-CONJ-after

2. wakatta yon-de-kara *I'll send my comments*
 ok read-CONJ-after

“OK. I'll send my comments after reading it.”

Kibo has set the thermostat at 85 degrees, and Donna thinks that the room is too warm. What does Donna say?



1. nemwu noph-key *temperature set* ha-cima
too high-ADV DO-NEG.IMP

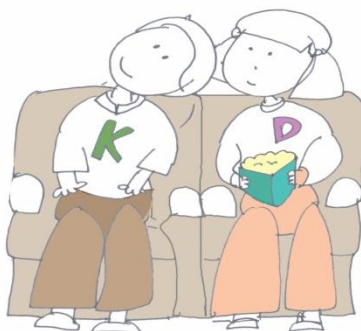
2. nemwu noph-key *set temperature* ha-cima
too high-ADV DO-NEG.IMP

1. amari takaku *temperature-o set* si-naide
too high -ACC DO-NEG.IMP

2. amari takaku *set temperature* si-naide
too high DO-NEG.IMP

“Please don’t set the temperature too high.”

Kibo and Donna are watching a movie together at her place, and Donna makes some suggestions. What does Donna say?



1. nay ekkay-ey *head lay* hayto tway
 I.GEN shoulder-LOC DO.COMP possible.DECL

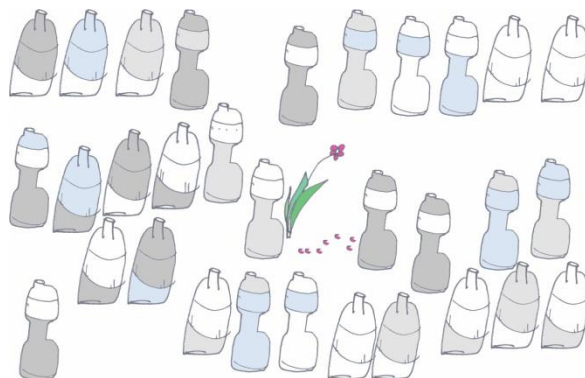
2. nay ekkay-ey *lay your head* hayto tway
 I.GEN shoulder-LOC DO.COMP possible.DECL

1. watasi-no kata-ni *head-o lay* hayto tway
 I-GEN shoulder-LOC -ACC DO.COMP possible.DECL

2. watasi-no kata-ni *lay your head* hayto tway
 I-GEN shoulder-LOC DO.COMP possible.DECL

“You could lay your head on my shoulder.”

Kibo asks why Donna hardly uses anything made of plastic. What does Donna say?



1. plastic-un wuli hwankyeng-ey **problem-ul pose** ha-nun kes kath-a
 -TOP our environment-LOC -ACC DO-REL NM seem-DECL

2. plastic-un wuli hwankyeng-ey **pose a problem** ha-nun kes kath-a
 -TOP our environment-LOC DO-REL NM seem-DECL

1. purasutikku-wa kankyoo-ni **problem-o pose** su-ru-to omou
 -TOP environment-LOC -ACC DO-PRES-COMP think

2. purasutikku-wa kankyoo-ni **pose a problem** su-ru-to omou
 -TOP environment-LOC DO-PRES-COMP think

“I believe plastic poses a problem for our environment.”

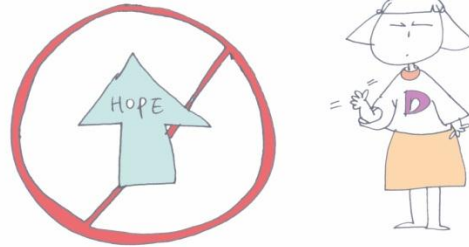
Kibo and Donna went for a hike, and Kibo finds Donna's backpack surprisingly heavy. What does Donna say?



- | | | | | |
|----|--|------------------------|--|--|
| 1. | kyenghemca-lamyen
experienced.person-if | nul
always | <i>a bottle of vitamin water carry</i> | ha-ci
DO-DECL |
| 2. | kyenghemca-lamyen
experienced.person-if | nul
always | <i>carry a bottle of vitamin water</i> | ha-ci
DO-DECL |
| 1. | keiken-aru
experience-exist.PRES | hito-nara
person-if | tsuneni
always | <i>a bottle of vitamin water-o carry</i>
-ACC |
| | si-teru-yo
DO-ASP.PRES-DECL | | | |
| 2. | keiken-aru
experience-exist.PRES | hito-nara
person-if | tsuneni
always | <i>carry a bottle of vitamin water</i> |
| | si-teru-yo
DO-ASP.PRES-DECL | | | |

“Experienced people carry a bottle of vitamin water at all times.”

Kibo has applied for a University Fellowship, and Donna thinks that it will be difficult to get it. What does Donna say?



1. nemwu noph-key *hopes set* ha-cima
 too high-ADV DO-NEG.IMP

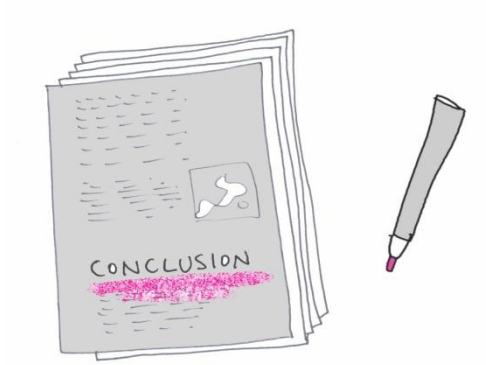
2. nemwu noph-key *set your hopes* ha-cima
 too high-ADV DO-NEG.IMP

1. amari takaku *hopes-o set* si-naide
 too high -ACC DO-NEG.IMP

2. amari takaku *set your hopes* si-naide
 too high DO-NEG.IMP

“Please don’t set your hopes too high.”

Kibo and Donna are writing a term paper together, and Donna makes some suggestions. What does Donna say?



1. wuli kyellon-ey *more emphasis lay* hayyahay
we conclusion-LOC DO.have.to.DECL
2. wuli kyellon-ey *lay more emphasis* hayyahay
we conclusion-LOC DO.have.to.DECL

1. ketsuron-ni *more emphasis-o lay* suru-beki-dayo
conclusion-LOC -ACC DO.PRES-should-DECL
2. ketsuron-ni *lay more emphasis* suru-beki-dayo
conclusion-LOC DO.PRES-should-DECL

“We should lay more emphasis on the conclusion.”

Kibo asks why Donna is not interested in joining an on-line community, such as Facebook. What does Donna say?

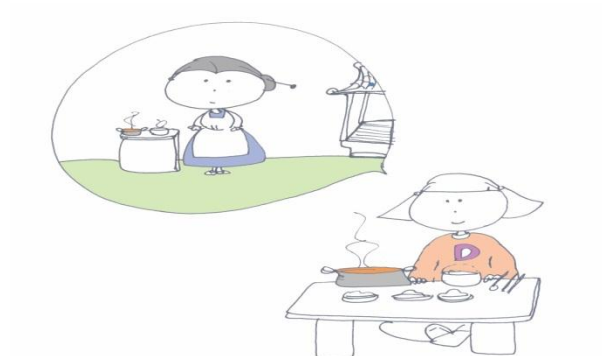


1. Internet-un wuli sasaynghwal-ey *threat-ul pose* ha-nun kes kath-a
 -TOP our privacy-LOC -ACC DO-REL NM seem-DECL
2. Internet-un wuli sasaynghwal-ey *pose a threat* ha-nun kes kath-a
 -TOP our privacy-LOC DO-REL NM seem-DECL

1. intaanetto-wa puraibasii-ni *threat-o pose* su-ru-to omou
 internet-TOP privacy-LOC -ACC DO-PRES-COMP think
2. intaanetto-wa puraibasii-ni *pose a threat* su-ru-to omou
 internet-TOP privacy-LOC DO-PRES-COMP think

“I think the Internet poses a threat to our privacy.”

Kibo and Donna went to a new Korean restaurant, and Donna finds their food authentic. What does Donna say?



1. ku cip ccikay *a taste of home cooking carry* han ke kath-a
 DEM house stew DO.REL NM seem-DECL

2. ku cip ccikay *carry a taste of home cooking* han ke kath-a
 DEM house stew DO.REL NM seem-DECL

1. asoko-no sityuu-wa *a taste of home cooking-o carry* si-teru
 that.place-GEN -ACC DO-ASP.PRES

2. asoko-no sityuu-wa *carry a taste of home cooking* si-teru
 that.place-GEN DO-ASP.PRES

| “Those stews carry a taste of home cooking.”

Kibo doesn't know whether he can get some help for his research from the library. What does Donna say?



1. kulem! annay tesukh-eyse **any question-ul ask** hay-totway
 of.course info desk-LOC -ACC DO-possible.DECL

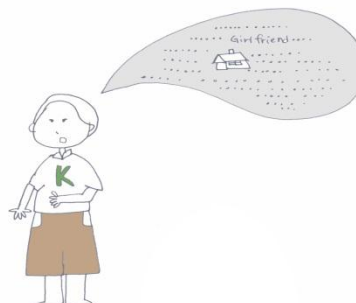
2. kulem! annay tesukh-eyse **ask any question** hay-totway
 of.course info desk-LOC DO-possible.DECL

1. mochiron! uketsuke-de **any question-o ask** suru-to ii-yo
 of.course info.desk-LOC -ACC DO.PRES-if good-DECL

2. mochiron! uketsuke-de **ask any question** suru-to ii-yo
 of.course info.desk-LOC DO.PRES-if good-DECL

“Sure! You can ask any question at the desk.”

Kibo wants to move in with his new girlfriend at his place, but he doesn't know how to tell his current roommate to find another place. What does Donna say?



1. nan ney-ka **whole story-lul tell** hayyahan-ta-ko sayngkakhay
I.TOP you-NOM -ACC DO.have.to.PRES-DECL-COMP think.DECL

2. nan ney-ka **tell the whole story** hayyahan-ta-ko sayngkakhay
I.TOP you-NOM DO.have.to.PRES-DECL-COMP think.DECL

1. kakusazu-ni **whole story-o tell** suru-beki-da-to omou
hide-NEG-LOC -ACC DO.should-DECL-COMP think

2. kakusazu-ni **tell the whole story** suru-beki-da-to omou
hide-NEG-LOC DO.should-DECL-COMP think

“I think you should tell the whole story.”

Kibo bought a jacket from Banana Republic on the Internet. He doesn't want to keep it, but worries whether he'd get his money back. What does Donna say?



1. keki enceytunci *full amount-lul refund* hay-cwe
 there always -ACC DO-give.DECL
2. keki enceytunci *refund the full amount* hay-cwe
 there always DO-give.DECL

1. ano mise-wa itsumo *full amount-o refund* si-teru-yo
 that shop-TOP always -ACC DO-ASP.PRES-DECL
2. ano mise-wa itsumo *refund the full amount* si-teru-yo
 that shop-TOP always DO-ASP.PRES-DECL

“That store always refunds the full amount.”

Kibo doesn't know whether he can borrow reserved books from the library. What does Donna say?



1. kulem! annay tesukh-eyse **any librarian-ul ask** hay-totway
of.course info desk-LOC -ACC DO-possible.DECL
 2. kulem! annay tesukh-eyse **ask any librarian** hay-totway
of.course info desk-LOC DO-possible.DECL
-
1. mochiron! uketsuke-de **any librarian-o ask** suru-to ii-yo
of.course info.desk-LOC -ACC DO.PRES-if good-DECL
 2. mochiron! uketsuke-de **ask any librarian** suru-to ii-yo
of.course info.desk-LOC DO.PRES-if good-DECL

“Sure! You can ask any librarian at the desk.”

Kibo wants to move in with his new girlfriend at her place, but he doesn't want his parents and sister to know, believing that they won't approve. What does Donna say?



1. nan ney-ka **whole family-lul tell** hayyahan-ta-ko sayngkakhay
 I.TOP you-NOM -ACC DO.have.to.PRES-DECL-COMP think.DECL

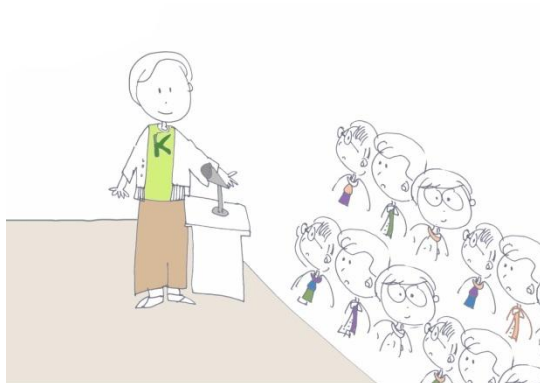
2. nan ney-ka **tell the whole family** hayyahan-ta-ko sayngkakhay
 I.TOP you-NOM DO.have.to PRES-DECL-COMP think.DECL

1. kakusazu-ni **whole family-o tell** suru-beki-da-to omou
 hide-NEG-LOC -ACC DO.should-DECL-COMP think

2. kakusazu-ni **tell the whole family** suru-beki-da-to omou
 hide-NEG-LOC DO.should-DECL-COMP think

“I think you should tell the whole story.”

Kibo is worried about his speech contest next week. But Donna thinks Kibo is a great speaker. What does Donna say?



1. nen yenselka-lose cachwul ke ta kacchwess-e
 you.TOP speaker-as equipped.REL NM all equipped.DECL

audience-lul show ha-lako!
 -ACC DO-IMP

2. nen yenselka-lose cachwul ke ta kacchwess-e
 you.TOP speaker-as equipped.REL NM all equipped.DECL

show your audience ha-lako!
 DO-IMP

1. anata-wa enzetsusya tosite moteru subete-o mot-teru
 you-TOP speaker as have.can.PRES everthing-ACC have-ASP.PRES

audience-o show si-te!
 -ACC DO-IMP

2. anata-wa enzetsusya tosite moteru subete-o mot-teru
 you-TOP speaker as have.can.PRES everthing-ACC have-ASP.PRES

show your audience si-te!
 DO-IMP

“You’ve got everything as a speaker. Show your audience, Kibo!”

Kibo bought a jacket from Banana Republic on the Internet. He doesn't want to keep it, but worries whether he'd get his money back. What does Donna say?



1. keki enceytunci *customers-lul refund* hay-cwe
 there always -ACC DO-give.DECL
2. keki enceytunci *refund their customers* hay-cwe
 there always DO-give.DECL

1. ano mise-wa itsumo *customers-o refund* si-teru-yo
 that shop-TOP always -ACC DO-ASP.PRES-DECL
2. ano mise-wa itsumo *refund their customers* si-teru-yo
 that shop-TOP always DO-ASP.PRES-DECL

“That store always refunds their customers.”

Appendix E-1 Answer Sheet for the Version A of the CS judgment task

PRACTICE

Kibo is visiting a family...
What does Donna say?



1

2

Kibo participates in a
study...
What does Donna say?



1

2

Donna likes coffee...
What does Donna say?



1

2

Donna's offered a
summer job...
What does Donna say?



1

2

Donna keeps sneezing...
What does Donna say?



1

2

Kibo and Donna discuss
which class to take...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna always hangs out
the same bar...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna has a long
stopover at the airport...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's busy with
setting the table...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna heard someone at
the door...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna went to Korea for
Christmas...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo dropped his
cellphone into water...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo wonders what
happened to Sally...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna hasn't spoken to
Mary for days...
What does Donna say?

1 2

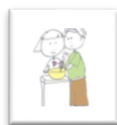
Kibo misses his ex-
girlfriend...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna has to present a
paper in Korean...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna and Kibo are
making pancakes...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's busy sorting
pictures...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo mails out letters
regularly...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna went to Korea
over the summer...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo and Donna will
present together...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo doesn't want to
keep his old textbooks...
What does Donna say?

1 2

The restaurant now has a
different name...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna enters the room,
looking agitated...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna tells Kibo what
Brian told her...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna went to Bill Gates'
talk...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Joe's been getting home
late after school...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna got a call from
Mary...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna asks Kibo to take
care of her house...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's back from her
high school reunion...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna had lunch with
Jessie...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks about the
headline news today...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna congratulates
Kibo...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna read Kibo's term
paper...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna took a free IT
course...
What does Donna say?

1 2

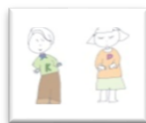
Donna didn't go to the
soccer game...
What does Donna say?

1 2

There's an expected charge
on Donna's credit card bill...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna disagrees with
what Kibo says...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks what Donna
did over the weekend...
What does Donna say?

1 2

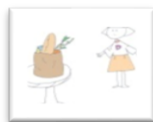
Donna finds Sally difficult
to work with...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo wants to give Joe a
hat...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo helped Donna with
grocery shopping...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna wants to find a job
in town...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo can't find a book
that he needs...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks what he should
do with the guests...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna congratulates
Kibo...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna didn't show up at
the party...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's excited about
her upcoming trip...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks what Mary
does...
What does Donna say?

1 2

The elevator stops, and
Kibo's frightened...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna met Brian...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo knocked over the
pot...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna had a blind date...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo and Donna arrived
at a hotel early...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo didn't get the job he
wanted...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna came back from a
training session...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks Donna to read
his paper...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo doesn't know what
to do with a visitor...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo didn't submit his
term paper...
What does Donna say?

1 2

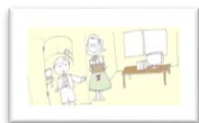
Donna asks Kibo to take
care of her house...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks about Sally and
her boyfriend...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna looks upset when she came from work...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna complains about the elevator...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna went to see Jessie...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo's been acting crazy...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo has a big the problem at work...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's busy with sorting pictures...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna participated in a mock trial...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna looks excited after she saw Mary...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's busy with
making a phone call...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Joe hasn't been going to
school...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's father has lost
his job...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna was out of town
last week...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks what he should
do with the nuts...
What does Donna say?

1 2

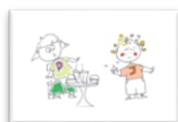
Donna had a meeting
with her professor...
What does Donna say?

1 2

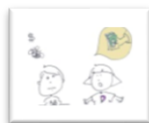
Donna talks about her
new boss Susan...
What does Donna say?

1 2

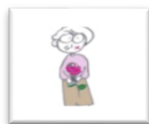
Jessie has been avoiding
Donna...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo is having money problems...
What does Donna say?

1 2

A blind date has been postponed...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna took a free Real Estate course...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo writes a journal regularly...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna wonders about Sally...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna got free round-up tickets to Korea...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo and Donna have been arguing...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna thinks Kibo needs a rest...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna went to a wine
tasting...
What does Donna say?

1 2

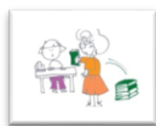
Kibo's helping Donna for
a party...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo bought a new cell
phone...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's been under
pressure at work...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo will talk to the
professor about his
grade...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Appendix E-2 Answer Sheet for the Version B of the CS judgment task

PRACTICE

Kibo is visiting a family...
What does Donna say?



1

2

Kibo participates in a
study...
What does Donna say?



1

2

Donna likes coffee...
What does Donna say?



1

2

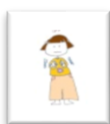
Donna's offered a summer
job...
What does Donna say?



1

2

Donna keeps sneezing...
What does Donna say?



1

2

Kibo and Donna discuss
which class to take...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna always goes to the
same bar...
What does Donna say?

1 2

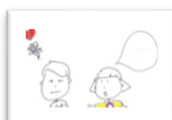
Donna has a long stopover
at the airport...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Joe hasn't been going to
school...
What does Donna say?

1 2

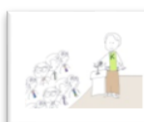
Kibo's having problems
with his girlfriend...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna sent a letter to
America Airline...
What does Donna say?

1 2

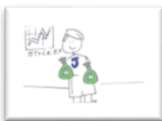
Kibo's worried about his
speech contest...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna had a meeting with
her professor...
What does Donna say?

1 2

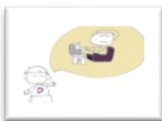
Donna's back from her
high school reunion...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Jessie has been avoiding
Donna...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's father has injured
his ankle...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo broke up with his
girlfriend...
What does Donna say?

1 2

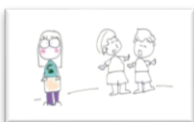
Donna's backpack is very
heavy...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo needs help from the
library...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna talks about her new
roommate Susan...
What does Donna say?

1 2

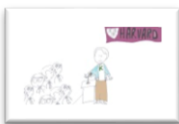
The restaurant now has a
different name...
What does Donna say?

1 2

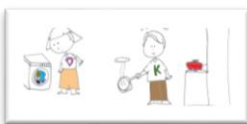
Kibo asks about the
headline news today...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna congratulates
Kibo...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna and Kibo are
cooking together...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo and Donna went to a
new Korean restaurant...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo wonders what
happened to Sally...
What does Donna say?

1 2

There's an expected charge
on Donna's credit card bill...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna disagrees with
what Kibo says...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks what Donna did
over the weekend...
What does Donna say?

1 2

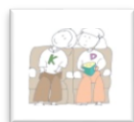
Donna finds Sally difficult
to work with...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna went to Korea for
Christmas...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo and Donna are
watching a movie...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna planned a surprise
party for Mary...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo can't find a book that
he needs...
What does Donna say?

1 2

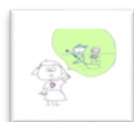
Kibo's worried about his
speech contest...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna looks sad when she
came from work...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Joe's been getting home
late after school...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's excited about her upcoming trip...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna hardly uses anything made of plastic...
What does Donna say?

1 2

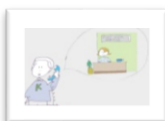
Donna's backyard looks so good...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo likes to share personal stories with John...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo dropped his cellphone into water...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna didn't go to the golf tournament...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna hasn't spoken to Mary for days...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo misses his ex-girlfriend...
What does Donna say?

1 2

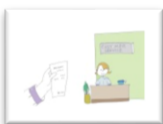
Donna has to present a paper in Korean...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo bought paper cups...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo doesn't want to keep the jacket...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks what Mary does...
What does Donna say?

1 2

The elevator stops, and Kibo's frightened...
What does Donna say?

1 2

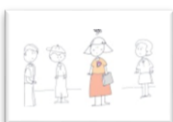
Kibo's applied for a fellowship...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks how Donna's cooking coming along...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna had a debate in class...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo and Donna arrived at a hotel early...
What does Donna say?

1 2

The wedding has been cancelled...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo's unsure about the camera he bought...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks Donna to read his paper...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna complains about the History professor...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo didn't submit his term paper...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo needs help from the library...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo wants to move in his new girlfriend...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna wonders what happened to Sally...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo and Donna are talking about Alex Kim...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo and Donna are writing a paper together...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo and Donna are taking a flight together...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo's been depressed since he came from work...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo's helping Donna for a party...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo bought a new espresso machine...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna went to Lady GaGa's concert...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo will talk to the professor about his grade...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks about Sally and her boyfriend...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's organizing a party for Kibo...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo doesn't know how to play the video game...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna went to see Jessie...
What does Donna say?

1 2

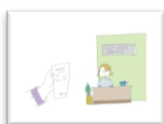
Donna went to Europe for 2 weeks...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna came back from a training session...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo doesn't want to keep the jacket...
What does Donna say?

1 2

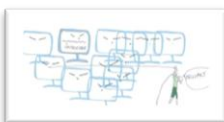
Donna participated in a
mock trial...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna looks excited after
she saw Mary...
What does Donna say?

1 2

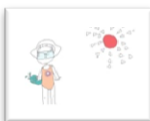
Donna's not interested in
on-line communities...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo wants to move in
with his new girlfriend...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna shares her tanning
experience...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo's annoying and
Donna tells him to leave...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo doesn't want to keep
his old textbooks...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna had lunch with
Jessie...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna enters the room,
looking agitated...
What does Donna say?

1 2

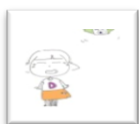
Donna thinks the room is
too warm...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna's looking for a new
gym...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Kibo asks if Donna called
and got the iPod...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Donna got a call from
Mary...
What does Donna say?

1 2

Appendix F

Syntactic flexibility judgment task

In this task, sentences are presented in groups. Within each group, the first sentence is the “standard”, and it contains an underscored expression. Two or three further sentences in the group use something similar to that expression, but in slightly varied forms. Your task is to decide whether *the meaning of the underscored expression* in the standard sentence remains available in the sentences that follow.

To give your opinion, please choose the best-fitting value on the scale below. Value 1 is used to say that the expression’s meaning is no longer available at all, and Value 4 to say that exactly the original meaning remains available. Values 2 and 3 are used for intermediate judgments.

Meaning not available		Same meaning, exactly	
1	2	3	4

Let’s practice a few questions first.

- | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Can you <u>get a suntan</u> through a glass window? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. That’s a great suntan that you’ve got through a glass window! | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. How much of a suntan can you get through a glass window? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. The company <u>made a request</u> for the workers to return to their jobs immediately. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. A request was made for the workers to return to their jobs immediately. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The request the company made to the workers is their immediate return to their jobs. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What request did the company make of the workers? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 3. Jim used to bite his nails, but he finally <u>kicked the habit</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Jim used to bite his nails, but the habit was finally kicked. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>b. The habit that Jim finally kicked is biting his nails.</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Which habit did Jim finally kick? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|
 | | | | |
| 4. Please <u>pay a visit</u> to our house whenever you are in town. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. I insist that a visit must be paid to our house when you're in town. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. We always welcome the visit that you pay to our house whenever you're in town | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How many visits have you paid to our house so far? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|
 | | | | |
| 5. Jim was early for his appointment, so he <u>killed time</u> at a bookstore. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Time was killed at a bookstore before Jim went to his appointment. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Jim went to his appointment after the time that he killed at a bookstore. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How much time did Jim kill at a bookstore before he went to his appointment? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|
 | | | | |
| 6. Mr. President will <u>deliver a speech</u> at CUNY next month. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. A speech will be delivered by Mr. President at CUNY next month. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. I'd like to attend the speech that Mr. President will deliver at CUNY. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How many speeches will Mr. President deliver next month? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. The two parties finally <u>reached an agreement</u> and signed a contract. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. An agreement has finally been reached by the two parties. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The two parties signed a contract after the agreement that they reached. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What kind of agreement have they reached? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. The owner of the restaurant <u>cast blame</u> on the chef for the failure of his business. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Blame was cast on the chef for the failure of the restaurant. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The chef protested against the blame that the owner of the restaurant cast on him. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How much blame did the owner of the restaurant cast on the chef? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. The judge finally <u>passed sentence</u> on Jim – 3 years in prison. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Finally sentence was passed on Jim – 3 years in prison. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The sentence that the judge passed on him is 3 years in prison. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What sentence did the judge pass on Jim? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. The audience <u>gave a big hand</u> to the president after his speech. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. The president was given a big hand by the audience after his speech. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The president was pleased with the big hand that the audience gave him after his speech. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How big a hand did the audience give to the president after his speech? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 5. The convicted man sincerely <u>offered an apology</u> for his crimes. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. An apology was sincerely offered by the convicted man. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The apology that the convicted man offered was sincere. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How sincere an apology did the man offer for his crimes? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. At a conference participants can <u>rub shoulders</u> with many leading figures in the field. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. At a conference shoulders can be rubbed with many leading figures in the field. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Naïve participants are only interested in the shoulders that they rub with famous people at a conference. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How many shoulders did you rub with famous people at the conference? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Somebody <u>played a trick</u> on me by hiding my shoes. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. My shoes are missing. I think I've been played a trick on. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. I had to walk home barefoot because of the trick that someone played on me. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What kind of trick are you trying to play on me? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. When her ex-boyfriend came to see her, Sue repeatedly asked him to <u>take a hike</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. After Sue's repeated requests, a hike was finally taken by her ex-boyfriend. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The hike that Sue's ex-boyfriend took was against his will. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What kind of hike did her ex-boyfriend take after Sue spoke to him? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 9. If you have a problem, go to Sue. She'll always <u>lend a sympathetic ear</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. A sympathetic ear will always be lent by Sue to her friends. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. You can count on the sympathetic ear that Sue will lend. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How sympathetic an ear does Sue lend to her friends? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|
 | | | | |
| 10. Sue <u>caught a glimpse</u> of herself on a big screen in Times Square. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. A glimpse of Sue was caught on a big screen in Times Square. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Sue was embarrassed about the glimpse of herself that she caught on a big screen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How many glimpses of herself did Sue catch on the screen? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|
 | | | | |
| 11. The band's controversial new piece <u>raised some eyebrows</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Some eyebrows were raised among the audience about the band's new piece. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. I read an article about some eyebrows that the band raised during their concert. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How many eyebrows did the band's new piece raise at the concert? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|
 | | | | |
| 12. Sue was <u>climbing the wall</u> after only a few days at her new job. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. After only a few days at her new job, the wall was already being climbed by Sue. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. I heard about the wall that Sue was climbing only a few days at her new job. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What wall was Sue climbing after only a few days at her new job? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 13. Sue was very grateful when her teacher <u>paid a compliment</u> to her. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. A compliment was paid to Sue by her teacher. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Sue was very grateful for the compliment that her teacher paid to her. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How big a compliment did the teacher pay to Sue? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | | |
| 14. Jim <u>has a big mouth</u> , so his friends don't like to tell him any secrets. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Because of the big mouth Jim has, his friends don't want to share any secrets with him. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. How big a mouth does Jim have, which makes his friends not tell any secrets to him? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | | |
| 15. The angry customer was asked to <u>keep a civil tongue</u> when talking with the sales clerk. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. The sales clerk did her best, but a civil tongue was not kept by the angry customer. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The angry customer was made aware of the civil tongue that he should have kept. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What kind of tongue was the angry customer asked to keep by the manager? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | | |
| 16. Jim <u>delivered a talk</u> at a local conference last week. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. A talk was delivered by Jim at a local conference last week. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The talk that Jim delivered at a conference was last week. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How successful a talk did Jim deliver at the conference? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. | | | | |

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|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 17. Most of the arguments put forward by our opponents simply don't <u>hold water</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. It's unlikely that water can be held by the arguments by our opponents. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. We were surprised at the little water that our opponents' arguments held. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How much water is likely to be held by the arguments put forward by them? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|
 | | | | |
| 18. My parents have found out about my plan to quit my job, because Jim <u>spilled the beans</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Because the beans were spilled by Jim, my parents have found out about my plan to quit my job. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Due to the beans that Jim spilled, my parents have found about my plan to quit my job. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Jim, you said you wouldn't tell my parents! What other beans did you spill? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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 | | | | |
| 19. The company tried very hard to <u>reach a compromise</u> with the workers for several weeks. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. It took several weeks until a compromise was finally reached between them. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Following the compromise that they reached, the workers have returned to their work. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What kind of compromise have they reached? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|
 | | | | |
| 20. Sue <u>pulled strings</u> for me, and I got the concert tickets free. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Strings were pulled, and I got the concert tickets free. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Thanks to the strings that Sue pulled, I got the concert tickets free. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What strings did Sue pull in order to get you free concert tickets? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 21. The plan failed after many of the sponsors <u>got cold feet</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Suddenly cold feet were gotten by many of our sponsors, and the plan got canceled. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The plan failed because of the cold feet that many of the sponsors got. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How much cold feet did the sponsors need to get to make the plan fail? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|
 | | | | |
| 22. The police <u>cast doubt</u> on the man's story. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Serious doubt was cast on the man's story. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. What's the doubt that the police cast on his story? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How much doubt did the police cast on the man's story? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|
 | | | | |
| 23. Jim really <u>made a bundle</u> on that deal. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. A bundle was made after Jim took that deal. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The bundle that Jim made on that deal was big. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How big a bundle did Jim make on that deal? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 24. Jim kept <u>pounding the pavement</u> until he finally landed a job at a local restaurant. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. The pavement kept being pounded until Jim finally landed a job at a local restaurant. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Thanks to the pavement that Jim kept pounding for years, he finally got a job. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What kind of pavement did Jim keep pounding until he finally landed a job? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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| 25. We shouldn't <u>pass judgment</u> on other people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. A hasty judgment shouldn't be passed on other people. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. We have to be careful about the judgment that we pass on other people. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What kind of judgment do people pass on others? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 26. Sue <u>broke the bank</u> buying a new car. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. After Sue bought a new car, the bank was broken. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Sue's not happy about the bank that she broke after buying a new car. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Which bank did Sue break in order to get a new car? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 27. We <u>gave</u> the new employee <u>the axe</u> because he was always late for work. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. The new employee was given the axe because he was always late for work. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The man complained about the axe that his employers gave him. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How many axes has the man been given so far through all his previous jobs? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 28. Jim refuses even to <u>offer an explanation</u> for why he won't answer the question. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Jim doesn't accept that an explanation should be offered for why he won't answer the question. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The explanations that Jim offers for why he won't answer the question are never clear. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What kind of explanation does Jim offer for why he won't answer the question? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

29. Jim was content to take a back seat and let the rest of his family deal with the crisis. **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. A back seat was taken by Jim while the rest of his family was dealing with the crisis.
- b. The family was not happy about the back seat that Jim took during the crisis.
- c. Which seat did Jim take while letting the rest of his family deal with the crisis?
30. The man seems to have lost his marbles and doesn't make sense at all. **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. The man doesn't make sense at all, and it seems that his marbles may have been lost.
- b. The marbles that the man has lost may explain why he doesn't make sense at all.
- c. He doesn't make any sense! How many of his marbles has that guy lost?
31. The children played a joke on their teachers on April Fools' day. **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. It didn't take long for the teacher to discover that a joke was played on him.
- b. The joke that the students played on the teacher made him upset.
- c. What joke did the children play on their teacher?
32. Sue and Jim sat out on the porch until late, just shooting the breeze. **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. Sue and Jim sat out on the porch until late and the breeze was being shot.
- b. Sue and Jim just enjoyed the breeze that they were shooting out on the porch.
- c. What breeze were Sue and Jim shooting out on the porch?

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| 33. Just as I was getting accustomed to my new job, the manager <u>raised the bar</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. The bar has been raised at work, so I have to perform even better. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The bar that the manager raised is now so high that I must work harder. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. You're complaining about your workload. How high a bar has your boss raised? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 34. Some people <u>caught sight</u> of the robber on the street as he ran out of the bank. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. As the robber ran out of the bank, sight was caught of him by some people on the street. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The robber got arrested because of the sight that some people caught of him on the street. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How close a sight of the robber did people catch? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 35. My unscrupulous landlord is now <u>serving hard time</u> for multiple charges on illegal activities. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. I knew that hard time would be served by my unscrupulous landlord. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The hard time that my landlord is serving now proves that there is justice. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How much hard time is the landlord is serving for his illegal activities? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 36. President Obama <u>gave a speech</u> at the City University of New York. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Speech was given by President Obama at the City University of New York. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Did you hear the speech that President Obama gave at the City University of New York? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How inspiring a speech did President Obama give at the City University of New York? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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| 37. The food was great and everyone at the party seemed to <u>have a blast</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. It seemed that a blast was had by everyone at the party. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The guests talked about the blast that they had at the party. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How big a blast did everyone at the party have? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 38. The couple <u>took a walk</u> in the garden for 2 hours. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. A walk was taken by the couple in the garden for 2 hours. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The walk that the couple took in the garden lasted for 2 hours. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How long a walk did the couple take in the garden? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 39. Those who arrived late, still hoping for free movie tickets, discovered they had <u>missed the boat</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Those who arrived late, still hoping for free movie tickets, discovered the boat had been missed. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Those who arrived early got on the boat that many people missed, and won free movie tickets. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How many boats did people miss as they were trying to win free movie tickets? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 40. The teachers' union <u>raised objections</u> to potential school cuts. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Objections to potential school cuts were raised by the teachers' union. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. What are the objections that the teachers' union raised to school cuts? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What objections did the teachers' union raise to the plan? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

41. It was hard for Sue to keep her cool when she learned that she had failed the exam. **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. After the bad news that Sue received, her cool was hardly kept.
- b. The cool that Sue managed to keep after the bad news was minimal.
- c. How much of her cool did Sue manage to keep after the news?
42. Did you have a look at the new pictures that I posted on Facebook? **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. The look you had at the pictures that I posted on Facebook was too brief.
- b. How close a look did you have at the pictures that I posted on Facebook?
43. The judge threw the book at the man after he was convicted of robbing a bank. **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. The book was thrown at the man who was convicted of robbing a bank.
- b. The convicted man was not happy about the book that the judge threw at him.
- c. Which book did the judge throw at the man who was convicted of bank robbery?
44. Jim gave a presentation in class, and everyone enjoyed it. **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. A presentation was given by Jim in class.
- b. The class enjoyed the presentation that Jim gave.
- c. What presentation did Jim give in class?

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| 45. Sue was <u>holding the fort</u> while her boss was on vacation. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. The fort was being held by Sue while her boss was on vacation. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Sue couldn't join us because of the fort that she was holding while her boss was away. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Which fort was Sue holding when her boss was out of town? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 46. On a beautiful day like this, many people <u>take a hike</u> in the park. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. On a beautiful day like this, a hike is taken by many people in the park. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The hike that you take in the park on a beautiful day like this will make you feel refreshed. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How long a hike did you take in the park? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 47. Since the collapse of the global economy, many businesses have started to <u>feel the pinch</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. The pinch has been felt by many businesses since the collapse of the global economy. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The pinch that many businesses are feeling started after the collapse of the global economy. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How sharp a pinch are many businesses feeling? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 48. They <u>raised suspicions</u> over the transparency of the investigation. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Suspicions were raised over the transparency of the investigation. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. There were suspicions that the investigation may not have been transparent. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What suspicions did they raise against the investigation? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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| 49. When Jim got hysterical, Sue told him to <u>get a grip</u> on himself and calm down. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Jim started calm down after a grip on himself was gotten. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Jim started to calm down after the grip that he got on himself. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What kind of grip did Sue tell Jim to get on himself when he was acting hysterically? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | | |
| 50. Jim's never good at <u>keeping track</u> of what he spends his money on. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Constant track has never been kept of what Jim spends his money on. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The track that Jim keeps of what he spends his money on is never consistent. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How much track does Jim keep of what he spends his money on? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | | |
| 51. The man who used to clean the building suddenly <u>kicked the bucket</u> yesterday. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. The bucket was suddenly kicked yesterday by the man who used to clean the building. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. I heard about the bucket that the man who used to clean the building suddenly kicked yesterday. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Do you know how many buckets people kicked in this building this month alone? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | | |
| 52. Sue always tries to fit the norm and not <u>make waves</u> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Sue always tries to fit the norm and hardly wants any waves to be made. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. You hardly notice the few waves that Sue ever makes. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How many waves is Sue likely to make? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

53. The presidential candidates will hold a debate next month, which will be aired on TV live. **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. A debate will be held among the presidential candidates next week.
- b. The debate that the presidential candidates hold next week will be aired on TV live.
- c. How long a debate will the presidential candidates hold next week?
54. Her name rings a bell, but I can't remember her face. **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. A bell is rung by her name, but I can't remember her face.
- b. Despite the bell that her name rings, I can't remember her face.
- c. How many bells does her name need to ring before you'll remember her face?
55. Jim, who's usually in school at this time of day, must be playing hooky. **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. Since no one saw Jim at school today, hooky must have been played by Jim.
- b. The hooky that Jim is playing from school today is unexpected.
- c. How much hooky does Jim usually play from school?
56. Do people get a sense of responsibility with age? **1** **2** **3** **4**
- a. Some people never manage to acquire the sense of responsibility that most people get with age.
- b. How much of a sense of responsibility do you think you get with age?

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| 57. Please <u>make suggestions</u> for improving our website. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Suggestions can be made on our website. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Suggestions that you make on our website are appreciated. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How many suggestions have you made so far? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 58. Why don't you <u>have a try</u> at yoga? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Aren't you proud of the try that you've had at yoga? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. How many tries did you have at yoga before? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 59. The FBI <u>kept a close watch</u> on terror suspects. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. A close watch on terror suspects was kept by the FBI. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Terror suspects are aware of the close watch that the FBI kept on them. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. How close a watch did the FBI keep on terror suspects? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 60. Jim can't <u>hold a conversation</u> without getting nervous. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. A conversation can't be held by Jim without getting nervous. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. When you listen to the conversation that Jim holds with people, you know that he's nervous. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. What kind of conversation can Jim hold without getting nervous? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

24. Sue was holding the fort while her boss was on vacation.

25. Sue always tries to fit the norm and not make waves.

26. The food was great and everyone at the party seemed to have a blast.

27. Jim was content to take a back seat and let the rest of his family deal with the crisis.

28. It was hard for Sue to keep her cool when she learned that she had failed the exam.

29. The audience gave a big hand to the president after his speech.

30. Just as I was getting accustomed to my new job, the manager raised the bar.

31. When Jim got hysterical, Sue told him to get a grip on himself and calm down.

32. Most of the arguments put forward by our opponents simply don't hold water.

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