

Bare Stem V-V Compounding in Korean, with Reference to Japanese

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MYSTERIES OF VERB-VERB COMPLEXES IN ASIAN LANGUAGES
日本語およびアジア諸言語における複合動詞・複雑動詞の謎

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Outline of the talk

1. Japanese-based classification (position paper)
2. Fitting in Korean
3. Korean: Serial verbs or VV compounds?
4. Korean bare stem compounds
5. Conclusions

1. Japanese VV sequence types

(Kageyama 1993, position paper for this meeting)

TYPE 1: Lexical thematic compound verbs LTCVs

suberi-otiru 滑り落ちる slip-fall ‘slip off, slide down’

TYPE 2: Lexical aspectual compound verbs LATVs

ami-ageru 編み上げる knit-accomplish ‘finish knitting’

TYPE 3: Syntactic compound verbs SCdVs

tukai-tukusu 使い尽くす use-exhaust ‘use up’

TYPE 4: Syntactic complex verbs SCxVs

tabe-te miru 食べてみる eat-GER see ‘try and eat’

Preliminaries

Meaning: We'll begin, as other scholars have (e.g. Uchiyama 1997, Tsukamoto 2012) simply by comparing V-V sequences that are translational equivalents.

Form: We'll initially compare Japanese V_1 -*i* (infinitive) V_2 sequences with Korean V_1 -*a/e* (infinitive) V_2 sequences.

Sources: I'll make heavy use of the draft Korean entries prepared by Hyun-kyung Hwang for the [Compound Verb Lexicon](#) (Kageyama et al. 2013). Thanks to Dr. Hwang for her judgments and guidance.

1.1 TYPE 1: Lexical thematic compound verbs

(1) Kare wa syamen o **suberi-oti-ta.**

he TOP slope ACC slip-fall-PST

‘He slipped down the slope.’

彼は斜面を滑り落ちた。

(2) Kanozyo wa omoi tobira o **osi-ake-ta.**

she TOP heavy door ACC push-open_{tr}-PST

‘She pushed open the heavy door.’

彼女は重い扉を押し開けた。

(3) Kare wa amari no kanasimi ni **naki-saken-da.**

he TOP excess GEN sadness in cry-scream-PST

‘He howled in an excess of sadness.’

彼はあまりの悲しみに泣き叫んだ。

Properties of TYPE 1: Lexical thematic compound Vs

Both verbs retain their basic meaning as independent lexical verbs. Thus (1) entails both that the subject slipped and that he fell. Subcategorization frames may be shared.

- (4) a. Kare wa syamen o **suberi-oti-ta.**
he TOP slope ACC slip-fall-PST
'He slipped down the slope.'
- b. Kare wa syamen o **subetta.**
he TOP slope ACC slip-PST
'He slipped (down) the slope.'
- c. Kare wa syamen o **oti-ta.**
he TOP slope ACC slip-PST
'He slipped (down) the slope.'

1.2 TYPE 2: Lexical aspectual compound verbs

(5) Kare wa ronbun o **kaki-agera**.
he TOP article ACC write-raise-PST

‘He finished writing the article.’

彼は論文を書き上げた。

(6) Tomodati ga kare ni **naguri-kakatta**.
friend NOM he DAT slug-head.toward-PST

‘My friend fell upon him with his fists.’

友達が彼に殴り掛かった。

Properties of TYPE 2: Lexical aspectual compound Vs

V_1 retains its lexical meaning, but V_2 does not retain its meaning as an independent lexical verb. Instead, it contributes an aspectual meaning, often specifying the aktionsart interpretation of V_1 .

- (7) a. Kare wa robun o **kaki-age-ta.**
He TOP article ACC write-finish-PST
'He finished writing the article.'
- b. Kare wa ronbun o **kai-ta.**
He TOP article ACC write-PST
'He endured the abuse.'
- c. Kare wa ronbun o **age-ta.**
He TOP article ACC raise-PST
'He brought up the article.'

1.3 TYPE 3: Syntactic compound verbs

(8) Kanozyo wa syoosetu o **kaki-dasi-ta**. (Aspectual)
she TOP novel ACC write-start-PST
'She started writing novels.'
彼女は小説を書き出した。

(9) Kare wa zi o **kaki-naosi-ta**. (Thematic)
He TOP letter ACC write-fix-PST
'He rewrote the character.'
彼は字を書き直した。

Properties of TYPE 3: Syntactic compound Vs

V_1 can undergo syntactic processes such as subject honorification and V-pronominalization. Kageyama divides syntactic compound verbs into thematic and aspectual subtypes.

(10) Sensei wa ronbun o **o-kaki-ninari-dasi-ta**.
prof TOP article ACC HON-write-HON-start-PST
'The teacher started writing the article.'
先生は論文をお書きになりだした。

(11) Goroo mo **soo si-dasi-ta**.
Goro also thus do-start-PST
'Goro started to too.'

1.3 TYPE 4: Syntactic complex verbs

(12) Kanozyo wa kimuti o **tabe-te mi-ta.**
she TOP kimchi ACC ear-GER see-PST
'She tried eating kimchi.'
彼女はキムチを食べてみた。

(13) Kare wa eki ni **arui-te it-ta.**
He TOP station to walk-GER go-PST
'He walked to the station.'
彼は駅に歩いて行った。

Properties of TYPE 4: Syntactic complex Vs

V_1 -*te* (GERUND) and V_2 are separable phonological words.
Kageyama divides syntactic complex verbs into broadly aspectual and manner of motion subtypes.

- (14) Kare wa okusan o **home-te** wa **mi-ta**.
he TOP wife ACC praise-GER TOP see-PST
'He tried praising his wife.'
彼は奥さんを褒めてはみた。

2. Fitting in Korean

- Korean has counterparts for both types of Japanese lexical V-V compounds using the infinitive suffix *-a/e* -아/어.
- Korean uses a variety of morphological strategies for counterparts of Japanese syntactic V-V compounds.

2.1 Korean counterparts of TYPE 1 LTCVs

(15) Ku nun samyen ul **mikkuleci-e tteleci-ess-ta**.
he TOP slope ACC slip-INF fall-PST-DEC

‘He slipped down the slope.’

그는 사면을 미끄러져 떨어졌다.

(16) Yeca nun mukewun mun ul mil-ese **yel-ess-ta**.
woman TOP heavy door ACC push-and open_{tr}-PST-DEC

‘The woman pushed and opened the heavy door.’

여자는 무거운 문을밀어서 열었다.

(17) Ku nun nemuna khun sulphum ey **wulpucic-ess-ta**.
he TOP excess big sadness in howl-PST-DEC

‘He howled in an excess of great sadness.’

그는 너무나 큰 슬픔에 울부짖었다.

2.1 Korean counterparts of TYPE 1 LTCVs: Ostensible matches using infinitive –a/e

- (18) a. Ku nun samyen ul **mikkuleci-e tteleci-ess-ta.**
he TOP slope ACC slip-INF fall-PST-DEC
'He slipped down the slope.'
그는 사면을 미끄러져 떨어졌다.
- b. Ku nun samyen ey(se)/??~✓ ul **mikkuleci-ess-ta.**
he TOP slope LOC ACC slip-PST-DEC
'He slipped down the slope.'
그는 사면을 미끄러졌다.
- c. Ku nun samyen ul **tteleci-ess-ta.**
he TOP slope ACC fall-PST-DEC
'He fell down the slope.'
그는 사면을 떨어졌다.

2.1 Korean counterparts of TYPE 1 LTCVs: Ostensible matches using infinitive –a/e

- (19) Nwunmul i nwun eyse **hulli-e** **nayli-ess-ta.**
tear NOM eye from flow-INF descend-PST-DEC
'Tears streamed down from his eyes.'
눈물이 눈에서 흘러내렸다.
- (20) Cangin un silku sil ul suweythe ey **yekk-e neh-ess-ta.**
artisan TOP silk thread ACC sweater in knit-INF put.in-PST-DEC
'The artisan wove silk thread into the sweater.'
장인은 실크실을 스웨터에 엮어 넣었다.
- (21) Ku nun phali lul cip pakk ulo **ccoch-a nay-ss-ta.**
he TOP fly ACC house out to chase-INF put.out-PST-DEC
'He chased the fly out of the house.'
그는 파리를 집밖으로 쫓아냈다.

2.1 Japanese TYPE 1 LTCVs with no Korean Korean counterpart in infinitive –a/e

(2) Japanese

Kanozyo wa omoi tobira o **osi-ake-ta**.
she TOP heavy door ACC push-open_{tr}-PST
'She pushed open the heavy door.'
彼女は重い扉を押し開けた。

(22) Korean

*Yeca nun mukewun mun ul **mil-e yel-ess-ta**.
woman TOP heavy door ACC push-INF open_{tr}-PST-DEC
'The woman pushed and opened the heavy door.'
*여자는 무거운 문을밀어열었다.

2.1 Japanese LTCVs and Korean counterparts: The Korean pattern is OK with V₂ path verbs.

(23) Japanese

Butaigakari ga butai o **seri-age-ta**.
stagehand NOMP stage ACC push-raise-PST
'The stagehand(s) pushed up the stage.'
舞台係が舞台を迫り上げた。

(24) Korean

Mutay tamtang i mutay ul **mil-e olli-ess-ta**.
stage hand NOM stage ACC push raise-PST
'The stagehand(s) pushed up the stage.'
무대 담당이 무대를 밀어 올렸다.

2.1 Japanese TYPE 1 LTCVs with no Korean counterpart in infinitive *-a/e*

(25) Yeca nun mukewun mun ul mil-ese **yel-ess-ta**.
woman TOP heavy door ACC push-CONJ open_{tr}-PST-DEC
'The woman pushed and opened the heavy door.'
여자는 무거운 문을 밀어서 열었다.

(26) Yeca nun mukewun mun ul **yel-e** **cechi-ess-ta**.
woman TOP heavy door ACC open-INF reverse-PST-DEC
'The woman pushed and opened the heavy door.'
여자는 무거운 문을 열어젖혔다.

2.1 Japanese TYPE 1 LTCVs with no Korean counterpart in infinitive -a/e

(27) Japanese

Watakusi wa sora o **aogi-mi-ta.**

I TOP sky ACC look.up-see

‘I looked up at the sky.’

私は空を仰ぎ見た。

(28) Korean

Na nun hanul ul olli-e*(-ta) **po-ass-ta.**

I TOP sky ACC raise-INF-TRANS look-PST-DEC

‘I looked up at the sky.’

나는 하늘을 올려다보았다.

(The Korean bare infinitive is OK if = “try to raise”.)

2.1 Japanese TYPE 1 LTCVs with no Korean counterpart in infinitive *-a/e*

(29) Japanese

Kanozyo wa kare no hitai ni te o **sasi-tuke-ta**.

she TOP he GEN forehead on hand ACC thrust-attach-PST

‘She put her hand on his forehead.’

彼女は彼の額に手を差し付けた。

(30) Korean

Kunye nun ku uy ima ey son ul kac-^{*}e/-ta **tay-ss-ta**.

she TOP he GEN forehead on hand ACC hold-INF/-TRANS put.on-PST-DEC

‘She put her hand on his forehead.’

그녀는 그의 이마에 손을 갖다 뒀다.

2.1 Japanese TYPE 1 LTCVs with no Korean Korean counterpart in infinitive -a/e

(31) Yeca nun mukewun mun ul mil-ese **yel-ess-ta**.
woman TOP heavy door ACC push-CONJ open_{tr}-PST-DEC
'The woman pushed and opened the heavy door.'
여자는 무거운 문을밀어서 열었다.

(32) Yeca nun mukewun mun ul **yel-e** **cechi-ess-ta**.
woman TOP heavy door ACC open-INF reverse-PST-DEC
'The woman pushed and opened the heavy door.'
여자는 무거운 문을 열어젖혔다.

2.2 Korean counterparts of TYPE 2 LACVs: Ostensible matches using infinitive –a/e

As pointed out by Tsukamoto (2012), K counterparts of J Type 2 LACVs using infinitive –a/e are fewer, but they exist.

(33) Japanese

Kare wa yogoreta kuruma o kirei ni **arai-age-ta**.
he TOP dirty car ACC clean COP wash-raise-PST
'He finished washing the car clean.'

彼は汚れた車をきれいに洗い上げた。

(34) Korean

Ku nun telewecin cha ul kkaykkusha-key **ssis-e nay-ess-ta**.
he TOP dirty car ACC clean-ly wash-INF put.out-PST-DEC
'He finished washing the dirty car.'

그는 더러워진 차를 깨끗하게 씻어 내었다.

2.2 Korean counterparts of TYPE 2 LACVs: Ostensible matches using infinitive *-a/e*

- (35) Ku ticain un **hunhay-(e) ppaci-ess-ta.**
that design TOP common-INF overflow-PST-DEC
'That design is excessively common.'
그 디자인은 흔해빠졌다.

- (36) a. Kay ka **sal-a na-ss-ta.**
dog NOM live-INF come.out-PST-DEC
'The dog came back to life.'
개가 살아났다.
- b. Nankwan ul **kyenti-e nay-ela.**
obstacle ACC endure-INF put.out-IMP
'Get past this difficulty.'
난관을 견뎌만 내어라.

2.2 Korean counterparts of TYPE 2 LACVs: Ostensible matches using infinitive *-a/e*

- (37) Ku nun puha lul **puli-e** **mek-ess-ta**.
he NOM subordinate ACC make.work-INF eat-PST-DEC
'He worked his subordinate hard.'
그는 부하를 부러먹었다.

As in Japanese, V_2 can alternate between aspectual and thematic. Compare (34) with (38):

- (38) Ku-tul un mul ul swuco ey **kil-(e)** **neh-ess-ta**.
they-PL TOP water ACC tank in draw-INF put.in-PST-DEC
'They put water into the tank.'
그들은 물을 수조에 길어 넣었다.

2.2 Japanese TYPE 2 LACVs with no Korean counterpart in infinitive *-a/e*

(39) Japanese

Watakusi wa daigaku 6 nenkan o **asobi-kurasi-ta**.

I TOP college 6 years ACC play-spend-PST

‘I spent 6 years of college playing around.’

私は大学6年間を遊び暮らした。

(40) Korean

Na nun tayhak 6 nyenkan ul nol-mye **cinay-ess-ta**.

I TOP college 6 years ACC play-CONJ spend-PST-DEC

‘I spent 6 years of college playing around.’

나는 대학 6년간을 놀며 지냈다.

2.2 Japanese TYPE 2 LACVs with no Korean counterpart in infinitive -a/e

(41) Japanese

Watakusi wa heya no soozi o **si-nokosi-ta**.

I TOP room GEN cleaning ACC do-leave-PST

‘I left some cleaning of the room undone.’

私は部屋の掃除をし残した。

(42) Korean

Na nun pang chengso lul **ha-ta ka namki-ess-ta**.

I TOP room cleaning ACC do-CONS PRT leave-PST-DEC

‘I cleaned the room and left it.’

나는 방 청소를 하다가 남겼다.

2.3 Korean counterparts of TYPE 3 SCdVs: Ostensible matches using infinitive *-a/e*

(43) Japanese

Kanozyo wa zikan ga **ari-amat-teir-u**.

she TOP time NOM exist-exceed-PERF-PST

‘She has too much time on her hands.’

彼女は時間があり余っている。

(44) Korean

Yeca nun sikan i **nem-e to-n-ta**.

woman TOP time NOM exceed-INF go.round-PST-DEC

‘She has too much time on her hands.’

여자는 시간이 남아 돈다.

2.3 Most Korean counterparts of TYPE 3 SCdVs use other complementation strategies

(45) Japanese

Kare wa **naki-hazime-ta.**

he TOP cry-begin-PST

‘He began to cry.’

彼は泣き始めた。

(46) Korean

Ku nun wul-**e*/*-ki* sicakhay-ss-ta.

he TOP cry-INF/-SUM begin-PST-DEC

‘He began crying.’

그는 울기 시작했다.

2.4 Korean counterparts of TYPE 4 SCxVs: Ostensible matches using infinitive *-a/e*

(47) Japanese

Kanozyo wa kimuti o **tabe-te mi-ta.**

she TOP kimchi ACC eat-GER see-PST

‘She tried eating kimchi.’

彼女はキムチを食べてみた。

(48) Korean

Kunye nun kimchi lul **mek-e po-ass-ta.**

she TOP kimchi ACC eat-INF see-PST-DEC

‘She tried eating kimchi.’

그녀는 김치를 먹어 보았다.

2.4 Korean counterparts of TYPE 4 SCxVs: Ostensible matches using infinitive *-a/e*

(49) Japanese

Karera wa kuni ni **kae-tte** **it-ta**.
they TOP country to return-GER go-PST
'They went back to their country.'
彼らは国に帰って行った。

(50) Korean

Kutul un nara ey **tol-a** **ka-ss-ta**.
they TOP country to return-INF go-PST
'They went back to their country.'
그들은 나라에 돌아갔다.

3. Korean: Serial verbs or VV compounds?

3.1 Korean: Serial verbs or VV compounds?

Korean *V-e/a V* sequences corresponding semantically to Japanese lexical VV compounds (Types 1 and 2) pass the tests for lexical compounds (Tsukamoto 2013).

3.1 Korean “thematic” V-e/a V sequences disallow honorification of V₁

(51) Sensayngnim i **mikkuleci-e tteleci-si-ess-ta.**

prof NOM slip-INF fall-HON-PST-DEC

‘The teacher slipped down the slope.’

선생님이 미끄러져 떨어지셨다.

(52) Sensayngnim i **mikkuleci*-si-e tteleci-si-ess-ta.**

prof NOM slip-HON-INF fall-HON-PST-DEC

‘The teacher slipped down the slope.’

*선생님이 미끄러지셔 떨어지셨다.

(53) Sensayngnim i **mikkuleci*-si-e tteleci-ess-ta.**

prof NOM slip-HON-INF fall-PST-DEC

‘The teacher slipped down the slope.’

*선생님이 미끄러지셔 떨어졌다.

3.2 Korean “aspectual” V-e/a V sequences also disallow honorification of V₁ (Kuno & Kim 2004)

(54) Sensayngnim i cha ul **ssis-e** **nay-si-ess-ta**.
prof NOM car ACC wash-INF put.out-HON-PST-DEC
‘The teacher finished washing the car.’

선생님이 차를 씻어 내셨다.

(55) Sensayngnim i cha ul **ssis*-usi-e** **nay-si-ess-ta**.
prof NOM car ACC wash-HON-INF put.out-HON-PST-DEC
‘The teacher finished washing the car.’

*선생님이 차를 씻으셔 내셨다.

(56) Sensayngnim i cha ul **ssis*-usi-e** **nay-ss-ta**.
prof NOM car ACC wash-HON-INF put.out-PST-DEC
‘The teacher finished washing the car.’

*선생님이 차를 씻으셔 냐다.

3.3 In fact, the *V-e/a V* sequences corresponding to J Types 3 and 4 also disallow honorification.

(57) Sensayngnim i nara ey **tol-a** **ka-si-ess-ta**.
prof NOM country to return-INF go-HON-PST
'The teacher went back to her country.'
선생님이 나라에 돌아가셨다.

(58) Sensayngnim i nara ey **tol*-usi-e** **ka-si-ess-ta**.
prof NOM country to return-HON-INF go-HON-PST
'The teacher went back to her country.'
선생님이 나라에 돌으셔서 가셨다.

(59) Sensayngnim i nara ey **tol*-usi-e** **ka-ss-ta**.
prof NOM country to return-HON-INF go-HON-PST
'The teacher went back to her country.'
선생님이 나라에 돌으셔서 갔다.

3.4 Korean: Serial verbs or VV compounds?

A long tradition in Korean generative linguistics analyzes *V-e/a V* sequences of the sort we have discussed so far as serial verb constructions (SVCs) (Lee 1992, Yi 1997, Zubizarreta & Oh (2007)).

3.4 A major argument for the SVC analysis is the fact that *V-a/e V* sequences can be split up by delimiter particles (Yi 1997, Zubizarreta & Oh 2007)

(60) Kun nun **mikkuleci-e** **to** **tteleci-ess-ta**.
he TOP slip-INF too fall-HON-PST-DEC
'He even slipped and fell.'
그는 미끄러져도 떨어지셨다.

(61) Ku nun cha ul **ssis-e** **to** **nay-ss-ta**.
he TOP car ACC wash-INF too put.out-PST-DEC
'He teacher finished even washing the car.'
그는 차를 씻어도 냐다.

3.4 V-a/e V sequences split up by delimiter particles in context

(62) Pyelang eyse **mikkuleci-e** **to** **tteleci-ko**,
cliff on slip-INF too fall-GER

‘He even slipped and fell.’

kwull-e **to** **tteleci-ess-ta**.

tumble-INF even fall-GER

‘He even slipped and fell.’

벼랑에서 미끄러져도 떨어지고, 굴러도 떨어졌다.

(63) Nankwan ul **kyenti-e** **man** **nay-ela**.
obstacle ACC endure-INF only put.out-IMP

‘Just get past the difficulty.’

난관을 견뎌만 내어라.

3.4 Honorifics are still bad in V_1 even when split

(64) Pyelang eyse **mikkuleci*-sye to** **tteleci-ko**,
cliff on slip-INF too fall-GER

‘He even slipped and fell.’

kwulu*-sye to **tteleci-ess-ta**.

tumble-INF even fall-GER

‘He even slipped and fell.’

벼랑에서 미끄러져도 떨어지고, 굴러도 떨어졌다.

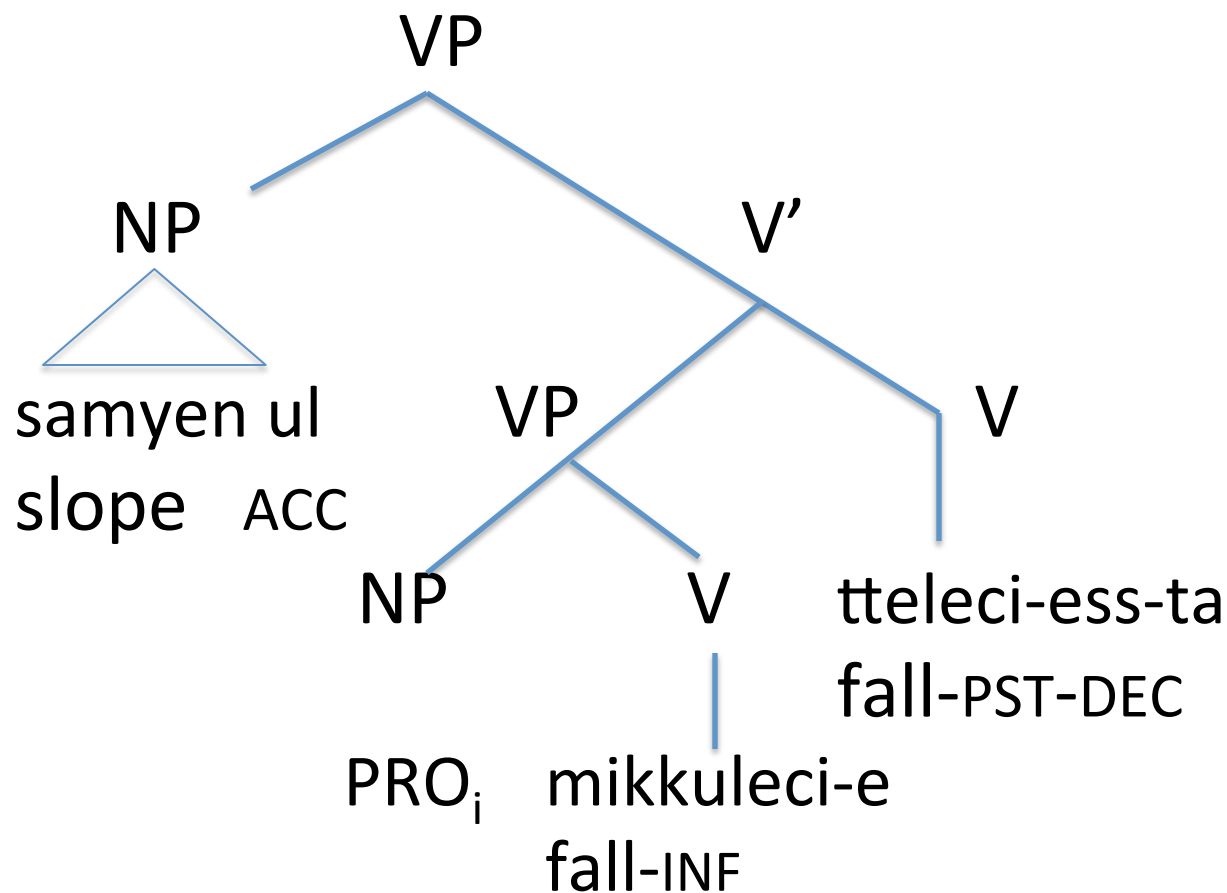
(65) Nankwan ul **kyenti*-sye -e** **man** **nay-ela**.
obstacle ACC endure-INF only put.out-IMP

‘Just get past this difficulty.’

난관을 견뎌만 내어라.

3.5 Complement (argument sharing) SVC analysis (Larson 1991, Collins 1997)

(66)



3.5 Temporal iconic word orders in Korean SVCs

(67) Japanese

Kare wa otoko o **keri-tuke-ta.**

He TOP man ACC kick-attach-PST

'He set on the man kicking.'

彼は男を蹴り付けた.

(32) Korean

Yeca nun mukewun mun ul **yel-e** **cechi-ess-ta.**

woman TOP heavy door ACC open-INF reverse-PST-DEC

'The woman pushed and opened the heavy door.'

여자는 무거운 문을 열어젖혔다.

3.5 Temporal iconic word orders in Korean SVCs

(68) **Temporal Iconicity Condition**

(Muysken 1988, Li 1993)

In an SCV, as well as a verbal coordinate structure, if the events denoted by the Vs are sequential, the surface ordering of the Vs must reflect the temporal ordering of events.

4. Korean Bare stem compounds

(17) Ku nun nemuna khun sulphum ey **wulpucic-ess-ta**.
he TOP excess big sadness in howl-PST-DEC
'He howled in an excess of great sadness.'
그는 너무나 큰 슬픔에 울부짖었다.

Cf. Tsukamoto (2013). *Wulpucic-* < *wul-* 'cry' + *pulucic-* 'cry loudly' via syncope of 3rd syllable vowel (trisyllabic shortening and deletion of /l/ before /c/).

4. Korean Bare stem compounds

Martin (1997) cites about 200 examples of bare stem compounds from Modern and Late Middle Korean.

From Modern Korean:

(69) *tuwy-ic-* ‘get overturned/upset’ (vi) *tuwuy-* ‘overturn it, upset it’ (vt) + *ic-* ‘wane, get chipped’ (vi)

(70) *kul-talh-* ‘boil and decoct it, boil it down’ (vt) *kulh-* ‘boil it’ (vt) + *talh-* ‘get worn down’ (vi)

4. Korean Bare stem compounds

From Late Middle Korean (15th century):

(71) *mol**k-anc-* ‘settle clear’ (vi) *mol**k-* ‘be clear’ (vi) + *anc-* ‘sit, settle’ (vi)

(72) *swos-na-* ‘spurt out’ (vt) *swos-* ‘spew’ (vt) + *na-* ‘go out’ (vi)

4. Korean Bare stem compounds

Bare stem compounds cannot be separated.

(73) *tuwy-* **to* *ic-*
overturn- too wane
'get overturned/upset too'

(74) *kul-* **to* *talh-*
boil- too get reduced-
'get boiled too down'

4. Korean Bare stem compounds

Bare stem compounds are highly lexicalized. They represent a diachronically prior stage of true lexical verb compounding, although Martin cautions that not all the BVCs found in Modern Korean can be found in LMK.

5. Conclusions

Korean $V-a/e V$ sequences show a superficial resemblance to Japanese $V-V$ compounds, particularly the thematic and lexical classes.

But they are not compounds. They fail to pass the basic test for lexical integrity.

Korean SVCs are **less** grammaticalized than Japanese $V+V$ compounds (cf Tsukamoto 2013).

Korean has a layer of bare stem $V-V$ compound that are more grammaticalized than Japanese $V-i+V$ compounds.

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