

**Bare Stem V-V Compounding in Korean, with Reference to Japanese**  
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Martin (1997) points out the existence of an areally unusual pattern of V-V compounding in Korean, where V<sub>2</sub> is compounded with the bare stem of V<sub>1</sub>. This contrasts with V-V compounds in surrounding language groups such as Japanese, Tungusic, Mongolic, and Turkic, where V<sub>1</sub> is invariably derived by means of a converbal or infinitival suffix such as Japanese *-i*. It also contrasts with the productive V-*a/e* +V pattern in Korean, which has been analyzed both as a serial construction (Lee 1992), and a V-V compound pattern (Jung 2013). Like Japanese *-i*, infinitival *-a/e* Korean also derives VP and *v*P coordination structures.

While V<sub>1</sub>-*a/e* is always detachable by predicate clefting, even in allegedly lexical compounds, V<sub>1</sub> in bare stem compounds may never be detached from V<sub>2</sub>. Of greater comparative interest, the bare V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub> pattern shows counterexamples to widely attested constraints on transitivity matching in V-V compounds (Kageyama 1993). Martin (1997: 32-40) gives examples of transitive-intransitive compounds which derive intransitive (1) and transitive (2) meanings:

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

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

(2) contrasts with transitive-intransitive compounds in modern Japanese such as *ki-kuzereru* ‘wear-get.out.of.shape’ = ‘get worn out of shape (Nishiyama 1997), which are always intransitive.

In this paper I compare the Korean bare V-V pattern to both to the productive V-*a/e* +V pattern and V-V compounds in Old Japanese, which also allow a broader range of transitivity combinations (Frellesvig et al ).

**References**

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