

NON-NOMINATIVE SUBJECTS IN KOREAN

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1. NON-NOMINATIVE SUBJECTS.*

Non-nominative subjects, where a final *i* appears in some case other than the one which generally marks subjects, have been attested in several languages. For example, Zaenen et al. (1985) discuss 'Quirky Case' in Icelandic; when an object is assigned an idiosyncratic case like dative in an active clause like (1a), this case also appears on the advancee in a passive like (1b).

- (1) a. *Ég hjálpaði honum.* (Icelandic)
I helped him(D)
b. *Honumm var hjálpað.*
him(D) was helped

Furthermore, many languages have non-nominative subjects in psych constructions; for example, the experiencer/subject in (2) and (3) appears in the dative case.

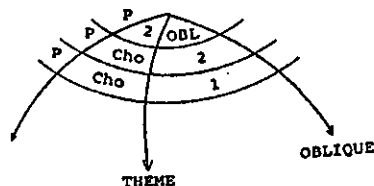
- (2) Icelandic: (Zaenen et al. 1985)
Henni hefur alltaf þótt Ólafur leiðinlegur.
her(D) has always thought Olaf(N) boring(N)
(3) Italian: (Perlmutter 1983)
Gli piacciono molte sinfonie di Mozart.
to him like many symphonies of M.
'He likes many of Mozart's symphonies.'

The central claim of this paper is that Korean also exhibits the phenomenon of non-nominative subjects. We propose that, in a sub-class of unaccusative constructions, like those in (4)-(6), the semantically oblique nominal appearing in the Dative or other oblique case is the final subject.[1],[2]

- (4) *I kongcang-ey pwul-i na-ss-ta.*[3]
this factory-DAT fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in this factory.'
(5) *Cinan ilyoil-ey nwun-i manhi nayli-ess-ta.*
last Sunday-DAT snow-NOM much fall-pst-ind
'We had lots of snow last Sunday.'
(6) *I chenceng-eyse mwul-i tteleci-n-ta.*
this ceiling-DAT water-NOM drip-pres-ind
'Water drips from this ceiling.'

We posit the Relational Grammar analysis represented in (7) for such clauses; the initial oblique in an initially unaccusative clause advances to 2 then 1, placing the theme, which is an initial 2, en chomage.

(7)



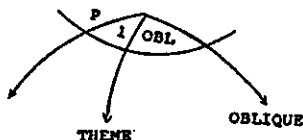
Clauses like (4)-(6) superficially resemble clauses like (8)-(10) below; however, we claim (8)-(10) are unergative clauses which do not involve the advancement of an oblique to subject; thus they have the monostratal structure represented in (11).

(8) I kongcang-eyse Chelswu-ka ilha-yess-ta.
 this factory-DAT C.-NOM work-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo worked in this factory.'

(9) Onul achim-ey Swuni-ka wul-ess-ta.
 today morning-DAT S.-NOM cry-pst-ind
 'Sooni cried this morning.'

(10) I uyca-eyse Swuni-ka ilese-ss-ta.
 this chair-DAT S.-NOM rise-pst-ind
 'Sooni rose from this chair.'

(11)



To motivate this analysis, we first provide evidence for the final 1-hood of the oblique advancee in unaccusative clauses like those in (4)-(6) and for the non-1-hood of the oblique nominal in unergative clauses like those in (8)-(10) in section 2. Second, section 3 briefly discusses the grammatical relation of the theme in the above constructions, showing that it is not a final 1 in the unaccusative clauses but that it is the final 1 in the unergative clauses. Finally, section 4 presents an analysis of Korean case which provides an appropriate array of case marking in the above constructions.

2. THE SUBJECTHOOD OF THE OBLIQUE NOMINAL.

This section presents four arguments, based on Subject Honorification, Plural Copy, Raising, and

Causatives, for the final 1-hood of the oblique advancee.

2.1 Subject Honorification.

As is often noted in research on Korean, honorable final 1s can determine the verbal honorific suffix -si. Also, as Youn (1989) notes, in cases where the head of a final 1 is inanimate, it is possible for its inalienable possessor to determine S(ubject) H(onorification), for example, in the unaccusative in (12) or the passive in (13).

- (12) Emenim-uy nwun-i khu-si-ta.
mother-GEN eye-NOM big-SH-ind
'Mother's eyes are big.'
- (13) Emenim-uy elkwul-i Yengswu-ey uyhay
mother-GEN face-NOM Y.-by
kuli-eci-si-ess-ta.
draw-pas-SH-pst-ind
'Mother's face was drawn by Youngsoo.'

The possessor of the oblique advancee in (14)-(16) can also determine SH.

- (14) Sensayngnim-uy elkwul-ey paykmwuk-i mwut-usi-ess-ta.
teacher-GEN face-DAT chalk-NOM smudge-SH-pst-ind
'The teacher's face was smudged with chalk.'
- (15) Emenim-uy meli-ey menci-ka anc-usi-ess-ta.
mother-GEN hair-DAT dust-NOM sit-SH-pst-ind
'Dust collected in Mother's hair.'
- (16) Sensayngnim-uy ip-eyse akchwi-ka
teacher-GEN mouth-DAT bad smell-NOM
na-si-n-ta.
emit-SH-pres-ind
'A bad smell comes from the teacher's mouth.'

In contrast, possessors of obliques in general cannot determine SH, for example in the unergative clauses in (17) and (18).

- (17) Sensayngnim-uy meli-ey camcali-ka
teacher-GEN head-DAT dragonfly-NOM
anc-(*usi)-ess-ta.
sit-(SH)-pst-ind
'A dragonfly sat on the teacher's head.'
- (18) Apenim-uy kwi-ey moki-ka
father-GEN ear-DAT mosquito-NOM
tuleka-(*si)-ess-ta.
go into-(SH)-pst-ind
'A mosquito went into Father's ear.'

The contrast between SH in (14)-(16) and (17)-(18) follows from our analysis since we claim that the oblique nominal in the former but not the latter is a final 1.

2.2 Plural Copy.

Plural Copy (see Youn (1989)), where the plural marking of a subject is copied onto various non-subject elements, provides a second test for final 1-hood. For example, the plural marking of final 1s in (19) and (20) may be copied onto the following nominals; however, in (21), where the subject is singular, plural marking cannot appear on the mass noun mwul.

- (19) Ai-tul-i mwul-(tul)-ul masi-ess-ta.
child-pl-NOM water-(pl)-ACC drink-pst-ind
'The children drank water.'
- (20) Ai-tul-i tokse-(tul)-ul cohaha-n-ta.
child-pl-NOM reading-(pl)-ACC be fond of-pres-ind
'The children are fond of reading.'
- (21) Chelswu-ka mwul-(*tul)-ul masi-ess-ta.
C. -NOM water-(*pl)-ACC water-pst-ind
'Chulsoo drank water.'

The oblique advancee also allows Plural Copy, as seen in (22) and (23).

- (22) Ku kongcang-tul-ey pwul-(tul)-i na-ss-ta.
the factory-pl-DAT fire-(pl)-NOM break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the factories.'
- (23) I wusan-tul-eyse mwul-(tul)-i say-n-ta.
this umbrella-pl-DAT water-(pl)-NOM leak-pres-ind
'These umbrellas leak.'

In contrast, oblique nominals in other constructions do not allow Plural Copy, as the unergative clauses in (24)-(25) and the transitive clause in (26) show:[4]

- (24) I uyca-tul-ey ku ai-ka-(*tul) anc-ass-ta.
this chair-pl-DAT the child-NOM-(pl) sit-pst-ind
'The child sat/used to sit on these chairs.'
- (25) I pang-tul-eyse ki sanai-ka-(*tul)
this room-pl-DAT the man-NOM-(pl)
nao-ass-ta.
come out-pst-ind
'The man came/used to come out of these rooms.'

- (26) Chelswu-ka ku pyengwen-tul-ey manhun
 C.-NOM the hospital-pl-DAT much
 ton-(*tul)-ul kicungha-yess-ta.
 money-(*pl)-ACC donate-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo donated much money to the hospitals.'

Again, this contrast follows from our analysis, since only the obliques in initially unaccusative clauses like (22) and (23) are final 1s.

2.3. Subject-to-Object Raising.

Some matrix verbs in Korean, including sayngkakha- 'think' and mit- 'believe', allow the raising of the downstairs final 1 to upstairs 2, as exemplified in (28); the downstairs final 1 in (27) does not raise and is thus NOM, but it raises to 2 in (28) and is thus ACC.

- (27) Chelswu-nun [Swuni-ka kohyang-ulo tolaka-ss-ta-ko]
 C.-TOP S.-NOM hometown-to return-pst-ind-cmp
 sayngkakha-n-ta.
 think-pres-ind
 'Chulsoo thinks that Soonni returned to her hometown.'
- (28) Chelswu-nun Swuni-lul [kohyang-ulo tolaka-ss-ta-ko]
 C.-TOP S.-ACC hometown-to return-pst-ind-cmp
 sayngkakha-n-ta.
 think-pres-ind

Oblique advances can also appear in the ACC case in SOR constructions, as (29) and (30) show:

- (29) Chelswu-nun i semyukongcang-i/-ul pwul-i
 C.-TOP this textile factory-NOM/-ACC fire-NOM
 na-ss-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 break out-pst-ind believe-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo believed that fire had broken out in this textile factory.'
- (30) Chelswu-nun ilen nal-i/-ul nwun-i simhakey
 C.-TOP such day-NOM/-ACC snow-NOM heavily
 nayli-n-ta-ko sayngkakha-n-ta.
 fall-pres-ind-cmp think-pres-ind
 'Chulsoo thinks that snow falls heavily on a day like this.'

In contrast, obliques which are not advances, for example those in downstairs unergative clauses, cannot appear in the ACC case in SOR constructions, as (31)-(32) exemplify:

- (31) Yengswu-nun i uyca-ey/*?lul Chelswu-ka
 Y.-TOP this chair-DAT/-ACC C.-NOM
 anc-ass-ta-ko sayngkakha-yess-ta.
 sit-pst-ind-cmp think-psts-ind
 'Youngsoo thought that Chulsoo had sat on this
 chair.'
- (32) Swuni-nun cinan cwumal-ey/*-ul Yengswu-ka
 S.-TOP last weekend-DAT-ACC Y.-NOM
 ttena-ss-ta-ko mit-nun-ta.
 leave-pst-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind
 'Soonni believes that Youngsoo left last weekend.'

Since Raising is limited to final 1s in Korean (as Youn (1989) demonstrates), the above data provide evidence for the final 1-hood of the oblique advancee.

2.4 Causatives.

In Causatives formed with the matrix verb ha- 'do', the downstairs final 1 may appear in three different cases--NOM, ACC, or DAT--as (33) and (34) illustrate:[5]

- (33) Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka/lul/eykey ca-key ha-yess-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-NOM/ACC/DAT go to bed-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo made Soonni go to bed.'
- (34) Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka/lul/eykey yak-ul mek-key
 C.-NOM S.-NOM/ACC/DAT medicine-ACC take-cmp
 ha-ess-ta.
 do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo made Soonni take the medicine.'

Oblique advancees may also appear in three cases in Causatives, as (35) and (36) show:

- (35) Chelswu-ka i os-i/ul/ey kemtayng-i
 C.-NOM this clothes-NOM/ACC/DAT soot-NOM
 mwut-key ha-yess-ta.
 smudge-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo caused these clothes to be smudged with soot.'
- (36) Isangkenco-ka cinan kyewul-i/ul/ey pwul-i
 abnormal dryness-NOM last winter-NOM/ACC/DAT fire-NOM
 cacwu na-key ha-yess-ta.
 frequently break out-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Abnormally dry weather caused fire to break out
 frequently last winter.'

On the other hand, when the downstairs clause is unergative, as in (37) and (38), the oblique nominal may not appear in three cases.

- (37) Sacangnim-i i kongcang-*i/*-ul/-eyse Swuni-ka
 director-NOM this factory/-NOM/-ACC/-DAT S.-NOM
 ilha-key ha-yess-ta.
 work-cmp do-pst-ind
 'The director made Sooni work in this factory.'
- (38) Apeninim-i cinan ilyoil-*i/*ul/-ey
 father-NOM last Sunday-NOM/-ACC/-DAT
 Chelswu-ka ttena-key ha-yess-ta.
 C.-NOM leave-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Father made Chulsoo leave last Sunday.'

This contrast follows from our analysis since the obliques in (35)-(36) but not in (37)-(38) are downstairs final 1s.

2.5 Summary.

The above data support our claim that the oblique nominals in unaccusative clauses like (4)-(6) bear a different final grammatical relation than the oblique nominals in unergative clauses like (8)-(10): the former test to be final 1s while the latter do not, as predicted by the analyses posited in (7) and (11) respectively.

3. THE GRAMMATICAL RELATION OF THE NOMINATIVE NOMINAL.

We briefly turn our attention to the theme (the nominative marked nominal) in the above constructions. We show, as our analysis predicts, that the theme in initially unaccusative clauses like those in (4)-(6) is not a subject; in contrast, the theme in unergative clauses like (8)-(10) is a final 1.

The theme in clauses like (4)-(6) does not exhibit any subject properties: it does not allow plural copy [see (39)], raise [see (40)], nor show case alternations in Causatives [see (41)].

- (39) Phokthan-tul-i ku kongcang-ey(*-tul) tteleci-ess-ta.
 bomb-pl-NOM the factory-DAT-(pl) drop-pst-ind
 'Bombs dropped on the factory.'
- (40) Na-nun mwul-i/*-ul i chenceng-eyse
 I-TOP water-NOM/-ACC this ceiling-DAT
 tteleci-n-ta-ko mit-nun-ta.
 drip-pres-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind
 'I believe that water drips from this ceiling.'
- (41) Chelswu-ka pwul-i/*?ul/*ey i kongcang-ey
 C.-NOM fire-NOM/ACC/DAT this factory-DAT
 na-key ha-yess-ta.
 break out-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo caused a fire to break out in this factory.'

In contrast, the theme in unergative clauses has each of these subject properties, as (42)-(44) show:

- (42) Ku sanai-tul-i i pang-eyse(-tul) nao-ass-ta.
the man-pl-NOM this room-DAT(-pl) come out-pst-ind
'The men came out of this room.'
- (43) Chelwu-nun Swuni-ka/-lul cinan ilyoil-ey
C.-TOP S.-NOM/-ACC last Sunday-DAT
ttena-ss-ta-ko mit-nun-ta.
leave-pst-cmp believe-pres-ind
'Chulsoo believes that Soonie left last Sunday.'
- (44) Sensayngnim-i Swuni-ka/-lul/-eykey i
teacher-NOM S.-NOM/-ACC/-DAT this
uyca-ey anc-key ha-si-ess-ta.
chair-DAT sit-cmp do-SH-pst-ind
'The teacher made Soonie sit on this chair.'

The contrasting data above is predicted from the structures we posit for unaccusative versus unergative clauses. As seen in (7), the theme in initially unaccusative clauses in which the oblique advances to 1 is a final 2-chomeur and thus should not exhibit subject properties. In the unergative structure in (11), however, the theme is a final 1 and therefore should have subject properties.

4. KOREAN CASE.

The above discussion established the grammatical relation of the theme and oblique nominals in two constructions. This section briefly outlines a theory of case which accounts for two aspects of case marking in the above constructions. We show how the constructions come to have parallel case marking although they have different structures. Moreover, we give an account of a further difference between the two constructions, namely that oblique advances, besides appearing in the dative case, can also be marked nominative, as (45)-(46) show, an option not available to obliques in unergative clauses as (47) and (48) show. [6]

- (45) I os-ey/i phi-ka mwut-ess-ta.
this clothes-DAT/NOM blood-NOM stain-pst-ind
'These clothes were stained with blood.'
- (46) I mwulthong-eyse/i mwul-i nemchi-n-ta.
this water tank-DAT/NOM water-NOM overflow-pres-ind
'Water overflows from this water tank.'

- (47) Cwumal-ey/*-i Chelswu-ka ilha-n-ta.
weekend-DAT/*NOM C.-NOM work-pres-ind
'Chulsoo works on weekends.'
- (48) Onul achim-ey/*-i Swuni-ka wul-ess-ta.
today morning-DAT/-NOM S.-NOM cry-pst-ind
'Sooni cried this morning.'

Two notions, which are developed more thoroughly in Gerdts (ms.), are needed to account for case assignment under our analysis: the difference between S-Case and I-Case, discussed in section 4.1, and Case Spread, discussed in section 4.2.

4.1 S-Case and I-Case.

The relevant part of the Case Rule for Korean posited by Gerdts (ms.) is given in (49); two types of case are distinguished--S-Case and I-Case; S-Case is grammatical case licensed in terms of final structure while I-Case is selected on the basis of the semantic role of the nominal and licensed in initial structure.

- (49) KOREAN CASE (partial):
- a. S-Case
 - NOM is licensed by a final 1.
 - ACC is licensed by a final 2.
 - b. I-Case
 - DAT is licensed by a Goal, Exp, Loc, Ben, Temp, etc.
 - INSTR is licensed by an Instr, Path, etc.
 - COM is licensed by a Com(itative).

The case rule (49) accounts for most aspects of the case assignment in the above constructions. For example, in a clause like (45), which has the structure given in the stratal chart in (50), the oblique nominal may appear in either DAT, as licensed by its initial oblique relation, or NOM, as licensed by its final 1 relation.[7]

- (50)
- | | |
|-----------|---------|
| OBL | 2 |
| 2 | 2-Cho |
| 1 | 2-Cho |
| (OBLIQUE) | (THEME) |
| DAT/NOM | NOM |

In contrast, in a monostratal unergative like (47), represented in (51), the only case licensed for the oblique is DAT; NOM is impossible since this nominal never bears a final 1 relation. The theme on the other hand may be marked NOM, since it is a final 1.

(51)	OBL	1
	(OBLIQUE)	(THEME)
	DAT	NOM

Thus, (49) together with the analyses posited in (50) and (51) allows case alternation for oblique advancees but not for monostratal obliques.

4.2. The Case of the Theme.

If the theme of the initially unaccusative clause in (50) is a final 2-chomeur, as claimed above, an explanation for its NOM case is necessary, since neither 2-chomeurs nor non-final 2s are potential licensors of NOM case according to (49). Gerdts (ms.) proposes that many instances of S-Case on nominals which do not license it arise through Case Spread--a nominal which properly licenses S-Case shares its S-Case with another nominal; she claims that Case Spread is constrained to structures involving overrun as stipulated in (52).[8],[9]

(52) Case Spread Law:

If a spreads its Case to b, where a and b head nominal arcs, then there are arcs A and B where a heads A and b heads B, and A overruns B.

Among other things (52) allows a nominal to spread its Case to a nominal which it has placed en chomage.

In unaccusative clauses like (50), the oblique advancee has overrun the theme, and thus case spread is possible. Since the oblique advancee is a final 1, it licenses NOM case and it is this case that appears on the theme.[10]

5. CONCLUSION.

The above discussion gives evidence for a sub-class of unaccusatives in Korean in which an oblique nominal must advance to 1, as represented in (53a); furthermore, as section 3 shows, in such clauses, the theme nominal may not advance to 1, as represented in (53b).

(53)	a.	2	OBL	b.	2	OBL
		2-Cho	2		1	OBL
		2-Cho	1		(THEME)	(OBLIQUE)
		(THEME)	(OBLIQUE)			

Construction (53a) is not unique to Korean: Gerdts

(1984) gives evidence for such a structure in Halkomelem Salish and Gerdts and Youn (1988) posit this structure for psych constructions like those given in (2) and (3) above.

However, it does appear to be common for languages to allow structures like (53b).[11] For example the English data in (54)-(56) show a preference for structure (53b) over (53a).

- (54) a. *?On mother's dress collected dust.
b. Dust collected on mother's dress.
(55) a. *Last winter burst the pipe.
b. The pipe burst last winter.
(56) a. *?In the factory broke out fire.
b. Fire broke out in the factory.

Thus, Korean may be unusual in not allowing structure (53b) for the sub-class of unaccusatives discussed in this paper.[12] We leave the question of whether the Korean pattern or the English pattern is more prevalent cross-linguistically to future research.

Footnotes.

*We would like to thank Yiehyoung Chae, Won Ho Kim, and Yongnam Um for their grammaticality judgments. We are responsible, of course, for any errors or shortcomings in this paper.

[1] Notions 'unaccusative' and 'unergative' are formally defined in Relational Grammar in terms of stratum: an unaccusative stratum is one that contains a 2-arc but no 1-arc; an unergative stratum is one that contains a 1-arc but no 2-arc. See Perlmutter and Postal (1984) for further discussion of the Unaccusative Hypothesis. We have informally used 'unaccusative clause' for the more precise notion of a clause with an initially unaccusative stratum and 'unergative clause' for the more precise notion of a monostratal unergative construction to facilitate discussion.

[2]Youn (1989) gives a more precise delineation of the sub-class of unaccusatives which allow oblique advancement. The predicate involved must be a process or a psych verb. For a discussion of the latter see Gerdts and Youn (1988). Furthermore, only obliques with the semantic role of locative, temporal, or source advance. Instrumental, goal, comitative, and other obliques do not advance.

[3]The following abbreviations are used in the Korean glosses: cmp complementizer, ind indicative, pas passive, pl plural, pres present, pst past, NOM

nominative, ACC accusative, DAT dative, GEN genitive, TOP topic marker, SH subject honorification.

[4]For a discussion on the order of the plural marker and the case marker, see Youn (1989).

[5]See Gerdts (in press) for a formal treatment of Causatives of this type.

[6]Some speakers also allow Case Stacking here; that is, both DAT and NOM case appear on the oblique in examples like (45) and (46). See Gerdts (ms.) for discussion.

[7]Icelandic and Italian are different in this respect. Only DAT--not NOM--case can appear on the subjects in (1b), (2) and (3). Gerdts (ms.) posits the following rule of Case Resolution for these languages, a rule unnecessary in Korean.

(i) I-Case takes priority over S-Case.

[8]This treatment of Case Spread, which was originally suggested by Bickford (1987), follows the treatment of Surrogate Agreement (that is, instances where agreement is controlled by a nominal which is not a regular agreement controller in a language) proposed by Aissen (1987, in press). Law (52) directly mirrors Aissen's limitation on Surrogate Agreement, the Lateral Feature Passing Law (1987, p.205).

[9]Aissen (1987) gives the following definition of 'overrun':

A overruns B if and only if:

(i) A and B have the same term R-sign (i.e., 1, 2, or 3);

(ii) and A's first coordinate index is +1 of B's last coordinate index.

[10]Gerdts and Youn (1988) posit the structure in (50) for psych constructions in Korean, Icelandic (following Cowper (1988)), and Italian (following Belletti and Rizzi (1988)). Thus, NOM case on the themes in (2) and (3) above would also be instances of Case Spread. Belletti (1988) proposes the Government/Binding equivalent of this analysis.

[11]For instance, both Halkomelem and Italian allow structure (53b) in addition to structure (53a).

[12]We should make clear that the structure in (53b) does exist in Korean, namely in initially unaccusative clauses where oblique advancement is prohibited. (See footnote 2.) Thus, (i) and (ii) have the structure in (53b), as evidenced by the fact that the theme--not the oblique--controls SH, and by the

lack of case alternation on the oblique nominal.

- (i) Swuni-eykey/*-ka sensayngnim-i emkyekha-si-ta.
S. -DAT/-NOM teacher-NOM strict-SH-ind
'The teacher is strict with Sooni.'
- (ii) Emenim-eykey/*-i i os-i khu-(*si)-ta.
mother-DAT/-NOM this clothes-NOM big-SH-ind
'These clothes are big for mother.'

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