

DATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AND CASE THEORY IN KOREAN

by

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Abstract

Korean is a verb-final language that makes extensive use of Case marking to identify the grammatical functions of NPs. This thesis deals with dative-marking, specifically focusing on constructions where a Goal NP can be marked either Dative or Accusative. When the Goal is Accusative, a double Accusative construction arises, since the Theme is also Accusative. Double Accusative constructions pose a special challenge to syntactic theories of Case since it is generally assumed that only one Accusative Case can be assigned per clause. The Dative/Accusative alternation is examined in two types of constructions: the *give*-type dative construction and the morphological causative construction. I give a unified account of these two constructions both in terms of their syntax and their semantics.

The syntactic mechanism employed to capture the similarities of the *give*-type dative construction and the morphological causative construction is a multi-predicate analysis. That is, I claim that the constructions involve both a higher verb and an embedded VP. The double Accusative is possible due to a heavy Case feature created by incorporation of the embedded verb into the matrix verb. This heavy Case feature is not neutralized in that it is not entirely discharged after Spec-head agreement. Hence, along with Case for the Theme NP through Spec-head agreement, another Case is also available for the Goal NP by the leftover Case feature floating down to the Goal.

Another problem that is addressed in my study is why some sentences allow a Goal argument while others do not. I propose a semantic explanation based on the concept of “transferability”. The transferability of the embedded VP decides selection of the Goal; if the semantics of the embedded VP is transferable, *give* takes a Goal argument, but if it is non-transferable, *give* cannot take a Goal.

This transferability effect plays a crucial role in semantics as well. The transferability of the embedded VP decides the θ -role of the causee in the MCC. If the semantics of the embedded VP is transferable, the θ -role of the causee is Goal, but if it is non-transferable, the θ -role of the causee is that of the embedded subject.

The Dative/Accusative alternation has been widely discussed in the study of Korean syntax. However, no in-depth analysis has been given of the various aspects of the two dative constructions. This thesis successfully achieves this task in a consistent and unified manner, accounting for both the similarities and the differences between the two constructions.

In memory of Soo Kab Lee

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Introduction

Korean is a verb-final language that makes extensive use of Case marking to identify the grammatical functions of NPs, as illustrated in the following.

- (1) John-i Mary-eykey mwul-ul cwu-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat water-Acc give-Pst-Ind
'John gave water to Mary.'

In (1), the Nominative marker *-i*, the Dative *-eykey* and the Accusative *-ul* mark the Agent NP *John*, the Goal NP *Mary* and the Theme NP *mwul* 'water', respectively. In some constructions the Goal can be also marked Accusative. The *give*-type dative construction is one such construction.

- (2) John-i Mary-lul mwul-ul cwu-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Acc water-Acc give-Pst-Ind
'John gave Mary water.'

When the Goal is Accusative, a double Accusative construction arises, since the Theme is also Accusative.

This thesis deals with dative-marking, specifically focusing on constructions where a Goal NP can alternate between Dative and Accusative. The Dative/Accusative alternation is examined in two types of constructions: the *give*-type dative construction (1) - (2) and the morphological causative construction (MCC) (3).

- (3) John-i Mary-eykey/lul os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc clothes-Acc wear-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John put the clothes on Mary.’

Double Accusative constructions pose a special challenge to syntactic theories of Case since it is generally assumed that only one Accusative Case can be assigned per clause. I give a unified account of these two constructions both in terms of their syntax and their semantics.

The syntactic mechanism employed to capture the similarities of the two constructions is a multi-predicate analysis. I propose that the structure of the *give*-type dative construction is parallel to that of the compound verb construction, assuming an incorporation process for verb compounds. I also propose a three-place predicate for the causative morpheme, which takes an embedded verb. Thus, both these constructions involve a higher verb and an embedded VP. Each verb contributes an Accusative Case feature to the sentence, and hence two NPs can be marked Accusative.

Another problem that is addressed in my study is why some sentences allow a Goal argument while others do not in the (compound) *give*-type dative construction, as shown in the following data .

- (4) a. John-i Mary-eykey/lul chayk-ul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John read a book for Mary.’

b.*Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul os-ul ip-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc clothes-Acc put.on-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother put on the clothes for her child.’

I propose a semantic explanation based on the concept of “transferability”. The transferability of the embedded VP decides selection of the Goal; if the semantics of the embedded VP is transferable, *give* takes a Goal argument, but if it is non-transferable, *give* cannot take a Goal.

This transferability effect plays a crucial role in semantics as well. The transferability of the embedded VP decides the θ -role of the causee in the MCC. If the semantics of the embedded VP is transferable, the θ -role of the causee is Goal, but if it is non-transferable, the θ -role of the causee is that of the embedded subject.

Therefore, in both syntactic and semantic analyses, the transferability is checked with the Goal argument and the embedded VP. This result suggests a significant generalization about the two dative constructions, i.e. the *give*-type dative construction and the MCC can be analyzed in a parallel manner. Thus, the unified analysis for the *give*-type dative construction and the MCC successfully accounts for a variety of syntactic and semantic phenomena displayed in these two constructions.

Chapter 1 discusses the syntactic properties of Dative-marking, the identity of the Dative marker and the types of the dative constructions. Dative constructions are those containing a Dative phrase. On the basis of the definition of the Dative marker as a postposition, Dative PPs are also distinguished by their argument or adjunct status. Only certain constructions with argument Dative PPs can allow an alternation with Accusative-marking. Since my concern is with the

Dative/Accusative alternation on a Goal argument, the *give*-type dative construction and the MCC are the main topics of my study.

Chapter 2 first presents an outline of the theoretical framework of the study. Major changes from the Principles-and-Parameters framework are discussed with regard to linguistic levels, derivation, and Case theory. With respect to Case theory in particular, I show how the Shortest Movement Condition plays a role in Case-checking through Spec-head agreement. The rest of this chapter discusses the system of Korean functional categories and Case theory. I develop a Case theory based on checking theory, proposing that Case-checking is a neutralization process. The Case feature of a verb in a head position, e.g. Agr, is neutralized via Spec-head agreement, being discharged into an NP in [Spec, AgrP]. Properties of functional categories in Korean are also described, such as the property of Agr_S that licenses Nominative Case, and the TP that is placed above the Agr_SP.

Chapter 3 provides a syntactic analysis of the *give*-type dative construction. This chapter starts with Barss and Lasnik's (1986) observation of the domain relationship between the two object NPs in English double object constructions and shows that Korean has the same relationship. In addition to this issue, other difficulties are discussed after a preliminary analysis of the *give*-type dative construction. I propose that the *give*-type dative construction is fundamentally a compound-verb construction, involving verb incorporation. That is, *give*-type dative constructions, including simple and compound constructions, have a multi-predicate structure. I argue that the verb *cwu*- 'give' selects, as its arguments, a Goal and an Agr_OP containing an embedded VP, and that the embedded (transitive) verb selects a Theme. The embedded verb is lexically visible in the compound construction, but invisible in the simple *give*-type construction. The embedded subject is PRO, controlled by the matrix subject. A novel theory of

PRO is also presented, in which I argue that [Spec, VP] is the position where PRO gets null Case. In the derivation of the construction some problems arise in association with Dative/Accusative alternation. To solve these problems, certain concepts and devices are employed, such as a heavy Case feature created by verb incorporation and transferability of the property of the embedded predicate. The derivation section of this chapter clearly shows how this mechanism efficiently functions in the Case-checking system of Korean.

Chapter 4 deals with the structure and the derivation of the MCC. It fundamentally pursues a unified theory of the MCC and the *give*-type construction. To capture syntactic similarities and differences between the two constructions, I propose the structure of the MCC following the three-place predicate analysis. The causative verb takes three arguments; the causer (Agent), the causee (Goal) and the embedded predicate (Agr_O). Compared with the structure of *give*-type dative construction, the structure of the morphological causative is exactly the same, except for control. The matrix verb is the causative morpheme which takes a VP with Agr_OP as its complement. The causee argument is taken as a Goal adjoined to V'. The embedded VP has its internal subject PRO controlled by the Goal argument of the matrix verb unlike the *give*-type dative construction in which PRO is controlled by the subject. On the basis of these parallel structures, not only syntactic similarities, but also the differences between the MCC and the *give*-type construction are consistently explained in a unified manner.

Chapter 5 explores the semantics of the MCC. I note that the patterns of different semantic interpretation between the periphrastic causative construction and the MCC are also found within the MCC. For the semantic analysis of the MCC, I identify the determinant of the different groups of the MCC in relation to the semantic interpretation first. It is shown that the different semantic patterns of

the MCC are fundamentally due to the interpretation of the θ -role of the causee. The interpretation of the θ -role of the causee, in turn, is decided by the semantics (i.e. transferability) of the embedded VP. The analysis that I present is a highly complicated syntactic and semantic mechanism in relation to the properties of embedded verbs. This analysis accounts for the semantic interpretation of the MCC in a consistent and unified manner.

Chapter 6 summarizes preceding chapters, and concludes the thesis.

Chapter 1

Dative Marking in Korean

1.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the syntactic properties of Dative-marking, the identity of the Dative marker and the types of the dative constructions. Dative constructions are those containing a Dative phrase. On the basis of the definition of the Dative marker as a postposition, Dative PPs are also distinguished by their argument or adjunct status. Only certain constructions with argument Dative PPs can allow an alternation with Accusative-marking. Since my concern is with the Dative/Accusative alternation on a Goal argument, the *give*-type dative construction and the MCC are the main topics of my study.

1.2 Dative Marking in Korean

The so-called Dative marker *-ey/eykey* in Korean marks a variety of semantic roles. The prototypical use of the Dative is for marking Recipients, as represented in (1).¹

- (1) a. John-i Mary-eykey mwul-ul cwu-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat water-Acc give-Pst-Ind
'John gave water to Mary.'

¹ As shown in (1), *-ey* and *-eykey* are allomorphs; the former occurs after an inanimate or unmovable NP, and the latter after an animate and moveable NP.



- b. John-i namwu-ey mwul-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom tree-Dat water-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 'John gave water to a tree.'

Dative-marking also relates to location and time. That is, in addition to the examples in (1), where the Theme and/or the action denoted by the predicate is directed toward the Dative-marked item, the Dative marker also marks a pure Locative, i.e. the place of an event (2), a Source (3) or Time in (4).

- (2) Ku kongcang-ey pwul-i na-ss-ta.
 the factory-Dat fire-Nom break.out-Pst-Ind
 'Fire broke out in the factory.'

- (3) John-eykey isanghan naymsay-ka na-ss-ta.
 John-Dat strange smell-Nom come.out-Pst-Ind
 'John was stinky.'

- (4) Ku sako-nun ecey ohwu tases-si-ey
 the accident-Top yesterday afternoon 5-O'clock-Dat
 palsaynggha-ess-ta.
 happen-Pst-Ind
 'The accident happened at 5 P.M. yesterday.'

One important thing to note is that the Dative behaves differently in marking Time as opposed to Locative/Source. It seems that the Dative cannot freely mark all Locative/Source arguments, while there is no apparent limit in marking Time. As the following data show, the Dative marker fails to mark both the Locative in

(5) and the Source in (6), where the marker *-eyse/eykeyse* occurs instead. This is, in fact, the postposition that may mark any Locative or Source just as the English prepositions *at*, *in*, and *from* do.²

- (5) a. Ai-tul-i chimsil-eyse/*ey nol-ass-ta.
 child-pl-Nom bedroom-in/Dat play-Pst-Ind
 ‘The kids played in the bedroom.’
- b. John-un Seoul-eyse/*ey hankwuke-lul kongpwuha-ess-ta.
 John-Top Seoul-in/Dat Korean-Acc study-Pst-Ind
 ‘John studied Korean in Seoul.’
- c. Nay-ka ku kongcang-eyse/*ey totwuk-ul cap-ass-ta.
 I-Nom the factory-at/Dat thief-Acc catch-Pst-Ind
 ‘I arrested a thief in the factory.’
- d. John-i hakkyo-eyse/*ey Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom school-at/Dat Mary-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave Mary a book at school.’

² The postpositions *-eyse* and *-eykeyse* are allomorphs in the same way as *-ey* and *-eykey* are: animacy is the relevant property. Yet, to capture the true character of the suffix, other research is needed. For example, an issue may be raised as to whether *-ey(key)se* is a postposition or something else. As for the relationship with the Dative marker, one could explore whether the form is made by affixing *-se* to the Dative marker, etc. However, I simply assume that *-ey(key)se* is a postposition used to mark Location and leave aside the task of determining its other attributes.

(6) a. Mary-ka etwuwun kos-eyse/*ey nathana-ss-ta.

Mary-Nom dark spot-from/Dat reveal-Pst-Ind

'Mary appeared from out of the darkness.'

b. Na-nun ku si-lul i chayk-eyse/*ey inyongha-ess-ta.

I-Top the poem-Acc this book-from/Dat cite-Pst-Ind

'I cited the poem from this book.'

On the other hand, the Dative unrestrictedly marks all types of Time elements.
All of the following sentences contain a Time phrase marked by the Dative.

(7) a. John-i sikhwu-ey Mary-eykey mwul-ul cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom after meal-Dat Mary-Dat water-Acc give-Pst-Ind

'John gave water to Mary after a meal.'

b. John-i achim-ey namwu-ey mwul-ul cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom morning-Dat tree-Dat water-Acc give-Pst-Ind

'John gave water to a tree in the morning.'

(8) Ku kongcang-ey pwul-i hanpamcwung-ey na-ss-ta.

the factory-Dat fire-Nom midnight-Dat break.out-Pst-Ind

'Fire broke out in the factory at midnight.'

(9) Nac-ey John-eykey isanghan naymsay-ka na-n-ta.

daytime-Dat John-Dat strange smell-Nom come.out-Asp-Ind

'John is stinky in the daytime.'

- (10) a. Ai-tul-i pam-ey chimsil-eyse nol-ass-ta.
 child-pl-Nom night-Dat bedroom-in play-Pst-Ind
 ‘The kids played in the bedroom at night.’
- b. John-un caknyen-ey Seoul-eyse hankwuke-lul
 John-Top last year-Dat Seoul-in Korean-Acc
 kongpwuha-ess-ta.
 study-Pst-Ind
 ‘John studied Korean in Seoul last year.’
- c. Nay-ka ithul-cen-ey ku kongcang-eyse totwuk-ul
 I-Nom 2 days-before-Dat the factory-at thief-Acc
 cap-ass-ta.
 catch-Pst-Ind
 ‘I arrested a thief in the factory two days ago.’
- d. John-i cemsim-sikan-ey hakkyo-eyse Mary-eykey chayk-ul
 John-Nom lunch-time-Dat school-at Mary-Dat book-Acc
 cwu-ess-ta.
 give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave Mary a book at school during the noon recess.’
- (11) a. Mary-ka ku-ttay-ey etwuwun kos-eyse nathana-ss-ta.
 Mary-Nom the-time-Day dark spot-from reveal-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary appeared from out of the darkness at that time.’

b. Na-nun cinan hakki-ey ku si-lul i chayk-eyse
 I-Top previous semester-Dat the poem-Acc this book-from
 inyongha-ess-ta.

cite-Pst-Ind

‘I cited the poem from this book last semester.’

Putting aside cases (2) and (3), where the Dative can mark Locative and Source phrases, we may conclude that Time phrases are unrestrictedly marked by the Dative marker, while Locative/Source phrases are not. That is, the so-called Dative marker seems to be used for Time without any restriction, but not so for Location (Locative/Source). With respect to Location, the pure Locative/Source marker, i.e. the postposition *-eyse/eykeyse*, is used instead.

Now, let us return to the data in (2) and (3), where the Locative and the Source are marked by Dative. It is notable that these sentences allow an alternation between the Dative marker *-ey/eykey* and the pure Locative/Source marker *-eyse/eykeyse*, as shown in (12) and (13).

(12) Ku kongcang-ey/eyse pwul-i na-ss-ta.
 the factory-Dat/at fire-Nom break.out-Pst-Ind
 ‘Fire broke out in the factory.’

(13) John-eykey/eykeyse isanghan naymsay-ka na-ss-ta.
 John-Dat/from strange smell-Nom come.out-Pst-Ind
 ‘John was stinky.’

In order to illuminate this problem, let us compare examples (5) and (6). As the data show, the postposition *-eyse/eykeyse* freely marks Locative and Source

phrases regardless of the subcategorization or transitivity of the verbs. The verb is intransitive in (5a) and (6a), transitive in (5b-c) and (6b), and ditransitive in (5d). In other words, *-eyse/eykeyse*-marked Locative and Source phrases can occur in any construction. This is a typical property of adjuncts; the phrases marked by *-eyse* are not selected by the verbs.

In examples (5) and (6), which demonstrate the clear adjunct status of *-eyse/eykeyse*, Dative *-ey* cannot be an alternative. Considering (12) and (13), where the Locative/Source can be Dative-marked, it seems that such marking is permissible only for some verbs. The verbs in question are so-called unaccusative verbs (Gerdtz and Youn 1989b, Maling and Kim 1992). According to Yang's (1991) diagnostics for unaccusativity in Korean, unaccusative verbs satisfy most of the following conditions.³

(14) Diagnostics for Korean Unaccusative verbs

- a. Possessor Raising is possible.
- b. The marker for Adjuncts (time and place, in particular) can alternate with the Nominative Case marker *-i/ka*.
- c. A Quantifier with a Numeral Classifier can float without a Case marker.
- d. A Duration/Frequency Adverb can bear the Nominative Case marker *-i/ka*.

나-
나- (na-)
나- (na-)

The verb *na-*, interpreted as 'break out' in (2) and 'come out' in (3), is indeed an unaccusative verb, satisfying the above syntactic properties of unaccusative verbs. Consider the following.

³ Yang uses another diagnostic for light verbs, which is not mentioned here since it is irrelevant to the data under discussion. Note that I have modified Yang's generalizations, which are stated in RG terms, to a more general version.

(15) a. Ku kongcang-uy changko-ka pwul-i na-ss-ta.
 the factory-Gen storeroom-Nom fire-Nom break.out-Pst-Ind
 'Fire broke out in the factory's storeroom.'

b. Ku kongcang-i changko-ka pwul-i na-ss-ta.
 the factory-Nom storeroom-Nom fire-Nom break.out-Pst-Ind
 'Fire broke out in the factory's storeroom.'

Possessor raising is possible in Korean only when the relation between the possessor and the head is inalienable or part-whole (Park 1985, Chun 1986, Youn 1989, Gerds 1992). Example (15) shows the raising of the possessor *kongcang* 'factory', which holds a part-whole relationship with respect to its head *changko* 'storeroom'.

Example (16) demonstrates the requirement of unaccusatives outlined in (14b).

(16) a. Ku kongcang-ey/eyse pwul-i na-ss-ta.
 the factory-Dat/at fire-Nom break.out-Pst-Ind
 'Fire broke out in the factory.'

b. Ku kongcang-i pwul-i na-ss-ta.
 the factory-Nom fire-Nom break.out-Pst-Ind
 'Fire broke out in the factory.'

Examples (17) and (18) also demonstrate the diagnostics (14c) and (14d), respectively.

(17) Kongcang-i twu-chay pwul-i na-ss-ta.

factory-Nom 2-CL fire-Nom break out-Pst-Ind

‘Fire broke out in two factories.’

(18) ?Ku kongcang-i seypen-i pwul-i na-ss-ta.

the factory-Nom 3 times-Nom fire-Nom break out-Pst-Ind

‘Fire broke out in the factory three times.’

In conclusion, the Dative marker is used unrestrictedly for Time adjuncts. However, it is not used for Location adjuncts. When it marks Location phrases, these must be lexically selected; e.g. they are involved in unaccusative constructions. I will return to this issue in section 1.4.

1.3 Dative as Postposition

Just as English has two dative constructions, one involving oblique Dative, as shown in (19a), and the other a double object construction, as shown in (19b), so does Korean have corresponding constructions.

(19) a. John gave a book to Mary.

b. John gave Mary a book.

(20) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind

‘John gave a book to Mary.’

- b. John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave Mary a book.’
- c. John-i chayk-ul Mary-lul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom book-Acc Mary-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave Mary a book.’

Prima facie, (20a) corresponds to (19a) and (20b-c) to (19b). Dative constructions like (20a) in which *-ey/eykey* is involved seem to be oblique Dative constructions, and sentences like (20b-c), which include two object—Accusative-marked—NPs, obviously seem to be double object constructions. However, although all Korean linguists agree that sentences like (20b-c) are double object constructions, they do not always agree that ‘NP-*eykey*’ is a PP. In short, they do not agree as to whether *-ey/eykey* is a postposition or not.

I argue that Dative *-ey/eykey* is a postposition, based on Urushibara (1991). Urushibara (1991), citing others’ arguments about the distinction between Case markers and postpositions, presented here in (21), concludes that Dative *-ey/eykey* is not a Case marker, but rather a postposition since it patterns with postpositions.⁴

- (21) a. Case Drop (Saito 1983, Gerdtz 1991, Gerdtz and Youn 1998a)

A Case marker can be dropped, but a postposition cannot.

⁴ Urushibara also discusses reflexive binding. However, I do not treat that here. Korean speakers’ judgments are not very consistent on data with reflexive pronouns.

- b. Case Stacking (Gerds 1991, Gerds and Yoon 1989b, Yoon and Yoon 1990)

Case Stacking may happen with a postposition, but not with a Case marker.

- c. Plural Copying (Kuh 1987, Gerds and Yoon 1989b, Yoon 1989)

Copied-*tul*- is outside a postposition, but inside a Case marker.

- d. Conjunction (Kuh 1987)

A postposition can mark the first of two conjuncts, but a Case marker cannot.

- e. Floating-Quantifier (Gerds 1987, Shibatani 1977, Saito 1985, Miyagawa 1989)

A Floated Quantifier can bear a Case marker, but not a postposition.

Now, consider the following examples showing that Dative *-ey/eykey* has all properties of postpositions described in (21).

- (22) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
'John gave a book to Mary.'

- b. *John-i **Mary** chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave a book to Mary.’

- (23) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave a book to Mary.’

- b. John-i Mary-eykey-**lul** chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat-Acc book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave a book to Mary.’

- (24) a. Sensayngnim-tul-i Mary-eykey-**tul** chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 teacher-pl-Nom Mary-Dat-pl book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘Teachers gave books to Mary.’

- b. *Sensayngnim-tul-i Mary-**tul**-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 teacher-pl-Nom Mary-pl-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘Teachers gave books to Mary.’

- (25) a. John-i [Mary-wa Sue]-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-and Sue-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave a book to Mary and Sue.’

- b. John-i [Mary-eykey-wa Sue]-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat-and Sue-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave a book to Mary and Sue.’

(26) a. Sensayngnim-tul-i ses-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 teacher-pl-Nom 3-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘Three teachers gave books to Mary.’

b. *Sensayngnim-i haksayng-eykey ses-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 teacher-Nom student-Dat 3-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘Three teachers gave books to Mary.’

As the above examples show, *-ey/eykey* cannot be dropped in (22), may occur with Accusative Case marker in (23), cannot occur outside the copied plural *-tul* in (24), can mark the first NP *Mary* in (25) and cannot mark the Floating Quantifier in (26); all implying that it patterns with postpositions. Therefore, I conclude that the so-called Dative marker *-ey/eykey* is a postposition. If *-ey/eykey* is a postposition, the Goal phrase marked by it in (20a)-type dative constructions is a PP; hence sentence (20a) is the oblique Dative construction corresponding to (19a).

In sum, *-ey/eykey* is a postposition, rather than an (inherent) Case marker, at least in connection with *give*-type dative constructions. However, I retain the term ‘Dative’ for expository convenience. Recall that *-ey/eykey* cannot be simply defined as ‘to’; it may be ‘at’ or ‘in’ expressing Locative or ‘from’ for Source, etc., as discussed in 1.2. It even denotes a subject in certain constructions as will be shown shortly. Therefore, the term Dative is meant to be a cover term for a variety of uses of *-ey/eykey* with the further necessity of specifying each particular use. Yet the crucial point to be made here is that the Dative marker has the status of the category postposition.

Also, I should make clear that the term ‘dative constructions’ is meant to include any construction involving a Dative phrase. Hence, I use ‘*give*-type

dative constructions' to specify a subclass of dative constructions; i.e. the constructions with the so-called dative verbs *give*, *send*, *pass*, etc.

1.4 Argument vs. Adjunct Dative

As pointed out in 1.2, there are two different types of PPs with regard to a verb's subcategorization. One is an argument PP and the other a non-argument PP, which may be called an adjunct PP. For instance, the former is subcategorized for by a verb such as *give*, whereas the latter is not. However, although subcategorization is mainly based on semantics, semantics alone can not easily distinguish the argument/adjunct status of a PP. The following examples show the difficulty when the PPs are Goals in either English or Korean.

- (27) a. I gave a book to Mary.
b. I kicked the ball to Mary.

- (28) a. Nay-ka John-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
I-Nom John-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
'I gave a book to John.'

b. Nay-ka John-eykey kong-ul cha-ss-ta.
I-Nom John-Dat ball-Acc kick-Pst-ind
'I kicked a ball to John.'

It is clear that the verb *give* subcategorizes for its Goal argument. However, the Goal PP is not deemed to be selected by the verb *kick*. Nevertheless, the sentences with *give* and *kick* both exhibit syntactic and semantic similarities. The

two sentences both include the Theme arguments and these Theme arguments are understood as being transferred to the Goal PPs. What, then, can distinguish the argument and adjunct PPs?

The crucial fact is that an argument is lexically selected by a specific predicate, but an adjunct is not. Thus, if a lexical category is selected by a certain verb, i.e. if it is an argument of the verb, it must be compatible with the syntactic characteristics of the group of verbs to which it belongs. It is evident that the Goal PP in (27a) is selected by the verb *give*. If the verb *kick* also selects a Goal PP, then the PP Goals in both cases must show the same syntactic behaviour. Yet, they do not. For instance, Dative-Shift is allowed in (27a), but not in (27b), as the following illustrates.

- (29) a. I gave Mary a book.
b. *I kicked Mary the ball.⁵

Second, the argument Goal can be a subject of a passivized sentence, while the adjunct Goal cannot.

- (30) a. Mary was given a book.
b. *Mary was kicked the ball.

⁵ The Dative-Shifted sentence in (29) is marginally acceptable by some English speakers. However, in the following case, the distinction is clear; the PP Goal is not an argument PP.

- (i) I flew the paper plane to Mary.
*I flew Mary the paper plane.

Third, as a typical example of the Condition on Extraction Domain (Huang 1982), the NP can be topicalized out of an argument PP Goal, but not out of an adjunct PP Goal.

- (31) a. Mary, I gave a book to.
 b. *Mary, I kicked the ball to.

Korean exhibits exactly the same phenomena. The following sentences show a distinction between argument and adjunct status of Goal PPs in Korean. First, only the argument PP can be Dative-Shifted (32a), while the adjunct PP cannot (32b). This is the so-called Dative/Accusative alternation phenomenon.

- (32) a. Nay-ka John-ul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 I-Nom John-Acc book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 'I gave John a book.'
 b. *Nay-ka John-ul kong-ul cha-ss-ta.
 I-Nom John-Acc ball-Acc kick-Pst-ind
 'I kicked John a ball.'

Second, the argument Goal can be a subject under passivization (33a), but the adjunct Goal cannot (33b).⁶

⁶ The passive form of the Korean *give*-type ditransitive construction has a double Nominative structure, as shown in (33a), where the two Nominative-marked NPs are objects in the corresponding active sentence. The problem of double Nominative Case assignment (or checking) is not the main concern of this study. However, I tentatively suggest that the Nominative-marked Goal is not a subject, i.e. is not in the [Spec, Agr_SP] position for Nominative Case checking via Spec-head agreement, but rather is in a focus position. The reason for this is that the Theme cannot be left as an object when the Goal is marked with Nominative.

- (33) a. John-i chayk-i cwu-e-ci-ess-ta.
 John-Nom book-Nom give-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 'John was given a book.'
- b. *John-i kong-i cha-i-ess-ta.
 John-Nom ball-Nom give-Pass-Pst-Ind
 'John was kicked a ball.'

Third, Topicalization of the NP is allowed out of the argument PP (34a), but not out of the adjunct PP (34b).

-
- (i) *John-i chayk-ul cwu-e-ci-ess-ta.
 John-Nom book-Acc give-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 'John was given a book.'

However, the Theme can be a subject when the Goal is marked with Dative in a passive sentence.

- (ii) Chayk-i John-eykey cwu-e-ci-ess-ta.
 book-Nom John-Dat give-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 'A book was given to John.'

This shows that the Goal argument cannot be a subject independently under passivization, but the Theme can. If independent subjectivizability is a significant property of a real object in Korean, then only the Theme can be a subject of the passive sentence. Hence, only the Theme can be in [Spec, Agr_SP] to check Nominative Case under passivization. The extra Nominative Case for the Goal argument in (31a) might then be available if we follow Yoon's (1996) analysis of Korean clause structure. Yoon posits TP above Agr_SP, which is the same as my analysis (cf. 2.3.3). He further assumes that [Spec, TP] is a focus position. Thus, the double Nominative construction in (33a) may be accounted for. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the word order of the two Nominative NPs in the passivized sentence (33a) cannot be switched, as shown in (iii).

- (iii) *Chayk-i John-i cwu-e-ci-ess-ta.
 book-Nom John-Nom give-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 'A book was given to John.'

It is unclear why these two Nominative-marked NPs cannot be scrambled. However, what (iii) implies is that the Goal NP and the Theme NP are strongly associated with different positions; i.e. with [Spec, TP] and [Spec, Agr_SP], respectively, given that TP is above Agr_SP.

- (34) a. John-un nay-ka chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Top I-Nom book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 'John, I gave a book to.'
- b. *John-un nay-ka kong-ul cha-ss-ta.
 John-Top I-Nom ball-Acc kick-Pst-Ind
 'John, I kicked a ball to.'

In sum, a Dative-marked Goal is an argument PP in *give*-type ditransitive constructions and an adjunct in other constructions. I have also discussed in 1.2 that the Dative-marked Time is an adjunct PP and that marking Locative and Source with the Dative is construction-sensitive to the argument/adjunct distinction. Dative can only be used in marking an argument lexically selected by an unaccusative verb, but cannot be used elsewhere, i.e. as an adjunct PP.

1.5 Types of Dative Constructions in Korean

Although the prototypical uses of Dative-marking are generally with Time and Place (Locative/Source/Goal), as discussed, Dative-marking is also relevant to subject marking. That is, there are Dative Subject constructions such as the following.

- (35) Na-eykey ton-i philyoha-ta.
 I-Dat money-Nom need-Ind
 'I need money.'

(36) John-eykey apeci-ka mwusep-ta.

John-Dat father-Nom fearful-Ind

‘John fears his father.’

The construction in (35) is called a Dative Inversion construction, in which the Dative-marked Experiencer behaves like the subject of the sentence. Example (36) is a so-called Psych construction, in which the Dative-marked Experiencer also behaves like the subject.⁷ Yet, the crucial fact is that the Dative PPs in the above constructions are obviously arguments of the predicates. They show an alternation between Nominative and Dative marking; the sentence (37) corresponds to (35) and (38) to (36).

(37) Nay-ka ton-i philyoha-ta.

I-Nom money-Nom need-Ind

‘I need money.’

(38) John-i apeci-ka mwusep-ta.

John-Nom father-Nom fearful-Ind

‘John fears his father.’

The Agent in passives can also be another type of Dative-Subject as illustrated by the following.

⁷ For the syntactic characteristics and differences between these two types of Dative constructions, refer to Gerdts and Youn (1989a,b).

- (39) Totwuk-i kyengchal-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta.
 thief-Nom police-Dat catch-Pass-Pst-Ind
 'A thief was arrested by the police.'

However, I restrict my study to dative constructions where the NP could alternatively be marked Accusative. Therefore, I will not discuss data like (35) - (39).

The *give*-type dative construction is one of our concerns, since it contains a Dative-marked Goal argument that can alternate with Accusative-marking. The other Dative constructions that I deal with are causative constructions. Both morphological and periphrastic causatives involve a Dative-marked causee, as shown in (40a) and (40b), respectively.

- (40) a. John-i Mary-eykey os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat clothes-Acc wear-Caus-Pst-Ind
 'John put the clothes on Mary.'
- b. Na-nun Youngsoo-eykey Seoul-ey ka-key ha-ess-ta.
 I-Top Youngsoo-Dat Seoul-Dat go-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 'I had Youngsoo go to Seoul.'

In both causative constructions, the Dative-marked causee also shows all the properties of an argument PP; it can be marked with Accusative (41), be topicalized (42), and be a subject in the passive (43).

- (41) a. John-i Mary-lul os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc clothes-Acc wear-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John put the clothes on Mary.’
- b. Nay-ka Youngsoo-lul Seoul-ey ka-key ha-ess-ta.
 I-Nom Youngsoo-Acc Seoul-Dat go-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘I had Youngsoo go to Seoul.’
- (42) a. Mary-nun John-i os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
 Mary-Top John-Nom clothes-Acc wear-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary, John put the clothes on.’
- b. Youngsoo-nun Nay-ka Seoul-ey ka-key ha-ess-ta.
 Youngsoo-Top I-Nom Seoul-Dat go-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘Youngsoo, I had go to Seoul.’
- (43) a. Mary-ka (John-ey uyhay) os-i
 Mary-Nom (John-by) clothes-Nom
 ip-hi-e-ci-ess-ta.
 wear-Caus-Conn-Pss-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary was put on the clothes (by John).’
- b. Youngsoo-ka (John-ey uyhay) Seoul-ey ka-key
 Youngsoo-Nom (John-by) Seoul-to go-Comp
 toy-ess-ta.
 become-Pst-Ind
 ‘Youngsoo was made to go to Seoul (by John).’

However, we must pay careful attention to the Dative/Accusative alternation in the periphrastic causative construction since the Dative and the Accusative do not seem to alternate on a single Goal argument. Consider the following example.

- (44) Na-nun John-eykey Youngsoo-lul Seoul-ey ka-key ha-ess-ta.
I-Top John-Dat Youngsoo-Acc Seoul-Dat go-Comp do-Pst-Ind
'I had John have Youngsoo go to Seoul.'

Compared to (40b), sentence (44) includes another causee, *John*, marked by Dative.

Now, it is true that most research on Korean periphrastic causatives has focused on the Dative, Accusative, and even Nominative alternation on the causee. The following sentence is a version with a Nominative-marked causee, corresponding to sentences (40b) and (41b).

- (45) Na-nun Youngsoo-ka Seoul-ey ka-key ha-ess-ta.
I-Top Youngsoo-Nom Seoul-Dat go-Comp do-Pst-Ind
'I had Youngsoo go to Seoul.'

Even in this case, another causee is possible as (46) illustrates.

- (46) Na-nun John-eykey Youngsoo-ka Seoul-ey ka-key ha-ess-ta.
I-Top John-Dat Youngsoo-Nom Seoul-Dat go-Comp do-Pst-Ind
'I had John have Youngsoo go to Seoul.'

I claim that the Korean periphrastic causative is a double causative construction. Thus, a rough representation of the periphrastic causative would be as follows.

(47) [Causer Causee₁ [Causee₂ V-key] ha-]

Example (48) is conclusive evidence of the fact that the Dative/Accusative alternation is not a true alternation on the same argument.

(48) a. *Na-nun John-ul Youngsoo-eykey/lul Seoul-ey
 I-Top John-Acc Youngsoo-DatAcc Seoul-Dat
 ka-key ha-ess-ta.
 go-Comp do-Pst-Ind

‘I had John have Youngsoo go to Seoul.’

b. *Na-nun John-eykey/ul Youngsoo-eykey Seoul-ey
 I-Top John-Dat/Acc Youngsoo-Dat Seoul-Dat
 ka-key ha-ess-ta.
 go-Comp do-Pst-Ind

‘I had John have Youngsoo go to Seoul.’

As in (48a), if the first causee is marked by Accusative, the sentence is ruled out regardless of the second causee’s marking. If the second causee is marked by Dative, as in (48b), the sentence is ungrammatical regardless of the first causee’s marking. In short, the first causee must be marked by Dative, and the second causee by Accusative. Therefore, neither of the causees can alternate between Dative and Accusative.

The apparent alternation between Dative and Accusative on the causee is disguised by the suppression of one of the two causees. Thus, the periphrastic causative construction containing only a Dative-marked causee, e.g. (40b), is only a variant of (47) with the second causee missing, whereas that with an Accusative-marked causee, e.g. (41b), is a variant with the first causee missing.⁸

In conclusion, the periphrastic causative construction is also outside the scope of my study since it does not involve a true Dative/Accusative alternation.

⁸ I will not present further syntactic analyses of periphrastic causatives in the body of the thesis. One model fairly consistent with my point of view is presented in Cho (1987). Cho proposes structures for each periphrastic causative construction as follows.

- (i) Dat-causative: [...NP-Dat [Ø ...V-key] ha-]
- (ii) Acc-causative: [...NP-Acc [...V-key] ha-]
- (iii) Nom-causative: [...[NP-Nom...V-key] ha-]

Cho argues that in (i) the causee bearing the superficial indirect object is an indirect object in the matrix clause at an initial stratum. The complement clause without lexical subject is not an Equi infinitival but rather full-fledged plain infinitival in which subject pronoun coindexed with the causee is deleted. In (ii), the causee with Accusative Case is derived directly from the complement clause via Subject-to-Object raising. With respect to (iii), the causee here bears an initial and final subject relation in the complement clause. If I were to tentatively propose structures (considering Cho's proposal) on the basis of the general template (47), the constructions for (40b), (41b) and (45) would be represented as follows.

- (iv) Dat-causative: [Causer...Causee_{1i}-Dat [CP pro_i...V-key] ha-]
- (v) Acc-causative: [Causer...pro_i [CP Causee_{2i}-Acc [CP t_i...V-key]] ha-]
- (vi) Nom-causative: [Causer...pro_i [CP Causee_{2i}-Nom...V-key] ha-]

The above structures imply that Korean periphrastic causatives with differently marked single causees should be analyzed with different structures. Although the periphrastic causative construction is basically a double causative with two causees, one of them can be dropped; hence, represented as pro in (iv) - (vi). Thus, the apparent alternation between Dative, Accusative and Nominative on the causee is merely a superficial phenomenon caused by pro-drop of one of the two causees. (v) indicates that the construction with a Accusative-marked causee is basically the same as (vi), where the Nominative-marked causee is the embedded subject. However, Accusative Case is available through Exceptional Case Marking (Massam 1985, Ahn and Yoon 1989, Yoon 1989, Lee 1991, Lee 1992).

Chapter 2

The Minimalist Program and Case Theory in Korean

2.1 Introduction

The framework that I assume for the analysis of dative constructions is basically the Principles-and-Parameters approach.¹ Specifically, I adopt a more current version of the approach, the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993, 1995). Section 2.2 concentrates on the major changes manifested in the Minimalist Program, and specifies the adaptations that I have made of the Minimalist approach in order to combine it with my theory.² With respect to the Case theory in particular, it is also mentioned how the Shortest Movement Condition plays a role in Case-checking through Spec-head agreement.

Section 2.3 discusses the system of Korean functional categories and Case theory. I develop a Case theory based on checking theory, proposing that Case-checking is a neutralization process. The Case feature of a verb in a head position, e.g. Agr, is neutralized via Spec-head agreement, being discharged into an NP in [Spec, AgrP]. Properties of functional categories in Korean are also described, such as the property of Agr_S that licenses Nominative Case, and the TP

¹ EST (Extended Standard Theory) is used rather extensively by Chomsky (1991, 1993). The EST framework in his usage, however, includes the so-called REST (Revised Extended Theory) materialized in Chomsky's (1981) *LGB (Lectures on Government and Binding)*—hence, commonly called (*L*)GB Theory. However, the term GB (Government-Binding) Theory is said by Chomsky (1991) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) to be a misleading term that should be abandoned.

² For a comprehensive understanding of the Minimalist framework, refer to Chomsky and Lasnik (1991), Branigan (1992), Bobaljik (1992), Bures (1992), Jonas and Bobaljik (1993), Watanabe (1993), Zwart (1993), Marantz (1995) and Yoon (1996).

that is placed above the Agr_SP. The conclusion of this chapter is presented in section 2.3.

2.2 The Minimalist Framework

In the tradition of EST, the interface levels of the computational component are D-Structure, S-Structure, Phonetic Form (PF), and Logical Form (LF). However, the linguistic levels have been redefined exclusively as PF and LF, according to the optimality condition applicable to linguistic expressions and the domain of (virtual) conceptual necessity. Both of these conditions are required by the “principles of economy”. This major change requires the adjustment of other related concepts. In the following, I briefly summarize some general concepts of Chomsky (1993).

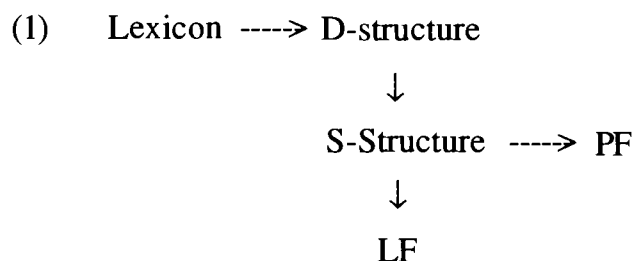
2.2.1 Linguistic Levels

Within Generative Grammar, the standard assumption is that a language consists of two components: a lexicon and a computational system. The lexicon contains the idiosyncratic properties of linguistic items. Selected items from the lexicon enter into the computational system wherein they are computed to generate derivations of Structural Descriptions (SDs) as linguistic expressions.

It is also assumed in EST that Universal Grammar (UG) specifies certain linguistic levels to be included in the computational system. The linguistic levels are symbolic systems, associated with a “representational” function, which provides the means for linguistic expressions (SDs): each SD is a sequence of

representations. Each representation of the sequence is represented at each level as a set of symbols, each of which, in turn, is a feature set.

A more familiar framework, e.g. EST, specifies four linguistic levels: two internal, D-Structure and S-Structure, and two external, PF and LF. Therefore, in this framework, each SD is a sequence $(\delta, \sigma, \pi, \lambda)$, where π and λ are representations at the external interface levels PF and LF, and δ is at the internal interface of the lexicon and the computational system, i.e. D-Structure, and σ is the derivative at S-Structure that relates the former three levels as shown in (1).



Since the role of principles of economy began to play a crucial part in the Principles-and-Parameters approach, the internal interface levels have been challenged (Chomsky 1991, Chomsky and Lasnik 1993) and finally were considered to be dispensable (Chomsky 1993). The reasons for this are quite extensively provided, in the above references.³

A fundamental reason for jettisoning the interface levels is the economy condition of UG which forces linguistic expressions (SDs) to achieve “optimality”. SDs must be optimal realizations of the interface conditions. In other words, SDs must be formal objects that satisfy the interface condition in an optimal way. One such optimal way is in terms of virtual conceptual necessity. With respect to linguistic levels, for instance, the conceptually necessary interface

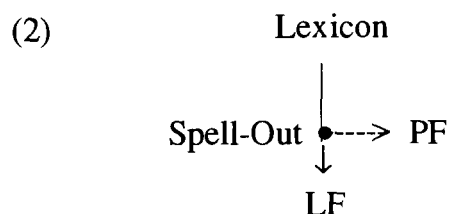
³ Chomsky (1993), in fact, devotes his whole work to justifying this claim.

levels must be the only levels. But what then are the (virtually) conceptually necessary levels?

The SD can be construed as a complex of instructions for performance systems that fall into two types: articulatory-perceptual (A-P) and conceptual-intentional (C-I), in the sense that a linguistic expression can be thought of simply as a formal representation of sound and meaning. A-P is generally taken to be PF, and C-I to be LF. Therefore, the SD contains instructions for each of these levels. Thus, the (virtually) conceptually necessary linguistic levels are the interface levels A-P and C-I, i.e. PF and LF. Now, given that an SD is a sequence of symbolic representations at each linguistic level, it should be a sequence (π, λ) , not $(\delta, \sigma, \pi, \lambda)$.

2.2.2 Derivation

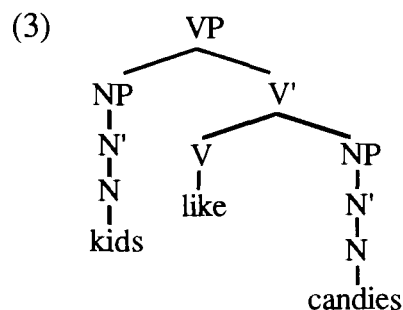
Contrary to the EST assumption about the derivation of SDs as represented in (1), the Minimalist Program assumes that a derivation proceeds from the lexicon all the way through the computational system to the external interface levels, since no intermediate internal levels are permitted by conceptual necessity.



In EST, the procedure from the lexicon to the computational system is done by what is called “Satisfy”, which is an “all-at-once” operation. All lexical items drawn from the lexicon are inserted in D-Structure before computation commences, and henceforth computation has no access to the lexicon. However,

since in the Minimalist framework there is no such constraint, the lexicon is accessible at any point while computation is proceeding.

Satisfy is now achieved by a single generalized transformation (GT). The basic role of GT is to extend a phrase marker, satisfying X-bar theory, in terms of a substitution process. GT targets a phrase marker K , adds an empty position \emptyset , and substitutes a phrase marker K' in the designated empty position \emptyset , forming the new phrase marker K^* , which must satisfy X-bar theory. Let us take an example to see how GT extends a phrase marker.



First, the lexical items N s, *kids* and *candies* and V , *like*, are selected from the lexicon. GT targets K , which is each lexical category, i.e. N and V , adds \emptyset , and substitutes K' , which are N' and V' , respectively, for the empty position. In the same way, N' and V' project to NP and VP , respectively. This is the singular substitution operation of GT. As for the binary substitution, GT targets $K=V$ ($[V \text{ like}]$), adds \emptyset to form $[V \emptyset]$, and substitutes $K'=NP$ ($[NP[N'[N \text{ candies}]]]$) for \emptyset , forming $K^*=V'$. This operation satisfies X-bar theory since the mapping $[V, NP]$ to V' satisfies the head-complement relation. GT, again targets this V' ($[V[V \text{ like}]]$), adds \emptyset to form $[\emptyset V']$, and substitutes the NP ($[NP[N'[N \text{ kids}]]]$) for \emptyset , resulting in the phrase marker represented in (3). This operation also satisfies X-bar theory since the element replacing \emptyset is a maximal projection, the Specifier of the new phrase marker VP .

Like GT, at any point in the derivation an operation called “Spell-Out” may be applied. Spell-Out switches to the PF component. Therefore, after Spell-Out, the lexicon is no longer accessible. Spell-Out bears great resemblance to the old S-Structure. For that reason, some practitioners of Minimalism still keep the term S-Structure. However, the fundamental difference between Spell-Out and S-Structure is that Spell-Out has no significant theory internal substance such as S-Structure once did, but merely refers to the process associated with a point in the derivation.⁴

After Spell-Out, the computational process continues to the outputs of PF and LF. The representational outputs of both PF and LF must satisfy each external interface condition to yield a legitimate SD. A derivation is said to “converge” if it yields a legitimate SD and to “crash” if it does not. Therefore, SD converges at PF if π is legitimate and crashes at PF if it is not; SD converges at LF if λ is legitimate and crashes at LF if it is not.

Some constraints are relevant only to the PF output π , and others only to the LF output λ . They are the constraints of PF and LF, respectively; for instance, constraints on stylistics in PF and constraints on covert (invisible) movement in LF. Each is relevant only in its own component. The parts of the computational system that are relevant to both components are the “overt syntax”. Therefore, overt syntax is the entire computational system except for the two components, PF and LF.

⁴ According to Jonas and Bobaljik (1993), who also use the term S-Structure as loose shorthand to refer to the point in the derivation that feeds the PF, there is no meaningful level of representation, with properties and conditions of its own, that can be called an S-Structure as in the model of Chomsky (1981) and related work.

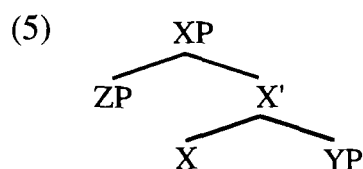
2.2.3 X-bar Theory

When lexical items drawn from the lexicon enter into the computational system, they must be presented in an accessible form. The categories that build up an X-bar structure include both lexical categories such as N(oun), V(erb), A(djective) and P(reposition/Postposition) and non-lexical categories such as C(omplementizer) and INFL, which is broken down into T(ense) and Agr(eement) in the Minimalist framework. Besides these zero-level categories, other category levels are also made possible by projecting the zero-level categories that are heads of their projections. Chomsky (1986b), following Jackendoff (1977), presents the following X-bar schemata.

- (4) a. $X' = X \ X''^*$
b. $X'' = X''^* \ X'$

X is a head, and hence may be represented as X^0 . X'' refers to a maximal projection, and hence may also be represented as XP. X''^* stands for free—in other words, zero or more—occurrences of a maximal projection according to Chomsky (1986b). However, I assume Kayne's (1983) claim that the options for X''^* are either zero or one. Therefore, the maximal projection of the complement of a head (X'' in (4a)) and the Specifier of the X' (X'' in (4b)) may or may not occur.

Of more importance are the basic relations, typically local, between the head and other categories in structure.



In structure (5), the relation of ZP to X is called a “Spec(ifier)-head” relation, and that of X to YP a “head-complement” relation. Another relation is “head-head”, for example, the relation between the head X and the head Y of YP that is the complement of X. The critical role of these local relations in the Minimalist Program is in dispensing with such notions as head government, which used to play a critical role in all modules of grammar in EST. Therefore, all the parts and the effects of head government must be reformulated, as will be discussed shortly.

2.2.4 Government-based vs. Agr-based Case Theory

Case theory has been developed in Chomsky and Lasnik (1977), Chomsky (1981), Vergnaud (1982) and related works. Most of the related effects can be captured by the Case Filter, which requires that every phonetically realized NP be assigned Case. Chomsky (1981) states that the properties of structural Case assignment for Nominative and Accusative are as follows.⁵

- (6) a. NP is Nominative if governed by Agr.
 b. NP is Accusative if governed by a transitive V.

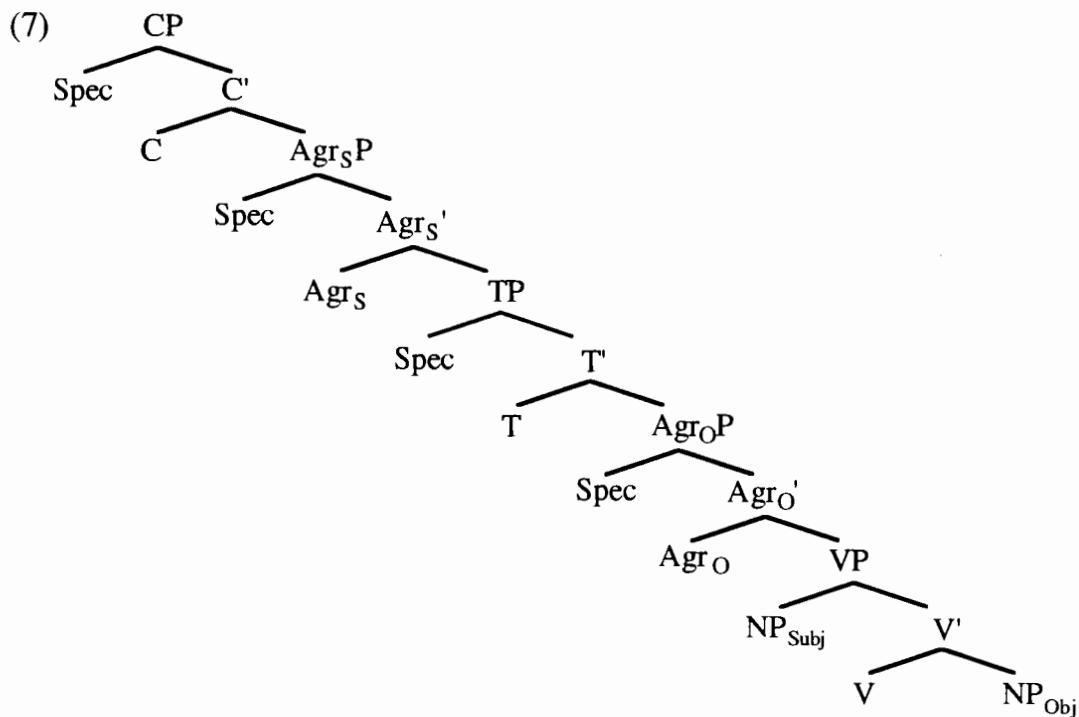
Within EST, those Case assignment properties are interpreted more specifically as a finite Tense that is responsible for Nominative Case and a

⁵ I substitute the term “Accusative” for Chomsky’s “Objective”. The other properties of Case assignment, such as oblique, genitive and inherent Case, are omitted here.

transitive verb that is responsible for Accusative Case. As Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) point out, this theory shows an unsatisfactory disjunctive formation. Nominative Case assignment may be explained in terms of Spec-head agreement in that the subject is assigned Nominative Case in [Spec, IP]. On the other hand, Accusative Case is assigned to a complement NP that the verb governs, hence there exists a head-complement relation. According to Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), it would be more natural to suppose that structural Case in general is the realization of a Spec-head relation. What makes this possible is the introduction of the functional categories in Pollock (1989) and the so-called split INFL hypothesis of Chomsky (1991), resulting in the Agr-based Case theory proposed in the Minimalist Program.

The functional categories, T(P) and Agr(P) proposed and verified by Pollock (1989), are adopted by and developed in Chomsky (1991). In Chomsky (1991, 1993), and Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) Agr is further divided into two categories, Agr_S and Agr_O to distinguish the two functional roles of Agr. The basic structure of the (English) clause is represented in (7).⁶

⁶ The structure in (7) is almost the same as that in Chomsky (1993). As he mentions, some other plausible functional categories, for example, that of negation Neg(P) in Pollock (1989) are not considered, simply because they are irrelevant to my discussion.



It is assumed that Agr is a collection of ϕ -features: abstract morphological features relevant to agreement (gender, number and person), not the representation of the agreement morpheme. It is also assumed that lexical items are fully inflected when they are drawn from the lexicon and ready to enter the computational system. The Minimalist approach provides a so-called checking theory to explain inflectional morphology. That is, the verb's inflectional system is accounted for in terms of checking such morphological features.

The agreement features manifested on the V are checked by raising and adjoining to Agr in the form of complex Agr, [_{Agr} V, AgrP]. If the Agr is Agr_S, then the verb has been moved up to the Agr_S position, presumably via T, already having checked the Tense feature and ending up with the complex, [_{Agr_S} [_T [_{Agr_O} V Agr_O] T] Agr_S]. The verbal inflectional checking is, therefore, checking head-head relations: V to Agr_O, to T, and to Agr_S,⁷ and the process of checking the V-features

⁷ Strictly speaking, these relations are those between the head V, or complex head, i.e. V-I, and functional categories.

of the functional categories, Agr and T. If the features in each head-head relation match, then the derivation converges, and if not, it crashes.

The morphological ϕ -features may also be manifested on NPs since agreement morphology is shared by V and NP. These agreement features of the NP are checked by raising the NP to the [Spec, AgrP] position. Now, checking the features on the NP is checking a Spec-head relation: Spec to Agr.

Case is also involved in the relation of the NP in the [Spec, AgrP] position to the head Agr. Case is manifested on the NP alone. Therefore, Spec-head agreement in the Agr projection involves two relations: “agreement”, when the features appear on both the NP in Spec position and the head, and “Case”, when the features appear only on the NP. Yet, what is actually responsible for Case is not Agr_{O/S}. Rather, when the NP is in the [Spec, Agr_OP] position, raised from the object position for Accusative Case to be checked, the process is accomplished by matching the Case feature of the V (raising to Agr_O). When the NP is raised to the [Spec, Agr_SP] position from the Subject position internal to VP,⁸ Nominative Case is assigned or checked by T (raising to Agr_S).⁹

2.2.5 Shortest Movement and Domains

It has been mentioned above that structural relations are local. The concept of “locality” implies a variety of roles. In addition to the local relations in representation in X-bar structures discussed in 2.2.3, the locality condition, as an effect of the economy principle, i.e. Shortest Movement, is employed in

⁸ I assume the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis (Fukui 1986, Fukui and Speas 1986, Kitagawa 1986, Sportiche 1988, and Koopman and Sportiche 1991).

⁹ Chomsky (1993) overlooks the possibility of NP-raising to [Spec, TP] for Case assignment, then to [Spec, Agr_SP] for agreement. For development of this option, refer to Bures (1992), Bobaljik and Carnie (1992), and Jonas (1992).

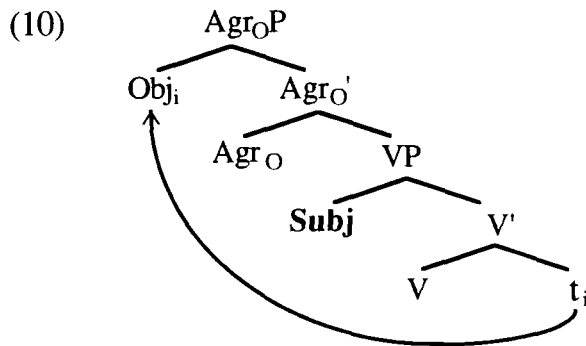
movement. The Shortest Movement condition subsumes Rizzi's (1990) Relativized Minimality. The Head Movement Constraint (HMC) of Travis (1984), in turn, merges into Relativized Minimality, given that the HMC can be derived from the ECP as demonstrated in Baker (1988). As a unified condition for A, A', and head movement, Relativized Minimality requires no category α , a potential barrier for movement of β as described below.

- (8) (i) α is an A Specifier c-commanding β , β in an A chain.
- (ii) α is an A' Specifier c-commanding β , β in an A' chain.
- (iii) α is a head c-commanding β , β in an X^0 chain.

Therefore, the Shortest Movement condition is interpreted in Jonas and Bobaljik (1993) as follows.

- (9) *Shortest Movement*: the target of movement must be no farther than the first appropriate landing site such as;
 - (i) Spec of AgrP, TP, VP... for A-movement
 - (ii) Spec of CP and adjoined positions for A'-movement
 - (iii) A head position for Head Movement

In regard to the Shortest Movement condition, there is a problem left unsolved in Chomsky (1991): NP raising to [Spec, AgrP] results in crossing paths, a violation of the Shortest Movement condition, as the following representation illustrates.

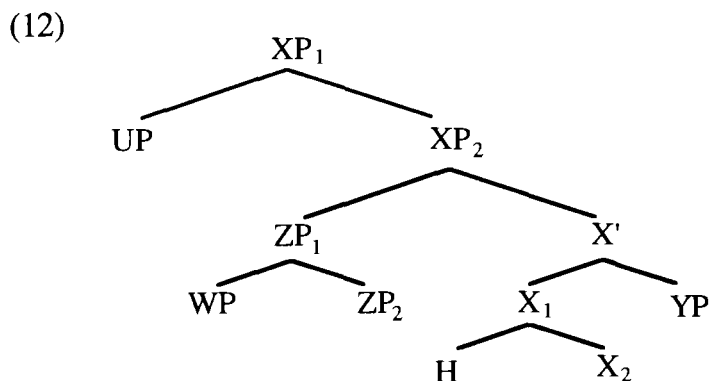


Object NP raising, which is called “Object Shift” (OS) in the Minimalist literature,¹⁰ for Case checking, crosses the closest A-Spec position, which is the VP-internal subject position occupied by the Subject NP or its trace.

To solve this problem, Chomsky (1993) sharpens the notion of Shortest Movement by introducing the concept of “domains” in which the notion of “distance” is redefined. He still assumes the following.

- (11) a. α dominates β if every segment of α dominates β .
 b. α contains β if some segment of α dominates β .

To clarify (11), let us take the same structure exemplified in Chomsky (1993).



¹⁰ Mahajan (1990) uses the term “Argument Shift”. For interpretation of the term “Object Shift”, see Jonas and Bobaljik (1993).

In (12), XP dominates ZP, X' and all the descendent nodes of ZP and X' since every segment, XP_1 and XP_2 , dominates them. However, XP contains UP, but does not dominate it since only one segment of XP, i.e. XP_1 dominates UP. The same holds between ZP and WP and X and H.

Now, consider the following set of definitions.

- (13) The **domain** of a head α is the set of nodes contained in $\text{Max}(\alpha)$ that are distinct from and do not contain α , where $\text{Max}(\alpha)$ is the least full-category maximal projection dominating α .
- (14) The **complement domain** of α is the subset of the domain reflexively dominated by the complement of the construction.
- (15) The **residue** of α is the domain of α minus its complement domain.

Thus, the domain of X in (12) is {UP, ZP, WP, YP, H} since $\text{Max}(X)$ is [XP_1 , XP_2] and the set of nodes contained in these is {UP, ZP, WP, X', X, YP, H}. Among these, the set of nodes that are distinct from and do not contain X is {UP, ZP, WP, YP, H}. The domain of H is the same minus H. The complement domain of X (and H) is YP and whatever it dominates. Hence, the residue of X is {UP, ZP, WP, H}.

Chomsky (1993) further refines the definition of minimal subsets of the domain.

(16) The **minimal domain** of α , $\text{Min}(S)$ is K such that for any $\gamma \in S$, some $\beta \in K$ reflexively dominates γ ;

(i) K = the smallest subset of S

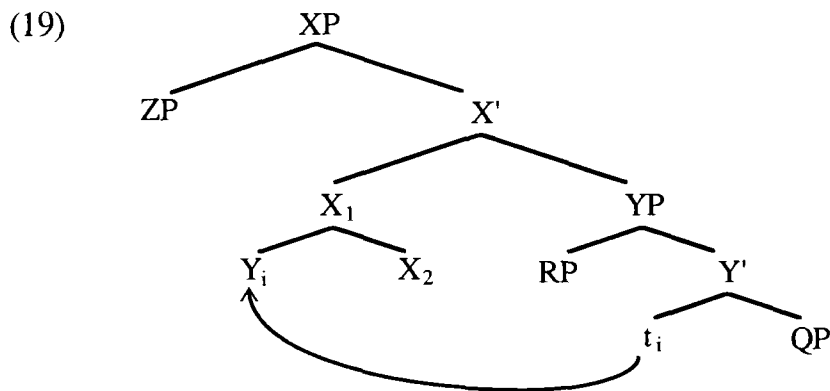
(ii) S = the domain of α

(17) The **internal domain** of α is the minimal complement domain of α .

(18) The **checking domain** of α is the minimal residue of α .

The minimal domain of X in (12), $\text{Min}(S(X))$ is $\{UP, ZP, WP, YP, H\}$ since the smallest domain of α whose member nodes that reflexively dominate the member nodes of the set of the domain of α is $\{UP, ZP, WP, YP, H\}$. The internal domain and checking domain of X are $\{YP\}$, and $\{UP, ZP, WP, H\}$, respectively. The minimal domain of H , $\text{Min}(S(H))$ is $\{UP, ZP, WP, YP\}$; its internal and checking domains are $\{YP\}$, and $\{UP, ZP, WP\}$, respectively.

An important fact is that $\text{Min}(S(\alpha))$ is defined derivationally, not representationally. This distinction does not matter for structure (12) where α is assumed to be a trivial, i.e. one-membered, chain. However, suppose there has been movement involved in (12). Let us simplify the structure as in (19).



In (19), movement of the head Y forms the chain $CH = (Y, t)$. The domain of this chain is defined in the same way as for the preceding case. The difference is in the number of chain members: a trivial versus a non-trivial chain. $S(\alpha)$ is defined, in this case, for the newly formed chain. In more technical terms, when α is a non-trivial chain, i.e. $CH = (\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n)$ with $n > 1$, $\text{Min}(S(\alpha))$ is defined when α is formed by raising α_1 . Therefore, the notion $\text{Min}(S(\alpha))$ should be understood derivationally. The domain of a non-trivial chain is defined as follows.

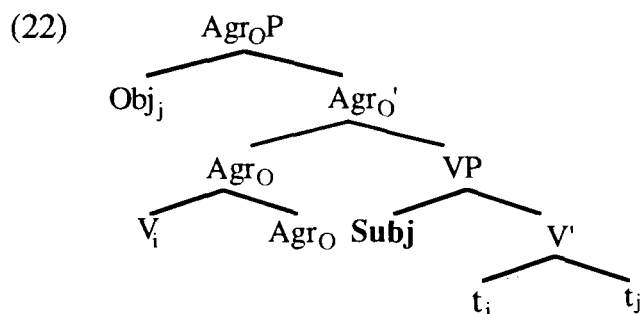
(20) $S(\alpha) = S(\alpha_1)$ not containing any α_i , when α is $CH = (\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n)$ with $n > 1$.

Thus, the domain of the chain (Y, t) is the set of nodes contained in $\text{Max}(Y)$, which is $\{ZP, RP, QP\}$; its minimal domain, $\text{Min}(S(Y, t))$ in (19) is the same; its internal domain is QP ; and its checking domain is $\{ZP, RP\}$.

The minimal domain of a head provides a novel concept of distance in connection with Shortest Movement. Chomsky (1993) proposes the following definition of “equidistance” to sharpen the notion of Shortest Movement.

(21) If α, β are in the same minimal domain, they are equidistant from γ .

To see the problem of Shortest Movement, i.e. as a violation of Relativized Minimality, let us take structure (10) in which V has been moved to Agr_0 as shown in (22), which is the same structure as (19).



The raising of V to Agr_O forms the chain (V, t_i) with its minimal domain {Obj, Subj, t_j }. Within this minimal domain, the two Spec positions, [Spec, Agr_OP] and [Spec, VP] are equidistant from the position of the complement of V, now occupied by t_j . Therefore, OS crossing the VP-internal subject position does not violate the Shortest Movement condition.

2.3. Case Theory in Korean

In this section, I elaborate a Case theory based on checking theory. I propose that Case-checking is a neutralization process. The head properties of functional categories in Korean are also discussed. The head that is responsible for Nominative Case is Agr_S, and not TP as in English.

2.3.1. Case-Assigning vs. Case-Checking

In Korean, Case is manifested on NP by Case markers: *-i/ka* is attached to an NP for Nominative Case and *-ul/lul* for Accusative Case.¹¹

¹¹ The allomorphs of these Case markers are phonologically conditioned. If the NP ends with a consonant, *-i*, and *-ul* occur, while if the NP ends with a vowel, *-ka* and *-lul* occur, as shown in the sentences in (23).

- (23) a. Tom-i Bill-ul miweha-n-ta.
 Tom-Nom Bill-Acc hate-Prs-Ind
 'Tom hates Bill.'
- b. Koyangi-ka cwi-lul cap-ass-ta.
 cat-Nom mouse-Acc catch-Pst-Ind
 'The cat caught a mouse.'

With respect to the realization of these Case markers, there are two possible processes along the lines discussed in Chomsky (1993). The discussion of the NP's inflectional process is parallel to that of verbal inflections. Simply put, the options for realizing the Case markers are based on whether or not the NP is marked with a Case marker when it is taken from the lexicon and enters the computational system. Let us call the first option Theory I, and the other Theory II.

Theory I takes an uninflected NP from the lexicon—unmarked with any morphologically realized markers in Korean. For this scenario, I assume that argument NPs are unrelated to Case features or properties. In this sense, the NPs may be said to be totally “bare” with respect to Case. In other words, Case is not provided morphologically, but rather structurally. This bare NP now raises to [Spec, AgrP] to be assigned its Case.

The process by which the raised NP gets Case does not seem to deviate much from checking theory if Case is assumed to be available in the Spec position. For example, let us take Accusative Case for the sake of concreteness. This Case is available in the form of features charged in [Spec, AgrP] by the raising of V, which bears the Case-assigning property, to Agr. Therefore, the idea of the

checking theory holds: the [+Case] V raises to Agr and charges the [Spec, AgrP] position with Case features mediated by Agr.

Here is another fact consistent with the checking theory proposed in the Minimalist program. Chomsky (1993) argues that features related to inflections must disappear after they are checked. In my theory, what makes the features disappear after checking is something like an energy-preservation principle with an effect similar to the energy-shift process in physics. Case is like a form of energy that transfers to another place, i.e. the Spec position. This transfer process may be called neutralization in that the Case feature of V is discharged by charging the Spec position with the Case feature via Spec-head agreement.

The Case Filter, in this sense, still has the purpose it had in EST. Consequently, NP raising must occur before Spell-Out, since in PF the abstract Case feature assigned to the NP in [Spec, AgrP] must be interpreted as an inflected phonological item, i.e. the Accusative Case marker *-ul/lul*.

Now, let us turn to Theory II, which takes the NP from the lexicon in fully inflected form; in Korean, with the Case marker. I assume that the basic idea is the same as for Theory I. However, Theory II seems more like checking theory. The main difference from Theory I is that the morphology of the Case marker, although taken along with the NP from the lexicon, has inert features. Therefore, it is invisible until it is activated. The activation of the Case morphology is achieved through the same neutralization process applied in Theory I. However, in this case, discharging the Case feature of V charges the inert Case feature of the NP that is, in fact, manifested on the Case marker. Therefore, the process has checking capacity; the derivation converges if the Case feature of V matches that of the NP, inert, but specified, for example, as [+Acc] if the marker is *-ul/lul*. However, the derivation crashes if the features do not match, for example, if

[Spec, Agr₀P] is occupied by an NP marked with *-i/ka*, which has the feature specified [+Nom].

To summarize, Theory I raises an NP without any Case-related feature or morphology to get Case by becoming charged in the [Spec, AgrP] position that has already been charged with the Case feature by the [+Case] V discharging its Case feature. The whole process may be defined as neutralization; to charge one item, the other associated item is discharged. Hence, this theory is more like that of Case-assignment. However, Theory II takes an NP marked already by a Case marker from the lexicon. An NP raises, along with the inert marker specified for Case, to the [Spec, AgrP] position. In this position, the Case feature is checked via Spec-head agreement and semantically activated if the Case features of NP and V are congruent. Therefore, Theory II is more like checking theory. Another aspect of Theory II is that the Case Filter may be interpreted as an interface condition requiring that all morphological features be checked somewhere for convergence (Chomsky 1993).

2.3.2. Object Shift and Word Order

Overall, Theory II may be deemed more theoretically consistent with the Minimalist approach. Moreover, it also has an empirical advantage over Theory I if the Minimalist Program is pursued. Here, the essential points are set forth. Let us again consider the Accusative Case checking involved in OS.

As briefly mentioned above, OS occurs before Spell-Out in Theory I because of the phonological realization of the Case markers in PF. In technical terms, following Chomsky (1993), OS in Theory I must be “overt”. However, in Theory II, there is no theoretical or empirical necessity for overt OS. Theoretically, the Case marker can be activated and thereafter become semantically visible via OS

in LF, since PF does not need to apply any rules to the NP, which has been accompanied by the Case marker all the way from the lexicon. Supporting this argument is the principle of “Procrastinate”, which is another effect of the economy condition. According to Chomsky’s (1993) explanation, the intuitive idea of the Procrastinate principle is that LF movement is cheaper than overt movement; the computational system tries to reach PF as fast as possible, minimizing overt syntax. Therefore, Theory II postulates a “covert” OS, i.e. OS as an LF process.

The empirical strength of Theory II can be illustrated with respect to word order in Korean. In fact, word order provides a crucial metric for the parameters relating to overt versus covert OS (Chomsky 1993, Chomsky and Lasnik 1993). For instance, let us consider the difference between an SVO language like English and a VSO language like Irish. The two types of languages both have the basic structure SVO, assuming the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis. In VSO languages, V raises overtly to Agr, but S and O raise to [Spec, Agr_SP] and [Spec, Agr_OP] in LF. In SVO languages, there are three logical possibilities. First, V and S raise overtly and O raises covertly. Second, S raises overtly, and V and O raise in LF. Lastly, V, S and O show no overt movement at all: checking is accomplished in LF.

At this point, another parametric description defining the variation is available in terms of the strength of inflectional features. The Minimalist Program maintains that V-features of functional categories are responsible for movement of V, while N-features of functional categories are responsible for movement of NP. These features are further assumed to be either strong or weak. Only strong features force overt movement. As far as English is concerned, Chomsky (1993) argues that (i) the V-features of Agr are weak, (ii) the N-features of T are strong and (iii) the N-features of Agr are weak. Due to (i), V-raising in English occurs after Spell-Out, unlike French-type languages which show overt V-raising. Hence,

the English-French divergence, a major issue in Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1991), can be accounted for, dispensing with V-lowering at S-Structure for English verbal inflections.¹² By (ii), the NP must raise to [Spec, TP] before Spell-Out, or the derivation crashes. This is an effect of the Extended Projection Principle, which requires [Spec, IP] to be realized. Therefore, Chomsky (1993) points out that the Extended Projection Principle now reduces to a morphological property of T. On the other hand, in Irish-type VSO languages, where the N-features are weak, the Procrastinate principle blocks overt NP raising. As a consequence of (i) and (ii), (iii) assures SVO word order in English. If the N-features of Agr were strong, OS would be overt, crashing the derivation with SOV.

Let us now return to Korean word order and the evaluation of Theory I and Theory II. Although Korean has quite free word order, the canonical word order is SOV. Putting aside free word order as a byproduct of a scrambling process associated with focus, I assume that a convergent derivation should yield the canonical word order SOV.

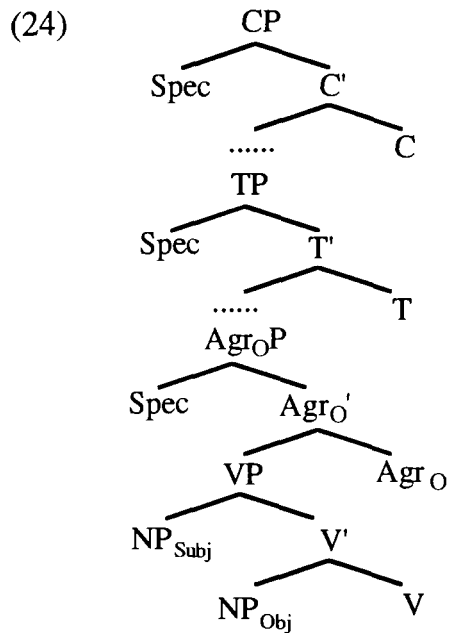
Prima facie, neither Theory I nor Theory II appears to have trouble yielding SOV word order. Consider the basic clause structure of Korean as represented in

¹² However, Branigan and Collins (1993), on the basis of Pesetsky's (1989) paradigm shown below, argue that under certain conditions in English, the V moves to Agr_O before Spell-Out. They also show what motivates V to Agr and how the associated conditions function in derivations. See Branigan and Collins (1993) for the details.

Pesetsky's (1989) paradigm

- (i) a. Bill frequently saw the movie.
b. *Bill saw frequently the movie.
- (ii) a. Bill frequently looked at the wall.
b. Bill looked frequently at the wall.
- (iii) a. Bill did not look at the wall.
b. *Bill looked not at the wall.

(24). However, note that the representation is only approximate with respect to TP and Agr_SP since I will argue that Korean has a different hierarchical structure with respect to these two projections. At the moment, I ignore the Agr_S projection.



As expected from this structure, regardless of whether the subject and the object raise overtly or covertly,¹³ the word order is still SOV. Raising of V does not affect the order either, since Korean is a head-final language.

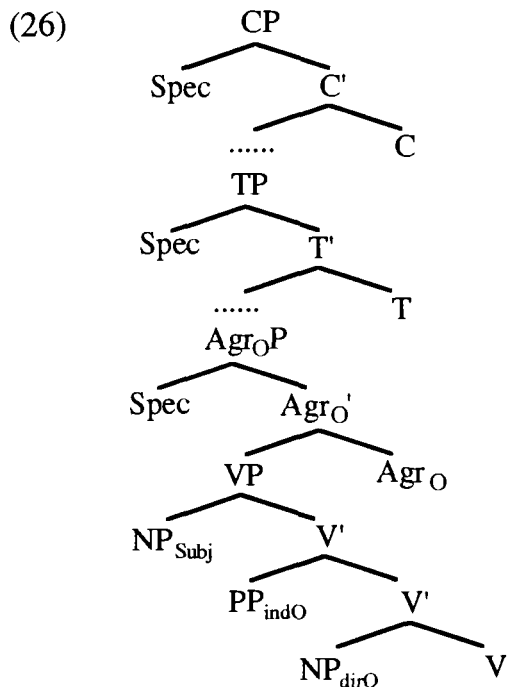
However, when the *give*-type dative construction is taken into consideration, the two theories show different consequences. The canonical word order of the dative construction is SO_{ind}O_{dir}V, as the following example shows.¹⁴

¹³ Note also that TI and T II both assume Subject and Object NPs raise at the same point. Therefore, the possibility of overt OS and covert Subject raising is excluded.

¹⁴ For more detailed discussion of the word order of dative double object constructions, refer to Chapter 3.

- (25) John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 'John gave a book to Mary.'

Given that the dative object is treated as a PP in my analysis, it is adjoined to V' (cf. Chapter 3). Thus, the structure (24) is extended as follows.¹⁵



Obviously, the derivation is not convergent with overt OS, which would leave the indirect object (PP) after the direct object. Therefore, Theory I, in which OS is assumed to be overt, cannot have a convergent derivation. On the contrary, Theory II has the canonical word order since there is no overt movement until the derivation reaches LF. Therefore, Theory II is more consistent with the Minimalist approach, not only theoretically, but also empirically.

¹⁵ As a matter of fact, the object NP in this *give*-type construction is not the complement of the dative verb; there is more structure between the verb and the object (cf. Chapter 3). I ignore this for the purpose of the present discussion.

derivation reaches LF. Therefore, Theory II is more consistent with the Minimalist approach, not only theoretically, but also empirically.

2.3.3 Properties of Functional Categories in Korean

To complete the discussion of Korean clause structure, I next discuss properties of Agr and T in Korean and show how these properties are related to Case theory.

2.3.3.1 Agr_o

First of all, Korean does not use an agreement system such as is commonly found cross-linguistically. It is quite unlikely that object agreement exists in Korean. But one might argue that Plural Copying, a peculiar process of Korean, is a type of object agreement as well as subject agreement. Let us consider the following data.

- (27) a. Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-ul pwul-le-(tul) tul-i-ess-ta.
teacher-Nom student-pl-Acc call-Conn-pl come-Caus-Pst-Ind
'The teacher called in the students.'
- b. Sensayngnim-tul-i ku haksayng-ul pwul-le-(tul)
teacher-pl-Nom the student-pl-Acc call-Conn-pl
tul-i-ess-ta.
come-Caus-Pst-Ind
'The teachers called in the student.'

Plural (marker) copying, first named by Song (1975), is a process of optionally marking the plural *-tul* on a variety of non-nominal categories in some way associated with a plural nominal. One such category, for instance, is V, as in (27). The sentences in (27) seem to show plurality connected with the object NP in (27a) and the subject NP in (27b). This preliminary observation might lead to the claim that the plural marker attachment to the verb is an (optional) realization of Agr. However, this claim immediately faces difficulties handling some additional data.

(28) a. *Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-ul pwul-tul-ess-ta.

teacher-Nom student-pl-Acc call-pl-Pst-Ind

‘The teacher called the students.’

b. *Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-ul pwul-ess-tul-ta.

teacher-Nom student-pl-Acc call-Pst-pl-Ind

‘The teacher called the students.’

c. *Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-ul pwul-ess-ta-tul.

teacher-Nom student-pl-Acc call-Pst-Ind-pl

‘The teacher called the students.’

As demonstrated in (28), the plural marker *-tul* cannot be attached to a simple verb, unlike verbs in (27) which are complex verbs. The plural marking on a verbal projection is further constrained by the fact that such marking cannot occur on the main verb.

- (29) a. *Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-ul pwul-le tul-i-ess-ta-tul.
 teacher-Nom student-pl-Acc call-Conn come-Caus-Pst-Ind-pl
 'The teacher called in the students.'
- b. *Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-ul pwul-le tul-i-ess-tul-ta.
 teacher-Nom student-pl-Acc call-Conn come-Caus-Pst-pl-Ind
 'The teacher called in the students.'
- c. *Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-ul pwul-le tul-i-tul-ess-ta.
 teacher-Nom student-pl-Acc call-Conn come-Caus-pl-Pst-Ind
 'The teacher called in the students.'
- d. *Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-ul pwul-le tul-tul-i-ess-ta.
 teacher-Nom student-pl-Acc call-Conn come-pl-Caus-Pst-Ind
 'The teacher called in the students.'

Putting (28) and (29) together, it may be argued that the plural marker cannot be affixed to the main (or matrix) verb.¹⁶ Therefore, the claim that plural marker copying on the verb is a reflex of Agreement is obviously misleading.¹⁷ In

¹⁶ In fact, there are some constructions, where it is possible; see footnote 17.

¹⁷ Although a precise analysis of plural copying is not my concern here, my tentative idea is that plural copying in general may be explained in terms of the plurality feature associated with a clause in some way. In other words, occurrence of the plural marker is not an instantiation of plurality linked only to the category on which the marker is attached, but an instantiation of plurality of the whole clause in which the marker is contained. This argument is supported by the examples in (28) and (29); when the plural marker is associated with a verb, the verb cannot be a main verb, assuming that such constructions involve multi-predicate structures. Plurality is related to the embedded clause in such a manner that this feature is located in a (functional) position as high as C so that the feature governs the clause—but not in [Spec, CP] considering the word order in Korean. Note that the plural marker occurs in the final position of verbal inflections (cf. (28)). This idea can be further generalized to any CP, as well as to an embedded CP. Typically, imperative and

conclusion then, I assume that Korean lacks object-verb agreement; in other words, Korean Agr_O does not bear the V-features of Agr_O. Agr_O in Korean only has the N-features, which forces OS, for Case.

2.3.3.2 Agr_S

It has been argued (in Choe 1988, Han 1987, Kuno 1978, among others) that Honorification in Korean is a rare instance of subject-verb agreement in that Honorification involves a dependency relation between the honorific suffix *-si* and the subject as its trigger. Consider the following data.

interrogative sentences allow plural copying on the main verb, as illustrated in (i). Additional data are presented in (ii) - (iv) showing the connectability of plurality to an (embedded) CP. (All the following data are from Song (1975), Kuh (1987), and Kim (1990) with a slight alteration.)

- (i) a. Ili o-si-o-**tul**.
here come-Hon-Imp-pl
'Come here.'
- b. Eti ka-sipni-ka-**tul**?
where go-Hon-Q-pl
'Where are you going?' or
'Are you going somewhere?'
- (ii) a. Twulle anc-ase-**tul** iyaki-lul ha-n-ta.
around sit-and-pl story-Acc do-Prs-Ind
'(They) sitting around, are talking.'
- b. Siksaha-ko-**tul** ca-ss-ta.
eat-and-pl sleep-Pst-Ind
'(They) ate and went to bed.'
- (iii) Ku chayk-ul ilk-e-**tul** po-ass-ni?
the book-Acc read-Conn-pl see-Pst-Q
'Have you tried to read that book?'
- (iv) Nehuytul kongpwuha-ki-**tul** silh-ni?
you (pl) study-Comp(Nom)-pl hate-Q
'Don't you guys like studying?'

- (30) a. Apenim-i/kkeyse o-(si)-ess-ta.
 father-Nom/Hon come-Hon-Pst-Ind
 'Father has come.'
- b. Apenim-i/kkeyse ku ai-lul ttayli-(si)-ess-ta.
 father-Nom/Hon the child-Acc beat-Hon-Pst-Ind
 'Father beat the kid.'
- c. Ku ai-ka apenim-ul ttayli-(*si)-ess-ta.
 the child-Nom father-Acc beat-Hon-Pst-Ind
 'The kid beat (my) father.'

Though the above sentences show that the occurrence of the honorific suffix *-si* is optional, this does not mean that the sentences carry the same meaning regardless of the honorific *-si*. The sentence without *-si* lacks the speaker's intention of expressing deference to the subject, even when the subject is marked with the honorific form of the Nominative marker *-kkeyse*. Sentences (30a) and (30b) demonstrate that the subject can trigger honorification on either an intransitive or a transitive verb. Comparison of (30b) and (30c) demonstrates the crucial point that the dependency relation of the honorific *-si* is exclusively subject-oriented. This property of subject-orientation of the honorific *-si* is widely used as a diagnosis for subjecthood in Korean (Kuno and Kim 1985, Youn 1985, Youn 1989, Gerdts and Youn 1989b).

I conclude, therefore, based on the above arguments, that Korean lacks the V-features of Agr_O, hence, no object-verb agreement exists. On the contrary, subject Honorification, considered as an instantiation of subject-verb agreement,

indicates that the V-features of Agr_S must be checked in terms of Spec-head agreement.

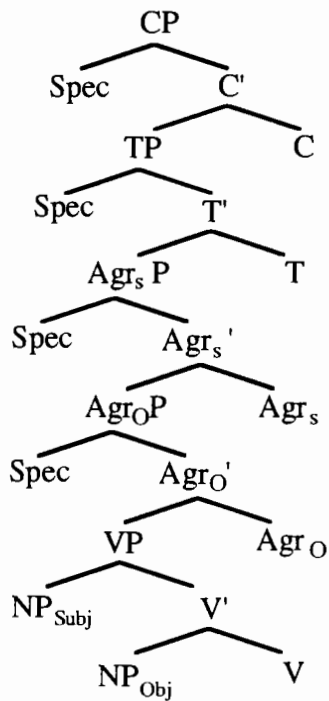
2.3.3.3 Tense

Korean Tense differs in two major ways from that of English-type languages. First is the layout relation to other functional categories, to Agr_S in particular. As represented in the following sentence, the past tense suffix *-ess* is preceded by the honorific suffix *-si*, which is treated as Agr_S.

- (31) Apenim-i/kkeyse ku ai-lul ttayli-si-ess-ta.
 father-Nom/Hon the child-Acc beat-Hon-Pst-Ind
 'Father beat the kid.'

T must be located higher than the Agr_S in the structure. So the complete clause structure will be as in (32), in which TP is understood as IP.

(32)



The second difference is that Korean T is not responsible for Nominative Case. Consider the following data, which include periphrastic *-key ha-* causative constructions.

(33) a. Halapeci-kkeyse [apeci-ka/kkeyse chayk-ul ilk-key]

Grandfather-Nom(Hon) father-Nom/Hon book-Acc read-Comp

ha-si-ess-ta.

do-Hon-Pst-Ind

‘Grandfather had father read a book.’

b. *Halapeci-kkeyse [apeci-ka/kkeyse chayk-ul ilk-ess-key]

Grandfather-Nom(Hon) father-Nom/Hon book-Acc read-Pst-Comp

ha-si-ess-ta.

do-Hon-Pst-Ind

‘Grandfather had father read a book.’

- c. Halapeci-kkeyse [apeci-ka/kkeyse chayk-ul ilk-usi-key]
 Grandfather-Nom(Hon) father-Nom/Hon book-Acc read-Hon-Comp
 ha-si-ess-ta.
 do-Hon-Pst-Ind
 ‘Grandfather had father read a book.’

In periphrastic causatives, the embedded clause contains a Nominative-marked NP as its subject. Therefore, the embedded clause can be considered an IP, which is TP in my framework. This complement clause of the matrix verb *ha-* does not license tense, as shown in (33b). Thus, the clause seems to be an infinitival one, in which T is occupied by a null tense element or a feature like [-Tense]. The fact that despite the absence of T, Nominative Case is available in the clause, indicates that T is not responsible for Nominative Case. On the other hand, as (33c) shows, Agr_S can occur in the clause. From this, it may be inferred that Agr_S is responsible for Nominative Case. This line of argument has been made in earlier work such as Choe (1988) and Han (1987) wherein Nominative Case in Korean is claimed to be assigned by Agr.¹⁸

This point of view may be further supported by another type of causative construction: morphological causatives as in (34).

- (34) a. Halapeci-kkeyse apeci_i-eykey [PRO_i chayk-ul ilk]
 Grandfather-Nom(Hon) father-Dat PRO book-Acc read
 -hi-ess-ta.
 -Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘Grandfather had father read a book.’

¹⁸ Contra their position, Y. Kang (1986), M. Kang (1988) and Kim (1990) claim that Nominative Case in Korean is not assigned by Agr, nor by Tense, but rather is a default Case.

- b. *Halapeci-kkeyse apeci_i-eykey [PRO_i chayk-ul ilk-ess]
 Grandfather-Nom(Hon) father-Dat book-Acc read-Pst
 -hi-ess-ta.
 -Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘Grandfather had father read a book.’

- c. *Halapeci-kkeyse apeci_i-eykey [PRO_i chayk-ul ilk-usi]
 Grandfather-Nom(Hon) father-Dat book-Acc read-Hon
 -hi-ess-ta.
 -Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘Grandfather had father read a book.’

Let us assume first that the morphological causative affix *-hi* is the matrix verb into which the lower verb in the complement clause of *-hi* is to be incorporated. Second, the morphological causative is analyzed as a control construction with PRO as the embedded clause controlled by the causee (cf. Chapter 3). It is important that in the complement clause of the causative morpheme, neither T nor Agr_S can appear since neither of the functional categories is licensed. Therefore, it is expected that Nominative Case is not possible, since there is no Agr_S in the clause, which may be a bare VP. The expectation is true as the following example confirms.

- (35) *Halapeci-kkeyse apeci-eykey [Tom-i chayk-ul ilk]
 Grandfather-Nom(Hon) father-Dat Tom-Nom book-Acc read
 -hi-ess-ta.
 -Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘Grandfather had father make Tom read a book.’

As a final remark, in view of Spec-head agreement, Agr_O is involved only with Case, while Agr_S deals with both Case and Agreement. The subject NP need not and should not raise to [Spec, TP]. After the subject NP has already checked its Case feature in [Spec, $Agr_S P$], it has no reason to move farther. T does not bear N-features, which would otherwise force NP raising to its Spec position. Yet it cannot block the subject raising to [Spec, TP], since the N-features of T are only a necessary, not a sufficient condition, for NP raising to that position. What blocks the raising is the economy principle: a “last resort” effect.

2.4 Conclusion

The framework that I adopt in my study is the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993). Major changes introduced in this framework include elimination of D-Structure and S-Structure, loss of the role of government and the Shortest Movement Condition. All these result from the concept of Minimalism. The economy principle of Universal Grammar that the Minimalist Program pursues, requires that the module of Grammar achieve optimality. Thus, only virtual conceptual necessity maintains PF and LF, removing unnecessary D-Structure and S-Structure, given that linguistic expression is construed merely as a formal representation of sound and meaning. The roles of D-structure are taken over by Satisfy, accomplished by GT, which is a maximally generalized move- α . GT extends a phrase marker, satisfying the X-bar theory, in terms of a substitution process. Spell-Out plays a similar role for S-Structure.

The two crucial factors that the Minimalist Program brings in are functional categories such as $Agr(P)$ and $T(P)$ and the local relation in X-bar theory. These two closely related factors play a significant part in Case theory. The former replaces the concept of “assignment” of Case. The latter replaces the role of

head government. The Minimalist approach takes Agr-based Case theory involving Spec-head agreement for Case manifestations, instead of government-based Case theory. Consequently, the syntactic effects related to head government are reformulated in terms of “domains”. A domain is the specification of the local relations in X-bar structure.

Associated with the notion of (minimal) domain is the Shortest Movement Condition, another effect of the economy principle, that minimizes the chain link. This condition replaces Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). With respect to Case theory in particular, the Shortest Movement Condition plays a crucial part in Case checking through Spec-head agreement.

With respect to the system of Korean functional categories and Case theory, I have developed a Case theory based on checking theory, proposing that Case-checking is a neutralization process. The Case feature in a head position, e.g. Agr, is neutralized via Spec-head agreement, being discharged into an NP in [Spec, AgrP]. NPs are attached with their Case marker to them when drawn from the lexicon. However, these markers are only morphologically realized, but otherwise inert; hence, they need to be activated. The Accusative marker *-ul/lul* is activated in [Spec, Agr_OP] by the Case feature of V through Agr_O, in terms of a neutralization process. Likewise, the Nominative marker *-i/ka* is activated in [Spec, Agr_SP] by the Case feature of Agr_S, via Spec-head agreement as a neutralization process. The head properties of functional categories in Korean have been also described; the head that is responsible for Nominative Case is Agr_S, and not TP as in English.

Chapter 3

The *Give-Type* Dative Construction

3.1 Introduction

Give-type ditransitive verbs in Korean may take a Dative-marked Goal argument. In addition, the Goal argument shows an alternation between Dative and Accusative marking. When the Goal is Accusative-marked, a double Accusative construction arises, because the Theme is also Accusative. Double Accusative constructions pose a special challenge to syntactic theories of Case since it is generally assumed that only one Accusative Case can be assigned per clause. This chapter provides a syntactic analysis of *give-type* dative constructions, including both the simple *give-type* construction and the compound *give-type* construction. I propose that the structure of the simple *give-type* construction is parallel to that of the compound one, assuming an incorporation process for verb compounds. This structural analysis together with Case theory within the Minimalist framework accounts for complicated phenomena related to Dative/Accusative alternation.

3.1.1 The Domains of Two Object NPs

Since Barss and Lasnik's (1986) observation on the domain relationship between the two object NPs in English double object constructions, the study of double object constructions has flourished and given rise to much dispute. From Barss and Lasnik's (1986) beginning, the main stream of research has run through

Larson's (1988) analysis, Jackendoff's (1990b) attack against Larson (1988), and Larson's (1990) subsequent defense.

The starting point, and the major issue of the debate, is whether the relative standing between the two object NPs in double object constructions is defined in terms of precedence or structure. There are various syntactic phenomena that show asymmetries between the two object NPs. Barss and Lasnik (1986) present six phenomena: Binding, Q(uantificational) NP-Pronoun relations, Weak Crossover in *Wh*-movement, Superiority, the *each...the other* construction and Polarity *any*. Let us consider their examples briefly.

(1) *Binding*

- a. I showed John_i/him_i himself_i (in the mirror).
- b. *I showed himself_i John_i (in the mirror).

The Binding relation between the two object NPs shown in (1) holds only if the first object NP asymmetrically c-commands the second object NP. Thus, Conditions A, B and C of the Binding theory are all satisfied in (1a), while conditions A and C are violated in (1b).

(2) *QNP-Pronoun Relation*

- a. I denied each worker his paycheck.
- b. *I denied its owner each paycheck.

A pronoun must be in the structural domain of a QNP to be a bound variable of the QNP. The fact that the pronoun is related to the QNP in (2a) but not in (2b)

indicates that the domain of the first NP asymmetrically includes the second object NP.

(3) *Weak Crossover*

- a. Which worker_i did you deny t_i his_i paycheck?
- b. *Which paycheck_i did you deny its_i owner t_i?

This case is parallel to that of QNP-Pronoun relation with the difference that there is a *wh*-trace in place of the quantifier.

(4) *Superiority*

- a. Who_i did you give t_i which book?
- b. *Which book_i did you give who t_i?

The first object NP must be superior to the second since the Superiority Condition of Chomsky (1973) requires that, given any two *wh*-phrases, the structurally higher (i.e. superior) one moves.

(5) *The each...the other Construction*

- a. I gave each trainer the other's lion.
- b. *I gave the other's trainer each lion.

The grammaticality judgments on the sentences in (5) show that the first object NP must have *each*, the domain of which must asymmetrically involve the NP of *the other*.

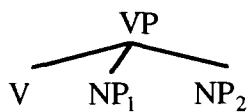
(6) *Polarity Any*

- a. I gave no one anything.
- b. *I gave anyone nothing.

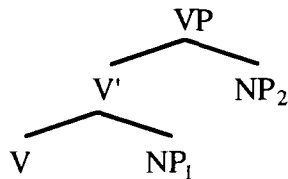
The contrast in (6) again verifies the hierarchical superiority of the first object NP since polarity *any* must be in the domain of its licenser; in this case, negation.

The earlier lexical analyses for double object constructions generally assume one of the following suggested D-Structures.

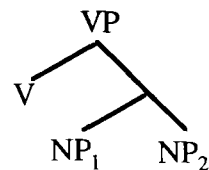
(7) a. Oehrle (1976)



b. Chomsky (1981)



c. Kayne (1983)



However, as Barss and Lasnik (1986) point out, any structure in (7) may run afoul of the structural account of the relative superiority and/or inferiority of the two object NPs, since the domain of the first NP should asymmetrically involve the second NP. Note that the first NP cannot asymmetrically c-command the second NP in any structure presented above.

In this regard, Barss and Lasnik (1986), Jackendoff (1990b) and Napoli (1992) prefer to introduce the concept of precedence in order to maintain the traditional analysis of double object constructions. On the other hand, Larson

(1988), inspired by Chomsky's (1975) D-Structure of the double object construction, proposes that this construction is basically derived from the corresponding oblique dative construction. Consequently, Larson's derivational analysis can account for the asymmetries between the two object NPs in terms of structural hierarchy, without introducing the concept of precedence.

3.1.2 The Domain of Two Objects in Korean

The asymmetries observed in Barss and Lasnik (1986) also occur in Korean. The following examples show some of the available patterns. Other patterns are unavailable for various reasons; e.g. lack of expression in the lexicon (*each...the other*) or in the syntax (superiority).¹

(8) *Binding*

- a. Na-nun Mary_i-lul caki (casin)_i-ul kewul-ey
 I-Top Mary-Acc self-Acc mirror-Dat
 po-i-e-cwu-ess-ta.²
 see-Caus-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 'I showed Mary herself (in the mirror).'

¹ I postpone the discussion of polarity items until other relevant details are introduced.

² In fact, this sentence does not sound perfect. The reason might be either from the double Accusative configuration, which is not acceptable to most Korean speakers, or from binding problem. However, binding does not seem to be much problematic since the construction would be as good as other acceptable double Accusative constructions if the two Accusative-marked NPs are separated as the following shows.

- b. *Na-nun caki (casin)_i-ul Mary_i-lul kewul-ey
 I-Top self-Acc Mary-Acc mirror-Dat
 po-i-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 see-Caus-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘I showed Mary herself (in the mirror).’

(9) *QNP-Pronoun Relations*

- a. Na-nun motun cwuin-ul kutul-uy kangaci-lul cwu-ess-ta.
 I-Top all owner-Acc they-Gen puppy-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘I gave all owners_i their_i puppies.’
- b. *Na-nun kutul-uy cwuin-ul motun kangaci-lul cwu-ess-ta.
 I-Top they-Gen owner-Acc all puppy-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘I gave all_i puppies to their_i owners.’

(10) *Wh Movement and Weak Crossover*³

- a. Ne-nun enu colyensa_i-lul ku_i-uy saca-lul
 You-Top which trainer-Acc he-Gen lion-Acc
 po-i-e-cwu-ess-ni?
 see-Caus-Conn-give-Pst-Q
 ‘Which trainer_i did you show his_i lion?’

(i) Na-un Mary_i-lul kewul-ey caki (casin)_i-ul po-i-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 I-Top Mary-Acc mirror-Dat self-Acc see-Caus-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘I showed Mary herself (in the mirror).’

³ Wh-movement takes place at LF in Korean.

- b. *Ne-nun ku_i-uy colyensa-lul enu saca_i-lul
 You-Top he-Gen trainer-Acc which lion-Acc
 po-i-e-cwu-ess-ni?
 see-Caus-Caus-Conn-give-Pst-Q
 ‘Which lion_i did you show its_i trainer?’

An interesting fact here is that unlike English, where the order of the two object NPs is fixed, Korean permits any order for the two object NPs due to a scrambling process, as illustrated in (11).

- (11) a. Na-nun ilkwun-ul iltang-ul cwu-ess-ta.⁴
 I-Top worker-Acc daily pay-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘I paid the workers daily wage.’
- b. Na-nun iltang-ul ilkwun-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 I-Top daily pay-Acc worker-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘I paid the workers daily wage.’

However, it has been shown in (8) - (10) that the effect of free word order between the two objects disappears when one of the above domain-related phenomena is involved. For instance, if a reflexive pronoun is one of the two

⁴ Double object constructions, in general, are not totally unproblematic in their grammaticality. Some Korean speakers avoid using double object constructions, preferring a Dative-marked argument to an Accusative-marked argument for the indirect object. Others use double object constructions routinely. Moreover, even those who dislike the construction easily understand the meaning of sentences employing it. Therefore, I do not use any marks such as ?, % or * for variation in the grammaticality of double object constructions in general. I reserve these marks where ungrammaticality is caused by different factors.

object NPs, it cannot precede the other object NP. Interestingly enough, this structural asymmetry between the two objects still holds when the order of the two object NPs is different from (8) - (10), as shown in (12) and (13).

(12) a. Na-nun motun chayk-ul ku(kes)tul-uy cwuin-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 I-Top all book-Acc they-Gen owner-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 'I gave all books_i to their_i owners.'

b. *Na-nun kutul-uy chayk-ul motun cwuin-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 I-Top they-Gen book-Acc all owner-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 'I gave their_i books_i to all owners_i.'

(13) a. Ne-nun enu saca_i-lul ku_i-uy colyensa-lul
 You-Top which lion-Acc he-Gen trainer-Acc
 po-i-e-cwu-ess-ni?
 see-Caus-Conn-give-Pst-Q
 'Which lion_i did you show its_i trainer?'

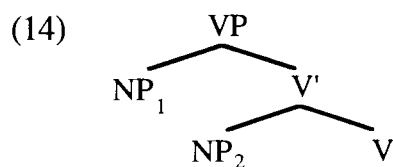
b. *Ne-nun ku_i-uy saca-lul enu colyensa_i-lul
 You-Top he-Gen lion-Acc which trainer-Acc
 po-i-e-cwu-ess-ni?
 see-Caus-Conn-give-Pst-Q
 'Which trainer_i did you show his lion_i ?'

Compare example (12) with (9), and (13) with (10). Examples (12) and (13) are sentences, in which the direct object NP, i.e. the Theme precedes the indirect one, i.e. the Goal. Examples (9) and (10) show the reversed object NP order. These

examples indicate that although generally either NP can precede the other, the free word order effect fades when either the QNP-Pronoun relation (12) or Weak Crossover (13) is involved. Thus, Korean demonstrates a strong case of asymmetric dominance of the first NP over the following NP regardless of whether it is the direct or indirect object.

3.1.3 The Problem

SOV languages such as Korean and Japanese do not demonstrate the same difficulties that occur in structural analysis of double object constructions in English, even though the same asymmetries between the two objects are found. It is not difficult to explain the fact that the first NP of the double object construction asymmetrically c-commands the second NP in such languages. In terms of the structural hierarchy, the preceding NP is necessarily located in a higher position than the second NP in the projection of VP once a structure like (7b) is adopted for Korean double object constructions. Then, the structure for Korean will be as in (14), where the first NP (NP₁) asymmetrically c-commands the second NP (NP₂).



On the other hand, whatever the underlying structure of the double object construction may be, scrambling can be induced between the two NPs after Spell-Out so that the structurally lower NP can adjoin to the maximal or immediate

projection of V, i.e. to a relatively higher position than the other NP. Therefore, the asymmetries would be easily accounted for.

Ironically, these syntactic properties, which allow for a ready explanation of asymmetry patterns, complicate the analysis of double object constructions in the languages in question. In particular, scrambling creates a problem since in languages such as Japanese and Korean, unlike English, either object NP may be the first in the double object construction. In other words, the canonical positions of the two object NPs at S-Structure are obscure.⁵ Therefore, it leads to difficulty in grasping what the underlying structure looks like (Lee 1994). Thus, without figuring out the accurate underlying structure, it would be also a real challenge to account for the derivation of the double object construction if it is derived from a structure like the corresponding oblique dative construction.

3.1.4 Chapter Outline

This chapter provides a syntactic analysis of *give*-type dative double object constructions in Korean. Section 3.2 discusses some preliminary aspects of the *give*-type dative construction, shows the problems with previous analyses and suggests the necessity of a novel approach.

Section 3.3 provides a syntactic analysis of the Korean *give*-type dative construction based on the idea that the Korean *give*-type dative construction is one type of compound verb construction. I analyze compound constructions in general. Next, I present the structures of simple and compound *give*-type dative constructions, both of which are parallel to that of the compound verb

⁵ Following Jonas & Bobaljik (1993), I use the term S-Structure as a loose shorthand to refer to the point in the derivation which feeds the phonological interface, the “overt” or “visible” syntax (cf. section 2.2.2).

construction. Finally, derivations of each construction are discussed in detail. I elaborate a view of Case theory that solves some complicated problems associated with the Dative/Accusative alternation.

Section 3.4 summarizes and concludes this chapter.

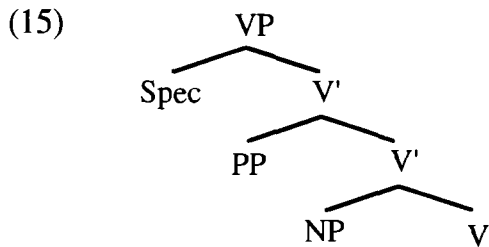
3.2 Preliminary Inquiry

In this section, I examine some preliminary aspects of the *give*-type dative construction, specifically focusing on the position of the Goal argument in Korean. I also review the problems with previous analyses and suggest why a novel approach is required.

3.2.1 The Position of the Goal Argument

Generally, PP has adjunct status in VP. If arguments are projected by θ -related principles into A-positions, the position of [Spec, VP] and the position of the complement of V are excluded for PP. The position of [Spec, VP] is typically taken by the Agent argument, assuming the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis (Fukui 1986, Fukui and Speas 1986, Kitagawa 1986, Sportiche 1988, Koopman and Sportiche 1991, among others). The complement position is typically reserved for the Theme argument.

However, if a verb selects a Goal argument, matters become puzzling with respect to strict binary branching. If PPs are generally adjuncts, then the positions of [Spec, VP] and the complement of V are not available for them. In other words, the position of a PP should be the V'-adjoined position, as in (15).



As discussed in 1.4, there are two different types of PPs in terms of the subcategorization of a verb. One is an argument PP and the other a non-argument PP, which may be called an adjunct PP. The former is subcategorized for by a verb such as *give*, whereas the latter is not. The next question, then, is whether the positions of argument and adjunct PPs are the same or different. I assume that the argument PP, although subcategorized for by dative verbs, is placed in the V'-adjoined position as well.

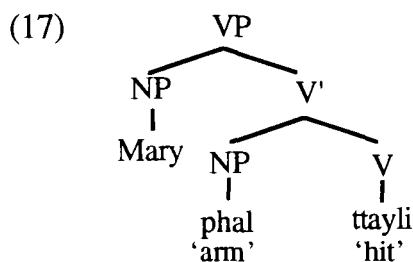
Indirect support for this viewpoint comes from the Case system in Korean. Besides the double object dative construction, Korean has another double object construction: the Inalienable Possession Construction (Park 1985, Chun 1986, Youn 1989, Gerds 1992). Both the body part and the possessor NP are Accusative-marked, as shown in (16).⁶

- (16) John-i Mary-lul phal-ul ttayli-ess -ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc arm-Acc hit-Pst-Ind
 'John hit Mary on the arm.'

⁶ Double Subject Inalienable Possession Constructions are also available in Korean, as in the following.

- (i) Mary-ka nwun-i yeppu-ta.
 Mary-Nom eye-Nom pretty-Ind
 'Mary's eyes are pretty.'

This type of construction presents a challenge to Theta theory and Case theory. How can a verb assign the same θ -role and Case to two NPs at once? In solving this problem, V' plays a crucial role (Yoon 1992). The key point of Yoon's (1992) analysis is that the possessor NP can be θ -marked by V'. Consider the structure in (17), in which only the body part NP is the θ -selected argument of the predicate. It is mapped onto the complement of the V, while the possessor NP is in the position of [Spec, VP].



To be coherently incorporated into my analysis, the possessor NP should be a V' adjunct, and yet this view is not entirely incorrect. What Yoon accomplishes by locating the possessor NP in the position of [Spec, VP] is placing it above the constituent consisting of V and its complement. However, he argues that the possessor NP is not a θ -selected argument. Thus, it should be an adjunct NP or a demoted argument that adjoins to V' in the sense of Larson (1988).

The core point of Yoon's analysis is that the possessor NP can be θ -marked by V'. The verb does not discharge its θ -role to its complement NP, i.e. the body part NP, but rather θ -identifies it. In other words, θ -role assignment, in his theory, is differentiated into two parts: θ -Identification and θ -Marking. The latter is the only way to discharge the θ -role. Therefore, even after the verb θ -identifies its complement, the constituent V' still bears its θ -role to be canceled out either by θ -Identification if there is another V'-adjoined NP, or by θ -Marking, before the maximal projection of V becomes saturated.

A Case-driven analysis also raises the possibility of V' as a constituent to assign Case under Larson's (1988) analysis of double object constructions in English. In Korean, it may account for the double Accusative Case assignment not only in Inalienable Possession Constructions, but also in *give*-type double object constructions. As mentioned, the *give*-type dative construction shows the alternation between Dative and Accusative on the Goal argument.

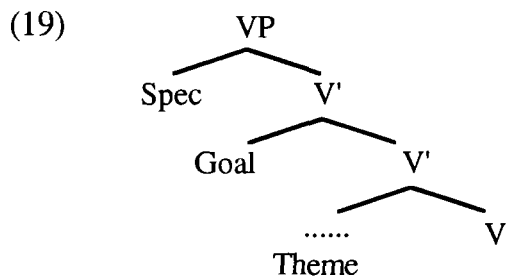
(18) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 'John gave a book to Mary.'

b. John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 'John gave Mary a book.'

If the special status of V' was invoked again, then we could account fairly easily for the Accusative Case assigned to the Goal argument.⁷

The claim that a PP is adjoined to V' regardless of its argument/adjunct status has theoretical significance. The puzzle of Dative/Accusative alternation on the Goal argument may be solved since the position of the Dative-marked Goal argument is the same as the Accusative-marked one under the Uniformity of Theta-Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) (cf. section 3.2.2 and 3.2.3).

⁷ Case assignment will be discussed in sections 3.3.4.3 and 3.3.4.4 in detail.



The other related situation regarding the PP position is Case Stacking. As shown in (20b), the Accusative marker is stacked on the Dative-marked PP.

- (20) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave a book to Mary.’

- b. John-i Mary-eykey-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat-Acc book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave a book to Mary.’

If, as discussed above, the V'-adjoined position may be occupied either by PP or NP and is Case-assignable from V' in Korean, then the Case Stacking with PP, as briefly illustrated in 1.3, may be easily explained as well.⁸ I develop this proposal in detail later in this chapter.

⁸ For more data on Case Stacking with PPs other than dative, refer to Urushibara (1991) and Gerds (1991).

3.2.2 Principles of Argument Realization

Before discussing the structure of *give*-type dative constructions, I wish to delineate three principles that need to be assumed in EST. All three are, in a sense, constraints related to the generation of structure—the Projection Principle and θ -theory in particular.

The first principle is the Single Complement Hypothesis (cf. Larson 1988, 1990). This hypothesis was originally proposed by Kayne (1984) and is quite extensively subsumed in the recent Principles-and-Parameters literature discussing functional categories and X'-Syntax (cf. Larson 1988, 1990, Sportiche 1988, Pollock 1989, and Chomsky 1986b, 1991, 1993, among others). The rules for X' structure are as follows.

- (21) a. $XP \rightarrow XP^* X'$
b. $X' \rightarrow X XP^*$
c. $X' \rightarrow X' XP^9$

The significance of the foregoing lies in the fact that only a single complement is possible for a head, as Larson (1988) points out, in addition to the fact that the structure of X' is an unambiguously binary branching projection.

The second principle is associated with the realization of arguments in the structure of a verb's projections. In the Principles-and-Parameters approach, a verb's arguments selected with θ -roles are mapped onto certain positions in terms of thematic ranking. Their ranking is determined by the so-called Thematic Hierarchy, whereby the D-Structure is a full representation of thematic relations.

⁹ X* indicates free occurrences of a maximal projection (Chomsky 1986b). However, Kayne (1983) claims that the options for X* are either zero or one.

As Baker (1992) specifies, following Baker (1989), Larson (1988), Grimshaw (1990) and Speas (1990), the θ -roles assigned by a verb are linked to arguments according to the following.

(22) If the θ -role of an argument X is higher than the θ -role of a second argument, Y, then X c-commands Y at the level of D-structure.

(23) *Thematic Hierarchy*

Agent > Theme > Goal/Oblique

(Carrier-Duncan 1985, Larson 1988, and Baker 1989)

The third and last principle is the Uniformity of θ -Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) proposed by Baker (1988) as follows.

(24) Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-Structure.

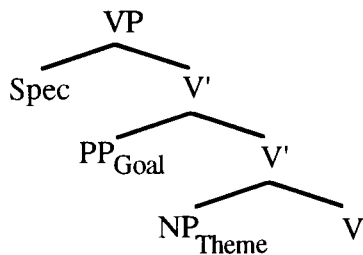
The UTAH must be considered to generate, at least insofar as Korean is concerned, two types of analogous *give*-type dative constructions. Both will include the Goal and the Theme arguments as well as the Agent. As a result, if the UTAH is assumed in our approach to double object constructions in Korean, the analysis should be derivational: the variants of *give*-type dative constructions are supposed to be derived either from a single source, or at least from the same configurations with respect to the arguments' positions in the Thematic Hierarchy. The latter case is a weakened version of the UTAH suggested by Larson (1988, 1990). The basic concept of the weakened UTAH is that identical

thematic relationships are represented as being identical at least in the thematic hierarchy of the arguments of a verb at the level of D-Structure. Fundamentally, this version of the UTAH is derivable from the above principle (22) in connection with the Thematic Hierarchy (Larson 1988, 1990). For instance, if two sentences are analogues of each other at S-Structure, then the verb's selection of its arguments will be exactly the same except for the possibility of categorial differences; e.g. either NP or PP for the Goal argument. Nevertheless, both sentences necessarily have the same hierarchical configuration of the argument projection, owing to the Thematic Hierarchy and the concept of the weakened UTAH.

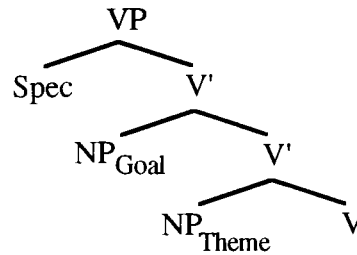
3.2.3 The Dilemma

The discussion in section 3.2.2 led to positing the following structures for *give*-type dative constructions.

(25) a. The Oblique Construction



b. The Double Object Construction



How to embody the underlying structures of the two related constructions is a more delicate issue. Even with certain technical adjustments, employing the above structures creates a dilemma. This is so, whether we adopt a lexical or a derivational analysis. If the lexical analysis is chosen, the same S-Structures depicted in (25a) and (25b) will be the underlying structures of each

construction. As a necessary consequence of the same thematic relationships of the arguments being selected by the verb, the UTAH is satisfied. However, the Thematic Hierarchy is not maintained for either the oblique or the double object construction. Notice that the Theme argument must be mapped into a position lower than the Goal argument according to the Thematic Hierarchy in (23).

Let us suppose, then that the double object construction is derived from a structure parallel to the oblique dative construction. Then we may simply assume that the structure of (25b) is derived from (25a). Once a derivational analysis is taken, the UTAH raises no problem. However, the difficulty here is again the Thematic Hierarchy, since the structure of (25a) is disallowed by the Thematic Hierarchy. Even if the oblique dative construction (25a) were derived from the structure of the double object construction (25b), the same problem would remain. Therefore, we are forced to take a novel direction.

3.3 The Syntax of the *Give-Type* Dative Construction

This section provides a syntactic analysis of the Korean *give-type* dative construction, based on the idea that this construction is a type of compound verb construction. First, I present an analysis for the compound verb construction. Then, I apply this analysis to simple and compound *give-type* dative constructions. Finally, derivations of each construction are discussed in detail. I elaborate a view of Case theory that solves complicated problems associated with the Dative/Accusative alternation.

3.3.1 Compound Verb Constructions

Verb-compounding in Korean is a very productive morphosyntactic process. The *give*-type dative construction can also be compounded. Hence, there exist compound *give*-type dative constructions. Assuming verb incorporation (Baker 1988) for compound verb constructions, an embedded verb is incorporated into the base verb, i.e. *give*. It is observed in compound verb constructions in general that the Theme NP is selected not by the matrix verb, but by the embedded verb. It is also true for the compound *give*-type constructions. Therefore, the matrix verb *give* cannot select a Theme argument. This section discusses the syntax of compound verb constructions generally and compound *give*-type constructions in particular.

3.3.1.1 Verb-Compounding as Incorporation

The following examples illustrate the Korean compound verb construction, a construction where two verbs are compounded and act as a single predicate.

- (26) a. Phokto-tul-i ku sangcem-ul ttayli-e-pwuswu-ess-ta.
mob-pl-Nom the store-Acc hit-Conn-break-Pst-Ind
'A mob wrecked the store.'
- b. Nay-ka ku umsik-ul mek-e-po-ass-ta.
I-Nom the food-Acc eat-Conn-see-Pst-Ind
'I tried the food.'

In (26a), the compound verb is a complex of the two verbs *ttayli*- ‘hit’ and *pwuswu*- ‘break’, meaning ‘break by hitting’. Likewise, (26b) has a compound verb consisting of *mek*- ‘eat’ and *po*- ‘see’, with the literal meaning ‘eat to see (eat and see what will happen)’.

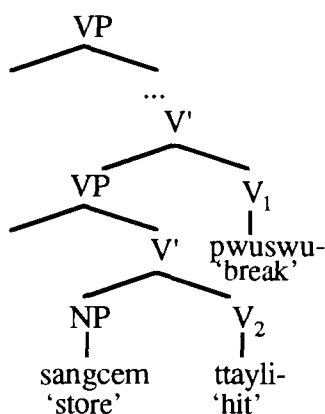
The compounding mechanism can easily apply to *give*-type dative verbs as well.

- (27) a. Emeni-ka atul-eykey os-ul mantul-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom son-Dat clothes-Acc make-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother made clothes for her son.’
- b. Emeni-ka atul-eykey cangnankam-ul kochi-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom son-Dat toy-Acc repair-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother repaired toys for her son.’
- c. Emeni-ka atul-eykey pap-ul chali-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom son-Dat meal-Acc set-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother prepared a meal for her son.’

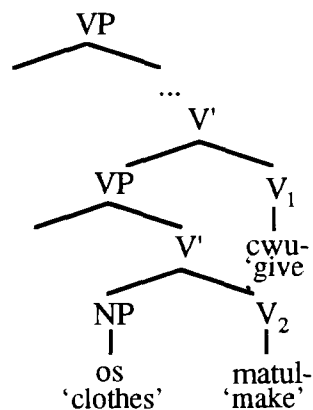
As illustrated in these compound verb constructions, the meaning of compound dative verbs appears to be ‘do something and give’; for example, ‘make clothes and give’ in (27a), ‘repair toys and give’ in (27b) and ‘set a meal and give’ in (27c). More schematically, the meaning is ‘give the action of doing something’. In other words, intuitively, the meaning is not a mere complex ordering of two meanings, ‘do something’ and ‘give it’ in a temporal flow, but rather a complex amalgam of two meanings, ‘give x’ and ‘[x: doing something]’.

In formal terms, the dative verb does not have an NP complement but rather a VP complement. To put it differently, in compound verb constructions generally, the base verb to which another verb is compounded, e.g. *give*, selects VP containing a Theme NP. The only possible selector of the Theme NP is the embedded verb. At this point, I would like to propose a rough structure for the compound verb construction. The D-Structures of (26a) and (27a) are given in (28a) and (28b), respectively.

(28) a.



b.



In each structure, V_1 selects a VP and V_2 selects the Theme argument.

3.3.1.2 The Selection of Arguments

Before discussing in detail the syntactic effects of a compounding process, I want to examine each verb's selection of its arguments in order to provide evidence for the structure represented in (28).

As previously described, and shown in the structure (28), V_1 does not select the Theme argument, but V_2 does. The following data support this approach.

- (29) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc read-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John read a book for Mary.’
- b. *John-i Mary-eykey maykcwu-lul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat beer-Acc read-Conn-Give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave beer for Mary (by reading).’
- (30) John-i (Mary-lul wihay) maykcwu-lul masi-e-cwu-ess-ta.¹⁰
 John-Nom (Mary-for) beer-Acc drink-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John drank beer for Mary.’

Although the NPs *maykcwu* ‘beer’ and *chayk* ‘book’ can be selected by the verb *cwu-* ‘give’, sentence (29b) is ruled out. However, (29b) may be rescued by a different embedded verb, *masi-* ‘drink’, as in (30). This indicates that the actual selector of *chayk* ‘book’ in (29a) and *maykcwu* ‘beer’ in (30) is not *cwu-* ‘give’ but *ilk-* ‘read’, and *masi-* ‘drink’, respectively. In other words, the selector of the Theme argument in compound-verb constructions is the embedded verb, not the matrix verb *cwu-* ‘give’.

Moreover, the verbs in compound verb constructions cannot select their Theme arguments independently, as the following examples show.

¹⁰ Apparently, this sentence cannot take the Goal argument as seen in the following example.

- (i) John-i (*Mary-eykey/lul) maykcwu-lul masi-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom (Mary-Dat/Acc) beer-Acc drink-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John drank beer for Mary.’

That is to say, this sentence is only grammatical either without the Goal argument, or with a presumed PP *...-lul wihay(se)* ‘for ...’. The reason why this sentence cannot take the Goal argument is discussed in section 3.3.4.

- (31) a. *Phokto-tul-i cwuin-ul ku sangcem-ul ttayli-e-pwuswu-ess-ta.
 mob-pl-Nom owner-Acc the store-Acc hit-Conn-break-Pst-Ind
 ‘A mob wrecked the store (by beating the owner).’
- b. *Phokto-tul-i ku sangcem-ul cwuin-ul ttayli-e-pwuswu-ess-ta.
 mob-pl-Nom the store-Acc owner-Acc hit-Conn-break-Pst-Ind
 ‘A mob wrecked the store (by beating the owner).’
- (32) a. *Nay-ka ku umsik-ul pwuekh-ul mek-e-po-ass-ta.
 I-Nom the food-Acc kitchen-Acc eat-Conn-see-Pst-Ind
 ‘I tried the food (seeing the kitchen).’
- b. *Nay-ka pwuekh-ul ku umsik-ul mek-e-po-ass-ta.
 I-Nom kitchen-Acc the food-Acc eat-Conn-see-Pst-Ind
 ‘I tried the food (seeing the kitchen).’

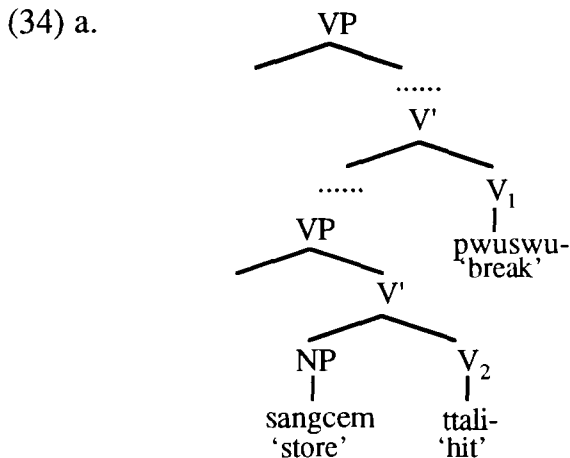
In (31), the verbs *ttayli*- ‘hit’ and *pwuswu*- ‘break’ would take their plausible objects *cwuin* ‘owner’ and *ku sangcem* ‘the store’, respectively, if they were capable of selecting their own Theme arguments independently. However, this is not the case. Regardless of the word order of the verbs’ two objects, the sentence is unacceptable if two Themes are involved. (32) shows exactly the same pattern. Again, the verb that can select a single Theme argument is not the matrix verb, but rather the embedded one: *ttayli*- ‘hit’ in (31) and *mek*- ‘eat’ in (32). This is illustrated in (26), repeated here as (33).

(33) a. Phokto-tul-i ku sangcem-ul ttayli-e-pwuswu-ess-ta.
 mob-pl-Nom the store-Acc hit-Conn-break-Pst-Ind
 'A mob wrecked (by hitting) the store.'

b. Nay-ka ku umsik-ul mek-e-po-ass-ta.
 I-Nom the food-Acc eat-Conn-see-Pst-Ind
 'I tried the food.'

3.3.1.3 The Structure of the Compound Verb Construction

The selectional characteristics of compound-verb constructions discussed in the previous section may be interpreted in a structural representation. First, the Theme NP should be the complement of the lower, or embedded verb, in that the only verb that selects a Theme argument is the lower verb, i.e. V_2 in the following structure.



Second, since the complement of the matrix verb is not the Theme NP, it could be either a VP, given that it should at least be a minimal maximal projection

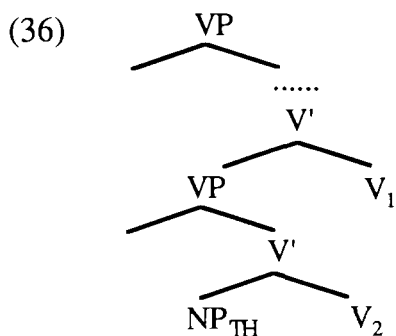
of the embedded verb, or some larger projection that dominates the embedded VP, such as AgrP, TP, or CP.

Li (1990), on the basis of cross-linguistic evidence, argues that the complement of the matrix verb is not a CP but a bare VP in a construction that triggers verb incorporation. Cross-linguistically, the predicates that trigger verb incorporation, such as causative and modal(-like) verbs, rarely take a full clause as their complements. Consider Li's (1990) example of English causative *make*.¹¹

- (35) a. Chris made Liz laugh.
 b. *Chris made Liz to laugh.
 c. *Chris made (that) Liz laughed.

The examples in (35) show that *make* cannot take a finite clause, nor even an infinitive with *to*. Therefore, the complement of *make* is a bare VP, not a CP.

Given that verb-compounding is a verb incorporation process, the complement of the matrix verb in compound-verb constructions is a bare VP (Marantz 1985, Li 1987, 1990). Let us adopt this approach for the moment. The structure of the compound-verb construction will be as follows.



¹¹ For other languages see Li (1990).

3.3.2 The Structure of the Compound *Give*-Type Construction

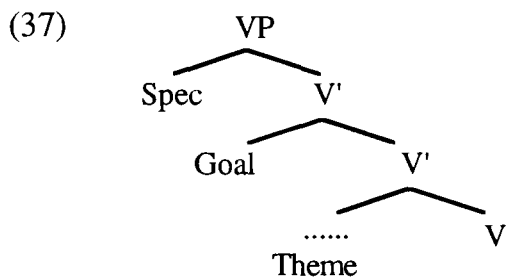
The previous section has shown that the compound verb construction has a multi-predicate structure involving verb incorporation. In addition, the compound *give*-type construction also has a Goal argument. This section presents evidence for the structure of the compound *give*-type construction.

3.3.2.1 The Arguments of *Give*

With respect to the compound *give*-type construction, it is crucial to understand what kind of arguments the verb *give* selects. Apparently, the compound *give*-type construction contains the Goal and the Theme. In addition, an embedded clause, tentatively a VP, is assumed to exist as per my earlier discussion. Let us proceed then to identify the status of arguments that *give* selects in the compound *give*-type construction.

3.3.2.1.1 The Goal Argument

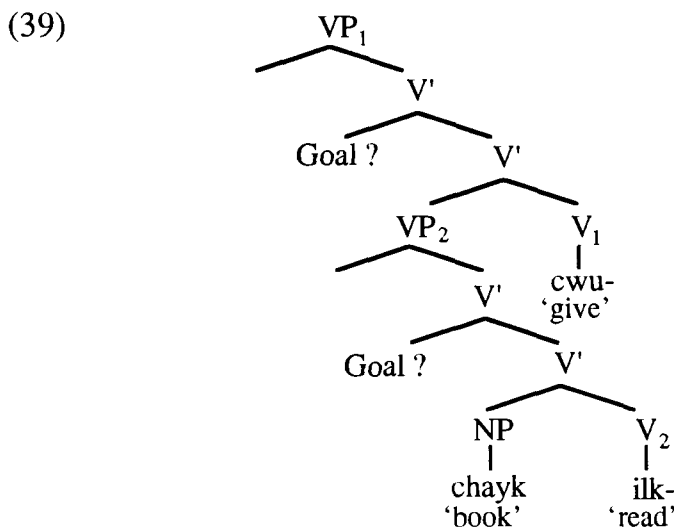
In section 3.2.1, it was concluded that the Goal argument is generated in a V'-adjoined position. Let us recall (19), repeated here as (37).



An important question may be raised at this point; which verb selects the Goal argument in the compound *give*-type dative construction? In the example of such a construction, (38), two VPs are assumed.

- (38) John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc read-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John read a book for Mary.’

The upper VP is the maximal projection of the matrix verb *cwu*- ‘give’ and the embedded VP is that of the lower verb that is to be compounded. Thus, a preliminary structure of the compound *give*-type dative construction (38) will be (39).



The structure in (39) indicates that the embedded verb, V_2 , selects the Theme argument. It has been shown in the previous section that the embedded verb, *ilk*- ‘read’ in (39) for instance, selects the Theme argument. On the other hand, it is not clear where the Goal argument is contained. Given that the Goal argument is a V'-adjunct, it could be contained either in VP_1 or in VP_2 , as represented in (39).

The bottom line is that if the Goal argument is selected by V_1 , it is contained in VP_1 , whereas if it is selected by V_2 , then it is contained in VP_2 .

To explore this problem, let us consider the following examples.

- (40) a. John-i Mary-eykey/lul chayk-ul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
'John read a book for Mary.'

- b. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul kulus-ul ssis-e-cwu-ess-ta.
mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc dish-Acc wash-give-Pst-Ind
'The mother washed the dishes and gave them to her child.'

Although the compound dative verbs *ilk-e-cwu-* in (40a) and *ssis-e-cwu-* in (40b) take a Goal argument, the embedded verb alone cannot have a Goal argument, as demonstrated in (41).

- (41) a. *John-i Mary-eykey/lul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-Pst-Ind
'John read a book for Mary.'

- b. *Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul kulus-ul ssis-ess-ta.
mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc dish-Acc wash-Pst-Ind
'The mother washed the dishes for her child.'

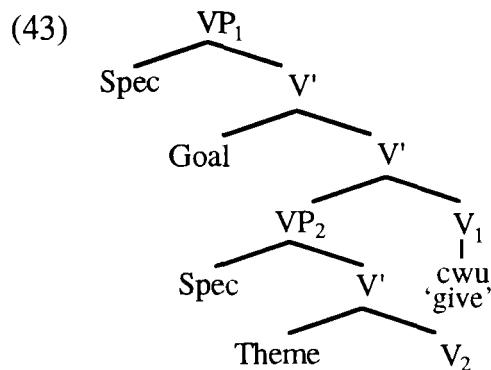
The verb *cwu-* alone, of course, can take a Goal argument as shown in (42).

(42) a. John-i Mary-eykey/lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave a book to Mary.’

b. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul kulus-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc dish-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother gave the dishes to her child.’

It is clear now that the Goal argument is not selected by the embedded verb, but by the matrix verb, i.e. *cwu-*. Therefore, the Goal is the argument of *cwu-* and hence contained in the upper VP, i.e. VP₁.

This structural information, being combined into the basic frame of compound verb constructions, yields the following structure.



3.3.2.1.2 The Embedded Clause

Now I wish to reconsider the status of the complement clause of the matrix verb *give* in the compound *give*-type construction. The question is: what is the category of the maximal projection of the embedded clause that *give* selects as its complement? Following Li (1990), I claimed it is a bare VP in the preceding

section. This approach is basically correct since the complement of *give* is neither a CP nor an IP.

The reason why it cannot be a CP is quite complicated. To begin with, Complementizers in Korean are not a clearly defined category. Some elements, it is true, such as *-key* and *-ko*, have been consistently treated as Complementizers.

- (44) a. Na-nun [John-i chayk-ul ilk-key] ha-ess-ta.
I-Top John-Nom book-Acc read-Comp do-Pst-Ind
'I had John read the book.'

- b. Na-nun [John-i chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko] mit-ess-ta.
I-Top John-Nom book-Acc read-Pst-Ind-Comp believe-Pst-Ind
'I believed that John had read the book.'

However, other elements are more difficult to categorize. One of the indeterminate examples is the suffix *-e/a*, which appears between two verbs. I define this as a Conn(ective) in my analysis, but Sells (1995) categorizes it as a Complementizer. He places it in his COMP1.¹²

- (45) a. Nay-ka ku umsik-ul mek-e-po-ass-ta.
I-Nom the food-Acc eat-Conn-see-Pst-Ind
'I tried the food.'

¹² Sells (1995) refers to a series of non-tensed verb endings as COMPs. He defines three different groups of COMPs: COMP1, COMP2 and COMP3. Among these, the COMP1s are those that allow none of the other verbal suffixes. These are the traditional "continuative" including my "Connective" *-e/a*. The terms "continuative" and "Connective" indicate that this type of ending is used for connecting more than one predicate. However, I do not discuss this further here.

b. *Nay-ka kukes-ul cap-a-po-ass-ta.*

I-Nom it-Acc hold-Conn-see-Pst-Ind

‘I tried holding it.’

However, I argue that it cannot be a Complementizer. As Sells (1995) describes it, COMP1, in which the Connective *-e/a* is included, does not cooccur with other verbal suffixes.

(46) a. **Apeci-kkeyse kukes-ul cap-usi-e-po-ass-ta.*

Father-Nom (Hon) it-Acc hold-Hon-Conn-see-Pst-Ind

‘Father tried holding it.’

b. **Nay-ka kukes-ul cap-ass-e-po-ass-ta.*

I-Nom it-Acc hold-Pst-Conn-see-Pst-Ind

‘I tried holding it.’

The data in (46) show that both Agreement (46a) and Tense (46b) are precluded by the suffix *-e/a*.

The function of a Complementizer is to select an IP. Now, consider splitting IP into two functional categories: TP and Agr_SP.¹³ If none of the heads of these projections are allowed inside the maximal projection that *-e/a* could head, then the suffix *-e/a* can never select IP. Consequently, it should not be considered a Complementizer. Thus, let us proceed on the assumption that the suffix *-e/a* is not a Complementizer, but simply a Connective morpheme.¹⁴

¹³ I ignore some other plausible projections such as MoodP and NegP. Consider the basic clause structure of Korean represented in 2.3.3.

¹⁴ See footnote 11.

Once the morpheme *-e/a* is properly identified, the maximal projection in question cannot be a CP since no other Complementizer occurs in it.

(47) *Nay-ka kukes-ul cap-key/ko(-e)-po-ass-ta.

I-Nom it-Acc hold-Comp-Conn-see-Pst-Ind

‘I tried holding it.’

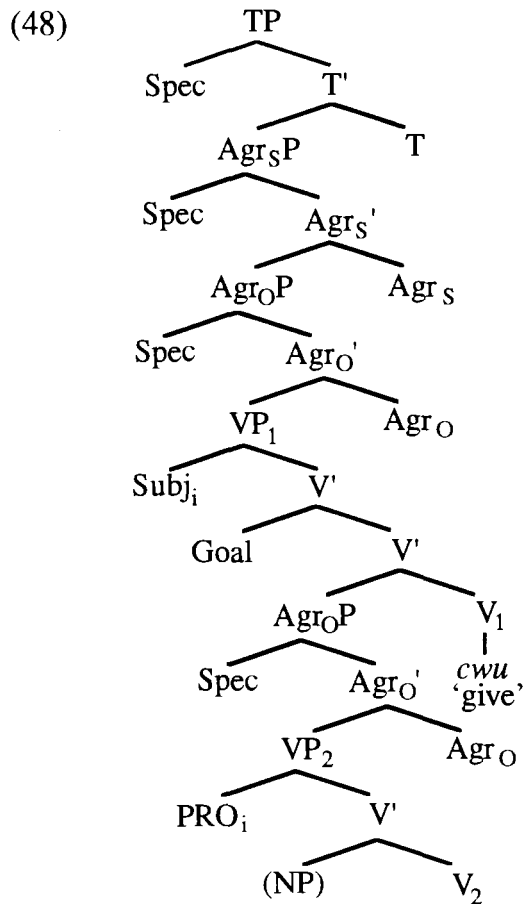
In fact, the argument for *-e/a* as a Connective morpheme has already made it clear that the complement phrase of the matrix verb in the compound *give*-type construction is neither a CP nor an IP. If it is not an IP, neither is it a TP, nor an Agr_SP in the present framework. The last functional category, apart from VP, is Agr_OP. Here, I assume an Agr_OP above its complement VP whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. This theoretically motivated assumption has significant consequences for the entire range of dative constructions in this study. The function of Agr_OP will be discussed in 3.3.4.

3.3.2.2 PRO

The compound *give*-type construction has an embedded VP. If we follow the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, the subject of the embedded predicate is generated in the Specifier position of the VP. I claim that PRO occupies this embedded subject position. I will discuss the syntax of PRO in the following section, dealing with such issues as the distribution and the Case of PRO.

3.3.2.2.1 The Visibility Condition

At this point, I propose that the structure of the compound *give*-type construction is captured by the representation in (48).



The subject of the matrix verb *give* is in [Spec, VP₁] assuming the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis (Fukui 1986, Fukui and Speas 1986, Kitagawa 1986, Sportiche 1988, Koopman and Sportiche 1991, among others). The subject of the infinitive clause is PRO in the [Spec, VP₂] controlled by the subject of the sentence. Therefore, the compound *give*-type construction may be considered a subject control construction.

The final issue to discuss with respect to the above structure is the distribution of PRO. It is also directly related to the Case problem. Let us consider the following examples first.

- (49) a. Bill tried [_{CP} e [_{IP} PRO to be here]].
b. *Bill tried [_{CP} e [_{IP} Mary to be here]].

- (50) a. *Bill believed [_{IP} PRO to be here].
b. Bill believed [_{IP} Mary to be here].

PRO as the subject of an infinitive is in a position that is not governed by the matrix verb *try* in (49) since the CP is assumed to be a barrier for government. On the contrary, in the ECM construction (50), where PRO is disallowed, PRO is governed by the ECM verb *believe* since there is no intervening barrier, given that an IP is not a barrier for government. Therefore, the early Principles-and-Parameters theory of PRO (Chomsky 1981) derives the following PRO theorem based on the concept of government.

- (51) PRO must be ungoverned.

However, as pointed out in Watanabe (1993), the definition of distribution by government raises problems. First, why is it impossible for the head of CP to govern PRO? Watanabe considers it stipulative to say that the empty head of CP does not count as a governor. Moreover, he argues, such a stipulation works only for English; French and Italian use lexical Complementizers for the control construction (Kayne 1981b).

- (52) a. Jean a essayé/oublié/décidé [**de** PRO partir]. (French)
 ‘John tried/forgot/decided to leave.’
- b. Gianni ha tentato/dimenticato/deciso [**di** PRO partire]. (Italian)
 ‘John tried/forgot/decided to leave.’

As represented in bold type above, the Complementizers *de* in French and *di* in Italian occur in the control construction. Thus, to retain the PRO theorem in (51), the lexical Complementizer should not count as a governor either, which, however, is not the case in English and some other languages. We face a contradiction.

Other problems arise with respect to Case theory. Case theory has been developed on the basis of the distribution of NPs. Vergnaud (1982) unifies a set of surface filters proposed by Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) into the Case Filter stated in (53) (from Chomsky and Lasnik 1993).

- (53) Every phonetically realized NP must be assigned (abstract) Case.

Chomsky (1986a) brings the Case requirement into the Visibility Condition for θ -marking in a chain.

- (54) A CHAIN is Case-marked if it contains exactly one Case-marked position; a position in a Case-marked CHAIN is visible for θ -marking.¹⁵

¹⁵ According to Chomsky (1986a), if $(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n)$, $(\alpha_n, \dots, \beta_1)$, and $(\beta_1, \dots, \beta_m)$, are CHAINS, then, $(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n, \beta_1, \dots, \beta_m)$ is a CHAIN in that the CHAINS $(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n)$ and $(\beta_1, \dots, \beta_m)$ are linked by the CHAIN (α_n, β_1) . Thus, a CHAIN includes two cases: a

Hence, the Case Filter can, in effect, be assumed to be part of the principle of θ -marking. However, in an attempt to contain PRO (since PRO cannot get Case under government) the first approximation of the Visibility Condition is stated disjunctively in Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) as follows.

- (55) A chain is visible for θ -marking if it contains a Case-position
(necessarily, its head) or is headed by PRO.

This version of the Visibility Condition, Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) point out, is not only unsatisfactory because of the disjunctive aspect that falls short of a true generalization, but also inadequate because PRO could move from a Case-marked position to a non-Case-marked position, as illustrated in (56) (Baltin 1995).

- (56) a. *[PRO_i to strike t_i that John is unpopular].
b. It strikes me that John is unpopular.

The chain (PRO_i, t_i) should be visible for θ -marking; it is legitimate at LF since PRO has moved to a non- θ and non-Case position from a Case-marked position.

chain and an expletive-argument pair. A pair (β , α) is a CHAIN if β is the terminal element of a chain (EX,..., β) headed by the expletive EX, which is linked at D-structure to α in the expletive-argument pair (EX, α). For instance, the pair (*e*, *a unicorn*) in (i) is a CHAIN, where *e* is the terminal element of the chain (*there*, *e*), *there* being linked to *a unicorn* at D-Structure.

- (i) There seems [e to be [a unicorn] in the garden].

In short, the sequence (*there*, *e*, *a unicorn*) is a CHAIN consisting of the chains (*there*, *e*) and (*a unicorn*) linked by the CHAIN (*e*, *a unicorn*).

To eliminate all of the problems regarding PRO, Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) propose that PRO, in fact, gets Case that is null. Therefore, the Visibility Condition is simplified to (57).

(57) A chain is visible for θ -marking if it contains a Case-position.

3.3.2.2.2 VP-Internal Subject PRO

Most important in the discussion of the distribution of PRO is how can PRO get Case. Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) seem to assume that PRO can be assigned a null Case via Case checking as Spec-head agreement in the position of [Spec, IP] (perhaps, more specifically, [Spec, TP]). Watanabe (1993) further suggests that the feature [F] is created after the null Case checking through infinitival T and Agr_S, and that the complex head [Agr_S V + Agr_O + Tns + Agr_S] is adjoined to C in order to check off [F]. If no C is available to check the feature [F], the derivation crashes.

However, I assume that the null Case for PRO is checked through Spec-head agreement between [Spec, VP] and V, i.e. within VP. My arguments for the PRO-in-VP Hypothesis fundamentally appeal to the notion of maximal theoretical consistency. First, if the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis is assumed, the infinitival null subject PRO should still be generated in [Spec, VP]. Second, if Spec-head agreement is a process working for functional categories such as Agr and T, then why not for lexical categories such as V? Therefore, Spec-head agreement between [Spec, VP] and V can be assumed for null Case checking of PRO as well.

Baltin (1995) actually provides evidence for the existence of PRO by the location of clausal subjects in the Specifier position of VP. Let us briefly review his analysis of the distribution of floating quantifiers in connection with PRO in

English. The great freedom in occurrence that floating quantifiers have in English, as exemplified in (58), may be accounted for by the template in (59). The following examples are from Baltin (1995).

- (58) a. The children **all** would have been doing that.
b. The children would **all** have been doing that.
c. The children would have **all** been doing that.
d. The children would have been **all** doing that.

(59) $^M ^{have} ^{be} ^V$

However, the floating quantifier needs a following constituent; it is not allowed to appear in sentence final positions.

(60) *He read the books **all**.

Moreover, as Maling (1976) notes, a floating quantifier cannot intervene between a direct object and a following adverbial constituent.

- (61) a. *I saw the men *all* yesterday.
b. *He argued with the men *all* about politics.

Baltin (1982) also claims that a floating quantifier preceding a VP forms a constituent with the VP since it moves along with a fronted VP, as in (62).

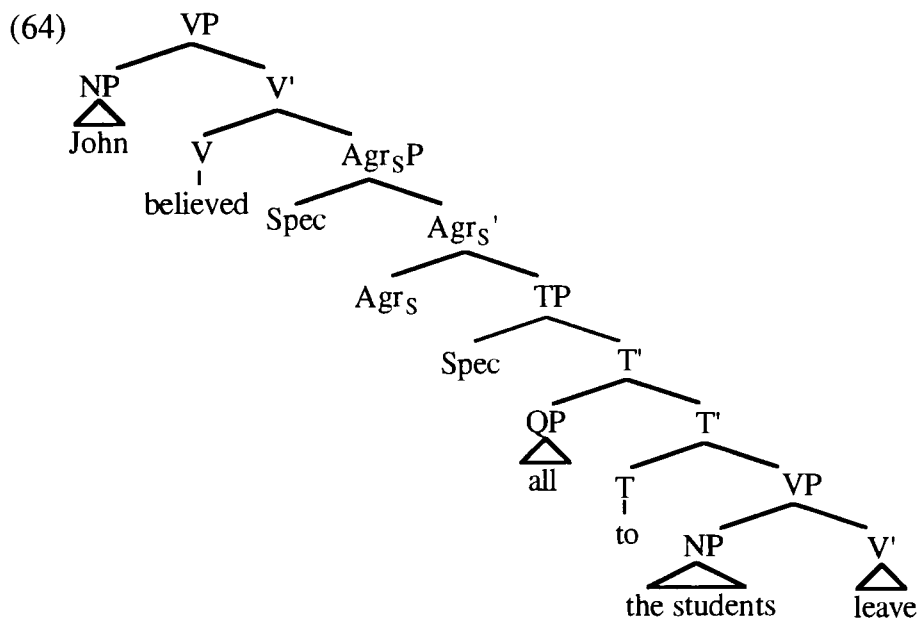
(62) They said that they would all finish their homework, and all finish their homework they did ____ .

These facts lead to Baltin's (1995) assertion that a floating quantifier is accompanied by a predicate that is specified by the floating quantifier. Hence, a floating quantifier should, in fact, be renamed 'predicate specifier'.¹⁶

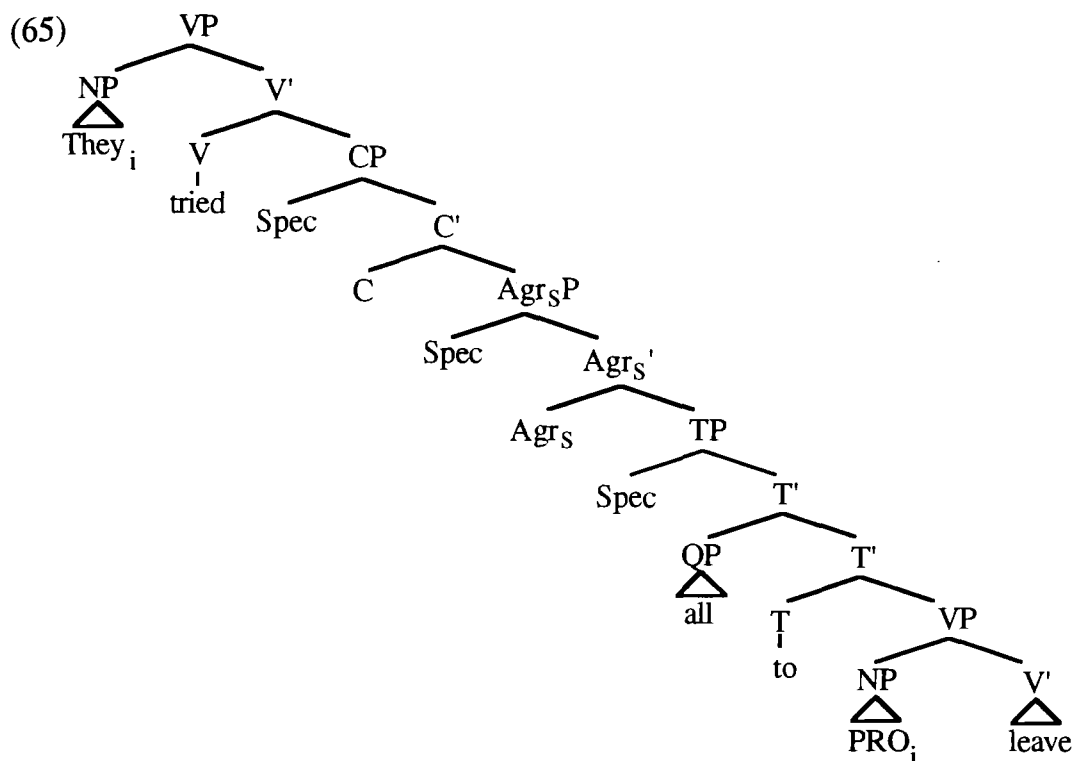
With respect to the distribution of floating quantifiers in infinitives, Baltin (1995) observes that floating quantifiers can immediately precede *to* in infinitives only when the subject is lexical; they must follow *to* when the subject is PRO.

- (63) a. John believed the students all to leave.
b. *They tried all to leave.

To explain the distribution of PRO, he proposes the following structures for each of the examples in (63).



¹⁶ Baltin (1995) uses the term 'proverb', including adverbs such as *ever* as well as floating quantifiers, following C. L. Baker (1971) and Fillmore (1965).



It is significant in the above structures that PRO is not located in the Specifier position of the maximal projection of *to*, i.e. TP, but in the Specifier position of VP, although Baltin (1995) also follows Chomsky and Lasnik's (1993) proposal that PRO is assigned null Case.

The floating quantifier, as a predicate specifier, closes off the X' projection headed by predicates, here being adjoined to T' whose head is *to*. Baltin suggests that the feature [+predicate] is assigned to all X⁰ categories that must head predicative X' constituents, but that the head *to* is inherently unspecified for the feature [predicate]. What specifies the feature is the existence of the subject; predicates require c-commanding subjects (Williams 1980, Rothstein 1983, Napoli 1989). In the above structure, there is no such subject NP. But, in fact, the major difference between the ECM and control constructions is the existence of the subject NP c-commanding the head *to* that is unspecified for the feature [predicate]. In the ECM construction, the infinitival subject that originated in

[Spec, VP] moves to the sister position of *to*'s X' projection, i.e. [Spec, TP], thereby causing the X' projection headed by *to* to be specified as [+predicate].¹⁷

On the other hand, in the control construction, no such NP movement should be required to account for the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (63b), where PRO is preceded by a floating quantifier. If there is no NP movement to such a c-commanding subject position, then any projection headed by *to* cannot be a predicate. However, the floating quantifier must specify a projection that would have to be a predicate. Therefore, the control construction that includes a floating quantifier followed by PRO is ungrammatical.

One may ask about a lexical subject NP. Lexical subject NPs in [Spec, VP] must move to [Spec, TP], given that [Spec, TP] is the appropriate position for Case features to be checked. Thus, the lexical NP moved to [Spec, TP] will end up with double Case-marking. However, I argue that null Case is only sufficient for a null NP, i.e. PRO, not for a lexical NP. Lexically realized NPs still need normal Case.

In conclusion, PRO originates in [Spec, VP] exactly like other lexical subject NPs. In this position, null Case is available via Spec-head agreement between [Spec, VP] and V. PRO in-situ satisfies the Case requirement of the Visibility Condition. PRO does not have any reason for further movement at all, by the principles of economy of derivation, as pointed out by Baltin (1995). A lexical NP in this position, however, needs to move up to [Spec, TP] to check off the morphologically realized Case feature.¹⁸

¹⁷ Actually, the VP-internal subject NP moves through [Spec, Agr_S] in addition to [Spec, TP] to the position of the Specifier of the matrix Agr_O. Then, the ECM construction requires that the infinitival subject NP that originated inside the VP move up to the Specifier of Agr_S that is the Complement of the ECM verb, before Spell-Out. For detailed discussion regarding the levels of Case checking or assignment, refer to Baltin (1995).

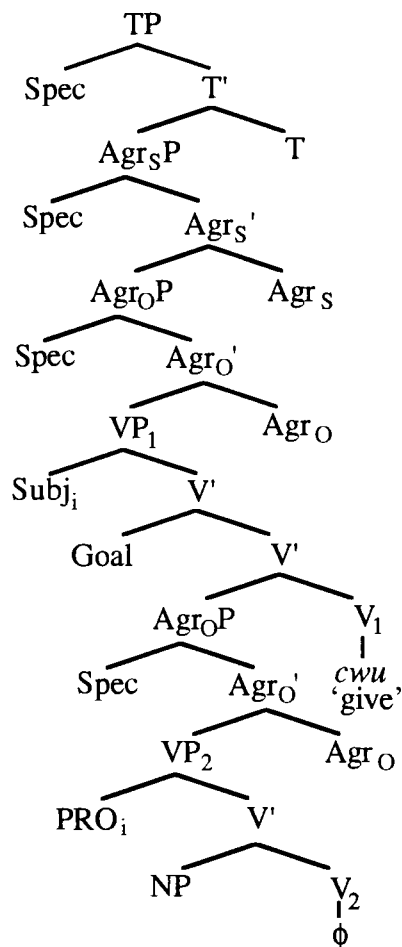
¹⁸ The term 'morphologically realized Case feature' should be used with great care. It does not necessarily mean a morphologically realized Case. It indicates rather the Case feature assumed to be contained in a morphologically realized NP. Thus, the null Case feature that PRO is assumed to carry may be called 'the morphologically unrealized Case feature'.

3.3.3 The Structure of the Simple *Give*-Type Construction

I argue that the Korean dative verb *cwu-* is, by nature, a compound verb whose ability to select the Theme argument is dependent upon its internally combined verb. The verb *cwu-* ‘give’ selects only a Goal argument, as discussed in the preceding sections.

The analysis of the simple *give*-type construction is parallel to that of the compound *give*-type construction. The only difference is that the internal verb V_2 in (48) is invisible and semantically empty. However, it has all the features of a transitive verb. Hence, the intuitive meaning of the simple *give*-type construction structurally represented in (66) is ‘Subject gives Goal VP_2 ’. In the embedded VP_2 , nothing happens to the Theme NP because its head is an invisible—hence semantically null—verb.

(66)



The invisible verb may be called ‘pro head’, which seems very plausible in a pro-drop language like Korean. Therefore, the Korean *give*-type construction may be considered a head-drop construction. The following data indicate that an internal verb that is to be incorporated into the dative verb *cwu*- is assumed to be present in a simple dative construction as well as in the compound dative construction.

(67) A: Nay-ka John-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.

I-Nom John-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind

‘I gave a book to John.’

B: Ettehkey?

‘How?’

A: proSubj proDat proObj sa-a-cwu-ess-ta.

buy-Conn-give-Pst-Ind

‘By buying it (I bought it for him).’

3.3.4 Derivations

This section presents syntactic derivations of both the simple and the compound *give*-type construction. Before turning to the derivations, I will show a problem related to the Goal argument. The *give*-type dative construction does not pattern together with the Dative/Accusative alternation on the Goal, although it has exactly the same matrix verb *cwu*- ‘give’. Let us see what theoretical assumption is necessary and how it works consistently in the derivations of *give*-type dative constructions.

3.3.4.1 Problems

It has been noticed that dative constructions, both simple *give*-type and compound *give*-type constructions, show an alternation between Dative and Accusative marking on the Goal argument, as in (68) and (69).

(68) *Give-type Dative Construction*

John-i Mary-eykey/lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc book-Acc give-Pst-Ind

‘John gave a book to Mary.’

(69) *Compound Give-Type Construction*

John-i Mary-eykey/lul chayk-ul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-Conn-give-Pst-Ind

‘John read a book for Mary.’

However, this is only partly true for the compound *give*-type construction; no Goal is allowed when the embedded verb is intransitive.

(70) a. John-i (*Mary-eykey/lul) nol-a-cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc play-Conn-give-Pst-Ind

‘John played to/for Mary.’

b. John-i (*Mary-eykey/lul) wul-e-cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc cry-Conn-give-Pst-Ind

‘John cried to/for Mary.’

c. John-i (*Mary-eykey/lul) cwuk-e-cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc die-Conn-give-Pst-Ind

‘John died to/for Mary.’

d. John-i (*Mary-eykey/lul) kel-e-cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc walk-Conn-give-Pst-Ind

‘John walked to/for Mary.’

Things are more complicated when embedded transitive verbs are involved in the compound *give*-type construction. Some sentences allow Goal arguments

with a Dative/Accusative alternation, but others do not allow the Goal argument at all, even though they all have embedded transitive verbs.

- (71) a. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul chayk-ul sa-a-cwu-ess-ta.
mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc book-Acc buy-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
'The mother bought a book for her child.'
- b. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul chayk-ul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.
mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
'The mother read a book for her child.'
- c. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul kulus-ul ssis-e-cwu-ess-ta.
mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc dish-Acc wash-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
'The mother washed the dishes and gave them to her child'
* 'The mother washed the dishes for her child.'
- d. *Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul os-ul ip-e-cwu-ess-ta.
mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc clothes-Acc put.on-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
'The mother put on the clothes for her child.'
- e. *Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul wuyu-ul mek-e-cwu-ess-ta.
mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc milk-Acc eat-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
'The mother drank milk for her child.'

The facts examined so far are summarized in (72).

(72) *Dat/Acc Alternation on the Goal Argument*

Construction Embedded verb	<i>Cwu</i> -dative (<i>give</i> -type)	<i>Cwu</i> -compound (<i>give</i> -compound)
	Intransitive	Transitive
Intransitive	-----	*Goal (70)
Transitive	Dat/Acc (68)	Dat/Acc (71a-c) *Goal (71d-e)

In conclusion, let me raise some questions regarding the above problems. First, while the simple *give*-type dative construction allows the Dative/Accusative alternation, as shown in (68), why does the alternation occur with the transitive embedded (or underived) verbs, but not with intransitive embedded ones in the compound *give*-type construction? Second, why does the *cwu*-compound construction not allow a Goal argument at all if the embedded verb is intransitive? Third, even when the construction has a transitive embedded verb, why do only some of them show the alternation and others not? Finally, why do the *give*-type dative constructions not pattern together in the Dative/Accusative alternation on the Goal, although they have exactly the same matrix verb *cwu*- ‘give’?

3.3.4.2 The Unspecified Goal Argument

Consider the sentences in (71). Among these sentences, those that do not allow the Goal argument involve a reflexive action as the complement of the matrix verb *cwu*- ‘give’. For instance, *to put on clothes* in (71d) and *to eat something* in (71e) are events reflexive to the Agent, here PRO. In contrast, (71a) and (71b) have actions that can be transferred to someone else other than the

Agent of the verb. Park (1994) presents some of the semantically reflexive verbs of Korean.

- (73) a. ip- 'put something on self's body'
- b. ssu- 'put something on self's head'
- c. sin- 'put something on self's feet'
- d. ep- 'put something on self's back'
- e. an- 'hold something in self's arms'
- f. mek- 'eat'
- g. po- 'see'
- h. al- 'realize/know'
- j. mwul- 'hold with lips/bite'
- k. cap- 'hold'

It is evident that the donning verbs (73a) - (73d) are semantically reflexive in that they can only be used when one puts something on one's own body. For the other verbs, the event and/or entity involved in the action denoted by the verb is reflexively transferred to an Agent. Although somewhat difficult to define, 'transferability' is basically a relationship between the Theme and the Agent that results when an event connects them. In (71a), *a book* can be transferred to someone as a result of the action *buying*; in (71b), *reading a book* is transferable in that the story of the book is sent to somebody else. However, in (71d) and (71e), it is clear that neither *putting on clothes* nor *eating something* involves transferability.

Interestingly enough, in (71c), *washing the dishes* shows an ambiguity since the transferability of the embedded VP is itself ambiguous. When it has a reflexive meaning as 'simply washing the dishes', the sentence cannot take a Goal

argument. On the other hand, if the VP is considered to be transferable, as when the clean dishes are given to someone else after being washed, then it may have a Goal argument.

It seems that the semantics of the embedded VP are related to the selection of the Goal argument. To capture this fact, I propose that the features of the Goal argument not be specified for the verb *cwu-* ‘give’ in its argument structure. More accurately, the *cwu-* verb takes a Goal argument, but is unspecified for [Goal]. What determines these values are semantic notions. If the meaning of the embedded VP is [+transfer], the verb *cwu-* bears [+Goal]; if the embedded VP is [-transfer], then the verb *cwu-* bears [-Goal].

3.3.4.3 The Derivation of the Compound *Give*-Type Construction

Now, let us move on to the syntactic derivation of the compound *give*-type dative construction.

3.3.4.3.1 The Construction With an Embedded Intransitive Verb

Consider again the case of embedded intransitive verbs in compound *give*-type constructions.

- (74) a. John-i (*Mary-eykey/lul) nol-a-cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc play-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John played to/for Mary.’

- b. John-i (*Mary-eykey/lul) **wul**-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc cry-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John cried to/for Mary.’
- c. John-i (*Mary-eykey/lul) **cwuk**-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc die-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John died to/for Mary.’
- d. John-i (*Mary-eykey/lul) **kel**-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc walk-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John walked to/for Mary.’

The matrix verb *cwu*- ‘give’ has the unspecified [Goal] feature that is to be determined by the transferability of the embedded VP. The verbs in the embedded VP in this case are intransitive. Intransitive verbs are inherently reflexive in the sense that there is nothing to be transferred; hence, the embedded VP is [-transfer]. As a result, this type of construction cannot have a Goal argument at all.

3.3.4.3.2 The Construction With an Embedded Transitive Verb

Examples of the compound *give*-type construction with embedded transitive verbs are repeated in (75) below.

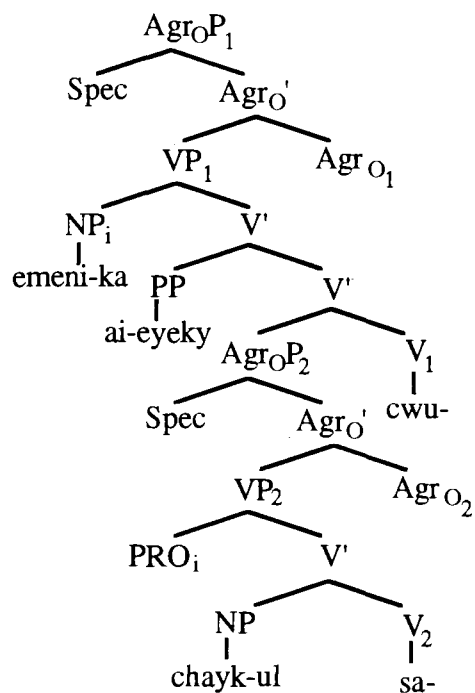
- (75) a. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul chayk-ul sa-a-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc book-Acc buy-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother bought a book for her child.’

- b. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul chayk-ul **ilk**-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother read a book for her child.’
- c. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul kulus-ul **ssis**-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc dish-Acc wash-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother washed the dishes and gave them to her child’
 *‘The mother washed the dishes for her child.’
- d. *Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul os-ul **ip**-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc clothes-Acc put.on-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother put on the clothes for her child.’
- e. *Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul wuyu-ul **mek**-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc milk-Acc eat-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother drank milk for her child.’

Sentences (75d) and (75e) contain a [-transfer] embedded VP. These sentences simply cannot take a Goal argument for the reasons discussed above.

Let us look at example (75a) as the case of an embedded VP with a [+transfer] verb. Consider first the structure with a Dative-marked Goal.

(76)



The structure in (76) suppresses the functional categories, Agr_S, T, and their projections. Among them, [Spec, Agr_SP] is the position to which the matrix VP-Internal subject NP *emeni* ‘mother’ eventually moves to check its Nominative Case feature against Agr_S that is a complex form of [[V+Agr_O]+ Agr_S].¹⁹

The Accusative Case for the Theme NP *chayk* ‘book’ is checked as a result of movement of the NP to [Spec, Agr_OP₂] and the V₂ to Agr_O₂. The movement of the Theme NP to [Spec, Agr_OP₂] satisfies the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993, Chomsky 1994, 1995):

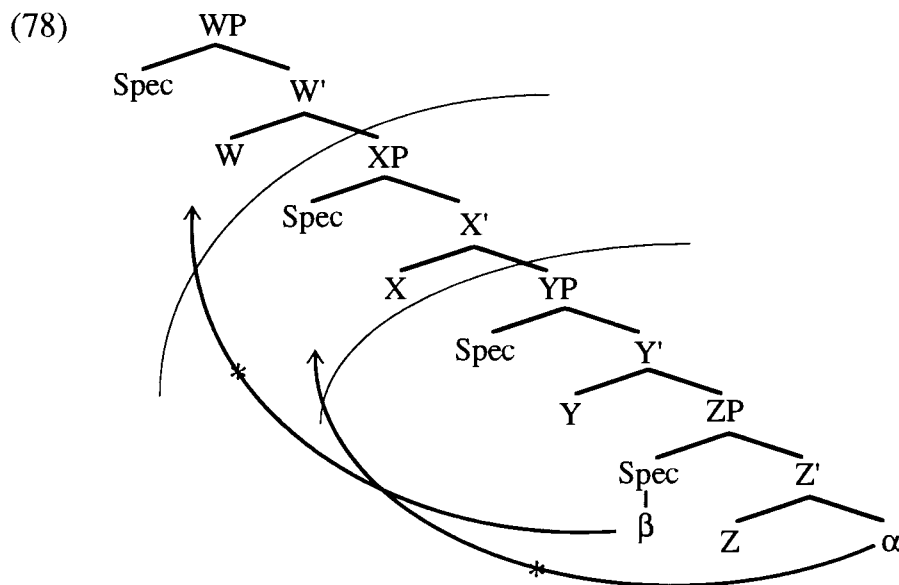
(77) *The Minimal Link Condition*

Minimize chain links.

¹⁹ The Case markers as represented in (76) are, in fact, inert; they should be activated by getting charged with Case features in the appropriate Specifier positions via Spec-head agreement (cf. section 2.3).

The Theme NP moves into the first available Spec position in accordance with the Shortest Movement Condition (Chomsky 1993).

An important concept involved in the condition on movement is that of 'equidistance'. This concept is also discussed in detail in Chapter 1. Let us review here the essence of the condition, avoiding unnecessary details. The main point of the condition on movement is that nothing can raise by crossing more than two Specifier positions.

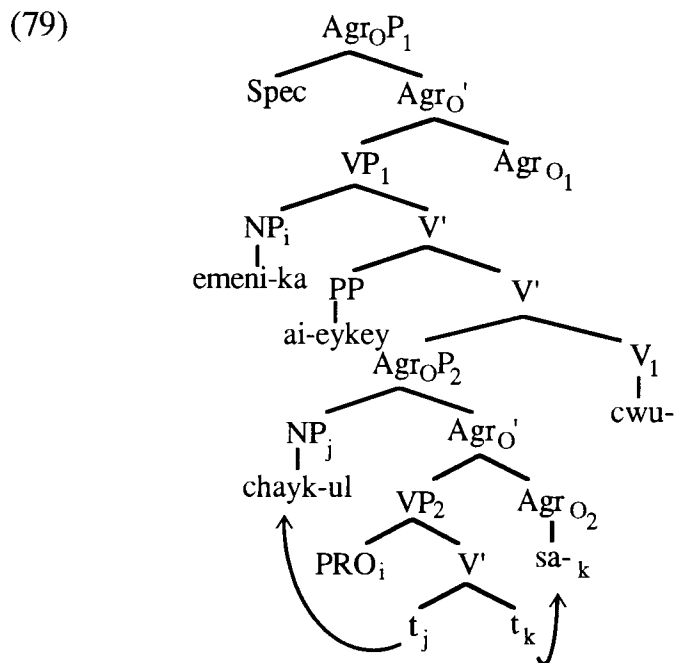


Simplifying the movements in (78), let us take α and β as the Complement and the Specifier of the head Z, respectively, to see how far they can move. It is important to note that head-movement is essential here. A preliminary movement of a head makes it possible for its Specifier and complement to raise to a higher position. In the case of movement of α , the head Z must have been raised to adjoin to Y. Raising of Z to Y forms a new chain with a new minimal domain, which includes [Spec, YP], [Spec, ZP] and α . Therefore, [Spec, YP] and [Spec, ZP] are equidistant from the position of α since any elements in the same minimal domain are

equidistant from a launching site. However, direct movement from the position of α to a higher position than [Spec, YP] is prohibited; any positions higher than [Spec, YP] cannot be equidistant from the Specifier positions that α should cross, i.e. [Spec, YP] and [Spec, ZP].

Likewise, for the movement of β , the head Y (presumably, in the form of [Z+Y]) should also be assumed to have been raised to the head X. Then the newly formed minimal domain of the chain includes [Spec, XP], [Spec, YP] and ZP. Thus, β can cross over [Spec, YP], but not [Spec, XP], since raising of β to a position higher than [Spec, XP] would violate the Shortest Movement Condition. In sum, it may be said that an NP can cross over at most one intervening Specifier position.

Now, let us return to the structure (76), repeated more fully here as (79).



The movement of the Theme NP *chayk* 'book' to [Spec, AgrOP₂] can cross PRO in [Spec, VP] since the raising of V₂ to AgrO₂ forms a minimal domain of the chain in which PRO and [Spec, AgrOP₂] are equidistant from the launching site of the

Theme NP. The NP moved in [Spec, Agr₀P₂] can now check its Accusative Case feature against Agr₀₂. This is necessary for the projections of Agr₀ on top of the VP that is otherwise a complement of the verb *cwu-* ‘give’. If Agr₀P₂ does not exist, the only position available for the landing site of the Theme NP is [Spec, Agr₀P₁]. However, moving the Theme NP to that position would cross more than two intervening Specifier positions, thus violating the Shortest Movement Condition.

Successive cyclic movement is not possible either, although the head V₂ can successively raise to V₁ and further to Agr₀₁. The reason is that there is no escape hatch, such as an empty Specifier position, to provide an intermediate landing site for the movement of the Theme NP to [Spec, Agr₀P₁] (Fujita 1996). Hence, we need Agr₀P dominating the embedded VP for a correct derivation.²⁰

As a matter of fact, the other crucial function of the Agr₀ projections is to provide an escape hatch for the movement of the Theme NP to [Spec, Agr₀P₁]. The structure in (79) is for the Dative version of the compound *give*-type construction. In that case, the Theme NP does not have any reason for further movement from [Spec, Agr₀P₂]. V₂ has the feature [+Case], which is checked via Spec-head agreement mediated by Agr₀₂.

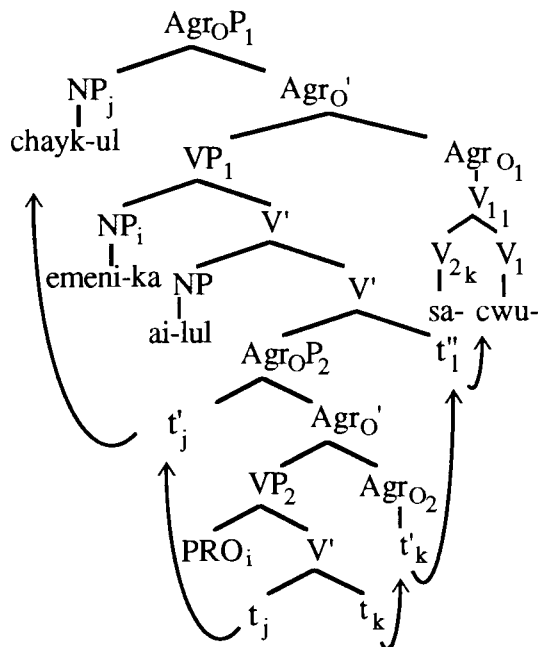
The Goal PP *ai-eykey* ‘to the child’ need not and cannot move to [Spec, Agr₀P₁] since the object NP of a preposition or postposition is assumed to get Case inside PP through Spec-head agreement, as suggested by Fujita (1996). Thus, the matrix verb *cwu-* should not have the [+Case] feature, at least in this instance. However, the verb *cwu-* does not seem to have the [-Case] feature

²⁰ For discussion of similar analyses, refer to Bures (1992), Fujita (1996) and Collins and Thráinsson (1996). Collins and Thráinsson (1996) also refer to Sportiche (1990), Johnson (1991), Travis (1991, 1992a,b), Noonan (1992) and Koizumi (1993) for the proposal that there is a derived object position internal to the VP (either [Spec, VP], [Spec, AspP], or [Spec, Agr₀P]).

either. If it has the [-Case] feature, then there will be no way to assign the Accusative Case to the NP Goal in double Accusative *give*-type constructions. Hence, I claim, following Lee (1995), that the verb *cwu*- is also unspecified for [Case] as well as the [Goal] feature. What determines the Case feature of *cwu*- is an incorporating verb's Case feature. Therefore, in the Dative *give*-type construction, the embedded transitive verb does not bear the Case feature any more once it raises to V₁ in the form of [V₂+*cwu*-], since it has already discharged its Case feature in the position of Agr₀, as a result of a neutralization process, to the NP in [Spec, Agr₀P₂]. Therefore, the embedded verb is not capable of determining the Case feature of *cwu*- here, although the feature [Goal] is specified as [+Goal] since the embedded VP is [+transfer]. No Case feature needs to be checked in Agr₀₁ and no NP needs to raise to [Spec, Agr₀P₁] either. The derivation converges.

When the Goal is an NP, it is Accusative-marked. But how is an extra Accusative Case possible in addition to that for the Theme NP? I propose that there is a delayed version of Case checking for the Theme. For the Dative construction, the Accusative Case of the Theme NP is checked in [Spec, Agr₀P₂] with Agr₀₂. This is the normal system for Case checking following the economy principle. However, the other option that I propose here is not a normal Case checking system. Rather this option delays checking the Case of the Theme until after verb incorporation. Once the incorporated complex verb raises to Agr₀₁, the Theme NP also moves to [Spec, Agr₀P₁], thereby Case checking occurs via Spec-head agreement between [Spec, Agr₀P₁] and Agr₀₁ in the form of [V₂+V₁].

(80)



The position [Spec, AgrOP₂] in this case is not for Case checking, but just for use as an escape hatch. Since Case features of the Theme NP and the V₂ are not checked in [Spec, AgrOP₂] and AgrO₂, the Case features still need to be checked off. Hence, the Theme NP should raise to [Spec, AgrOP₁], where the Accusative Case is checked against AgrO₁.

The embedded transitive verb *sa-* 'buy' in (80) still has the [+Case] feature for it has not been discharged. Therefore, its specification of [+Case] determines the Case feature of the matrix verb *cwu-* 'give' as [+Case]. Due to the transferability of the embedded VP, *cwu-* can also take its Goal argument from the feature [+Goal]. A complex verb is conjectured to have a much heavier Case feature than a common transitive verb. Now, the complex verb raises to AgrO₁, which it charges with its Case feature. At this point, it overcharges AgrO₁ with the heavy Case feature. Subsequently, Spec-head agreement (as a neutralization process) takes place. The Case feature now shifts over to [Spec, AgrOP₁], which

also results in being overcharged with the Case feature. In this position, after activating Accusative morphology, the Case feature has still not been totally neutralized. The leftover feature may percolate down to the Goal argument matching the Case feature, if the Goal is marked by Accusative. What makes this possible is the concept of domain proposed by Chomsky (1993). I propose that extra Case is available through a floating Case feature running through the same checking domain. Although the Subject is within the checking domain, it is not eligible for Accusative Case since its Nominative marker would not match the feature specification for the Accusative Case feature. Even if it were marked by Accusative, the ultimate derivation would crash since there would be no argument to check off the Nominative Case in [Spec, Agr_SP] if the Subject were Case-checked by the floating feature in the [Spec, VP] position.

This optional Case checking system also explains the Case stacking phenomenon. Among various instances of Case stacking, let us take that of Dative-Accusative, which is directly related to the issue under discussion.

(81) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind

‘John gave a book to Mary.’

b. John-i Mary-eykey-**lul** chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Dat-Acc book-Acc give-Pst-Ind

‘John gave a book to Mary.’

(82) a. Emeni-ka ai-eykey chayk-ul sa-a-cwu-ess-ta.

mother-Nom child-Dat book-Acc buy-Conn-give-Pst-Ind

‘The mother bought her child a book.’

- b. Emeni-ka ai-eykey-lul chayk-ul sa-a-cwu-ess-ta.
mother-Nom child-Dat-Acc book-Acc buy-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
'The mother bought her child a book.'

Give-type dative constructions allow for the Case stacking of Accusative on Dative, although it is usually avoided and felt to be awkward by a majority of Korean speakers. The stacked Accusative Case morphology can also be activated by the leftover Case feature floating down the connection in the checking domain of the chain of the (compound) verb. This result arises through delay of Case checking in the lower Agr_{OP}. The Case checking process is exactly the same as that of the double Accusative compound *give*-type construction discussed above.

However, note that a relatively small number of Korean speakers allow double Accusative constructions and those with Case stacking. Most Korean speakers do not allow (or at least dislike) them and prefer the corresponding non-Case stacked Dative constructions. The Case system of *give*-type dative constructions may explain this phenomenon well. Given that Dative constructions employ the normal Case checking system, they are wholly acceptable to native speakers. However, for double Accusative constructions or those with Case stacking, an irregular option of Case checking, i.e. the delay of Case checking, is necessary to accommodate the extra Accusative Case.

3.3.4.4 The Derivation of the Simple *Give*-Type Construction

The simple *give*-type construction has an embedded VP with a transferable Theme in that nothing is done to the Theme by the invisible verb. Since the

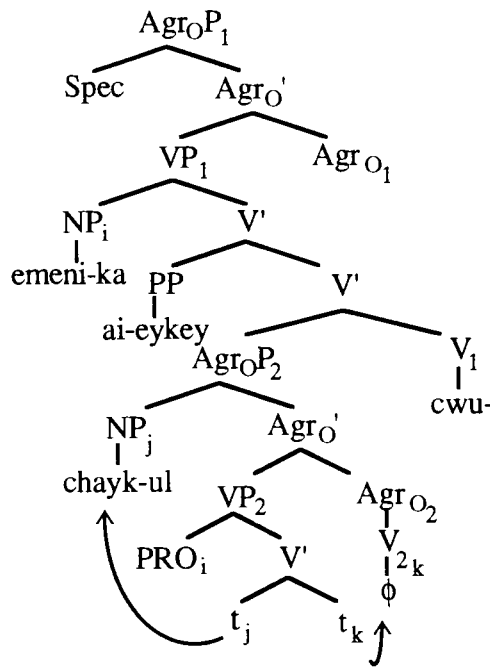
embedded VP is [+transfer], a Goal argument is available, but the verb *cwu-* ‘give’ is still not specified for the feature [Case]. The Case checking process is exactly the same as the one for the compound *give*-type constructions with [+transfer] transitive verbs, except for the visibility of the embedded verb.

Let us take the sentences in (83) for consideration of the relevant derivation.

- (83) a. Emeni-ka ai-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother gave a book to her child.’
- b. Emeni-ka ai-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Acc book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother gave her child a book.’

If the Goal is Dative-marked, i.e. PP as in (83a), regular Case checking applies in exactly the same way as in the compound *give*-type construction with a Dative Goal.

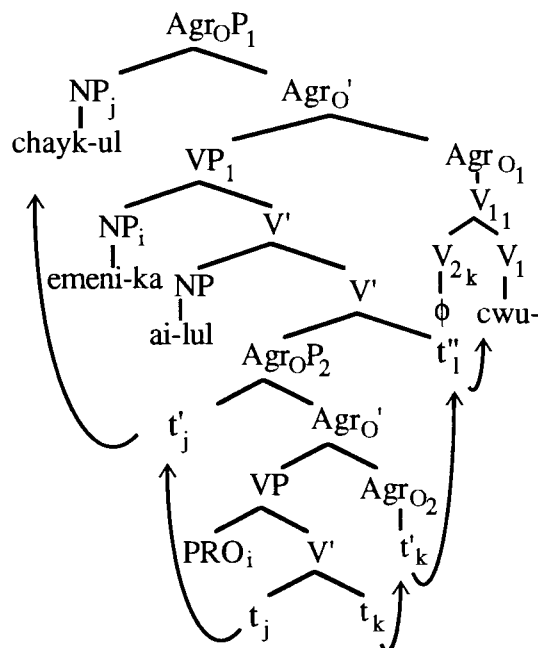
(84)



The invisible verb ϕ has [+Case], which is checked off in $AgrO_2$. Through Spec-head agreement, the Theme NP *chayk* 'book' gets Accusative Case activated in [Spec, $AgrOP_2$]. In this instance, although the invisible verb eventually incorporates into the matrix verb *cwu-*, it cannot determine the feature [Case] of *cwu-* since it has already discharged its own Case feature before it adjoins *cwu-*.

As for the construction with an Accusative-marked Goal such as (83b), the Case checking in $AgrOP_2$ is delayed. Both the invisible verb and the Theme NP successively move, without checking their Case features, up to the matrix $AgrOP$, i.e. $AgrOP_1$.

(85)



In this case, incorporation of the embedded invisible verb into the matrix *cwu-* results in a heavy Case feature, with both verbs contributing Case. The embedded verb ϕ has not discharged its Case feature yet. Therefore, the feature [+Case] of the incorporating embedded verb now determines the unspecified feature of *cwu-*. It is specified as [+Case], too. Thus heavy Case feature of the verb complex overcharges the [Spec, AgrOP₁] position via Spec-head agreement when it checks off the Case feature in the position of AgrO₁. After this, the floating redundant Case feature can charge an extra NP, activating Accusative morphology as well.

3.4 Conclusion

I have claimed that the Korean *give*-type dative construction is basically one type of compound construction in which the matrix verb *cwu-* ‘give’, which has a VP complement and a Goal argument, is incorporated with an embedded verb

that is the head of the complement VP, selecting a Theme NP. I have proposed that the structure of the simple *give*-type dative construction is parallel to that of the compound *give*-type dative construction. In this structure, assuming a Baker-type Incorporation (verb incorporation) as the compounding process, a multi-predicate structure is introduced. The main verb, i.e. the dative verb *cwu*- ‘give’ only selects the Goal argument, while the embedded inner verb, if it is transitive, selects the Theme NP. The only difference between compound *give*-type and simple *give*-type constructions is that the embedded verb in the simple *give*-type constructions is invisible but has the features of a transitive verb. Hence, the invisible verb always selects its own Theme argument and has the Case feature, too.

With the foregoing structure for *give*-type constructions, the Case analysis works within the Minimalist framework. In conjunction with Case theory, some problems should be explained. First, while the simple *give*-type dative construction always allows the Dative/Accusative alternation, the alternation is shown with transitive embedded (or underived) verbs, but not with intransitive embedded verbs in the compound *give*-type construction. Second, the compound *give*-type construction does not allow a Goal argument at all if the embedded verb is intransitive. Third, even when the compound *give*-type construction has a transitive embedded verb, there are some verbs of this class that show the alternation, while others do not. Fourth, *give*-type dative constructions do not pattern together in the Dative/Accusative alternation on the Goal, even though these constructions have exactly the same matrix verb *cwu*- ‘give’.

To give a unified account of these problems, I argue that the lexical features of the verb *cwu*- ‘give’ are not specified in Korean—its capability of assigning Case and selecting its Goal argument remains unspecified. Hence, it is proposed that *cwu*-’s features for Case and Goal selection may be represented simply as

[Case] and [Goal], not specified as either [+] or [-]. These properties are added during derivation based on the properties of the embedded VP complement. During the syntactic derivation, if the embedded verb incorporates into *cwu-* with the feature [α Case], *cwu-*'s Case feature is determined as [α Case]; for instance, it gets specified as [+Case] if the embedded verb has the feature [+Case] when it incorporates to *cwu-*. The specification of the Goal argument of the matrix verb *cwu-* is defined by the semantic property of the embedded VP clause; if the meaning of the embedded VP is transferable ([+transfer]), *cwu-* takes a Goal argument, and if it is non-transferable ([-transfer]), it does not.

The significance of my proposal is that information about argument structure can be derived during the syntactic computation. A similar approach is found in Ritter and Rosen (1993a, b). In the EST framework, such a process was not possible since the process from the lexicon to the computational system was done by "Satisfy" as an "all-at-once" operation. All lexical items drawn from the lexicon are presented to D-Structure before computation commences; thereafter, computation has no access to the lexicon. However, lexical information during the syntactic computation is possible in the Minimalist framework, which lacks such a constraint. The lexicon is accessible at any point, while computation is proceeding. Therefore, the morphosyntactic information is adjustable during the process of computation.

The analysis of the unspecified Goal argument has an important implication for the role of semantics in the grammar. If the semantic property, i.e. transferability of the embedded VP decides the selection of a Goal, semantics determines the newly derived morphosyntactic information in the middle of the syntactic computation. Thus, I claim that semantics may participate in the computation of a structural description. In other words, semantics plays an

integral role in syntax. Therefore, it must be supposed that semantic interpretation, at least partial semantic interpretation, must be available before LF.

Chapter 4

The Syntax of the Morphological Causative Construction

4.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to claim that the morphological causative construction (MCC) in Korean has the same structure as the *give*-type dative construction. In fact, one of the variants of the MCC has a Dative-marked NP. This NP can alternatively be marked Accusative. In other words, the MCC shows a Dative/Accusative alternation just like the *give*-type dative construction. Moreover, the NP showing the Dative/Accusative alternation has the same syntactic behaviour as corresponding NP in the *give*-type dative construction. Despite the similarities between these two constructions, there are also some differences with respect to a variety of syntactic phenomena. However, based on the structural similarities, a unified analysis of the two constructions successfully deals with the similarities and differences between the two constructions.

4.1.1 Lexical vs. Syntactic Causatives

Causativity is expressed in different ways across languages and also within languages. English, for instance, has basically two types of causative constructions. One involves lexical causative verbs such as *kill* and *send*.

- (1) a. The angry worker killed his boss.
- b. John sent his son to bed.

These constructions are called ‘lexical causatives’ since the causative meaning is entailed in the lexical item itself.¹ More specifically, the causative meaning is represented in the lexical semantic structure (Grimshaw 1990) or lexical conceptual structure (Jackendoff 1990a) of these verbs in the lexicon.² This type of causative involves verbs which are only semantically analyzable as causatives; they do not display any relationship to their non-causative counterparts in any components other than semantics (Patterson 1974).

In addition to the lexical causative construction, the other way to create causativity in English is through the periphrastic causative construction.³ This construction uses verbs such as *cause*, *make*, *have*, *let*, etc.

- (2) a. The insects caused the plants to die.
b. Taroo made his son go to bed.
c. Bruno had Youngsoo eat all the spaghetti that he cooked.

Lexical causative verbs may be lexically decomposed, e.g. from *to kill X* into *to cause X to die*. Following the same line of reasoning, a periphrastic causative construction is molded in a decompositional configuration similar to that of the corresponding lexical causative. For instance, the sentences in (2a) and (2b) may be paraphrasable into lexical causatives as *The insect killed the plants*, and *Taroo sent his son to bed*, respectively. Thus, the verbs *cause*, *make* and *have* seem to carry out the causative meaning that is represented in the lexical semantic structure of causative verbs. In this sense, verbs such as *cause*, *make* and *have* are

¹ The term ‘lexical causative’ is sometimes used to refer to a ‘morphological causative’, which employs affixation to denote causation. I will clarify these terms shortly.

² This is reminiscent of Patterson’s (1974) term ‘implicit causative’.

³ Patterson (1974) also uses ‘explicit causative’ for the periphrastic causative.

called ‘causative verbs’.⁴ To distinguish these causative verbs from those included among lexical causatives such as *kill* and *send*, I will refer to the latter group of verbs as ‘lexical causative verbs’.

Korean also has both types of causatives. Sentences such as (3) should be categorized as lexical causatives in that the construction involves causation denoted by a lexical causative verb, *ponay*- ‘send’.

- (3) Na-nun Youngsoo-lul Seoul-ey ponay-ess-ta.
I-Top Youngsoo-Acc Seoul-Dat send-Pst-Ind
‘I sent Youngsoo to Seoul.’

Korean also employs periphrastic causatives, as illustrated in (4).

- (4) Na-nun Youngsoo-lul Seoul-ey ka-key ha-ess-ta.
I-Top Youngsoo-Acc Seoul-Dat go-Comp do-Pst-Ind
‘I had Youngsoo go to Seoul.’

The basic structure of periphrastic causative constructions is the same as that of English. It is made up of the verb *ha*- ‘do’, which functions as a causative verb, and an embedded clause manifested by the Comp *-key*.⁵

Periphrastic causatives can also be formed with other causative verbs such as *sikhi*- ‘order’ and *mantul*- ‘make’, etc.

⁴ Ritter and Rosen (1993b) distinguish between causative verbs with respect to their lexical representation. For example, causativity is lexically specified in the representation of *make*, whereas *have*, they claim, lacks inherent semantic content, and may obtain a causative interpretation in the course of the derivation. Thus, they call *have* a ‘functor predicate’.

⁵ Therefore, the periphrastic causative is often called a clausal, indirect or long causative.

(5) a. Na-nun Youngsoo-ka Seoul-ey ka-key **sikhi**-ess-ta.
 I-Top Youngsoo-Nom Seoul-Dat go-Comp order-Pst-Ind
 'I ordered Youngsoo to go to Seoul.'

b. Na-nun Youngsoo-ka Seoul-ey ka-key **mantul**-ess-ta.
 I-Top Youngsoo-Nom Seoul-Dat go-Comp make-Pst-Ind
 'I made Youngsoo go to Seoul.'

The verbs shown in (5) are not exhaustive of the class.

4.1.2 Morphological Causatives

In addition to the two types of causative constructions, i.e. lexical and periphrastic, Korean has a third type involving the causative morpheme manifested as *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, or *-ki*.⁶

(6) a. Na-nun Youngsoo-eykey cenyekpap-ul mek-i-ess-ta.
 I-Top Youngsoo-Dat dinner-Acc eat-Caus-Pst-Ind
 'I fed Youngsoo dinner.'

⁶ These are considered allomorphs of a single causative morpheme, the realization of which is phonologically conditioned. However, the phonological conditions involved in the realization of the causative morpheme cannot be formalized perfectly because of the difficulty in dealing with so many complicated exceptions. Nevertheless, some Korean linguists (H. Lee 1989, J. Lee 1991) have tried to do so, even though they themselves admit that their phonological rules are only vague attempts. Among others, Park (1994) extensively presents the constraints and conditions on the realizations of the causative morphemes. The different forms of the affixal causative morpheme listed above are not exhaustive. Choi (1989) and Park (1994) discuss other allomorphs, for instance, *-wu*, *-kwu*, *-hwu*, *-khi*.

- b. Na-nun Youngsoo-eykey os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
 I-Top Youngsoo-Dat clothes-Acc wear-Caus-Pst-Ind
 'I put the clothes on Youngsoo.'
- c. Na-nun Youngsoo-eykey kapang-ul tul-li-ess-ta.
 I-Top Youngsoo-Dat bag-Acc carry-Caus-Pst-Ind
 'I had Youngsoo carry the bag.'
- d. Na-nun Youngsoo-lul meli-lul kam-ki-ess-ta.
 I-Top Youngsoo-Acc hair-Acc wash-Caus-Pst-Ind
 'I washed Youngsoo's hair.'

Like the periphrastic causative, this type of causative construction conveys causativity explicitly. However, this explicitness is accomplished by morphology rather than by syntax. Therefore, the type illustrated in (6) is called a morphological causative.⁷ Sometimes, the morphological causative is called 'lexical' (Shibatani 1973a, 1973b, 1976a). However, as noted above, I use the term 'lexical' for those causatives that involve a lexical causative verb, i.e. a verb that, in itself, carries an inherent lexical meaning of causation without undergoing any morphological or syntactic process.⁸

⁷ It is also called 'synthetic', as opposed to 'syntactic' or 'analytic' for periphrastic causatives. It is often called 'short' or 'direct', in contrast to the 'long' or 'indirect' properties of the periphrastic causative.

⁸ The reason why morphological causatives are sometimes called lexical causatives may be that morphological and lexical causatives are both lexically limited. It is quite obvious that lexical causative verbs are highly restricted in number, even cross-linguistically. For example, both in English and Korean, there is no underived verb to indicate the meaning of 'have someone smile', although both the languages have other ways to show causativity. For instance, the syntactic causative in both languages and the morphological causative in Korean as well.

4.1.3 Chapter Outline

This chapter pursues a unified account of the MCC and the *give*-type constructions. In section 4.2, syntactic similarities and differences between the two constructions are discussed. The similarities provide a strong basis for a unified analysis, but the differences raise a problem for a unified analysis of the two constructions in general and the analysis of the MCC in particular.

Section 4.3 examines the structural nature of the MCC and proposes the structure of the Korean MCC. The structure shows a parallelism to that of the *give*-type dative construction.

Section 4.4 presents the syntactic derivation of the MCC focusing on the Dative/Accusative alternation. On the basis of parallel structures, not only syntactic similarities, but also the differences between the MCC and the *give*-type construction are consistently explained in a unified manner.

Section 4.5 summarizes and concludes this chapter.

4.2 Towards a Unified Analysis of Dative Constructions

The Korean MCC bears remarkable similarities to the *give*-type dative construction. Cross-linguistically, Alsina (1992) noted that verbs meaning ‘give’ are used as causatives in various languages, such as Tzotzil (Aissen 1983) and Chamorro (Gibson 1980). In Korean, although the two constructions employ different verbs, *cwu-* ‘give’ for the *give*-type dative construction and a morphological morpheme *-i* for the MCC, the two constructions reveal striking similarities in a variety of syntactic phenomena. Therefore, an optimal grammar should give a unified account of both constructions. However, there also exist apparent differences between the two constructions. This poses a problem for a

unified approach. In this section, the syntactic similarities and differences of the two constructions are discussed.

4.2.1 Similarities between the MCC and the *Give-Type* Construction

The causee in the MCC and the Goal argument in the *give-type* construction can both be marked either Dative or Accusative. In addition, the two arguments, i.e. the causee and the Goal, exhibit exactly the same syntactic behaviour with respect to various effects such as passivization. Let us examine the similarities of the two constructions in detail.

4.2.1.1 Dative/Accusative Alternation

The Korean MCC shows that the causee can be marked Accusative (7a), as well as Dative (7b).

- (7) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John made Mary read a book.’
- b. John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John made Mary read a book.’

The alternation between Dative and Accusative is very similar to dative shift; (7a) is an oblique dative construction and (7b) a double object construction. Compare these with the *give-type* dative constructions in the following.

(8) Give-type Dative Construction

a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
'John gave a book to Mary.'

b. John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
'John gave Mary a book.'

(9) Compound Give-Type Construction

a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc read-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
'John read a book for Mary.'

b. John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc read-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
'John read a book for Mary.'

Thus, we see that *give-type* ditransitive constructions and the MCC are parallel; they may both undergo the Dative/Accusative alternation.

4.2.1.2 Syntactic Properties of Objects

In addition to the Dative/Accusative alternation, there is another similarity in the syntactic behaviour of the object NPs. The two constructions have two object NPs. In the MCC, one is the causee and the other the Theme of the transitive base verb. In the *give*-type construction, one is the Goal and the other the Theme. These two arguments are considered as an indirect and a direct object, respectively, regardless of their categories, NP or PP.⁹ When these two arguments are compared with respect to passivization, an asymmetry results.

If a *give*-type sentence containing a Dative-marked Goal NP is passivized as in (10), the Theme argument can be the subject, but the Goal cannot, as illustrated in (11).

- (10) John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave a book to Mary.’

- (11) a. Chayk-i (John-ey uyhayse) Mary-eykey cwu-e-ci-ess-ta.
 book-Nom (John-by) Mary-Dat give-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘A book was given to Mary (by John).’

- b. *Mary-ka (John-ey uyhayse) chayk-ul cwu-e-ci-ess-ta.
 Mary-Nom (John-by) book-Acc give-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary was given a book (by John).’

⁹ This is why Japanese is classified in the group of double object languages in Baker (1988). Since it shows a symmetry between the two objects, i.e. the Theme and the Goal arguments; they both can be the subject of a passive sentence. This differs from Korean.

Likewise, when an MCC containing a Dative-marked Goal NP is passivized as in (12), the Theme argument can be the subject, but the causee cannot, as shown in (13).

- (12) John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John had Mary read a book.’

- (13) a. Chayk-i (John-ey uyhayse) Mary-eykey
 book-Nom (John-by) Mary-Dat
 ilk-hi-e-ci-ess-ta.
 read-Caus-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘A book was made to read by Mary (by John).’

- b. *Mary-ka (John-ey uyhayse) chayk-ul
 Mary-Nom (John-by) book-Acc
 ilk-hi-e-ci-ess-ta.
 read-Caus-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary was made to read a book (by John).’

This result demonstrates that the two arguments behave in the same way in the two constructions.

This is further supported by the syntactic behaviour of the two objects involved in the double Accusative counterparts of the constructions. Let us consider the following data.

(14) John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc give-Pst-Ind

‘John gave Mary a book.’

(15) a. *Chayk-i (John-ey uyhayse) Mary-lul cwu-e-ci-ess-ta.

book-Nom (John-by) Mary-Acc give-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind

‘A book was given Mary (by John).’

b. *Mary-ka (John-ey uyhayse) chayk-ul cwu-e-ci-ess-ta.

Mary-Nom (John-by) book-Acc give-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind

‘Mary was given a book (by John).’

The above data show that no object, i.e. neither the Theme NP nor the Goal NP can become the passive subject in a double Accusative *give*-type construction.

The MCC shows the same result, as illustrated in the following.

(16) John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘John had Mary read a book.’

(17) a. *Chayk-i (John-ey uyhayse) Mary-lul

book-Nom (John-by) Mary-Acc

ilk-hi-e-ci-ess-ta.

read-Caus-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind

‘A book was made to be read by Mary (by John).’

- b. *Mary-ka (John-ey uyhayse) chayk-ul
 Mary-Nom (John-by) book-Acc
 ilk-hi-e-ci-ess-ta.
 read-Caus-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary was made to read a book (by John).’

However, a passive of a *give*-type dative construction is possible only if both object NPs are marked Nominative, as illustrated in (18).

- (18) Mary-ka chayk-i (John-ey uyhayse) cwu-e-ci-ess-ta.
 Mary-Nom book-Nom (John-by) give-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary was given a book (by John).’

This is also the case in MCC examples:

- (19) Mary-ka chayk-i (John-ey uyhayse)
 Mary-Nom book-Nom (John-by)
 ilk-hi-e-ci-ess-ta.
 read-Caus-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary was made to read a book (by John).’ or
 ‘The book was made to be read by Mary (by John).’

In addition, both the *give*-type dative construction (20) and the MCC (21) are ungrammatical if the direct object precedes the indirect object.

(20) *Chayk-i Mary-ka (John-ey uyhayse) cwu-e-ci-ess-ta.
 book-Nom Mary-Nom (John-by) give-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary was given a book (by John).’

(21) *Chayk-i Mary-ka (John-ey uyhayse)
 book-Nom Mary-Nom (John-by)
 ilk-hi-e-ci-ess-ta.
 read-Caus-Conn-Pass-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary was made to read a book (by John).’ or
 ‘The book was made to be read by Mary (by John).’

In conclusion, along with the Dative/Accusative alternation, the syntactic parallelism of the two objects in both the MCC and the *give*-type construction with respect to passivization, renders a strong basis for a unified analysis of these two constructions.

4.2.2 Problems

Although the Dative/Accusative alternation is an important example of the similarity between the MCC and the *give*-type construction, this alternation also raises problems both for the analysis of the MCC and for a unified analysis of the two constructions. Within the MCC, the Dative/Accusative alternation poses a difficulty in explaining the transitivity effect: how can the Dative/Accusative alternation be accounted for by a valency increase of the causativized verb? Cross-constructionally, mismatches are found with respect to the alternation: while a specific group of sentences of the *give*-type dative construction shows the Dative/Accusative alternation, the corresponding morphological causatives

do not. Before proceeding to a unified analysis of the MCC and the *give*-type construction, let us examine such problems for the unfolding analysis.

4.2.2.1 Transitivity Effect

One of the main issues in the study of MCCs is transitivity. Cross-linguistically, the connection between causativity and the transitivity of a base verb, is revealed by a change in the verb's argument valency. Basically, causation transitivizes a verb, resulting in a valency increase. In other words, causativization of an intransitive verb by attaching a causative affix derives a transitive verb, that is, a verb with one more argument. This is also true generally in Korean, as follows.

(22) a. John-i cwuk-ess-ta.
 John-Nom die-Pst-Ind
 'John died.'

 b. John-i Mary-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc die-Caus-Pst-Ind
 'John killed Mary.'

In deriving a causative verb from a transitive base verb, the fundamental direction is the same; the causative verb derived from a transitive base now has another argument as (23b) shows and hence, it is a ditransitive.¹⁰

¹⁰ Here, I use terms such as 'derived' and 'base' to distinguish the difference of a verb's different forms with respect to attachment of a causative affix; affixing a causative morpheme onto a base verb yields a derived verb.

(23) a. John-i chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 John-Nom book-Acc read-Pst-Ind
 'John read a book.'

b. John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind
 'John made Mary read a book.'

In other words, causativity and transitivity are closely related in a rule-governed fashion: causativization of an intransitive and a transitive verb results in a transitive and a ditransitive verb, respectively. Causativization, by affixing a causative morpheme, increases the verb's argument valency by one.

Previously, ambiguous traits of the MCC have been explained by construction-specific rules such as the Causative Rules discussed in Comrie (1976) and Gibson (1980). The Causative Rules are based on two patterns of MCCs with respect to grammatical relations (see also Marantz 1985). What Comrie (1976), and Gibson (1980) point out is that MCCs, cross-linguistically, break down into two patterns with respect to grammatical relations. Comrie (1976), and Gibson (1980) introduce Causative Rules 1 and 2 according to the relevant patterns. Gibson's (1980) expression of the rules is adapted as follows by Baker (1988).

(24) a. CAUSATIVE RULE 1

<i>GF in embedded clause</i>	<i>GF in surface clause</i>
ergative	oblique (IO)
absolutive	direct object

b. CAUSATIVE RULE 2

<i>GF in embedded clause</i>	<i>GF in surface clause</i>
------------------------------	-----------------------------

subject	object
---------	--------

object	2nd object
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An ‘ergative’ is a subject of a transitive clause, and an ‘absolutive’ is an object of a transitive clause or a subject of an intransitive clause. The term ‘embedded’ clause refers to the ‘semantic’ or ‘underlying’ clause, and ‘surface’ clause to the ‘surface matrix’ clause, respectively. Interpreting the Causative Rules derivable from the patterns of the morphological causatives may be simpler if we focus on the status of the causee NP. The first type exhibits a change of grammatical relation in the causee NP from embedded subject into either a matrix object if the base verb is intransitive, or into an oblique NP (or an indirect object) if the base verb is transitive. In the second type the grammatical relation of the causee changes from an embedded subject into a matrix object.

Recall that the causee can be marked either Accusative (25a) or Dative (25b) in Korean.

(25) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘John made Mary read a book.’

b. John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘John made Mary read a book.’

Example (25a) is an oblique dative construction and (25b) a double object construction. Hence, (25a) is equivalent to a type 1 pattern and (25b) a type 2. In other words, Korean seems to have both patterns of morphological causatives for those constructions with transitive base verbs. This fact raises a strong doubt about the explanatory adequacy of the causative rules. The question is: what is the basic type of Korean morphological causatives, type 1, type 2, or some other type? And if causative rules such as (24) cannot account for the derivation of Korean morphological causatives, how then should they be dealt with?

Furthermore, the Dative/Accusative alternation can be shown in the MCC only when the base verb is transitive. When the construction involves an intransitive base verb, the alternation disappears: Accusative, but not Dative, is possible on the causee NP.

(26) a. John-i Mary-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Acc die-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘John killed Mary.’

b. *John-i Mary-eykey cwuk-i-ess-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Dat die-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘John killed Mary.’

The fact that the two constructions show differences with respect to the Dative/Accusative alternation poses another problem for a unified analysis of the MCC and the *give*-type construction.

4.2.2.2 Dative/Accusative Alternation Mismatches

At first glance, the Dative/Accusative alternation found in the morphological causative construction looks like the same phenomenon as that in the *give*-type dative construction, as the following shows.

- (27) a. John-i Mary-eykey/lul chayk-ul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
'John read a book for Mary.'
- b. John-i Mary-eykey/lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind
'John had Mary read a book.'

However, in some morphological causatives, the alternation disappears; only Accusative is allowed in a certain class of MCCs.

- (28) a. John-i Mary-*eykey/lul nol-li-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc play-Caus-Pst-Ind
'John had Mary play.'
- b. John-i Mary-*eykey/lul wul-li-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc cry-Caus-Pst-Ind
'John made Mary cry.'

c. John-i Mary-*eykey/lul **cwuk**-i-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc die-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John killed Mary.’

d. John-i Mary-*eykey/lul **kel**-li-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc walk-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John made Mary walk.’

In the examples in (28), the embedded verbs are intransitive. This characterization contrasts with constructions containing transitive embedded verbs.

(29) a. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul chayk-ul **ilk**-hi-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother made her child read a book.’

b. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul kulus-ul **ssis**-ki-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc dish-Acc wash-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother made her child wash the dishes.’

c. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul os-ul **ip**-hi-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc clothes-Acc put on-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother put the clothes on her child.’

d. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul wuyu-ul **mek**-i-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc milk-Acc eat-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother fed her child milk.’

- e. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul kewul-ul po-i-ess-ta.
mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc mirror-Acc see-Caus-Pst-Ind
'The mother showed her child the mirror.'

Simply put, the Dative/Accusative alternation is only allowed when the embedded verb is transitive.

This restriction—that Case alternation is possible only with causatives formed on transitive verbs—may at first make a lexical analysis seem more plausible than a syntactic one. A lexical approach to causativization would raise argument valency by one; underived intransitive verbs become transitive causative verbs, and transitive ones become ditransitive causative verbs. However, the lexical analysis fails to provide a proper explanation for the phenomenon as a whole. Accusative Case on the Goal of a causative based on an intransitive embedded verb is not an issue. An argument becomes available for Accusative Case assignment since causativization makes the intransitive verb transitive. But the Dative/Accusative alternation in a construction with an embedded transitive verb raises a problem. If the alternation is really relevant to valency increase through causativization of the embedded verbs, how could the appearance of Dative be accounted for? In addition, why is Dative not permitted with an embedded intransitive verb?

Moreover, the Dative/Accusative alternation on the causee NP is problematic when considered together with the *give*-type dative construction. We have seen that there are some differences between simple and compound *give*-type dative constructions, the reasons for which were explained in Chapter 3. Now let us compare those data with the compound *give*-type dative construction here.

The first difference is that the Goal argument cannot appear in the *give*-type dative construction when the embedded verb is intransitive.

- (30) *John-i Mary-eykey/lul nol-a-cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc play-Conn-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John played (to/for Mary).’
 (cf. (74) in Chapter 3)

Second, the Dative/Accusative alternation shown in the *give*-type dative construction also contrasts with that in the MCC with a transitive verb in the embedded VP. In the MCC the Dative and Accusative freely alternate on the Goal. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, in the compound *give*-type construction some sentences allow Goal arguments with the Dative/Accusative alternation, but others do not allow the Goal argument at all although they all have embedded transitive verbs.

- (31) a. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul chayk-ul sa-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc book-Acc buy-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother bought a book for her child.’
- b. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul chayk-ul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother read a book for her child.’
- c. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul kulus-ul ssis-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc dish-Acc wash-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother washed the dishes and gave them to her child’
 *‘The mother washed the dishes for her child.’

d. *Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul os-ul **ip**-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc clothes-Acc put on-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother put on the clothes for her child.’

e. *Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul wuyu-ul **mek**-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc milk-Acc eat-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother drank milk for her child.’

The Dative/Accusative alternation mismatches in the two constructions are summarized in the following table.

(32) *Dative/Accusative Mismatches*

Construction Embedded verb	Morphological Causative	<i>Give-Type</i> (Compound)
Intransitive	*Dat/Acc (28)	*Goal (30)
Transitive	Dat/Acc (29)	Dat/Acc (31a-c) *Goal (31d-e)

A difficult point for a syntactic analysis of the Dative/Accusative alternation in the MCC is the treatment of Dative. Accusative Case does not seem troublesome since Accusative Case may be available for the Goal, regardless of whether the embedded verb is transitive or intransitive, once the causative predicate is assumed to carry Case features. But how then is the causative verb’s Case assigned to (or checked with) the Dative-marked Goal? It has already been seen that the Dative marker is a postposition. Therefore, the Goal NP gets Case

inside the PP, i.e. in the Dative-marked NP.¹¹ The Case of the causative verb cannot be discharged. Even if the Case problem for the Dative-marked NP were solved in some way, how could the Dative/Accusative alternation be accounted for consistently in both the MCC and the *give*-type construction?

In sum, we have both similarities and differences between the MCC and the *give*-type construction. I will now return toward the presentation of a unified syntactic analysis of these two constructions based on their structural similarities. Differences are dealt with in the subsequent section (section 4.4).

4.3 The Structure of the MCC

Behind the transitivity issue briefly discussed in the previous section lies the matter of the clausal structure of the MCC. The clausal status of causative constructions has been one of the most widely discussed issues in studies of both morphological and periphrastic causatives in Korean.¹² A careful scrutiny of the clausal structure of causatives will lay a foundation upon which a firm analysis of the construction may be rendered. This section examines the structural nature of the MCC and proposes a structure for the Korean MCC.

¹¹ Cf. Fujita (1996) and section 3.3.4.

¹² A great deal of work has been done with respect to this issue (Shibatani 1973b, 1976a, Yang 1972, 1976, Song 1967, and Patterson 1974). The research usually compares the two types of causatives, i.e. morphological and periphrastic causatives, focusing on differences between the two constructions. The general conclusion is that the differences between the two types are due to their clausal structure; morphological causatives are mono-clausal, while periphrastic causatives are bi-clausal. However, matters are not so straightforward. A dual analysis is also possible for each type of causative construction. For instance, Bratt (1993) claims that periphrastic causatives with an Accusative-marked causee are mono-clausal, while causatives with a Nominative-marked causee are bi-clausal.

4.3.1 Structural Ambiguity

One of the most distinctive characteristics of the MCC is that its basic structure is ambiguous; it is bi-clausal underlyingly or semantically but mono-clausal on the surface or syntactically. Semantically, causation is expressed by the causative predicate that is the causative affix, such that the causative morpheme denotes the causation of an event or a state. That is, the morphological causative has a double predicate structure at least semantically. An example of a semantic representation along these lines is Falk (1991) who suggests a specification of information that a causative affix may have: 'CAUSE/LET ([causer], [event])' (see also Alsina 1992). This fact has led many researchers to various versions of a syntactic double predicate structure as well (Baker 1988, Li 1990, Fujita 1996, Guasti 1996).

The morphosyntactic structure is another aspect to consider with respect to the ambiguous status of morphological causatives. The causative affix is destined to be attached to a base verb. This makes a morphological causative sentence seem to have a single verb which itself is the base verb, only affixed with a causative morpheme. In addition, morphological causatives show the syntactic properties of mono-clausality. The attributes of mono-clausality are well captured if the form of the causative predicate, i.e. the base verb attached to the causative affix, is simply assumed to be derived in the lexicon. Therefore, the theoretical analysis of morphological causatives is seen to split in two directions: a syntactic versus a lexical approach¹³.

¹³ Baker (1988), Li (1990), Moon(1990) and Fujita (1996) typify the former, and Grimshaw and Mester (1985), Grimshaw (1990), Jackendoff (1990a), Falk (1991) and Alsina (1992) typify the latter.

Because of the ambiguous nature of MCCs, many Korean linguists (Song 1967, Yang 1972, 1976, and Patterson 1974, among others) posit a bi-clausal D-structure for a mono-clausal S-structure. However, other researchers such as Shibatani (1973a, 1973b) and O'Grady (1991) suggest a mono-clausal structure for both S- and D-structure. In short, it is difficult to achieve a totally unified syntactic analysis due to the ambiguous aspects of morphological causatives, the nature of which, in fact, derives from a disunity in the syntax and semantics of the construction.

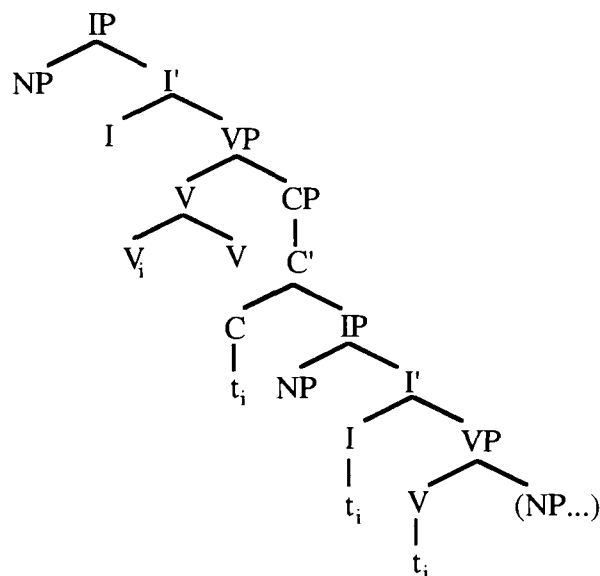
4.3.2 The Embedded Clause

In the syntactic approaches to capturing agentivity in the causativized clause, the embedded clause in Korean morphological causatives has usually been analyzed as CP at D-Structure and S-Structure as in Baker (1988) or at least IP as in Marantz (1984).¹⁴ This is because the construction needs an embedded subject as an Agent. Baker's (1988) analysis is typical. In his analysis, the causative affix, which is treated as a matrix verb, takes CP as its complement clause. Within the embedded CP clause, the causee is generated in the [Spec, IP] position as the subject of the embedded verb. The embedded verb is later incorporated into the matrix verb, i.e. the causative affix, moving through I and C on the way. Consider the following structure of Baker's (1988) Incorporation theory.¹⁵

¹⁴ The complement clause is represented as an S in Marantz (1984) but as a bare VP in Marantz (1985).

¹⁵ Baker actually suggests two different V-movements; one is V-to-C movement as represented in (33), and the other is VP-to-Comp movement. In either case, the causee is the underlying subject of the embedded clause, which makes it possible for the causee NP to get assigned the Agent θ -role. This is crucial to the present analysis.

(33)



In this way, the agentivity of the causee can be captured syntactically. The mono-clausality is accounted for as a superficial syntactic consequence of V-movement, thereby adjusting Case marking.

Li (1990), however, argues that the complement clause of a causative verb (or affix) must be a bare VP, not a CP. The more general claim of Li's is that in a construction that triggers Verb Incorporation (VI), the complement of the matrix verb is a bare VP, and causative verbs, along with verbal causativization, are the most common VI triggers cross-linguistically. Hence, it is more accurate to take a bare VP as the clause type for the complement of causative verbs.¹⁶

Recall Li's example given in Chapter 3.

¹⁶ Li's argument seems only partly true for Korean causatives. For morphological causatives, Li's analysis is compatible with mine as discussed in Chapter 3. However, in periphrastic causatives in Korean, I assume full CP clause status for the complement of the causative verb *ha-*. For more details, see Chapter 1.

- (34) a. Chris made Liz laugh.
 b. *Chris made Liz to laugh.
 c. *Chris made (that) Liz laughed.

These examples show that the causative verb *make* cannot take either an infinitive clause (34b), or a finite clause (34c). This is well explained by the bare VP hypothesis. Since it is a bare VP, no functional categories can be licensed in the clause. Thus, most importantly, T, which is responsible for IP, can never appear in the embedded clause.

This argument is further supported by Korean morphological causatives.

- (35) *Halapeci-kkeyse apeci-eykey [PRO_i chayk-ul
 Grandfather-Nom(Hon) father-Dat book-Acc
 ilk]-key/ko-hi-ess-ta.
 read-Comp-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘Grandfather had father read a book.’

As (35) shows, a Complementizer is not allowed in the embedded clause of the causative predicate.¹⁷ Therefore, the Korean morphological causative predicate *-hi-* cannot take a CP complement.

To examine whether the embedded clause is the next smallest projection, i.e. TP or Agr_SP, let us reconsider the examples and related discussion presented in 3.3.2 in chapter 3.

¹⁷ See section 3.3.2.1.2 for a discussion of Complementizers in Korean.

- (36) a. Halapeci-kkeyse apeci_i-eykey [PRO_i chayk-ul ilk]
 Grandfather-Nom(Hon) father-Dat book-Acc read
 -hi-ess-ta.
 -Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘Grandfather had father read a book.’
- b. *Halapeci-kkeyse apeci_i-eykey [PRO_i chayk-ul ilk-ess]
 Grandfather-Nom(Hon) father-Dat book-Acc read-Pst
 -hi-ess-ta.
 -Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘Grandfather had father read a book.’
- c. *Halapeci-kkeyse apeci_i-eykey [PRO_i chayk-ul ilk-usi]
 Grandfather-Nom(Hon) father-Dat book-Acc read-Hon
 -hi-ess-ta.
 -Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘Grandfather had father read a book.’

Example (36b) indicates that T cannot occur in the complement clause of the causative predicate *-hi-*. In (36c), it is evident from the fact that the honorific affix causes ungrammaticality, that Agr_S is not licensed in the embedded clause. Thus, the embedded clause is neither a CP nor an IP. It may be that it is a bare VP. However, Agr_{OP} is the other functional category to consider. This is then reminiscent of the structure in *give*-type dative constructions. As mentioned in 3.3.4.3, Agr_{OP} dominating the VP complement of the causative predicate gives the correct results in the analysis of morphological causatives. The details are presented in section 4.4.3.

4.3.3 The θ -Role of the Causee

I pointed out in section 4.3.2 that the causee may be syntactically represented as an embedded subject in order to capture agentivity in the causativized clause. This analysis is based on the assumption that a causative verb is a two-place predicate (Falk 1991). Thus, Marantz (1984) and Baker (1988) posit the causee as a subject of an IP that is a complement of the causative verb. With the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis adopted, Li (1990), Guasti (1996) and Fujita (1996) propose that the causee is base-generated in the Specifier position of a VP that is now the complement of the causative verb.¹⁸ The syntactic objecthood of the causee is derived through movement motivated by Case theory, adjusting the causee NP adjacent to the derived, i.e. incorporated verb. The important point is that the causee, although syntactically behaving like object, can bear only the Agent θ -role because of the Projection Principle and the θ -criterion (Chomsky 1981, 1982, 1986a).¹⁹

The two-place predicate analysis of the causatives, however, faces a hurdle with the causatives of certain languages, e.g. many Bantu languages such as Chichewa (Alsina and Mchombo 1990, Alsina 1992), Shona (Hawkinson and

¹⁸ Although they take the same line of analysis regarding the causee associating with [Spec, VP] and Verb Incorporation or head-to-head movement, these writers all differ slightly in various ways. For instance, with respect to the clause type of the complement of the causative verb, Li and Guasti argue that the causative verb subcategorizes a bare VP for its complement while Fujita proposes an additional functional projection, Agr_{OP} dominating the complement VP. Other disagreements in the details of the syntactic analyses are ignored here.

¹⁹ As pointed out by Fujita (1996), the θ -criterion applies only at LF because of the demise of the Projection Principle in the Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1993, 1994). Fujita (1996) opens up the possibility that θ -roles are also features that have to be checked off (θ -features).

Hyman 1974, Bokamba 1981) and Swahili (Scotton 1967),²⁰ and Romance languages such as French (Zubizarreta 1985, Kayne 1975) and Italian (Burzio 1986). All these languages have two variant constructions, each of which is called *faire-infinitif* ‘make-infinitive’ (FI) and *faire-par* ‘make-by’ (FP), respectively by Kayne (1975).

4.3.3.1 The FI Causative vs. FP Causative

Let us consider Chichewa (37) and Italian (38) (examples are from Alsina (1992) and Guasti (1996), respectively).²¹

- (37) a. Nungu i-na-phik-its-a kadzidzi maungu.
 9 porcupine 9 s-Pst-cook-Caus-FV 1a owl 6 pumpkins
 ‘The porcupine made the owl cook the pumpkins.’

- b. Nungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu kwa kadzidzi.
 9 porcupine 9 s-Pst-cook-Caus-FV 6 pumpkins to 1a owl
 ‘The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl.’

- (38) a. Ho fatto riparare la macchina a Gianni.
 (I) have made repair the car to Gianni
 ‘I made Gianni repair the car.’

²⁰ Alsina (1992) also discusses Kinyarwanda and Tharaka.

²¹ Arabic numerals denote noun classes. Bantu languages have eighteen noun classes. FV stands for ‘final vowel’.

b. Ho fatto riparare la macchina da Gianni.

(I) have made repair the car by Gianni

‘I had the car repaired by Gianni.’

There are both syntactic and semantic differences between the two constructions; FI causatives illustrated in (37a) and (38a) and FP causatives in (37b) and (38b). Syntactically, the FI construction has an argument causee whereas the FP construction has an adjunct causee. The clearest evidence is that the causee can be omitted only in the FP construction.²² The sentences with an omitted causee in Chichewa (39a) and Italian (39b) corresponds to the FP sentences in (37b) and (38b), respectively.

(39) a. Nungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu.

9 porcupine 9 s-Pst-cook-Caus-FV 6 pumpkins

‘The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked.’

b. Ho fatto riparare la macchina.

(I) have made repair the car

‘I had the car repaired.’

In short, the syntactic difference between the two constructions lies in the argument/adjunct status of the causee. In the FI construction, the causee is an

²² For the argument/adjunct status of the causee in Romance FI and FP constructions, refer to Zubizarreta (1985) and Burzio (1986). Guasti (1996) quotes binding of an anaphor from Burzio (1986) as a test for argumenthood: the argument causee, *a NP*, can bind the anaphor, but the adjunct causee, *da NP*, cannot. With respect to the distinction in Chichewa, as discussed in Baker (1988), the object in this language must be adjacent to the verb, can trigger object-agreement and can be the subject of the passive (see also Alsina and Mchombo 1990). In the Chichewa FI construction, the causee shows all these syntactic properties of objects.

argument expressed as an object NP in Chichewa and as an indirect object bearing Dative Case in the form of an *a NP* in Italian. On the other hand, the causee is an adjunct expressed in the form of an oblique phrase introduced by the preposition *kwa* in Chichewa and by *da* in Italian.

As pointed out, the FI and FP constructions have semantic differences as well. Although the different meanings between the two constructions are implied in the gloss of the above examples, let me cite Guasti's (1996) description based on Hyman and Zimmer (1976) and Lepschy (1978), to inform more technical discussion. According to Guasti (1996), in the FI construction, the causer's causation of the event described by the embedded verb is directed toward the causee or equivalently, the causee is affected by the event caused. By contrast, as for the causee in the FP construction, there is no affectedness. Thus, the meaning of sentence (38a) is such that I wanted the car repaired and that I wanted Gianni and not someone else to do that. On the contrary, in (38b), Gianni happened to get the car fixed, but this is merely incidental.

4.3.3.2 The Causative Verb as a Three-Place Predicate

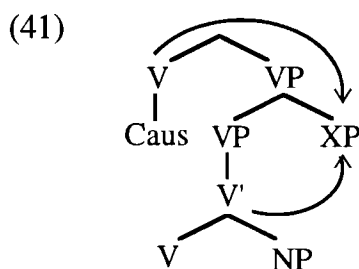
To give a unified account of the FI and FP causative variations, Alsina (1992) proposes a three-place predicate analysis of a causative verb as represented in the following.

$$(40) \quad \text{CAUSE} \langle \text{Ag} \text{ Pt } \overbrace{\text{PRED} \langle \dots \theta \dots \rangle}^{\text{caused event}} \rangle$$

The frame in (40) indicates that the causative predicate takes three semantic arguments; a causer (Agent), a causee (Patient) and a caused event. In terms of

fusing two θ -roles, the Patient and the θ -role of an argument of the embedded predicate, the thematic identity of both original arguments is preserved since they jointly determine its syntactic properties. As for parameters of FI and FP constructions, Alsina argues that the Patient of the causative predicate may fuse either with the logical subject of the base predicate or with the logical object. When the Patient fuses with the subject of the embedded predicate, the logical subject becomes an internal argument; the FI causative results. When the Patient fuses with the logical object, the causee does not become an internal argument, but it can only be realized by an adjunct; the FP causative results.

However, this semantically composite argument cannot be derived in the syntax since it violates the Projection Principle and the θ -criterion. A syntactic analysis of the same kind is proposed by Guasti (1996). In her analysis, Alsina's lexical fusion is replaced by a syntactic sharing mechanism: the causee is a shared argument of both the causative and the embedded verb. This shared argument receives two θ -roles, the Benefactive from the causative verb and the other from the embedded verb.



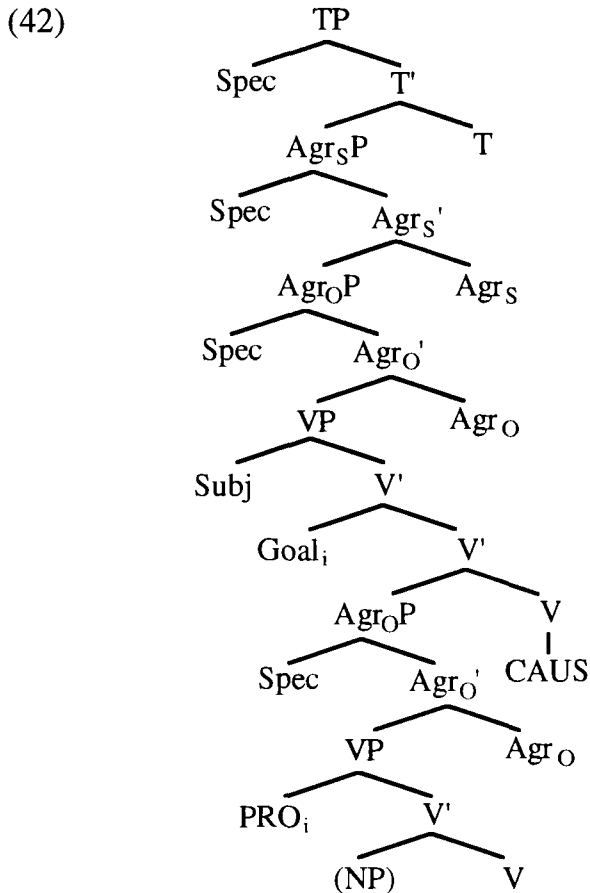
Hence, the causee in FI construction can have two θ -roles; Benefactive and Agent.²³ As far as the FP construction is concerned, the causative verb does not

²³ Guasti (1996) argues that her proposal is compatible with Chomsky's (1986a) version of the θ -criterion, according to which a single NP is allowed to receive more than one θ -role as long as the θ -roles are assigned to the same θ -position.

select the Benefactive role because it is assumed to be optional. Therefore, it is lexically suppressed and consequently, the oblique causee in the FP construction has the syntactic status of an argument-adjunct (Grimshaw 1990).

4.3.4 The Structure

Based on the above discussion, I propose the structure of the Korean MCC as follows.



The structure of the MCC that I propose follows the three-place predicate analysis. The causative verb takes three arguments; the causer (Agent), the causee (Goal) and the embedded predicate (AgrOP). The embedded subject is

PRO controlled by the causee. Prima facie, this mechanism has the advantage of capturing two θ -roles for the causee; the Goal from the causative verb and the other θ -role from the embedded verb. These two θ -roles are assigned separately to each argument, i.e. the causee and PRO can be combined in a way similar to fusion or argument sharing. Conveniently enough, the two arguments are coindexed under control.

Compared with the structure for *give*-type dative constructions, the structure of the morphological causative is exactly the same except for the control problem. The matrix verb is the causative morpheme which takes a VP with Agr_OP as its complement as discussed above. The causee argument is taken as a Goal adjoined to V' . The embedded VP has its internal subject PRO controlled by the Goal argument of the matrix verb unlike the *give*-type dative construction in which the PRO is controlled by the subject.

The intuitive idea for the structure is this: the event delineated in the embedded VP clause is taken by the causative verb and thereby forced to happen to the Goal. In this regard, the morphological causative is considered another type of dative construction—the matrix verb drives an event towards the Goal argument. However, there is a difference in the inherent meanings of the two types of verbs. A *give*-type verb may be considered to have a basic dative property in order to transfer its complement to the Goal.²⁴ This is basically the same as in Park (1994) based on Goldberg (1992): the skeletal meaning of prototypical ditransitive verbs such as *give* and *send* involve an entity caused to be transferred to a Goal.

²⁴ Usually the complement is an NP. However, it should be remembered that the complement of dative verbs in my analysis, is assumed to be a clause, not an NP: VP for the *give*-type construction and the MCC, CP for periphrastic causative verbs.

I claim that in addition to the basic dative property, other types of dative verbs may be characterized by their own idiosyncratic lexical meaning. For instance, causative verbs carry the additional meaning of causation. To simplify the semantic aspects comparing *give*-type and causative verbs, a *give*-type verb merely transfers its complement to the Goal, whereas a causative verb forces its complement to happen to the Goal. This line of analysis deals with a causative morpheme (or verb) as a three-place predicate. Alsina (1992) proposes to analyze causative morphemes in many languages as three-place predicates (see (40)), in which the causer (or Agent) acts on an individual, the Patient, in bringing about an event, of which this individual is itself an argument. The important point in this analysis is that the causative morpheme has an argument for the causee unlike the two-place predicate analysis (Falk 1991). Alsina justifies the necessity of the causee argument, whatever θ -role may be defined for it,²⁵ on the basis of Rizzi (1986) and Mohanan (1988). They note that the subject of the (embedded) causative clause, i.e. the causee is an argument of the causative verb, as well as of the embedded predicate: the causee can be acted upon by the subject of the causative verb in order to bring about a certain result. In this sense, Guasti (1996) interprets the causee as ‘the one toward whom the causation is addressed’.

(43) Ho fatto riparare la macchina a Gianni.

(I) have made repair the car to Gianni

‘I made Gianni repair the car.’

²⁵ Alsina defines it as Patient since a patient is canonically expressed as an object in a prototypical internal argument. However, I do not consider such a specified version of θ -roles. In my study, the Theme covers (or is equivalent to) the Patient. Likewise, the Goal covers the Benefactive (Guasti 1996). Detailed discussion of the θ -role of the causee is presented in chapter 5.

Hence, she uses the term ‘Benefactive’ for the θ -role of the causee in Italian. Her analysis of the causee as Benefactive is motivated by the similarity between the Dative phrase and causatives: in all these sentences the Dative phrase is an affected argument—a beneficiary (44a) or a victim (44b). Consider the following Dative sentences paralleling causative (43).

(44) a. Ugo ha fatto un maglione a Maria.

Ugo has done a sweater to Maria

‘Ugo knitted a sweater for Maria.’

b. I ragazzi hanno fatto uno scherzo a Roberto.

the boys have made a joke to Roberto

‘The boy have made a joke to Roberto.’

The PRO generated inside the embedded VP is controlled by the Goal. This eliminates the discrepancy between syntax and semantics. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the causee NP exhibits the fundamental syntactic properties of the Goal argument of *give*-type dative verb (cf. section 4.2.1). Nevertheless, the specification of the causee’s θ -role is not straightforward. The causee does not seem to be simply the Goal since it appears to bear the Agent role as well. The following examples show the typical thematic ambiguity of the causee.

(45) a. Na-nun Youngsoo-eykey/lul cenyekpap-ul mek-i-ess-ta.

I-Top Youngsoo-Dat/Acc dinner-Acc eat-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘I fed Youngsoo dinner.’

- b. Na-nun Youngsoo-eykey/lul os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
 I-Top Youngsoo-Dat/Acc clothes-Acc wear-Caus-Pst-Ind
 'I put the clothes on Youngsoo.'

Although it is the participant to which the embedded Theme (or event) is transferred, it is also understood as an Agent of the embedded verb *mek-* 'eat' and *ip-* 'wear'. This is why the D-Structure and the S-Structure of morphological causatives were commonly thought in the past to be different. If a θ -role should be assigned to the causee, associating it with the embedded verb, it would be an Agent. So, in the early Transformational Grammar such as Yang (1972) it has been suggested that the causee argument is generated as the embedded subject in the underlying structure and that it is transformed to the Goal. In the more recent Principles-and-Parameters work, the dominant theories are still fundamentally the same; for instance, the Incorporation theory of Baker (1988) and Li (1990) and the syntactic sharing of θ -roles mechanism in Guasti (1996). Even in different frameworks such a trend is popular. In Lexical Functional Grammar, the process of lexical fusion (Alsina 1992) provides a device to allow double θ -roles. In Relational Grammar (Gibson and Raposo 1986), the downstairs 1 (subject) is also an upstairs 2 (direct object) or 3 (indirect object), according to the types of Clause Union in a particular languages. In Mapping Theory (Burgess 1995), the causee is assumed to be a matrix 3 (indirect object), which controls the PRO-subject of the embedded clause.

The duality of θ -roles for the causee in MCCs can be captured by positing PRO as the embedded subject in the structure represented in (42). The causative morpheme is considered a control verb with PRO controlled by the causee. Thus the dual interpretation of Goal and Agent is possible. However, let us delay

detailed examination and analysis of the ambiguous θ -roles of the causee until chapter 5.

4.4 The Syntactic Analysis

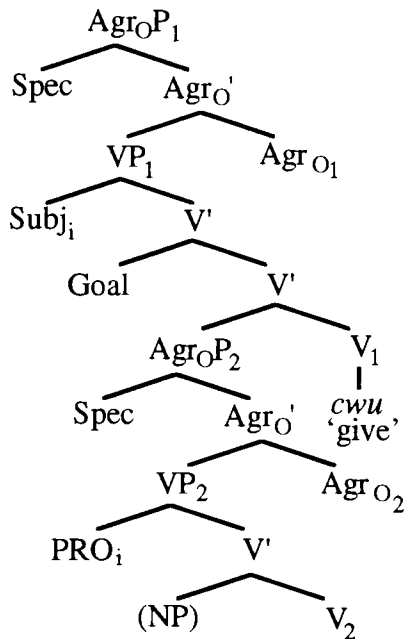
Now we have parallel structures for the MCC and the *give*-type construction. The matrix verb takes a Goal argument and an embedded VP dominated by Agr_O. This section presents the syntactic derivation of the MCC focusing on the Dative/Accusative alternation. On the basis of the parallel structures, not only the syntactic similarities, but also the differences between the two constructions are consistently explained in a unified manner.

4.4.1 Differences between the MCC and *Give*-Type Constructions

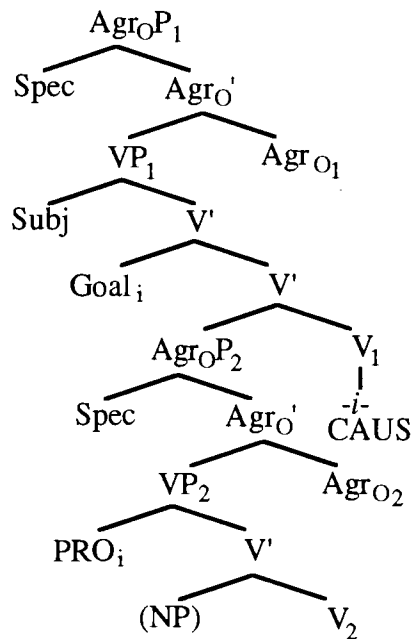
Before turning to an analysis of the MCC, some analytical differences between the MCC and the *give*-type construction should be clarified. Such differences in theoretical assumptions form the substance of the syntactic differences between the two constructions.

4.4.1.1 Verb Incorporation

A significant difference exists in the incorporation process between the causative construction and the *give*-type dative construction. Let us compare each of these structures.

(46) a. The *Give*-type Dative

b. The Morphological Causative



These two structures are parallel except for the controller of the subject of the embedded VP, i.e. PRO .²⁶ The first matter to consider is the incorporation process. As discussed in Chapter 3, in the *give*-type dative construction, the normal Case checking system requires that any NP arguments in the lower VP, VP_2 , check their Case features against the embedded verb, V_2 , within AgrOP_2 , during incorporation of V_2 to V_1 . On the other hand, the abnormal variant of the Case checking mechanism is the delayed one; Case checking is delayed until the incorporation of V_2 to V_1 is completed. Therefore, in a strict sense, it is not proper to consider the normal derivation of the *give*-type dative construction as involving the incorporation process that we usually assume.

In fact, except for the abnormal derivation, no other particular reason can be found as to why the two verbs should be incorporated in the *give*-type dative

²⁶ In structure (46a), the lower V may be invisible ϕ for the simple *give*-type dative construction.

construction. Let us consider word order, first. The syntactic computation does not change the order of V_1 and V_2 . In other words, the ordering of V_1 and V_2 is the same before and after Spell-Out. Moreover, because the normal Case checking is completed within the lower Agr_0 , i.e. Agr_{02} , there is no reason for the lower V_1 , V_2 , to move up. Therefore, it is not necessary to assume incorporation of V_2 to V_1 .

However, the double Accusative version of the *give*-type dative construction does require incorporation, for Case reasons. I have already discussed in Chapter 3 that in the double Accusative *give*-type construction, Case checking is not accomplished in the lower Agr_0 but rather delayed until the lower verb, V_2 , incorporates into the upper verb, V_1 . Therefore, with respect to the *give*-type dative construction in general, incorporation cannot be totally excluded. Hence, what I would like to suggest is that the process involved in the *give*-type dative construction is quasi-incorporation.

There is another reason why the *give*-type dative construction does not necessarily require verb incorporation. Morphologically, the two verbs in the *give*-type dative construction are free morphemes: two separate verbs. In the MCC, on the contrary, the upstairs verb in the VP-shell is not a free morpheme, but rather an affix. So it is reasonable to assume verb incorporation in the causative construction is a morphological requirement.

In conclusion, the main difference between the two constructions is that the double Accusative version of *give*-type construction results from quasi-incorporation, whereas the MCC entails a normal verb incorporation.²⁷

²⁷ This argument has been further supported in section 3.3.4.3.

4.4.1.2 Features of the Matrix Verb

The other significant difference between the two constructions comes from the feature specification of the matrix verb. The matrix verb of *give*-type constructions, *cwu*- ‘give’, is unspecified for features [Case] and [Goal]. Thus, the verb *cwu*- ‘give’, on its own, neither subcategorizes for its Goal argument nor has the Case feature to be checked off. The features of Case and Goal selection are entirely dependent upon the embedded VP. However, the causative verb is assumed to be specified as [+Case] and [+Goal]. Thus, the matrix verb independently takes its Goal argument and has the Case feature. How the difference works itself out is discussed in the next section.

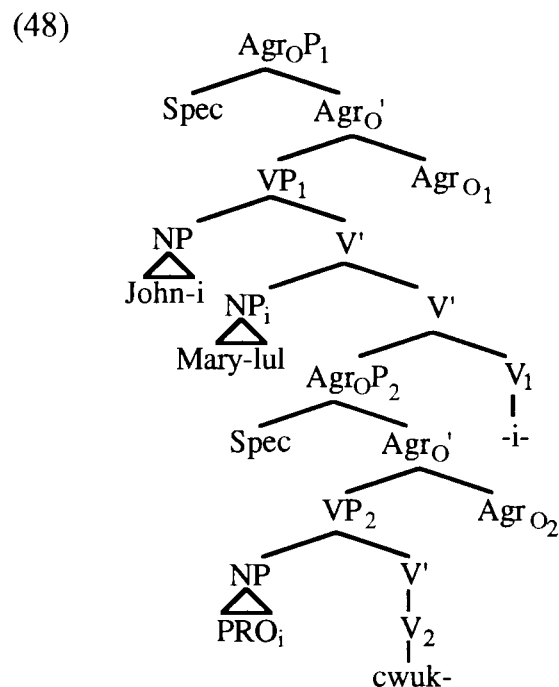
4.4.2 The Derivation

In this section, I will show how MCCs are syntactically derived. Focusing on the Dative/Accusative alternation, detailed derivations are presented with respect to two types of constructions based on embedded intransitive verbs and transitive verbs.

4.4.2.1 The MCC with an Embedded Intransitive Verb

Case theory, as described in the previous chapters in conjunction with the structure of the MCC represented in (42), yields a consistent analysis of the MCC. First, let us consider the construction with an embedded intransitive verb as in the following example (47) with its structure represented in (48).

- (47) John-i Mary-*eykey/lul cwuk-i-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc die-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John killed Mary.’



The structure includes a VP shell with an intervening AgrOP . The upstairs verb, i.e. the matrix verb, V_1 , is the causative morpheme, which has another VP, VP_2 , along with an AgrOP as its complement. The lower verb, V_2 *cwuk-* ‘die’, does not have an NP complement since it is intransitive. Therefore, it bears [-Case]. Consequently, no Case checking happens until V_2 incorporates to V_1 through AgrO_2 . However, when V_2 incorporates to V_1 , the incorporated verb, i.e. the affixed form of the V_2 , bears [+Case] by way of the features of V_1 . Therefore, the Case feature should be checked off in AgrO_1 .

Now, let us turn to the arguments involved in Case checking. The NP, which checks the Case feature against that of the verb charged in [Spec , AgrOP] is not the subject NP of VP_1 . The reason is that a relatively higher NP within the same

minimal domain cannot move to the lowest target, as demonstrated in Chomsky (1993) with the Shortest Movement Condition (Chomsky 1993), or the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993 and Chomsky 1995). Nor is the subject of the lower VP, PRO, available to move to that position. PRO never occurs in a position where non-null Case is available. It does not need to be Case-checked since it gets null Case in-situ. The Case theory related to PRO is not further discussed here (cf. Chapter 3).

The subject position of VP₁ is occupied by *John* with the inert Nominative Case marker *-i*. This marker must be activated by neutralizing the Case feature of the verb charged in Agr_{O1} if the subject of VP₁ checks its Case feature in [Spec, Agr_{O1}P₁]. However, the Nominative marker cannot be plugged into the position [Spec, Agr_{O1}P]. It is shaped to fit an Accusative-marked NP. Even if the subject of VP₁ is marked with the Accusative, it cannot get Case in this position either. If it moves first to [Spec, Agr_{O1}P₁] to check the Case feature against the incorporated verb in Agr_{O1},²⁸ then the only argument to move up to Agr_S to check Case is the Goal argument *Mary-lul*. However, this Goal argument does not fit in this position since it is marked with the Accusative marker *-lul*. Even if it was marked with Nominative *-i*, the derivation would crash since the movement violates the Shortest Movement Condition by crossing two Specifier positions: [Spec, Agr_{O1}P₁] and [Spec, VP₁] now occupied by *John-ul* and by the trace of *John-ul*, respectively. Therefore, the subject of VP₁ cannot move to [Spec, Agr_{O1}P₁].

Hence, it is only the Accusative-marked Goal argument that can check Case features in [Spec, Agr_{O1}P₁]. If it moves to [Spec, Agr_{O1}P₁] the Case features match, and the Case feature charged in the [Spec, Agr_{O1}P₁] position is discharged to the

²⁸ I simply assume that movement of a verb to Agr_O in Korean is a substitution, not adjunction, since Korean Agr_O is always empty.

Accusative-marked NP *Mary-lul*, thereby activating the inert Case morphology. After the Goal argument has moved to [Spec, Agr₀P₁], movement of the subject of VP₁ to [Spec, Agr_sP] does not then violate the Shortest Movement Condition since it only crosses [Spec, Agr₀P₁].²⁹ The derivation converges.

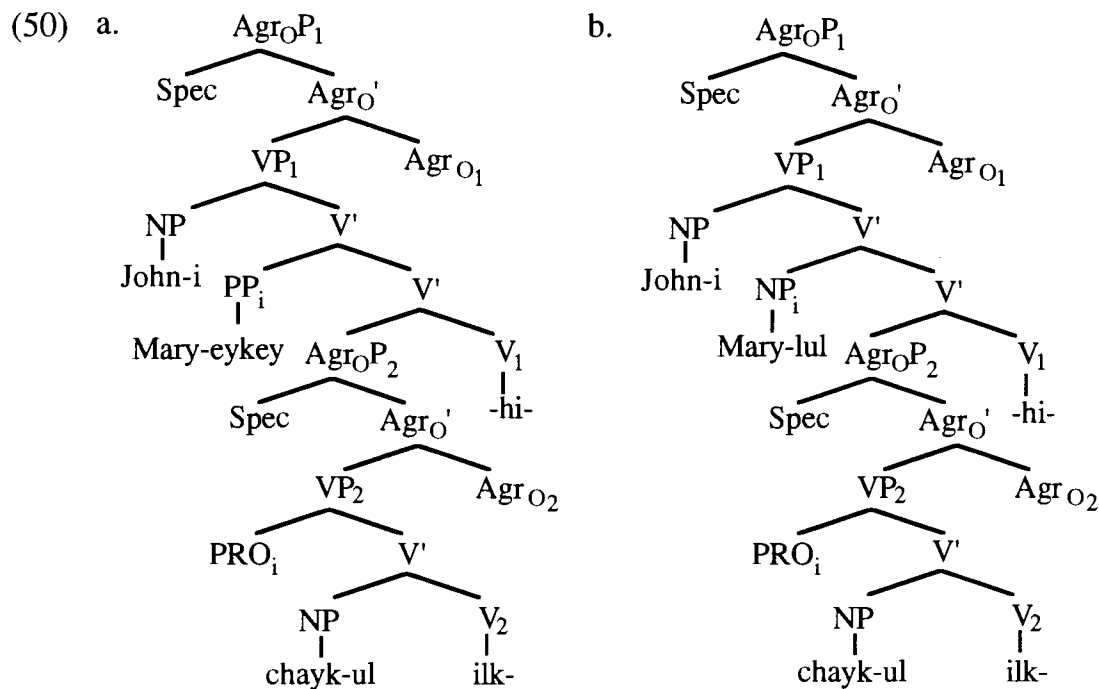
If the Goal argument is marked with the Dative, which is a postposition, then the NP *Mary* is within the PP, with Case checked inside the PP (Fujita 1996). Then the NP need not, and cannot, move to get Case. No NP is available to raise to the [Spec, Agr₀P₁] position since the only NP, the subject of VP₁, must move up to [Spec, Agr_sP] to check its Nominative Case feature. Consequently, the derivation crashes since the Case feature of the verb cannot be neutralized, i.e. checked off.

4.4.2.2 The MCC with an Embedded Transitive Verb

Contrary to the construction with an embedded intransitive verb, the construction with an embedded transitive verb allows the Dative/Accusative alternation on the Goal argument as shown in (49) along with the accompanying structures in (50).

- (49) John-i Mary-eykey/lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John had Mary read a book.’

²⁹ Cf. the basic representation of Korean functional structure in Chapter 1.



The main difference between the constructions with intransitive and transitive embedded verbs is Case specification. The embedded transitive verbs have a [+Case] feature specification. Although it moves first to $AgrO_2$ position, its Case feature does not charge the position. Hence, Case checking cannot be accomplished in terms of Spec-head agreement between $AgrO_2$ and [Spec, $AgrOP_2$]. This is the consequence of the normal verb incorporation process discussed in 4.4.2.1. Normal verb incorporation delays Case checking until the lower verb incorporates into the upper one. Therefore, Accusative Case checking is only achieved by way of Spec-head agreement between $AgrO_1$ and [Spec, $AgrOP_1$].

Which, then, is the NP that checks the Accusative Case in the position [Spec, $AgrOP_1$]? It cannot be the subject of VP_1 . If it moves to this position, then, one of the other NPs, i.e. the Goal or the Theme will have to move to [Spec, $AgrOP_1$] to check Nominative Case. However, neither can do so without violating the Shortest Movement Condition. Both would cross two Specifier position, i.e.

[Spec, Agr₀P₁] and [Spec, VP₁] to reach the position. PRO is simply eliminated from consideration with respect to movement since it gets a null Case in-situ.

The Goal NP cannot move to [Spec, Agr₀P₁] either. If it moves to that position, checking off the Case feature, the Theme NP in the lower VP, VP₂, cannot get Case and the derivation crashes. Therefore, the only NP that can check the Case feature in [Spec, Agr₀P₁] is the Theme NP.

The Theme NP first moves to [Spec, Agr₀P₂], where it cannot check Case since verb incorporation enforces delay of Case checking until the incorporation is accomplished. Therefore, it goes on up to [Spec, Agr₀P₁]. The Shortest Movement Condition is observed. If the Goal argument is marked with Dative *-eykey*, no problem arises since the Theme NP is inside a PP. The Case problem for the NP is settled inside the PP. However, if the Goal is marked with the Accusative, there must be an explanation for the extra Accusative Case.

In the instance under discussion, the lower verb, V₂, is transitive; hence, specified as [+Case]. In that sense, when V₂ is incorporated to the matrix verb, which is also [+Case], the Case feature may be considered much stronger than the case of intransitive embedded verbs. Thus the complex verb raises to Agr₀₁ with a heavy Case feature, overcharging Agr₀₁ with that Case feature. Now, a neutralization process through Spec-head agreement takes place. The overcharged Case feature from Agr₀₁ again charges [Spec, Agr₀P₁] through Spec-head agreement resulting in Agr₀₁ being totally discharged, i.e. neutralized. Now, the position [Spec, Agr₀P₁] is overcharged. Once again, neutralization should occur in this position. The Case feature is discharged into the NP that needs Case-checking; the inert Accusative marker of this NP must be activated. However, the feature in this position is more than enough to charge the NP with the Accusative marker activated. In other words, the position [Spec, Agr₀P₁] cannot be totally

neutralized. After discharging the overcharged Case feature into the NP, a surplus feature results.

The leftover feature may then percolate down to the Goal argument matching Case, if the Goal is marked Accusative. I propose in the analysis of the *give*-type construction that extra Case is available by virtue of a floating Case feature running through the same checking domain. In conclusion, for the normal Case checking through Spec-head agreement between [Spec, Agr₀P] and Agr₀, the Theme argument moves to [Spec, Agr₀₁] via [Spec, Agr₀₂] to observe the Shortest Movement Condition. The extra Accusative Case on the Goal NP is available by a floating Case feature that arises from the heavy Case features in the incorporation process wherein each of two verbs bears Case features.

Although the Subject is within the checking domain, it does not count for Accusative Case since the feature specification does not match: the Subject is marked by the Nominative marker. Even if it were marked with the Accusative marker, the derivation would crash since there would be no argument to check off the Nominative Case in the [Spec, Agr_sP] if the Subject is Case-checked by the floating feature in the [Spec, VP] position.

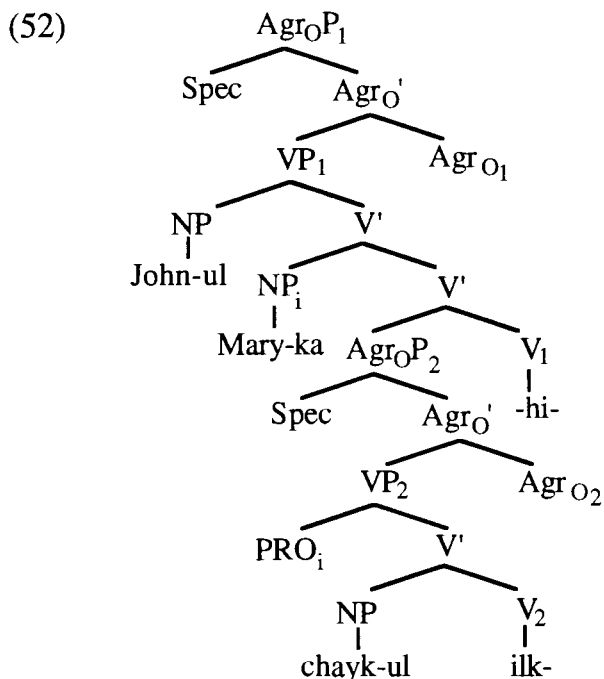
One possible problem still exists. What if the subject of VP₁ is Accusative-marked, the Goal Nominative-marked and the Theme Accusative-marked? Consider such an example, illustrated in (51), along with its structural representation (52).

(51) John-ul Mary-ka chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.

John-Acc Mary-Nom book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind

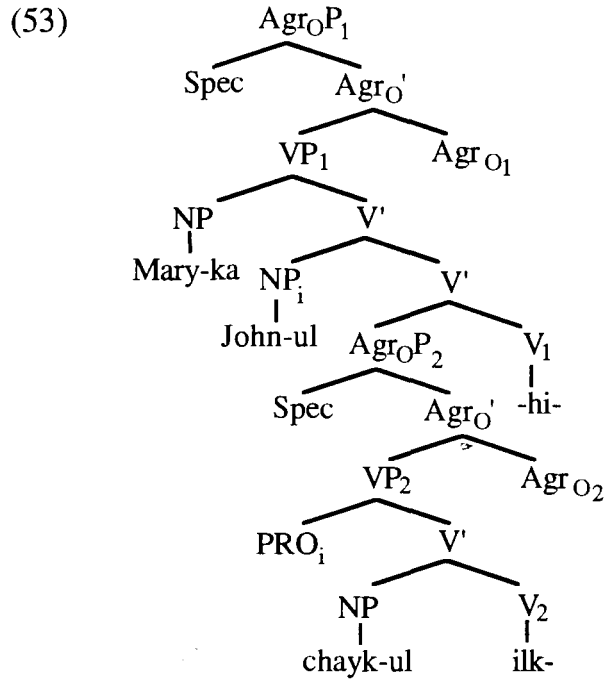
*‘John had Mary read a book.’

‘Mary had John read a book.’



Although this sentence is good, the meaning is different from the intended one. The meaning of the sentence should be ‘John had Mary read a book’ since *John* is the Agent and *Mary* is the Goal, i.e. causee, as represented in the structure. Nevertheless, its meaning is ‘Mary had John read a book’. In other words, the representations of PF and LF are not compatible and so, the derivation crashes. The Shortest Movement Condition blocks this derivation. It seems possible that the Theme argument *chayk-ul* checks off its Accusative Case in [Spec, AgrOP₁] and the Accusative Case-marked NP in [Spec, VP₁], i.e. *John* can be activated by the floating Case features. The Nominative Case also seems to be available since the Goal NP, *Mary*, is marked with the Nominative marker. However, this latter argument cannot move to [Spec, Agr_SP] to check the Nominative Case; it crosses [Spec, VP₁] and [Spec, AgrOP₁] to reach [Spec, Agr_SP]. Therefore, the movement violates the Shortest Movement Condition. It is interesting that the syntactic computation prevents the derivation of incompatible LF and PF.

How, then, can the sentence (51) be derived with the meaning ‘Mary had John read a book’? The structural representation should be (53) rather than (52).



The structural representations after the Spell-Out as inputs of LF and PF are the same. At LF, the computation yields an LF output λ with a semantic interpretation ‘Mary had John read a book’. On the other hand, at PF, scrambling changes the word order resulting in the PF output π in the form of (51). Now then, the derivation yields an SD as the sequence (λ, π) so that the sentence (51) has the meaning ‘Mary had John read a book’.

4.5 Conclusion

The MCC involves, as one of its variants, a structure including a Dative-marked NP. This NP can alternatively be marked Accusative. Therefore, Dative/Accusative alternation is involved in the MCC as in the *give*-type dative

construction. In addition to the Dative/Accusative alternation, the two arguments, i.e. the causee and the Goal exhibit exactly the same syntactic behaviour with respect to various phenomena associated with subjectivization in the passive. These similarities provide a strong basis towards a unified analysis of the two constructions.

The structure of the MCC that I propose follows the three-place predicate analysis. The causative verb takes three arguments; the causer (Agent), the causee (Goal) and the embedded predicate (Agr_oP). Compared with the structure of *give*-type dative construction, the structure of the morphological causative is exactly the same, except for control. The matrix verb is the causative morpheme which takes a VP with Agr_oP as its complement. The causee argument is taken as a Goal adjoined to V'. The embedded VP has its internal subject PRO controlled by the Goal argument of the matrix verb unlike the *give*-type dative construction in which PRO is controlled by the subject. These structural similarities also provide support for a unified analysis of the two constructions.

Although the Dative/Accusative alternation is a very important point in common between the MCC and the *give*-type construction, the Dative/Accusative alternation also raises problems both for an analysis of the MCC and a unified analysis of the two constructions. Within the MCC, the Dative/Accusative alternation makes it difficult to explain transitivity effects: how can the Dative/Accusative alternation be accounted for by the valency increase of the causativized verb? Cross-constructionally, mismatches are found with respect to the alternation: while a specific group of sentences of the *give*-type dative construction show the Dative/Accusative alternation, the corresponding morphological causatives do not, as the following table summarizes.

(54) *Dative/Accusative Mismatches*

Construction Embedded verb	Morphological	<i>Give</i> -Type (Compound)
	Causative	
Intransitive	(I) *Dat/Acc	*Goal
Transitive	(II) Dat/Acc	Dat/Acc *Goal

To solve the problem, I assume that the double Accusative version of the *give*-type construction results from quasi-verb incorporation, whereas the MCC entails normal verb incorporation. Normal verb incorporation delays the Case checking until two verbs are incorporated. However, quasi-verb incorporation optionally delays Case checking, which results in an abnormal construction. This explains well why the double Accusative version of the *give*-type construction is only marginally acceptable whereas that of the MCC is flawless.

The other significant difference between the two constructions comes from the feature specification of the matrix verb. The matrix verb of *give*-type constructions, *cwu*- ‘give’, is unspecified for the features [Case] and [Goal]. Thus, the verb *cwu*- ‘give’ can, on its own, neither subcategorize for its Goal argument nor have the Case feature that should be checked off. The features of Case and Goal selection are entirely dependent upon the embedded VP. However, the causative verb is assumed to be specified as [+Case] and [+Goal]. Thus, the matrix verb independently takes its Goal argument and Case feature.

As for (I) in (54), the lower verb does not have an NP complement since it is intransitive. Therefore, it bears [-Case]. When the two verbs are incorporated, the affixed form of the verb bears [+Case] by way of the features of the causative verb. Therefore, the Case feature should be checked off in the matrix Agr_0 .

Through Spec-head agreement between Agr_0 and $[\text{Spec}, \text{Agr}_0\text{P}]$ the Goal argument, i.e. the causee gets Accusative Case. However, if the Goal argument is marked Dative, the Case feature of the verb cannot be checked off since the Dative-marked Goal is a PP. Therefore, the derivation crashes.

With respect to (II) in (54), the lower verb has [+Case] since it is transitive. The double Accusative is possible due to a heavy Case feature arising from incorporation of the embedded verb into the matrix verb. This heavy Case feature is not neutralized in that it is not entirely discharged after Spec-head agreement. Hence, along with Case for the Theme NP through Spec-head agreement, another Case is also available for the Goal NP by the leftover Case feature floating down to the Goal.

In this chapter, I have claimed that the Korean MCC is of a piece with the *give*-type construction, pursuing a unified theory for both constructions. The unified analysis successfully accounts for a variety of syntactic similarities and differences between these two constructions.

Chapter 5

The Semantics of the Morphological Causative Construction

5.1 Introduction

It is a well-known fact that there are semantic differences between the Korean morphological causative and periphrastic causative constructions as discussed in Shibatani (1973b, 1976a) and Song (1978, 1988). It has also been pointed out that the same patterns of semantic differences that are found between the two types of causative constructions also exist in the MCC (Shibatani 1976b). However, this fact has usually been ignored and is rarely mentioned. Thus, no in-depth analysis has been carried out with respect to the semantic aspects of the MCC itself. This chapter explores the semantics of the Korean MCC. It first examines the interpretation of causatives in general and the semantic characteristics of the MCC in particular. Next, the patterns of semantic interpretation of the MCC are systematically accounted for in terms of a combination of semantic and structural information.

5.1.1 The Interpretation of Causatives

As noticed in many studies (Yang 1972, 1974, Patterson 1974, Shibatani 1973b, Song 1988, O'Grady 1991, among others), Korean causatives can be interpreted as causative or permissive. In general, the periphrastic causative construction can have both interpretations, while the MCC has only a causative interpretation. Let us consider the following examples.

- (1) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc read-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘John had Mary read a book.’ or
 ‘John let Mary read the book.’
- b. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John had Mary read a book.’

As the gloss indicates, a periphrastic causative sentence (1a) can be interpreted either as causative or permissive depending upon context. For example, for the first interpretation, we can imagine a situation where Mary does not want to read a book, but John forces her to do so. The second interpretation could arise where Mary wants to read a book that belongs to John and he permits her to read it. However, in the corresponding morphological causative construction (1b), the permissive meaning disappears; it is only interpreted as a pure causative.

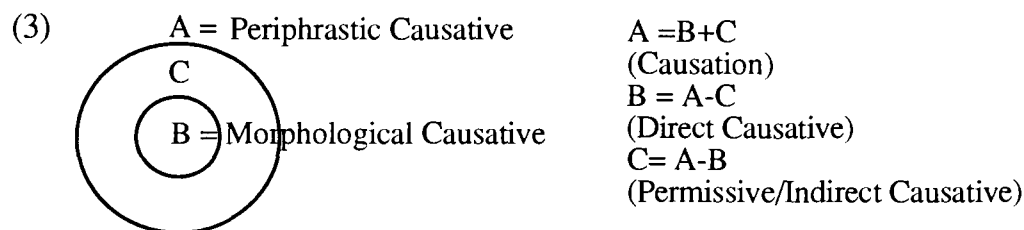
Furthermore, with respect to causative interpretations, two different meanings can be detected; one is indirect causation and the other direct causation.¹ Shibatani (1973b) describes indirect causation in terms of the function of causer. When the causer motivates the causee to carry out a certain event, it is a case of indirect causation. On the other hand, if the causer is directly involved in carrying out the event, it is direct causation. Generally, the periphrastic causative construction can convey both meanings, while the corresponding MCC has only the interpretation of direct causation. Consider the following.

¹ Shibatani (1973b) makes a distinction between ‘indirect’ and ‘direct’, or ‘distant’ and ‘immediate’. Shibatani (1976a) also uses the terms ‘manipulative’ and ‘directive’.

- (2) a. John-i Mary-lul cwuk-key ha-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc die-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘John caused Mary to die.’
- b. John-i Mary-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc die-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John killed Mary.’

Although the meaning of the periphrastic causative sentence (2a) is indirect, as indicated in the gloss, the meaning may also include direct causation similar to that presented in the morphological causative counterpart (2b). That is, the meaning of (2a) may imply many possibilities for the cause of Mary’s death by John, one of which could be ‘Mary’s death has been caused by John’s stabbing her’, i.e. ‘John killed her’. The interpretation of the morphological causative, however, is only direct causation, as shown in (2b).

Putting these semantic aspects together, the semantic range of causation is represented in a set relation as follows.



A is the set of all possible semantic interpretations of causatives including morphological and periphrastic causatives. Hence, the members of A contain permissive, indirect causative and direct causative meanings, i.e. all the possible

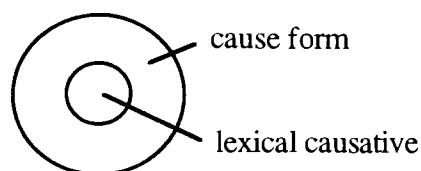
meanings of causation. If B is the set of direct causatives, the set relation between A and B is one of proper inclusion; A properly includes B since only one type of causative construction, i.e. the MCC, can convey a direct causative meaning.² Thus, the domain of C is the area of A minus B, where the semantic interpretations are permissive and indirect causative. These interpretations are available only in the periphrastic causative construction, not in the MCC.

Summing up, the semantic range of the periphrastic causative construction is A since this construction can have all the possible interpretations. The subset B is the semantic range of the MCC since only the direct causative interpretation is possible in this case. In short, the semantic realm of the periphrastic causative construction is larger than that of the MCC. More accurately, the former properly includes the latter.

5.1.2 Chapter Outline

Based on the foregoing discussion of the semantic interpretation of causatives, this chapter investigates the semantics of the MCC in detail. The preliminary generalization is as follows; Korean causative constructions can be interpreted either as causative or permissive. The periphrastic causative construction can have both interpretations while the corresponding MCC can only have causative meaning. Furthermore, with respect to the causative

² This is in accord with Shibatani's (1976a) idea that the semantic range of the more general *cause* form includes that of the more specific lexical form. He also gives a schematic representation of the set relationship as follows.



interpretation, the periphrastic causative construction can be interpreted either as a direct or an indirect causative, whereas the MCC has only the direct causative meaning.

In the next section, 5.2, I present tests for the semantic distinction between permissive and non-permissive, and direct and indirect causation. These tests clearly distinguish the semantic patterns of the periphrastic causative construction and the MCC.

Section 5.3 raises a problem showing counterexamples to the above generalization: some cases of the MCC turn out to be interpretable as indirect causation and/or permission-granting.

Section 5.4 revises the generalization of semantic ranges of causative constructions to cover the semantic patterns of causatives. There are different semantic interpretation patterns between the periphrastic causative construction and the MCC. I will also show that exactly the same patterns are also found within two types of MCCs.

Section 5.5 identifies the determinant of the different groups of the MCC in relation to the semantic interpretation. It also presents an analysis of highly complicated syntactic and semantic mechanisms in relation to the properties of embedded verbs. This analysis fundamentally accounts for the semantic interpretation of the MCC in a consistent and unified manner.

The last section, 5.6, summarizes and concludes the chapter.

5.2 Semantic Characteristics of the MCC

The semantic ranges of Korean causatives has been examined in the previous section. Causative constructions can be interpreted either as causative or permissive. It has been further pointed out that the periphrastic causative

construction can have both interpretations while the corresponding MCC can only have a causative meaning. Moreover, with respect to the causative interpretation, the periphrastic causative construction can be interpreted either as a direct or indirect causative, whereas the MCC has only the direct causative meaning. In this section I present concrete tests for the semantic distinction between permissive and non-permissive, and direct and indirect causation.

5.2.1 Entailment

In defining semantic relations between sentences we find a specific pattern of truth conditions. When a sentence, S_1 entails another, S_2 , the following truth conditions hold.

(4) S_1 (Tom is a boy) S_2 (Tom is a human)

- | | | | |
|----|------------|---|------------|
| a. | T | → | T |
| b. | $T \vee F$ | ← | T |
| c. | F | → | $T \vee F$ |
| d. | F | ← | F |

Among these, (4c) and (4d) are what Shibatani (1976a) uses in his examination of the semantic differences between morphological and periphrastic causatives.

Statement (4c) reads: if S_1 is false, then S_2 is true or false. In other words, if S_1 is not true, S_2 can still be true as shown in (5).

(5) Tom is not a boy. But he is a human.

According to (4d), if S_2 is not true, then S_1 is not true; i.e. if Tom is not a human, then he is not a boy. In other words, the truth condition does not hold, such as 'if S_2 is false, then S_1 is true'. This fact can be depicted by the following example, that shows semantic awkwardness.

(6) *Tom is not a human. But he is a boy.

On the basis of the discussion so far, the following points can be derived.

(7) When S_1 entails S_2 , then

a. $\sim S_1 \wedge S_2$

b. $*\sim S_2 \wedge S_1$

Formula (7a) means that the negation of S_1 can be semantically compatible with S_2 while formula (7b) denotes that the negation of S_2 cannot be in conjunction with S_1 .

Now, let us return to the distinction between morphological and periphrastic causatives. It has been discussed that a morphological causative sentence entails its periphrastic counterpart. Consider the following data.

(8) a. S_1 : Morphological Causative

[Na-nun John-ul cwuk-i-ess-ta].

I-Top John-Acc die-Caus-Pst-Ind

'I killed John.'

b. S₂: Periphrastic Causative

[Na-nun John-ul cwuk-key ha-ess-ta].

I-Top John-Acc die-Comp do-Pst-Ind

‘I caused John to die.’

(9) a. [Na-nun John-ul cwuk-i-ci anh-ass-ta]~S₁.

I-Top John-Acc die-Caus-Comp Neg-Pst-Ind

Kulena [nay-ka ku-lul cwuk-key ha-ess-ta]S₂.

But I-Nom he-Acc die-Comp do-Pst-Ind

‘I did not kill John. But I caused him to die.’

b. *[Na-nun John-ul cwuk-key ha-ci anh-ass-ta]~S₂.

I-Top John-Acc die-Comp do-Comp Neg-Pst-Ind

Kulena [nay-ka ku-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta].S₁

But I-Nom he-Acc die-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘I did not cause John to die. But I killed him.’

(9) shows that the morphological causative expression implies the periphrastic causative, but the reverse does not hold true (Shibatani 1976a). The negation of S₁, i.e. ~S₁ implies that although I did not kill John myself, I caused him to be dead. This would be possible if I were, say, a commander in a war, and by permitting some soldier to kill John, thus caused him to be dead. Or, I could indirectly cause his death by leaving him to die from a snake bite although giving him first aid could have saved his life.

To describe the foregoing in connection with the set relations represented in (3), the semantic range of S₁ is B; that of S₂ is A (=B+C); that of ~S₁ is ~B, i.e. C; that of ~S₂ is ~A, i.e. ~B∧~C. Therefore, (9a) is semantically acceptable since

- b. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-ul
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Acc
 cwuk-i-ess-ta.
 die-Caus-Pst-Ind

*‘The director instructed the actor to die in the scene.’

This is the context where only the semantic interpretation of indirect causation is possible. In other words, this context is semantically compatible only with the semantic set of C. Therefore, an MCC cannot be used in this context.

5.2.3 Permission-Granting

Let us borrow Shibatani’s (1973a) term ‘permission-granting’ for the last characteristic of the MCC. As discussed in 5.2.1 in respect to (9a), a periphrastic causative sentence like *Na-nun ku-ul cwuk-key ha-ess-ta* ‘I caused him to die’ can bear a permissive interpretation; permitting somebody else to kill John or even permitting John himself to commit suicide. A permissive situation may typically arise when someone asks for permission. In that context, periphrastic causative sentences are expected to be semantically proper answers, as shown in (11a), whereas morphological causative sentences are not, as shown in (11b).

- (11) a. John-i cwuk-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.
 John-Nom die-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind
 Kulayse nay-ka cwuk-key ha-ess-ta.
 So I-Nom die-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘John asked if he could die. So I let him do so.’

- b. *John-i cwuk-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.
 John-Nom die-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind
 Kulayse nay-ka cwuk-i-ess-ta.
 So I-Nom die-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John asked if he could die. So I killed him.’

Again, this context is only possible in the semantic set C. Hence, the MCC is not semantically compatible in this context since its semantic range is C only.

5.3 Problems

So far it seems fairly straightforward that the morphological and periphrastic causative constructions are distinguishable on the basis of general semantic characteristics. However, there are apparent counterexamples. As seen in (12) with respect to the entailment relation, the negation of the morphological causative sentence is compatible with the non-negated version of the periphrastic causative sentence, but not vice versa.

- (12) a. [Na-nun John-ul cwuk-i-ci anh-ass-ta]._{~S1}.
 I-Top John-Acc die-Caus-Comp Neg-Pst-Ind
 Kulena [nay-ka ku-lul cwuk-key ha-ess-ta]_{S2}.
 But I-Nom he-Acc die-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘I did not kill John. But I caused him to die.’

- b. *[Na-nun John-ul cwuk-key ha-ci anh-ass-ta]~S₂.
 I-Top John-Acc die-Comp do-Comp Neg-Pst-Ind
 Kulena [nay-ka ku-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta]S₁.
 But I-Nom he-Acc die-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘I did not cause John to die. But I killed him.’

However, the example in (13) undermines the generalization.

- (13) a. *[Na-nun John-ul kel-li-ci anh-ass-ta]~S₁.
 I-Top John-Acc walk-Caus-Comp Neg-Pst-Ind
 Kulena [nay-ka ku-lul ket-key ha-ess-ta]S₂.
 But I-Nom he-Acc walk-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘I did not walk John. But I had him walk.’

- b. *[Na-nun John-ul ket-key ha-ci anh-ass-ta]~S₂.
 I-Top John-Acc walk-Comp do-Comp Neg-Pst-Ind
 Kulena [nay-ka ku-lul kel-li-ess-ta]S₁.
 But I-Nom he-Acc walk-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘I did not have John walk. But I walked him.’

Example (13) shows that the two different types of causative constructions in (13) have the same semantic value. Thus, the semantic relation involved is not entailment, but paraphrase. Two expressions are in a relation of paraphrase if they have the same truth value as demonstrated in the following.

(14) S_1 (Tom is a boy) S_2 (Tom is a male child)

- a. T \rightarrow T
- b. T \leftarrow T
- c. F \rightarrow F
- d. F \leftarrow F

This means that the negation of any one sentence causes the semantic incompatibility of the two sentences. Hence, if two sentences are in a relation of paraphrase, then condition (7) should be reworked as (15).

(15) When S_1 and S_2 are in a relation of paraphrase;

- a. $*\sim S_1 \wedge S_2$
- b. $*\sim S_2 \wedge S_1$

In this case, S_1 and S_2 are the morphological causative *Na-nun John-ul kel-li-ess-ta* ‘I walk John’ and the periphrastic causative *Nay-ka John-lul ket-key ha-ess-ta* ‘I had John walk’. Although the morphological causative form of the intransitive verb *kel-li-* is translated into ‘walk’, it has exactly the same meaning as the periphrastic causative *ket-key ha-*.

If we examine data with embedded transitive verbs, we also see the same type of counterexamples.

(16) a. *[Na-nun John-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ci anh-ass-ta]_{S1}.

I-Top John-Dat book-Dat read-Caus-Comp Neg-Pst-Ind

Kulena [nay-ka chayk-lul ilk-key ha-ess-ta]_{S2}.

But I-Nom book-Dat read-Comp do-Pst-Ind

'I did not have John read the book. But I caused him to read.'

b. *[Na-nun John-eykey chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ci

I-Top John-Dat book-Acc read-Comp do-Comp

anh-ass-ta]_{S2}. Kulena [nay-ka chayk-lul ilk-hi-ess-ta]_{S1}.

Neg-Pst-Ind But I-Nom book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind

'I did not cause John to read the book. But I had him read.'

As seen in (13), where an embedded intransitive verb is involved, the negation of the MCC is semantically not compatible with the non-negated version of the periphrastic causative construction in (16). Thus, in this instance, the MCC and the periphrastic causative construction are in a relationship of paraphrase; they have the same semantic value.

Therefore, these counterexamples are also expected to show the same pattern in periphrastic causative constructions with regard to direct versus indirect causation, and indeed they do. Consider the following.

(17) a. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-ul
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Acc
 twu kelum ket-key ha-ess-ta.
 two steps walk-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘The director instructed the actor to walk two steps in the scene.’

b. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-ul
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Acc
 twu kelum kel-l̥-ess-ta.
 two steps walk-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The director instructed the actor to walk two steps in the scene.’

(18) a. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-lul
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Acc
 chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ess-ta.
 book-Dat read-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘The director instructed the actor to read a book in the scene.’

b. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-ul
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Acc
 chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 book-Dat read-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The director instructed the actor to read a book in the scene.’

The MCC with both an intransitive embedded verb in (17b) and a transitive embedded verb in (18b) can be used in the context of indirect causation just like their corresponding periphrastic causatives in (17a) and (18a), respectively.

With respect to the last semantic attribute, permission-granting, semantically these examples consistently behave like periphrastic causative sentences.

(19) a. John-i kel-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.

John-Nom walk-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind

Kulayse nay-ka ket-key ha-ess-ta.

So I-Nom walk-Comp do-Pst-Ind

‘John asked if he can walk. So I let him do so.’

b. John-i kel-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.

John-Nom walk-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind

Kulayse nay-ka kel-li-ess-ta.

So I-Nom walk-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘John asked if he can walk. So I let him do so.’

(20) a. John-i chayk-ul ilk-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.

John-Nom book-Acc read-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind

Kulayse nay-ka ilk-key ha-ess-ta.

So I-Nom read-Comp do-Pst-Ind

‘John asked if he can read the book. So I let him do so.’

b. John-i chayk-ul ilk-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.

John-Nom book-Acc read-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind

Kulayse nay-ka ilk-hi-ess-ta.

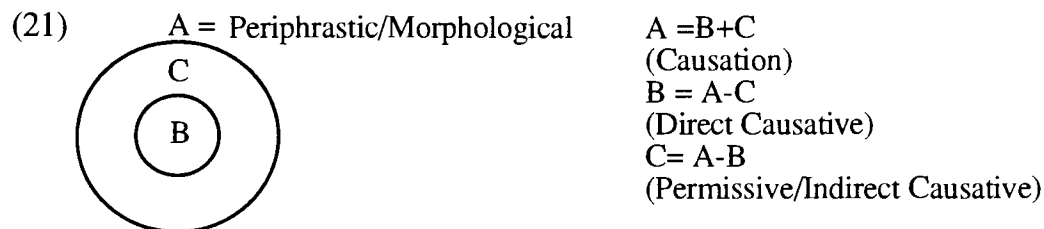
So I-Nom read-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘John asked if he can read the book. So I let him do so.’

Again, the MCC with both an intransitive embedded verb in (19b) and an transitive embedded verb in (20b) are used with the permission-granting interpretation just as in the periphrastic causative constructions in (19a) and (20a).

5.4 The Semantic Range of Causatives

In sum, causative constructions can be interpreted either as causative or permissive. The periphrastic causative construction can have both interpretations while the corresponding MCC can only have a causative meaning. Moreover, with respect to the causative interpretation, the periphrastic causative construction can be interpreted either as a direct or indirect causative, whereas the MCC has only the direct causative meaning. However, the counterexamples presented in 5.3 undermine this generalization. Consequently, the semantic generalization given in (3) that distinguishes morphological and periphrastic causative constructions must be revised as follows.



It has been proved that the semantic range of the MCC is not merely a properly included small subset of the periphrastic causative construction. If (3) represented the true state of affairs, then the semantic interpretation of morphological causatives could only be one of direct causation. However, some cases of the MCC have turned out to be interpretable as indirect causation and/or

permission-granting. Thus, the semantic range of the morphological causative construction should be the set A as well. Now, both of the constructions can have all the possible semantic interpretations.

As far as the interpretation of the periphrastic causative construction is concerned, all the meanings of causation e.g. $A (=B+C)$ are possible when it is vaguely used without any specific context. The semantic range of B is only available for the construction in specific contexts such as those discussed in 5.2. In other words, the semantic category of the periphrastic causative construction is either B or C depending upon the context in which the expression is used.

5.5 Analysis

It is clear that semantic or pragmatic factors are not the sole factors that decide the interpretation of a morphological causative sentence; some morphological causatives can be used in a given context while others cannot in the same situation. What, then, distinguishes the two semantically different groups of morphological causatives? This section identifies the determinant of the different MCCs in respect to semantic interpretation first. This section also provides an analysis on the basis of the syntax and semantics, which fundamentally accounts for the semantic interpretation of MCCs in a consistent and unified manner.

5.5.1 The MCC with an Embedded Intransitive Verb

The previous sections have shown that different semantic interpretations between the periphrastic causative construction and the MCC are also found within the MCC category. However, unlike the differences between the

periphrastic causative and the MCC, the different patterns in the semantic interpretation of the MCC are not due to pragmatic contexts, but to complicated syntactic and semantic mechanisms related to the properties of the embedded verbs. As far as embedded verbs are concerned, different factors seem to be involved depending upon whether they are intransitive or transitive. First, I will examine the MCC with an embedded intransitive verb in detail.

5.5.1.1 The Problem Revisited

Let us repeat examples of the different semantic patterns that the two types of Korean morphological causatives display.

- (22) a. [Na-nun John-ul cwuk-i-ci anh-ass-ta].

I-Top John-Acc die-Caus-Comp Neg-Pst-Ind

Kulena [nay-ka ku-lul cwuk-key ha-ess-ta].

But I-Nom he-Acc die-Comp do-Pst-Ind

‘I did not kill John. But I caused him to die.’

- b. *[Na-nun John-ul kel-li-ci anh-ass-ta].

I-Top John-Acc walk-Caus-Comp Neg-Pst-Ind

Kulena [nay-ka ku-lul ket-key ha-ess-ta].

But I-Nom he-Acc walk-Comp do-Pst-Ind

‘I did not walk John. But I had him walk.’

(23) a. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-ul
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Acc
 cwuk-i-ess-ta.
 die-Caus-Pst-Ind
 *‘The director instructed the actor to die in the scene.’

b. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-ul
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Acc
 twu kelum kel-li-ess-ta.
 two steps walk-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The director instructed the actor to walk two steps in the scene.’

(24) a. *John-i cwuk-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.
 John-Nom die-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind
 Kulayse nay-ka cwuk-i-ess-ta.
 So I-Nom die-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John asked if he can die. So I killed him.’

b. John-i kel-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.
 John-Nom walk-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind
 Kulayse nay-ka kel-li-ess-ta.
 So I-Nom walk-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John asked if he can walk. So I let him do so.’

Examples (22a), (23a) and (24a) demonstrate direct causation while (22b), (23b) and (24b) are examples of indirect causation and permission-granting. Because the two constructions behave differently in the same contexts, the asymmetry

does not result from semantics or pragmatics. Rather, the difference in semantic interpretation lies in the syntax. Let us consider another sentence that patterns with the direct causation construction.

- (25) a. [Na-nun John-ul wul-li-ci anh-ass-ta].
 I-Top John-Acc cry-Caus-Comp Neg-Pst-Ind
 Kulena [nay-ka ku-lul wul-key ha-ess-ta].
 But I-Nom he-Acc cry-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘I did not make John cry. But I cause/let him cry.’

- b. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-ul
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Acc
 wul-li-ess-ta.
 cry-Caus-Pst-Ind
 *‘The director instructed the actor to weep in the scene.’

- c. *John-i wul-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.
 John-Nom cry-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind
 Kulayse nay-ka wul-li-ess-ta.
 So I-Nom cry-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John asked if he can cry. So I let him do so.’

Exactly like the construction with the embedded intransitive *cwuk*- ‘die’ in (22a), (23a) and (24a), the construction with *wul*- ‘cry’ allows a direct interpretation only.

Now, compare the above examples with other sentences involving indirect causation/permission-granting.

- (26) a. *[Na-nun John-ul nol-li-ci anh-ass-ta].
 I-Top John-Acc play-Caus-Comp Neg-Pst-Ind
 Kulena [nay-ka ku-lul nol-key ha-ess-ta].
 But I-Nom he-Acc play-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘I did not make John play. But I cause/let him play.’
- b. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-ul
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Acc
 nol-li-ess-ta.
 play-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The director instructed the actor to play in the scene.’
- c. John-i nol-ato coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.
 John-Nom play-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind
 Kulayse nay-ka nol-li-ess-ta.
 So I-Nom play-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘John asked if he can play. So I let him do so.’

Data (26) show that the MCC with the embedded intransitive verb *nol-* ‘play’ can be interpreted either as indirect causation or as permission-granting. With respect to the direct causation, the causee functions like a Theme as in the causativized verbs *cwuk-i-* ‘die-Caus’ in the (a) sentences of (22) - (24) and *wul-li-* ‘cry-Caus’ in the sentences of (25). Shibatani (1973b) asserts that in this construction the causee does not take on the role of Agent. Park (1994) regards the causee in this construction as the Theme. On the other hand, the causee in the indirect causation/permission-granting interpretation functions as an Agent with

the causativized verbs *kel-li-* ‘walk-Caus’ in the (b) sentences of (22) - (24) and with *nol-li-* ‘play-Caus’ in the sentences of (26) (also see Shibatani 1973b and Park 1994).³

5.5.1.2 Unaccusativity

Intransitive verbs may fall into one of two classes, unaccusative or unergative according to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978) (see also Rosen 1984, Belletti and Rizzi 1981, Burzio 1981, 1986, Levin and Rappaport 1986, among others). According to Perlmutter (1978), unaccusative verbs denote non-volitional actions or states, and unergative verbs denote willful, volitional actions and involuntary bodily processes. However, Rosen (1984) argues that there are no consistent universal semantic criteria that capture the semantic basis for unaccusativity.⁴ In fact, Korean shows a mismatch with the general distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs. According to Perlmutter (1978), the verb *cry* is unergative in that it describes a certain involuntary bodily process of the same general sort as *cough*, *sneeze*, *hiccough*, *belch*, *burp*, *sleep*, *vomit*, etc. However, I will show below that Korean *wul-* ‘cry’ is not an unergative but

³ This is why Park (1994) divides the MCCs with embedded intransitive verbs into two types. According to Park, the construction of direct causation is called a ‘Transitive CMC’, and the indirect causation/permission-granting one an ‘Intransitive CMC’ (where CMC stands for Causative Marker Construction). He classifies *wul-li-* ‘cry-Caus’ as an Intransitive CMC that includes verbs such as *kel-li-* ‘walk-Caus’ and *nol-li-* ‘play-Caus’. But, clearly, *wul-li-* ‘cry-Caus’ exhibits a symmetry with the direct causation construction. Moreover, the verb *wul-* ‘cry’, groups together with verbs that are involved in direct causation, such as *cwuk-i-* ‘die-Caus’ with respect to another syntactic characteristic—unaccusativity. I will return to this shortly. At any rate, his classification seems to rely too much upon intuitions regarding agentivity of the causee.

⁴ For the summary of debates on this issue, refer to Yang (1991).

rather an unaccusative verb.⁵

In Chapter 1, I briefly discussed Yang's (1991) diagnostics for unaccusativity in Korean. Here again, the verbs in question will be tested through diagnostics. If a verb satisfies the diagnostics, it is an unaccusative verb; if it fails, it is an unergative verb. First, I will consider the two verbs that trigger the direct causation interpretation: e.g. *cwuk*- 'die' and *wul*- 'cry'.

The first diagnostic is Possessor Raising: Possessor Raising is possible in unaccusative constructions. The verbs *cwuk*- 'die' and *wul*- 'cry' satisfy this condition as shown in the following.

- (27) a. I *cha-uy* *eyncin-i* *cwuk-ess-ta*.
 this car-Gen engine-Nom die-Pst-Ind
 'This car's engine won't work.'
- b. I *cha-ka* *eyncin-i* *cwuk-ess-ta*.
 this car-Nom engine-Nom die-Pst-Ind
 'This car's engine won't work.'
- (28) a. *Kicha-uy* *kicek-i* *wu-n-ta*.
 train-Gen steam.whistle-Nom cry-Asp-Ind
 'The train's whistle is blowing.'

⁵ It is very interesting that Yang (1991) also classifies *wul*- 'cry' in the group of unergative verbs in his list of Korean unaccusative and unergative verbs. The list was tested by his own diagnostics for unaccusativity in Korean (refer back to Chapter 1). However, I will demonstrate in terms of his own diagnostics, that *wul*- is an unaccusative verb.

- b. Kicha-**ka** kicek-i wu-n-ta.
train-Nom steam.whistle-Nom cry-Asp-Ind
‘The train’s whistle is blowing.’

The second diagnostic is that the marker for adjuncts (time and place, in particular) can alternate with the Nominative Case marker *-i/ka*. The two verbs allow this alternation as shown in (29) and (30).

- (29) a. I cha-ey eyncin-i cwuk-ess-ta.
this car-Dat engine-Nom die-Pst-Ind
‘The engine won’t work in this car.’

- b. I cha-**ka** eyncin-i cwuk-ess-ta.
this car-Nom engine-Nom die-Pst-Ind
‘The engine won’t work in this car.’

- (30) a. Ce Kicha-eyse kicek-i wu-n-ta.
that train-in/from steam.whistle-Nom cry-Asp-Ind
‘That train’s whistle is blowing.’

- b. Kicha-**ka** kicek-i wu-n-ta.
train-Nom steam.whistle-Nom cry-Asp-Ind
‘The train’s whistle is blowing.’

The third diagnostic requires that a Quantifier with a Numeral Classifier float without a Case marker.

(31) I pihayngki-ey eyncin-i **twu-tay** cwuk-ess-ta.
 this airplane-Dat engine-Nom 2-CL die-Pst-Ind
 ‘Two engines are out of order in this airplane.’

(32) Kicha-uy kicek-i **yele-tay** wu-n-ta.
 train-Gen steam.whistle-Nom many-CL cry-Asp-Ind
 ‘Many trains’ whistles are blowing.’

The final diagnostic concerns Duration/Frequency adverbs. If the adverb can take the Nominative Case marker *-i/ka*, the verb is unaccusative.

(33) ?I cha-uy eyncin-i **seypen-i** cwuk-ess-ta.
 this car-Gen engine-Nom 3 times-Nom die-Pst-Ind
 ‘This car’s engine has been out of order three times.’

(34) ?Kicha-uy kicek-i **seypen-i** wu-n-ta.
 train-Gen steam.whistle-Nom 3 times-Nom cry-Asp-Ind
 ‘The train’s whistle has been blowing three times.’

The verbs *cwuk-* ‘die’ and *wul-* ‘cry’ both are slightly odd in the last test as demonstrated in (33) and (34).⁶ Otherwise, they consistently satisfy all the diagnostics for unaccusativity.

On the other hand, verbs such as *ket-* ‘walk’ and *nol-* ‘play’, with the interpretation of indirect causation and permission-granting, fail the diagnostics as the following shows.

⁶ Again, as in Chapter 1 (cf. FN 3 in 1.2), I will not discuss light verbs as a diagnostic of unaccusativity.

(35) a. ?I kikyey-uy tali pwusok-i ppalli ket-nun-ta.
 this machine-Gen leg part (of machines)-Nom fast walk-Asp-Ind
 ‘This machine’s leg parts walk fast.’

b. *I kikyey-ka tali pwusok-i ppalli ket-nun-ta.
 this machine-Nom leg part (of machines)-Nom fast walk-Asp-Ind
 ‘This machine’s leg parts walk fast.’

(36) a. ?Mary-uy kanyalphun mom-i umak-ey macchwu-e
 Mary-Gen slender body-Nom music-at tune-Conn
 hungkyepkey nol-ass-ta.
 merrily play-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary’s slender body danced to music merrily.’

b. *Mary-ka kanyalphun mom-i umak-ey macchwu-e
 Mary-Nom slender body-Nom music-at tune-Conn
 hungkyepkey nol-ass-ta.
 merrily play-Pst-Ind
 ‘Mary’s slender body danced to music merrily.’

Possessor Raising is not possible with these verbs as shown in (35b) and (36b). Neither is the alternation possible between the markers for adjunct (of time) and Nominative Case as in (37) and (38) .

(37) a. Na-nun ku pang-eyse myech pal kel-epo-ass-ta.
 I-Top the room-in several step walk-Conn-Pst-Ind
 'I tried to walk a few steps in the room.'

b. *Na-nun ku pang-i myech pal kel-epo-ass-ta.
 I-Top the room-Nom several step walk-Conn-Pst-Ind
 'I tried to walk a few steps in the room.'

(38) a. I pang-eyse ai-tul-i nol-ass-ta.
 this room-in child-pl-Nom play-Pst-Ind
 'The children played in this room.'

b. *I pang-i ai-tul-i nol-ass-ta.
 this room-in child-pl-Nom play-Pst-Ind
 'The children played in this room.'

The next diagnostic for unaccusativity involves floating a quantifier with a Numeral Classifier. In this diagnostic, unaccusative verbs allow a floating quantifier with a Numeral Classifier lacking a Case marker, but unergative verbs do not. This diagnostic, however, is not straightforward: some unaccusative and unergative verbs fail to meet this test. But many unergative verbs in particular, allow a floating quantifier with a Numeral Classifier without a Case marker. The verbs under discussion are such cases.

- (39) Haksayng-tul-i **swupayk-myeng** pi-sok-ul kel-ess-ta.
 student-pl-Nom hundreds-CL rain-inside-Acc walk-Pst-Ind
 ‘Hundreds of students walked in the rain.’

- (40) I pang-eyse ai-tul-i **tases-myeng** nol-ass-ta.
 this room-in child-pl-Nom 5-CL play-Pst-Ind
 ‘Five children played in this room.’

However, these verbs clearly show unergativity with respect to the last diagnostic: they do not allow a Duration/Frequency Adverb with the Nominative Case marker as in (41) and (42), respectively.

- (41) *Haksayng-tul-i pi-sok-ul **twupen-i** kel-ess-ta.
 student-pl-Nom rain-inside-Acc 2 times-Nom walk-Pst-Ind
 ‘Students walked in the rain two times.’

- (42) *I pang-eyse ai-tul-i **seypen-i** nol-ass-ta.
 this room-in child-pl-Nom 3 times-Nom play-Pst-Ind
 ‘Children played in this room three times.’

In conclusion, the interpretation of an MCC with an embedded intransitive verb is conditioned by the properties of the embedded intransitive verbs with respect to unaccusativity. If the construction is interpreted as direct causation, the embedded verb is an unaccusative one; if the construction is interpreted as indirect causation/permission-granting, then the embedded verb is an unergative one.

5.5.2 The MCC with an Embedded Transitive Verb

I mentioned earlier that MCCs with embedded transitive verbs show the same interpretive variations as those with intransitive verbs. And it turns out that the different semantic patterns of the MCC with embedded transitive verbs are due to a transferability effect. Now, let us turn to MCCs based on embedded transitive verbs and find out how the transferability effect is related to semantic interpretation.

5.5.2.1 The Problem Revisited

Consider the following examples that display the alternate semantic patterns of the two types of morphological causatives with transitive verbs.

- (43) a. [Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul os-ul ip-hi-ci
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc clothes-Acc put.on-Caus-Comp
 anh-ass-ta]. Kulena [os-ul ip-key ha-ess-ta].
 Neg-Pst-Ind but clothes-Acc put.on-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother did not put the clothes on her child. But she caused him to
 put them on.’
- b. [Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul wuyu-ul mek-i-ci
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc milk-Acc eat-Caus-Comp
 anh-ass-ta]. Kulena [wuyu-ul mek-key ha-ess-ta].
 Neg-Pst-Ind but milk-Acc eat-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother did not feed her child milk. But she caused him to drink
 it.’

(44) a.*[Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-ci
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-Caus-Comp
 anh-ass-ta]. Kulena [chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ess-ta].
 Neg-Pst-Ind but book-Acc read-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother did not have her child read the book. But she caused
 him to read it.’

b.*[Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul kulus-ul ssis-ki-ci
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc dish-Acc wash-Caus-Comp
 anh-ass-ta]. Kulena [kulus-ul ssis-key ha-ess-ta].
 Neg-Pst-Ind but dish-Acc wash-Comp do-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother did not have her child wash the dishes. But she caused
 him to wash them.’

The two types of MCCs in (43) and (44) show a semantic difference with respect to the entailment test. These two semantic patterns in the MCC seem to be related to the type of embedded transitive verbs that are involved. The MCCs with transitive verbs such as *ip-* ‘put on’ and *mek-* ‘eat’ exhibit an asymmetry with the corresponding periphrastic causatives. On the other hand, those MCCs with verbs such as *ilk-* ‘read’ and *ssis-* ‘wash’ are semantically parallel to their periphrastic causative counterparts. This distinction between the two constructions holds as expected with regard to the other two tests for causative semantics. The examples in (45) and (46) demonstrate that MCCs with the embedded verbs *ip-* ‘put on’ and *mek-* ‘eat’ should be interpreted as providing direct causation, while those with *ilk-* ‘read’ and *ssis-* ‘wash’ take an indirect causation/permission-granting interpretation.

(45) a. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-eykey
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Dat
 nolan os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
 yellow clothes-Acc put.on-Caus-Pst-Ind
 *‘The director instructed the actor to put on the clothes in the scene.’

b. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-eykey
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Dat
 wuyu-ul mek-i-ess-ta.
 milk-Acc eat-Caus-Pst-Ind
 *‘The director instructed the actor to drink milk in the scene.’

(46) a. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-eykey
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Dat
 chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The director instructed the actor to read the book in the scene.’

b. Kamtok-i ku cangmyen-eyse ku paywu-eykey
 director-Nom the scene-in the actor-Dat
 kulus-ul ssis-ki-ess-ta.
 dish-Acc wash-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The director instructed the actor to wash the dishes in the scene.’

These two types of MCCs with different semantic patterns also contrast with respect to the permission-granting test as shown in (47).

(47) a. *John-i os-ul ip-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.

John-Nom clothes-Acc put.on-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind

Kulayse nay-ka os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.

So I-Nom clothes-Acc put.on-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘John asked if he can put on the clothes. So I let him do so.’

b. *John-i wuyu-ul mek-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.

John-Nom milk-Acc eat-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind

Kulayse nay-ka wuyu-ul mek-i-ess-ta.

So I-Nom milk-Acc eat-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘John asked if he can drink milk. So I let him do so.’

(48) a. John-i chayk-ul ilk-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.

John-Nom book-Acc read-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind

Kulayse nay-ka chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.

So I-Nom book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘John asked if he can read the book. So I let him do so.’

b. John-i kulus-ul ssis-eto coh-un-ci mwul-ess-ta.

John-Nom dish-Acc wash-Sjt good-Asp-Comp ask-Pst-Ind

Kulayse nay-ka kulus-ul ssis-ki-ess-ta.

So I-Nom dish-Acc wash-Caus-Pst-Ind

‘John asked if he can drink milk. So I let him do so.’

In sum, the semantic distinction between MCCs with embedded transitive verbs arises out of the existence of two different verb types. This parallels the situation in MCCs with intransitive verbs.

5.5.2.2 Transferability

The previous section showed that there are two types of transitive verbs in MCCs. This is reminiscent of the asymmetrical pattern in the *give*-type compound construction as reprised in the following examples.

- (49) a. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul chayk-ul ilk-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc book-Acc read-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother read a book for her child.’

- b. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul kulus-ul ssis-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc dish-Acc wash-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother washed the dishes and gave them to her child.’

- (50) a. *Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul os-ul ip-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc clothes-Acc put.on-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother put on the clothes for her child.’

- b. *Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul wuyu-ul mek-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc milk-Acc eat-give-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother drink milk for her child.’

The distinction between the two verb types is the notion of transferability. The transferability effect is also involved in the selection of the Goal argument in the *give*-type compound construction. The so-called reflexive verbs (Park 1994) illustrated in (51) form [-transfer] VPs, while non-reflexive verbs form [+transfer] VPs (cf. Chapter 3).

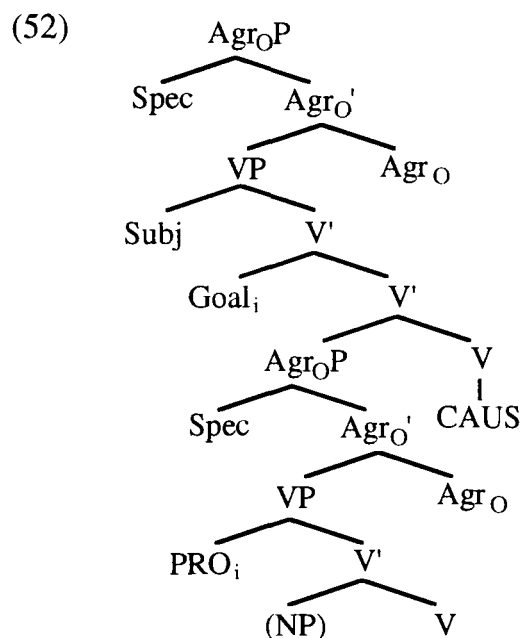
- (51)
- | | | |
|----|-------|---------------------------------|
| a. | ip- | ‘put something on self’s body’ |
| b. | ssu- | ‘put something on self’s head’ |
| c. | sin- | ‘put something on self’s feet’ |
| d. | ep- | ‘put something on self’s back’ |
| e. | an- | ‘hold something in self’s arms’ |
| f. | mek- | ‘eat’ |
| g. | po- | ‘see’ |
| h. | al- | ‘realize/know’ |
| j. | mwul- | ‘hold with lips/bite’ |
| k. | cap- | ‘hold’ |

Thus the syntactic difference in the *give*-type compound construction regarding Goal selection is ascribed to the transferability effect; the construction with a [-transfer] embedded VP as shown in (49) takes a Goal argument whereas the construction with a [+transfer] VP as in (50) cannot have a Goal argument.

The semantic difference found in the MCC is exactly the same kind of asymmetric pattern. The reflexive verbs *ip*- ‘put on’ and *mek*- ‘eat’ yield a reading of direct causation. On the other hand, non-reflexive verbs *ilk*- ‘read’ and *ssis*- ‘wash’ give the MCC an indirect causation/permission-granting interpretation.

5.5.3 θ -role of the Goal

Now, let us give a unified analysis to account for how the above facts are correlated in the semantic interpretation of the MCC. First, consider the structure of the Korean MCC proposed in Chapter 4.



As pointed out in Chapter 4, this structure follows a three-place predicate analysis. The causative verb takes three arguments; the causer (Agent), the causee (Goal) and the embedded predicate (AgrOP). The embedded subject is PRO controlled by the causee. Prima facie, this mechanism has the advantage of capturing two θ -roles of the causee; the Goal from the causative verb and the other θ -role from the embedded verb. These two θ -roles assigned separately to each argument, i.e. the Goal and PRO, can be combined in a way similar to fusion (Alsina 1992) or argument sharing (Guasti 1996). Conveniently enough, the two arguments are coindexed under control. Thus, the two θ -roles assigned to two different arguments are now combined by coindexation due to control; one

referent, i.e. the causee, associated with two arguments, contains two θ -roles. For instance, in the following MCC based on a intransitive verb, the causee is understood as the Agent.

- (53) Uysa-ka ku hwanca-lul_i [PRO_i myech pal kel-li-ess-ta].
 doctor-Nom the patient-Acc PRO several step walk-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The doctor had the patient walk a few steps.’

Although the causee is assigned an Agent θ -role, this does not seem to entirely characterize its semantics. Also, a Goal role is apparently involved given that the causer wants the embedded predicate to be transferred (or happen) to the causee. In this case, the embedded θ -role, Agent, is understood as being prominent. Let us call this a prominently derived θ -role (PD- θ) of the causee. Then, it may be asked; which θ -role of the causee becomes a PD- θ ?

To answer this question, let us examine four types of morphological causatives for contrast.

- (54) a. Uysa-ka ku hwanca-lul_i [PRO_i myech pal
 doctor-Nom the patient-Acc PRO several step
 kel-li-ess-ta].
 walk-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The doctor had the patient walk a few steps.’
- b. Ku koyangi-ka cwi-lul_i [PRO_i cwuk-i-ess-ta].
 the cat-Nom mouse-Acc PRO die-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The cat killed a mouse.’

- (55) a. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul_i [PRO_i chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta].
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc PRO book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother had her child read a book.’
- b. Emeni-ka ai-eykey/lul_i [PRO_i wuyu-ul mek-i-ess-ta].
 mother-Nom child-Dat/Acc PRO milk-Acc eat-Caus-Pst-Ind
 ‘The mother fed her child milk.’

The sentences in (54) are morphological causatives based on intransitive verbs and those in (55) are based on transitive verbs. The (a) sentences are interpreted as indirect causation/permission-granting, and the (b) sentences as direct causation. Interestingly, all of them exhibit various PD- θ s. The causee has the Agent PD- θ in (54a), the Theme in (54b), the Agent in (55a) and the Goal in (55b). This is summarized in the following table.

(56) *Prominently derived θ -roles of the causee in the Korean MCC*

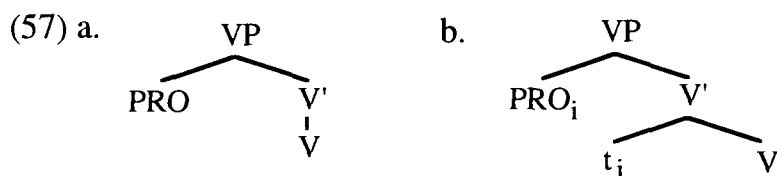
<div>Interpretation</div> <div>Embedded Verb</div>	Indirect Causation/ Permission-Granting	Direct Causation
	Intransitive	(I) Agent
Transitive	(III) Agent	(IV) Goal

To illuminate this matter, I assume that transferability must always be checked with the Goal insofar as a verb takes a Goal and an embedded VP as its arguments. In other words, transferability checking takes place in all dative constructions including *give*-type and morphological causative constructions, given that all these constructions have the same configuration. However, the

consequences of transferability checking are different in the two construction types. As we have discussed in Chapter 3, the transferability effect is syntactic in *give*-type dative constructions; transferability of the embedded VP decides features of the matrix verb, i.e. *give*, with respect to Goal selection.

In the MCC, however, the transferability effect is semantic. When two θ -roles compete for the PD- θ of the causee, the upper one is tentatively assumed to have priority. However, the ultimate decision is made in terms of the transferability of the embedded predicate. If the contents of the embedded predicate such as the event itself, the byproduct of the event, or even the Theme of the embedded predicate, can be transferred to the Goal argument, then the Goal is licensed for the PD- θ of the causee. If there is nothing transferable to the Goal argument, the Goal is overridden by the competing θ -role of the embedded argument, i.e. that of PRO.

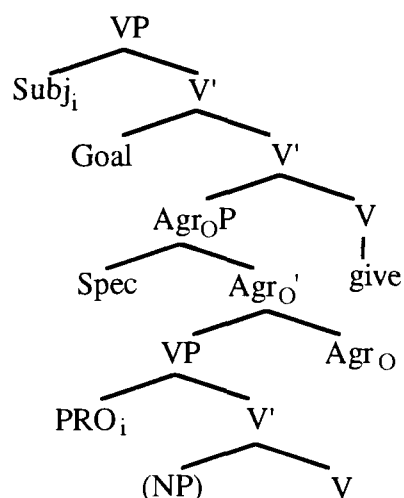
As for morphological causatives based on intransitive verbs, the embedded VP is inherently [-transfer] since intransitive verbs have nothing to transfer, as pointed out in Chapter 3. Therefore, in both cases (I) and (II) of (56) the θ -role of the embedded subject, PRO, overrides the Goal for the PD- θ . Yet, there is a crucial difference between constructions (I) and (II): unergative versus unaccusative. The single argument of an unergative verb gets the Agent, while that of an unaccusative verb gets the Theme (Grimshaw 1990). Thus, following Belletti (1988) and Hale and Keyser (1986), representations of the embedded VP of the two constructions are (57a) and (57b), respectively.



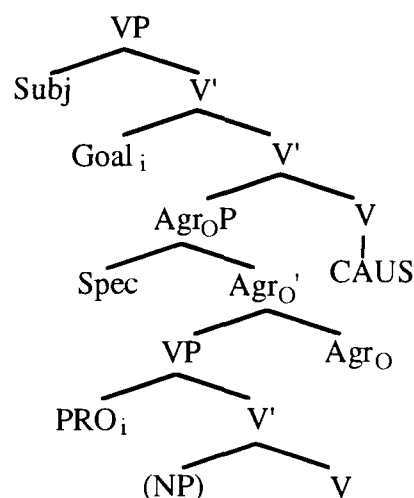
Thus, the PD- θ of the causee is the Agent in (I) and the Theme in (II).

Now, consider constructions (III) and (IV) with embedded transitive verbs. As discussed in 5.5.2.2, the semantic distinction between the two types of causatives results from the reflexive property of the embedded verbs. The group of embedded verbs in (III) includes non-reflexive verbs, while (IV) includes reflexive ones. In the *give*-type compound construction, the embedded VP is [+transfer] if it is non-reflexive, and [-transfer] if it is reflexive. However, in the MCC, such a correlation effect is reversed. In other words, the embedded VP is [-transfer] if it is non-reflexive, and [+transfer] if it is reflexive. The reason is that the transferability of the embedded VP is based on its relation with the Goal argument. Notice that the indexation of the Goal and the embedded subject, PRO is different between the *give*-type compound construction and the MCC.

(58) a. The *Give*-type Dative



b. The Morphological Causative



The *give*-type dative construction, as seen in (58a), is a subject control construction: the embedded subject PRO is controlled by the matrix subject. The

Goal argument is not the same referent as the PRO refers to.⁷ Hence, if the embedded VP is reflexive like (50), it is [-transfer] since the content of the embedded VP is only reflexively transferable, but the Goal is not the same referent as the subject of the VP. On the other hand, if the embedded VP is non-reflexive as in (49), then it is [+transfer] because the content of the embedded VP is non-reflexively transferable to the Goal and the referent of the Goal is not the same as the embedded subject, PRO.

In the MCC with a reflexive embedded VP such as (IV) in (56), the embedded VP is [+transfer] since the Goal is the same referent to which the reflexive content of the embedded VP is transferable. On the other hand, in the MCC with a non-reflexive embedded VP like (III) in (56), the embedded VP is [-transfer] since the non-reflexive content of the embedded VP is non-transferable to the reflexive Goal.

It is clear now why the type (III) MCC has the Agent PD- θ of the causee and the type (IV) has the Goal PD- θ . Type (III) involves a [-transfer] relationship with the Goal. Thus, the Goal role is overridden by the embedded θ -role of the argument that is coindexed with the Goal. On the other hand, type (IV) includes a [+transfer] relationship with the Goal, permitting the Goal to be the PD- θ of the causee.

⁷ A priori, it seems plausible that the Goal may refer to the same person as the Agent of *give* if the Goal argument is a reflexive pronoun. However, as the following example shows, such expressions are not acceptable.

- (i) *John-un casin-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Top self-Dat book-Acc give-Pst-Ind
 ‘John gave a book to himself.’

Thus, it is clear that Korean dative verbs cannot select a reflexive Goal argument.

5.6 Conclusion

Causative constructions can be interpreted either as causative or permissive. At the beginning of this chapter, I presented tests for the semantic distinction between permission and non-permission, and direct and indirect causation. These tests clearly distinguish the semantic patterns of the periphrastic causative construction and the MCC. The periphrastic causative construction can have both interpretations while the corresponding MCC may only have a causative meaning. Furthermore, with respect to the causative interpretation, the periphrastic causative construction can be interpreted either as a direct or an indirect causation, whereas the MCC has only the direct causative meaning. However, counterexamples undermine this generalization. A group of MCCs turn out to also be interpretable as indirect causation and/or permission-granting. Therefore, the patterns of different semantic interpretations found between periphrastic causative constructions and MCCs are also found within the MCC category.

However, unlike the differences between the periphrastic causative and the MCC, the different semantic interpretations with MCCs are not due to pragmatic contexts in that some morphological causatives can be used in a given context while others cannot in the same situation. The different semantic patterns of the MCC are ascribed rather to syntactic determinants. As far as embedded verbs are concerned, apparently different factors seem to be involved depending upon their transitivity. That is, if the embedded verb is intransitive, the MCC is interpreted either as direct or as indirect/permission-granting according to the embedded verb's unaccusativity. On the other hand, if the embedded verb is transitive, the interpretation of the MCC is decided by the embedded verb's transferability effect.

These two seemingly different factors in the interpretation of the MCC are correlated in a highly complicated syntactic and semantic mechanism related to the properties of embedded verbs. Fundamentally, the variant semantic interpretations of MCCs are derived depending upon the θ -role of the causee. I proposed a three-place predicate analysis of the MCC in Chapter 4. This analysis has the advantage of capturing two θ -roles for the causee. One of these θ -roles is assigned from the causative verb to the Goal argument; the other θ -role is assigned to the embedded subject PRO. This PRO is controlled by the Goal argument. Thus, the causee is one single referent associated with two arguments, through coindexation. Among the two θ -roles for the causee, only one can be interpreted prominently. This prominently derived θ -role (PD- θ) of the causee determines the semantic interpretation of the MCC.

The PD- θ of the causee, in turn, is decided by the semantics of the embedded VP. When two θ -roles compete for the PD- θ of the causee, the decision is made on the basis of the transferability of the embedded predicate. If the contents of the embedded predicate such as the event itself, the byproduct of the event, or even the Theme of the embedded predicate, can be transferable to the Goal argument, then the Goal is licensed for the PD- θ of the causee. If there is nothing transferable to the Goal argument, the Goal is overridden by the competing θ -role of the embedded argument, i.e. that of PRO.

The analysis of the semantic interpretation of the MCC given in this chapter combines syntax with semantics. It accounts for all the phenomena involved in the semantic patterns of the MCC in a consistent and unified manner. Finally, an important fact to consider is that the transferability effect plays a crucial role in both the *give*-type construction and the MCC. The transferability effect arbitrates selection of the Goal in the *give*-type dative construction. It also decides the prominence of one of the two θ -roles assigned to the causee in the

MCC. In both cases, the transferability is checked with the Goal argument and the embedded VP. This result suggests a significant generalization about the two dative constructions, i.e. the *give*-type dative construction and the MCC can be analyzed in a parallel manner.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Summary

Korean has constructions containing Dative-marked phrases. Thus, these constructions are called dative constructions in my thesis. On the basis of the argument that the Dative marker is a postposition, a Dative phrase is defined as a PP. Dative PPs are either arguments or adjuncts. Only constructions with argument Dative PPs allow the alternation with Accusative-marking. Among such constructions, the *give*-type dative construction and the morphological causative construction (MCC) have been the main topics of my study because my concern was with the Dative/Accusative alternation on a Goal argument and these two construction both are assumed to have a Goal argument.

6.1.1 The Minimalist Program and Case Theory in Korean

The framework that I adopt in my study is the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993). Major changes introduced in this framework include elimination of D-Structure and S-Structure, loss of the role of government and the Shortest Movement Condition. All these result from the concept of Minimalism. The economy principle of Universal Grammar that the Minimalist Program pursues, requires that the module of Grammar achieve optimality. Thus, only virtual conceptual necessity maintains PF and LF, removing unnecessary D-Structure and S-Structure, given that linguistic expression is construed merely as a formal representation of sound and meaning. The roles of D-structure are taken over by

Satisfy, accomplished by GT, which is a maximally generalized move- α . GT extends a phrase marker, satisfying the X-bar theory, in terms of a substitution process. Spell-Out plays a similar role for S-Structure.

The two crucial factors that the Minimalist Program brings in are functional categories such as Agr(P) and T(P) and the local relation in X-bar theory. These two closely related factors play a significant part in Case theory. The former replaces the concept of “assignment” of Case. The latter replaces the role of head government. The Minimalist approach takes Agr-based Case theory involving Spec-head agreement for Case manifestations, instead of government-based Case theory. Consequently, the syntactic effects related to head government are reformulated in terms of “domains”, that is, specification of the local relations in X-bar structure.

Associated with the notion of (minimal) domain is The Shortest Movement Condition, another effect of the economy principle, that minimizes the chain link. This condition replaces Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). With respect to Case theory in particular, the Shortest Movement Condition plays a crucial part in Case checking through Spec-head agreement.

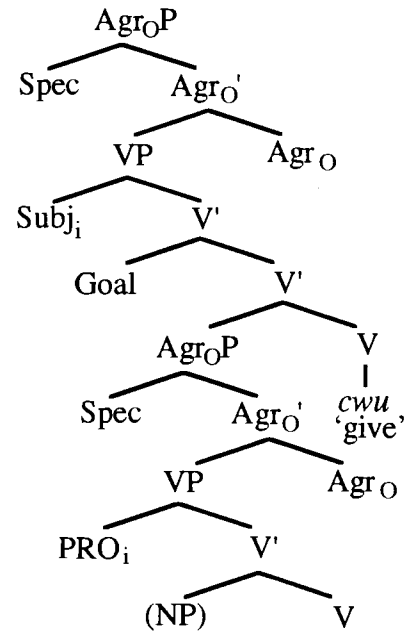
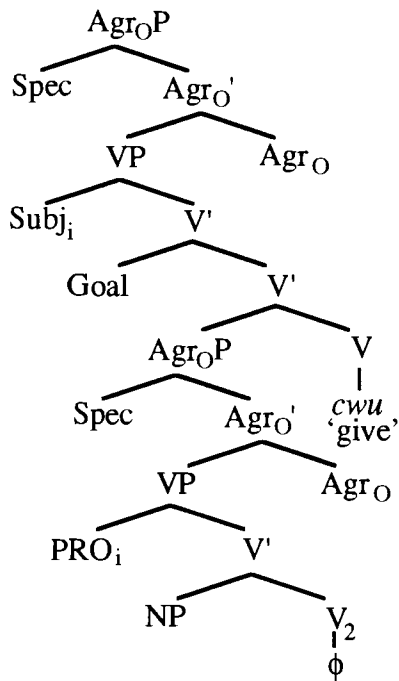
With respect to the system of Korean functional categories and Case theory, I have developed a Case theory based on checking theory, proposing that Case-checking is a neutralization process. The Case feature in a head position, e.g. Agr, is neutralized via Spec-head agreement, being discharged into an NP in [Spec, AgrP]. NPs are attached with their Case marker to them when drawn from the lexicon. However, these markers are only morphologically realized, but otherwise inert; hence, they need to be activated. The Accusative marker *-ul/lul* is activated in [Spec, Agr_OP] by the Case feature of V through Agr_O, in terms of a neutralization process. Likewise, the Nominative marker *-i/ka* is activated in [Spec, Agr_SP] by the Case feature of Agr_S, via Spec-head agreement as a

neutralization process. The head properties of functional categories in Korean have been also described; the head that is responsible for Nominative Case is *Agr_S*, and not the TP as in English.

6.1.2 The *Give-Type Dative Construction*

I have claimed that the Korean *give-type dative construction* is basically one type of compound construction in which the matrix verb *cwu-* ‘give’, which has a VP complement and a Goal argument, is incorporated with an embedded verb that is the head of the complement VP, selecting a Theme NP. I have proposed that the structure of the *give-type dative construction* is parallel to that of the compound *give-type dative construction*. In this structure, assuming Baker-type Incorporation (verb incorporation) as the compounding process, a multi-predicate structure is introduced. The main verb, i.e. the dative verb *cwu-* ‘give’ only selects the Goal argument, while the embedded inner verb, if it is transitive, selects the Theme NP. The only difference between compound *give-type* and simple *give-type constructions* is that the embedded verb in the simple *give-type constructions* is invisible but has the features of a transitive verb. Hence, the invisible verb always selects its own Theme argument and has the Case feature, too. Each structure of the simple and the compound *give-type construction* is represented in the following.

b. Compound Give-Type



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(2) *Dat/Acc Alternation on the Goal Argument*

Construction Embedded verb	<i>Cwu</i> -dative (give-type)	<i>Cwu</i> -compound (give-compound)
Intransitive	-----	(II) *Goal
Transitive	(I) Dat/Acc	(III) Dat/Acc (IV) *Goal

To give a unified account of these problems, I argue that the lexical features of the verb *cwu*- ‘give’ are not specified in Korean—its Case and its Goal argument remains unspecified. Hence, it is proposed that *cwu*-’s features of Case and Goal selection may be represented simply as [Case] and [Goal], not specified as either [+] or [-] value. These properties are added during derivation, and dependent upon the properties of the embedded VP complement. During the syntactic derivation, if the embedded verb incorporates into *cwu*- with the feature [α Case], *cwu*-’s Case feature is determined as [α Case]; for instance, it gets specified as [+Case] if the embedded verb has the feature [+Case] when it incorporates to *cwu*-. That is, when the embedded verb is transitive like (I) and (III) in (2), *cwu*- also has a [+Case] feature. The double Accusative is possible due to a heavy Case feature created by incorporation of the embedded verb into the matrix verb. This heavy Case feature is not neutralized in that it is not entirely discharged after Spec-head agreement. Hence, along with Case for the Theme NP through Spec-head agreement, another Case is also available for the Goal NP by the leftover Case feature floating down to the Goal. Therefore, the Dative/Accusative alternation results.

The specification of the Goal argument of the matrix verb *cwu-* is defined by the semantic property of the embedded VP clause. This semantic property is called the “transferability”.

(3) *Transferability Effect:*

The transferability of the embedded VP is based on its relation with the Goal argument.

If the meaning of the embedded VP is transferable ([+transfer]), *cwu-* takes a Goal argument, and if it is non-transferable ([-transfer]), it does not. Thus, (II) in (2) cannot take a Goal since intransitive verbs are inherently [-transfer] since they have nothing to transfer; therefore, non-transferable to the Goal. (IV) in (2) is the case in which the embedded verb is reflexive verb, such as *eat*, *see*, etc.

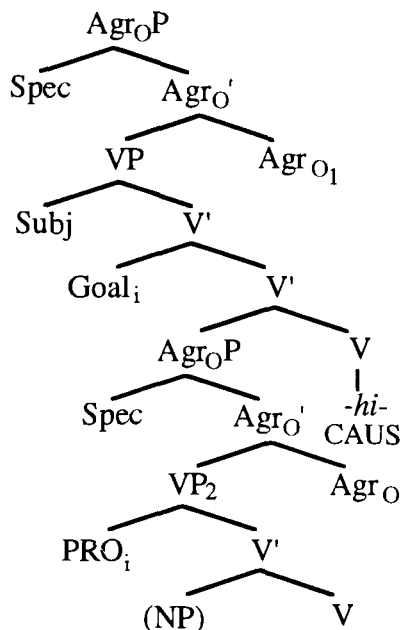
6.1.3 The Syntax of the MCC

The MCC involves, as one of its variants, a structure with a Dative-marked NP. This NP can alternatively be marked Accusative. Therefore, Dative/Accusative alternation is involved in the MCC as in the *give*-type dative construction. In addition to the Dative/Accusative alternation, the two arguments, i.e. the causee and the Goal exhibit exactly the same syntactic behavior with respect to various phenomena associated with subjectivization in the passive. These similarities support a unified analysis of the two constructions.

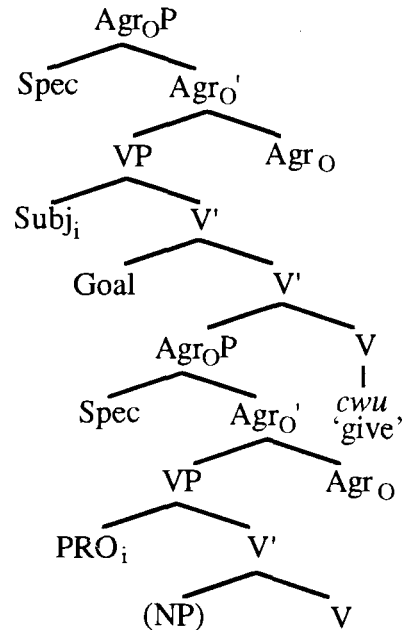
The structure of the MCC that I propose follows the three-place predicate analysis. The causative verb takes three arguments; the causer (Agent), the causee (Goal) and the embedded predicate (Agr_{OP}). Compared with the structure of *give*-

type dative construction, the structure of the morphological causative is exactly the same except with respect to control.

(4) a. The MCC



b. The *Give*-Type



The matrix verb is the causative morpheme that takes a VP along with Agr_{OP} as its complement. The causee argument is taken as a Goal adjoined to V'. The embedded VP has its internal subject PRO controlled by the Goal argument of the matrix verb, unlike the *give*-type dative construction in which the PRO is controlled by the subject. These structural similarities enable a parallel analysis to capture the symmetries between the two constructions.

Although the Dative/Accusative alternation is an important similarity between the MCC and the *give*-type construction, the Dative/Accusative alternation also raises problems both for an analysis of the MCC and a unified analysis of the two constructions. Within the MCC, the Dative/Accusative alternation makes it difficult to explain the transitivity effect: how can the Dative/Accusative alternation be accounted for by a valency increase of the

causativized verb? Cross-constructionally, mismatches are found with respect to the alternation: while a specific group of sentences of the *give*-type dative construction show the Dative/Accusative alternation, the corresponding morphological causatives do not. The following table summarizes these findings.

(5) *Dative/Accusative Mismatches*

Construction Embedded verb	Morphological	<i>Give</i> -Type (Compound)
	Causative	
Intransitive	(I) *Dat/Acc	*Goal
Transitive	(II) Dat/Acc	Dat/Acc *Goal

To solve this problem, I assume that the double Accusative version of the *give*-type construction results from a quasi-incorporation, whereas the MCC entails a normal verb incorporation. The normal verb incorporation delays the Case checking until two verbs are incorporated. However, the quasi-incorporation optionally delays Case checking, which results in an abnormal construction. This explains well why the double Accusative version of the *give*-type construction is marginally acceptable whereas that of the MCC is flawless.

The other significant difference between the two constructions comes from the feature specification of the matrix verb. The matrix verb of *give*-type constructions, *cwu*- 'give', is unspecified for the features [Case] and [Goal]. Thus, the verb *cwu*- 'give' can, on its own, neither subcategorize for its Goal argument nor have the Case feature to be checked off. The features of Case and Goal selection are entirely dependent upon the embedded VP. However, the causative

verb is assumed to be specified as [+Case] and [+Goal]. Thus, the matrix verb independently takes its Goal argument and Case feature.

As for (I) in (5), the lower verb does not have an NP complement since it is intransitive. Therefore, it bears [-Case]. When the two verbs are incorporated, the affixed form of the verb bears [+Case] by way of the features on the causative verb. Therefore, the Case feature should be checked off in the matrix Agr_0 , in the Spec position of which the Goal argument, i.e. the causee gets Accusative Case via Spec-head agreement. However, if the Goal argument is marked Dative, the Case feature of the verb cannot be checked off since the Dative-marked Goal is a PP. Therefore, the derivation crashes.

With respect to (II) in (5), the lower verb has [+Case] since it is transitive. The double Accusative is possible due to a heavy Case feature created by incorporation of the embedded verb into the matrix verb. This heavy Case feature is not neutralized, i.e. it is not entirely discharged after Spec-head agreement. Hence, along with Case for the Theme NP through Spec-head agreement, another Case is also available for the Goal NP by virtue of the leftover Case feature floating down to the Goal.

6.1.4 The Semantics of the MCC

Causative constructions can be interpreted either as causative or permissive. I have presented tests for the semantic distinction between permission and non-permission, and direct and indirect causation. These tests clearly distinguish the semantic patterns of the periphrastic causative construction and the MCC. The periphrastic causative construction can have both a causative or permissive interpretation while the corresponding MCC can only have causative meaning. Furthermore, with respect to the causative interpretation, the periphrastic

causative construction can be interpreted either as a direct or an indirect causation, whereas the MCC has only the direct causative meaning. However, counterexamples undermine this generalization. A group of MCCs turn out to be interpretable as indirect causation and/or permission-granting. Therefore, the patterns of different semantic interpretation between the periphrastic causative construction and the MCC are also found in the MCC.

However, unlike the differences between the periphrastic causative and the MCC, the different semantic interpretations of the MCC are not due to pragmatic contexts in that some morphological causatives can be used in a given context while others cannot in the same situation. The different semantic patterns of the MCC are rather ascribed to syntactic determinants. As far as embedded verbs are concerned, apparently different factors seem to be involved depending upon the verb's transitivity. That is, if the embedded verb is intransitive, the MCC is interpreted either as direct or as indirect/permission-granting according to the embedded verb's unaccusativity. On the other hand, if the embedded verb is transitive, the interpretation of the MCC is decided by the embedded verb's transferability effect.

These two seemingly different factors in the interpretation of the MCC are correlated in a complex syntactic and semantic mechanism related to the properties of the embedded verbs. The structure of the MCC that I propose follows the three-place predicate analysis. The causative verb takes three arguments; the causer (Agent), the causee (Goal) and the embedded predicate (Agr_oP). The embedded subject is PRO controlled by the causee. This mechanism has the advantage of capturing two θ -roles for the causee; the Goal from the causative verb and the other θ -role from the embedded verb. These two θ -roles are assigned separately to each argument—the Goal and PRO, and can be combined in a way similar to fusion (Alsina 1992) or argument sharing (Guasti

1996). The two θ -roles assigned to two different arguments are combined by coindexation through control; one referent, i.e. the causee, associated with two arguments, contains two θ -roles. When the θ -role of the Goal and that of PRO are combined, they compete with each other to become a θ -role of the causee that is understood as being prominent. I call this the prominently derived θ -role (PD- θ) of the causee. Hence the different semantic patterns of the MCC are related to the PD θ -roles of the causee summarized as follows.

(6) *Prominently derived θ -roles of the causee in the Korean MCC*

<div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="display: inline-block; transform: rotate(-45deg); transform-origin: center;"> Interpretation Embedded Verb </div> </div>	Indirect Causation/ Permission-Granting	Direct Causation
	(I) Agent	(II) Theme
Intransitive		
Transitive	(III) Agent	(IV) Goal

I assume that transferability must always be checked with the Goal as far as a verb takes a Goal and an embedded VP as its arguments. In other words, transferability checking takes place in all dative constructions including *give*-type and morphological causative constructions, given that all these constructions have the same configuration. However, the consequences of transferability checking reveal themselves differently. The transferability effect is syntactic in *give*-type dative constructions; transferability of the embedded VP decides features of the matrix verb, i.e. *give*, with respect to Goal selection. In the MCC, however, the transferability effect is semantic. When two θ -roles compete for the PD- θ of the causee, the decision is made in terms of transferability of the embedded predicate. If the contents of the embedded predicate such as the event itself, the byproduct of the event, or even the Theme of the embedded predicate,

can be transferable to the Goal argument, then the Goal is licensed for the PD- θ of the causee. If there is nothing transferable to the Goal argument, the Goal is overridden by the competing θ -role of the embedded argument, i.e. that of PRO.

Another difference in the transferability effect between the *give*-type and the MCC is that the transferability effect in the MCC is opposite to that in the *give*-type construction with respect to the reflexiveness. As for the cases of morphological causatives based on intransitive verbs, the embedded VP is inherently [-transfer]. Therefore, in both cases (I) and (II) of (6) the θ -role of the embedded subject, PRO, overrides the Goal for the PD- θ . The crucial difference between constructions (I) and (II) in (6) is that the embedded verb of construction (I) is unergative while that of (II) is unaccusative. The single argument of an unergative verb gets the Agent, while that of an unaccusative verb gets the Theme (Grimshaw 1990).

In the MCC with a reflexive embedded VP like (IV) in (4), the embedded VP is [+transfer] since the Goal is the same referent to which the reflexive content of the embedded VP is transferable. Therefore, the PD- θ is the Goal. On the other hand, in the MCC with a non-reflexive embedded VP like (III), the embedded VP is [-transfer] since the non-reflexive content of the embedded VP is non-transferable to the reflexive Goal. Hence, the PD- θ is that of PRO, i.e. the Agent.

6.2 Conclusion

I claim that the Korean MCC is the same kind of construction as the *give*-type construction. Hence, I have pursued a unified theory for both constructions. The significance of my unified analysis is that semantics plays an integral role in syntax and semantics. In the *give*-type dative construction, the morphosyntactic information can be derived during the syntactic computation. The transferability

effect decides selection of the Goal. In the MCC, the transferability effect also plays a crucial role in deciding the PD- θ of the causee. In terms of combining syntax with semantics, the unified analysis for the *give*-type dative construction and the MCC successfully accounts for a variety of syntactic and semantic phenomena displayed in these two constructions.

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