

A RELATIONAL ANALYSIS OF KOREAN MULTIPLE NOMINATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

This dissertation of Cheong Youn is approved by the Faculty of the Graduate School of State University of New York at Buffalo in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

by
Cheong Youn

Committee: Donna B. Gerds (Chair)
Prof. Donna B. Gerds

Matthew S. Dwyer
Prof. Matthew S. Dwyer

David A. Rubin
Prof. David A. Rubin

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ABSTRACT

Multiple nominative constructions (MNCs) have played a central role in research on Korean syntax. This study gives a Relational Grammar account of several types of MNCs --- Possessor Ascension MNCs, Focus MNCs, Advancement to I MNCs, and Psych MNCs. By applying the tests for subjecthood formulated in Chapter 1, I show that none of these MNCs have final structures involving multiple subjects, as has been previously claimed, and thus do not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law.

Chapter 2 analyzes the structures of two types of MNCs --- Possessor Ascension MNCs and Focus MNCs. In both, the first nominative nominal stands in a possessive relation to the second one. However, I show that they have different syntactic structures despite their apparent similarities. Chapter 3 discusses Advancement to I MNCs in which a semantically oblique nominal appears in the nominative (or dative) case. I argue that the first nominative nominal in these constructions is an initial oblique which advances to final subject.

Chapter 4 treats psych constructions. The experiencer, which exhibits all relevant subject properties, may appear in the nominative or dative case. I propose an analysis which is identical to the structure posited in Chapter 3 for oblique to I advancement clauses. Thus, Korean Psych constructions

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are best treated as advancements and not as retreats, as previously suggested.

Chapter 5 discusses case marking in MNCs. Korean exhibits both non-nominative subject and nominative non-subject phenomena. However, the case rules developed here handle this and other recalcitrant data.

In sum, a Relational approach provides an insightful treatment of Korean MNCs. The concepts and constructs used here --- syntactic levels, the chômeur relation, the notion of overrun --- thus find empirical support in the Korean data.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTATIONAL DEVICES

The following abbreviations and notational devices are

used in the glosses of the Korean data.

Abbreviations:

ACC	Accusative
cmp	complementizer
COM	Comitative
cs	causative
DAT	Dative
GEN	Genitive
HON	honorific
ind	indicative
INSTR	Instrumental
lnk	linker
LDC	Locative
mod	modality
neg	negative
NOM	Nominative
pas	passive
pl	plural
pres	present
rel	relativizer
SH	subject honorification
SQR	Source
TOP	Topic

Notational Devices:

- i) An asterisk * in front of a sentence shows that the sentence is ungrammatical to native speakers.
- ii) A per cent% in front of a sentence indicates the disagreement in grammaticality judgment of the sentence among native speakers; i.e. a case where some speakers accept it and some reject it.
- iii) Elements which may be present optionally are given in parentheses. (X) indicates that the form is grammatical whether or not X is present; and (±X) indicates that the form is grammatical only if X is not present.

iv) An English translation which is included within a set of parentheses, e.g. (.....), shows that the Korean example is ungrammatical for this particular interpretation.

v) When there is no direct English translation for the Korean Examples offered, a free translation is given. Free translations are marked with a set of single quotation marks enclosed within a set of parentheses, e.g. ('.....').

BUFFALO ROMANIZATION SYSTEM

The Buffalo system of Romanization is used in transliterating Korean data. The table below gives the Hankzi character and its phonemic equivalent to the Buffalo symbol. The Yale Romanization symbol, which may be more familiar to the reader, is also included.

ㄷ	yey	yey	/ye/	ㄷ	l	l	/l/
ㅌ	wa	wa	/wa/	ㅌ	m	m	/m/
ㅍ	we	we	/wə/	ㅍ	h	h	/h/
ㅑ	wi	wi	/wi/	ㅇ	ng	ng	/y/
ㅓ	wae	wae	/wəɛ/				
ㅕ	wey	wey	/wə/				

Vowels:

Hankzi Buffalo Yale Phonemic		Hankzi Buffalo Yale Phonemic			
ㅏ	a	/a/	ㅏ	k	/k/
ㅓ	e	/ə/	ㅋ	kh	/kʰ/
ㅗ	o	/o/	ㆁ	kk	/kʰ/
ㅜ	wu	/u/	ㅌ	t	/t/
ㅛ	u	/ɛ/	ㅍ	th	/tʰ/
ㅝ	i	/i/	ㅊ	tt	/tʰ/
ㅙ	ya	/ya/	ㅍ	p	/p/
ㅛ	ye	/yə/	ㅍ	ph	/pʰ/
ㅜ	yo	/yo/	ㅍ	pp	/pʰ/
ㅠ	yu	/yu/	ㅍ	c	/ɕ/
ㅞ	ae	/ə/	ㅍ	ch	/tʰ/
ㅟ	ey	/e/	ㅍ	cc	/ɕʰ/
ㅠ	oy	/ø/	ㅍ	s	/s/
ㅡ	ty	/ty/	ㅍ	ss	/sʰ/
ㅝ	yaa	/yə/	ㄴ	n	/n/

Consonants:

Introduction

Li and Thompson's (1976) typological studies show that one salient feature of topic-prominent languages like Chinese or languages like Korean and Japanese which show characteristics of both subject-prominent and topic-prominent languages is the pervasiveness of so-called "double subject" constructions exemplified as in (1).

- (1) Suni-ka nun-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-NOM eye-NOM pretty-ind
'Soonie's eyes are pretty.'

One striking characteristic of these constructions is that they involve two or more nominative-marked nominals within a clause (n.b. ka and i are allomorphs of the nominative case). Thus, they are frequently referred to as multiple nominative constructions (MNCs); on the other hand, they have also been analyzed by some scholars as multiple subject constructions (MSCs).

How to characterize these constructions is one of the most controversial and long-standing issues in Korean linguistics and, for that matter, Japanese and Chinese linguistics. They raise several questions of theoretical importance:

- i) Do such constructions actually involve more than one subject nominal, or do they have only a single subject?
- ii) If the nominative-marked nominals are not subjects, what grammatical relation do they bear?

iii) How is each nominal in these constructions assigned case?

The goal of this study is to give a syntactic analysis of Korean MNCs within Relational Grammar (RG) which provides answers to these questions. The study provides evidence that they are not MSCs as many previous studies claim but rather MNCs involving a single subject.

0.1 Focus of the Study

Ten types of MNCs in Korean can be distinguished based upon an analysis of the relational properties of the nominals involved.

i) Possessor Ascension MNCs

- (2) Suni-ka nun-i khit-ta.
S.-NOM eye-NOM big-ind
'Soonie's eyes are big.'

ii) Focus MNCs

- (3) Chelsu-ka tongsaeang-i cuk-ess-ta.
C.-NOM brother-NOM die-pst-ind
'Chulsoc's brother died.'

iii) Advancement to 1 MNCs

- (4) Semyukongcang-i pul-i na-es-ta.
textile factory-NOM fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the textile factory.'

iv) Psych MNCs

- (5) Suni-ka emeni-ka kili-wess-ta.
S.-NOM mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
'Soonie missed Mother.'

v) Quantifier MNCs

- (6) Dyukukin-tl-i says-i hakkyo-ey o-ass-ta.
 foreigner-pl-NOM 3-NOM school-to come-pst-ind
 'Three foreigners came to school.'

vi) Predicate Nominal MNCs

- (7) Chelsu-ka tya-ka toy-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM doctor-NOM become-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo became a doctor.'

vii) Base-generated Focus MNCs

- (8) Pihangki-ka 747-i khj-ta.
 airplane-NOM 747-NOM big-ind
 'Among airplanes, the 747 is big.'

viii) Passive MNCs

- (9) Chelsu-ka senul-i cu-eci-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM present-NOM give-pas-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo was given a present.'

ix) Causative MNCs

- (10) Chelsu-ka Suni-ka ul-key ha-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-NOM cry-cap do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo made Suni cry.'

x) Tough Construction MNCs

- (11) Yekasosel-i ilk-ki-ka swip-ta.
 historical novel-NOM read-rov-NOM easy-ind
 'It is easy to read historical novels.'

The focus of this study will be on the first four types of MNCs. Despite the fact that a vast amount of research has been done on these construction types, no consensus has been reached as to their characterization. Some of the construction types not discussed in this study have received treatment elsewhere within the framework of RB (e.g. Causative MNCs

(Gerdts 1986), Quantifier MNCs (Gerdts 1985, Choi 1986), Tough

Construction MNCs (Gerdts and Youn 1987)), and some of them (e.g. Passive MNCs and Tough Construction MNCs) are shown to be the subtypes of the four construction types that are the core of this work.

0.2 Review of Previous Studies

A number of approaches and proposals have been made for both the syntactic and the semantic/pragmatic structures of the above constructions. Two recurring controversies surround these MNCs. The first is whether or not they are "derived" from the corresponding single nominative constructions. The second is whether or not the first NP is a subject. A brief review of various proposals which have been made for MNCs like (1) -- referred to here as Possessor Ascension MNCs -- will serve to illustrate the diversity of treatments that have been suggested for the analysis of MNCs.

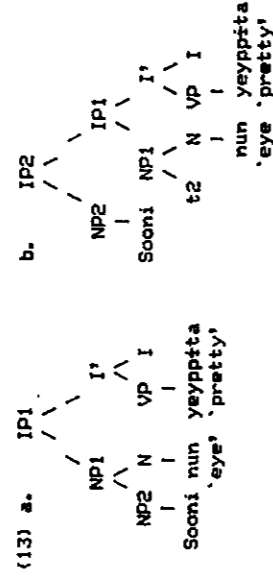
0.2.1 Syntactic Approaches to Possessor Ascension MNCs

Syntactic approaches to MNCs like (1) may be divided into two major classes: "movement" and "no movement" analyses. For example, linguists such as Song (1967), Kuno (1973), Y. Kim (1978), Choe (1986), Kang (1986), etc. claim that MNCs like (1) in Korean and Japanese are derived from the corresponding single nominative constructions where the first NP stands in a possessor relation to the second NP as in (12).

- (12) Suni-ty nun-i yeyppi-ta.
 S.-GEN eye-NOM pretty-ind
 'Soonie's eyes are pretty.'

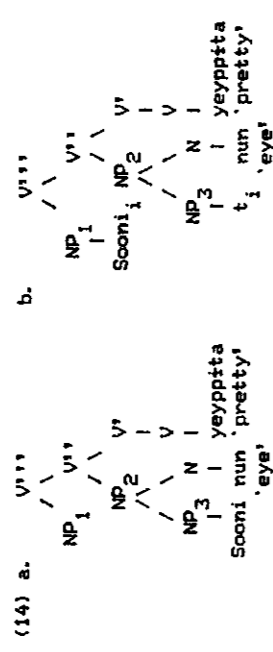
Song (1967), Kuno (1973), and Y. Kim (1978) interpret sentences like (1) as double or multiple subject constructions, claiming that the first NP is derived from the possessive construction in (12) by a transformation.

Choe (1986), who also claims that sentences like (1) are related to the corresponding possessive constructions like (12), proposes an adjunction analysis: only the rightmost NP is a grammatical subject; the leftmost NP is adjoined as a sister to the IP, an A' position which Choe refers to as having a "quasi-subject" relation to the IP. This structure is shown below in (13).



Kang (1986) also adheres to the view that sentences like (1) are derived from their possessive counterparts. However, he rejects Choe's adjunction approach, maintaining that an adjunction process itself is *ad hoc* in that it has no analogue elsewhere in Korean syntax (cf. Kang (1985)). Kang proposes that V is the head of S, and claims that the first NP is a subject since it is an argument predicated by a projection of

V. Thus, under his analysis, sentences like (1) are multiple subject constructions. (1) is derived from (14a) via Subjectivization which moves the first NP into an A position which is empty in D-structure:



The movement/adjunction analysis, however, is rejected by B. Park (1973, 1982), Teng (1974), Shibatani and Cotton (1977), Saito (1985), and Yim (1985), among others. Shibatani and Cotton (1977) (cf. Shibatani (1976)), for example, claim that movement is not involved in MNCs like (1) since the first NPs in MNCs like (1) and their corresponding possessive constructions behave differently in certain syntactic processes (e.g. subject honorification and reflexivization) that refer only to subject. They conclude that only the second NP in sentences like (1) is a subject, and that the first NP is a base-generated focus which yields an exhaustive-listing reading.

B. Park (1982) also argues that MNCs like (1) cannot be related to the corresponding possessive constructions. His claim is that the two construction types show meaning differ-

ences in the interpretation of sentential idioms or sentences involving coreferential constituent deletion (cf. B. Park (1982:650-651)). He treats sentences like (1) as double subject constructions in which the first NP is the subject of the whole sentence and the sub-sentence (i.e. the second NP and a verb following it) is the predicate of the whole sentence.

Saito's (1985) analysis of sentences like (1) is basically the same as Shibatani and Cotton's and Park's proposals. He claims that the first NP is a base-generated "major subject", which is a non-argument with nominative case, and that an "aboutness" relation holds between the first NP and the rest of the sentence.

Yim (1985) agrees that sentences like (1) are MSCs. However, he rejects the above-mentioned proposals on both syntactic and semantic grounds. He says that Park's sentential predicate analysis fails to offer a syntax-based case assignment theory for these constructions; in addition, Saito's "aboutness" relation requirement for being a predicate is too vague since no independent tests for "aboutness" are given.

0.2.2 Semantic/Pragmatic Approaches to Possessor Ascension MNCs

Besides the syntactic studies, many semantic and/or pragmatic accounts have been given for MNCs like (1). Linguists like Im (1972, 1974) and Shin (1975) maintain that the morpheme *l/ka* functions as a subject or topic marker and that MNCs are topic plus subject constructions or double topic con-

structions. Im's claim is that while NP-*nin* topics have the connotation of contrastiveness, NP-*ka* topics always receive the exclusive (i.e. exhaustive-listing) interpretation. Moreover, NP-*ka* topicalization is possible only when the predicate represents a stable state. Under his analysis, sentences like (1) result from *ka*-topicalization of the genitive-marked nominals.

Li and Thompson (1976), approaching the issue from a typological perspective, suggest that MNCs in characteristically SOV languages as Korean and Japanese should be viewed as topic-comment constructions. Under their proposal, the first NP of sentences like (1) is a topic and the rest of the sentences is a comment.

Sohn (1981) proposes that topic in Korean be redefined in terms of sentence structure, claiming that topic may be defined as an S-dominated NP and the S or VP following an NP is the comment of that NP. In his sense of the term 'topic,' every sentence is viewed as a topic-comment construction; MNCs like (1) are double topic constructions.

Approaching the problem from a different perspective, Yang (1972) proposes a macro-micro analysis for the phenomenon of Korean MNCs. According to his definition, the macro-micro relation refers to a relation in which an NP is conceptually divided into the whole NP itself and a subpart of it. Thus in (1), the leftmost NP is the macro-subject, while

the rightmost NP is the micro-subject. A problem for Yang's analysis, as pointed out in Im (1974), is that he characterizes all MNCs using the semantic mechanism of the macro-micro relation. While there may be semantic justification for approaching MNCs like (1) in this fashion, this approach does not extend in a natural way to other MNCs.

0.2.3 Summary: Approaches to Possessor Ascension MNCs

The previous studies reviewed thus far are summarized in the chart in (15).

(15)	Lg	Type of Construction	NP ₁	NP ₂	Derivation of NP ₁	Case Assign. of NP ₁	marking rule
Song(67)	K	MSC	S	S	transform.	case-	marking rule
Kuno(73)	J	MSC	S	S	Subjectiv-ization	case-	marking rule
Kim(78)	K	MSC	S	S	transform.	-	-
Choe(86)	K	MSC	quasi-gram.-S	gram.-S	adjunction	IAP	IAP
Kang(85)(86)	K	MSC	S	S	Subjectiv-ization	case-	marking rule
Park(73)(82)	K	MSC	S	S	base-gen.	-	-
Teng(74)	C	MSC	S	S	base-gen.	-	-
S & C(77)	J	MNC	F	S	base-gen.	-	-
Saito(85)	J	MSC	S	S	base-gen.	-	-

Yim(85)	K	MSC	S	S	base-gen.	X-bar Trans- parency
Yang(72)	K	m.c	macro- S	micro- S	macro-micro relation	Subjectiv- ization
Im(72)(74)	K	MNC	T	S	topical- ization	NP-ka Topi- calization
Shin(75)	K	MNC	T	C	-	-
Li & T (75)	CKJ etc.	T-C	T	-	-	-
Sohn(81)	K	MTC	T	T	base-gen.	-

Note: MSC=double or multiple subject constructions S=subject
 MNC=multiple nominative constructions T=topic
 MTC=multiple topic constructions F=focus
 T-C=topic-comment constructions D=complement
 m.c=multiplication of case

0.3 Multiple Nominative Constructions in Relational Grammar

As the chart in (15) shows, previous syntactic studies (except for Shibatani and Cotton's (1977)) claim that clauses like (1) above are MSCs. From an RG viewpoint, however, an analysis involving multiple subjects would provide a serious challenge to the universality of the Stratal-Uniqueness Law, which limits the number of subjects in a clause to one per level (cf. Chapter 1). Therefore, the analysis of Korean MNCs has theoretical implications for the theory of RG, and this is another concern of the present study, beyond the simple descriptive goal.

A relational approach to the issue has revealed that the two nominals in clauses like (1) behave differently with

respect to several syntactic phenomena which make crucial reference to subjecthood. One nominal behaves like a subject, while the other nominal does not, with respect to some syntactic processes (cf. Chapter 2). Thus, it is clear that clauses like (1) are not MSCs but rather MNCs; hence these constructions are in no way inconsistent with the Stratal Uniqueness Law. Similar results are found with MNCs like those in (3-5) (cf. Chapters 2, 3 and 4).

Once the nature of the grammatical relations of the nominals of MNCs is established, a final problem arises: How can we account for multiple nominative case in a manner consistent with a relational approach? This study presents a relational treatment of Korean case which is applied to MNCs (cf. Chapter 5).

Korean Subjects

The main purpose of this study is to give a syntactic characterization of Korean multiple nominative constructions within the framework of Relational Grammar. The bulk of this study is therefore devoted to the discussion of the relational properties of nominals bearing nominative case in these construction types. In order to provide a basis for examining the relational diagnostics of a nominal, this chapter offers tests for subjecthood in Korean by making use of notions available in Relational Grammar. Section 1.1 presents a brief introduction of the basic notions of Relational Grammar. Section 1.2 provides relational diagnostics for subjecthood which are utilized in subsequent chapters. Section 1.3 is a summary of the diagnostics presented in Section 1.2.

1.1 Some Basic Notions of Relational Grammar

This section gives a brief overview of the basic notions

of Relational Grammar (RG) needed to establish the relational diagnostics for Korean subjecthood and comprehend the analyses presented in subsequent chapters. For a more thorough discussion and justification of these notions, the reader should consult Perlmutter (1980, 1982) and Perlmutter and Postal (1977, 1983).

RG differs from other syntactic frameworks in that, in RG, i) grammatical relations are taken as primitives of syntactic theory, and ii) syntactic levels are posited in the syntactic representations. Thus the following information is needed in RG for the syntactic characterization of a clause.

- (1) a. the grammatical relations that nominals bear to clauses
- b. the levels at which nominals bear grammatical relations to clauses

This information is represented in RG by means of a relational network (see below).

1.1.1 Grammatical Relations

RG posits a large inventory of undefined grammatical relations (GRs). Among the GRs used in RG are: predicate(P), subject(1), direct object(2), indirect object(3), oblique (Ob1) [locative(Loc), benefactive(Ben), instrumental(Instr), etc.], and chômeur(Cho).

The nominal GRs are organized into classes. The term relations are subject(1), direct object(2), and indirect object(3); the non-term relations are oblique and chômeur. The term relations are categorized into two partially overlapping subsets: the nuclear term relations (1 and 2) and the object relations (2 and 3). The foregoing comprise the central relations. In addition to the central relations, there is a class of overlay relations such as "Q," "Rel," "Top" and others.

The notion of the chômeur relation is one of the major contributions of RG to linguistic theory. The chômeur relation (from the French 'unemployed') is the relation borne by a nominal whose previous relation has been taken over by some other nominal. More precisely, if a nominal Na bears a given term relation at the c_i level, and some other nominal Nb bears the same term relation at the c_{i+1} level, then Na bears the chômeur relation at the c_{i+1} level. A nominal that bears the 1-relation at the level before it bears the chômeur relation and can be called a '1-chômeur,' one that bears the 2-relation at the level before it assumes the chômeur relation can be called a '2-chômeur,' and one that bears the 3-relation at the level before it assumes the chômeur relation can be called a '3-chômeur.'

The nominal clausal GRs are also conceived of as being organized hierarchically as follows:

(2) 1 > 2 > 3) non-terms

The empirical basis of this hierarchy derives from the support that has been amassed from a wide range of claims involving relative clauses, correlative control, quantifier float, raising, causative clause union and many other phenomena.

The GR held by a nominal before that relation changes in the clause is called its 'initial GR.' Although it has not been entirely justified empirically what properties would

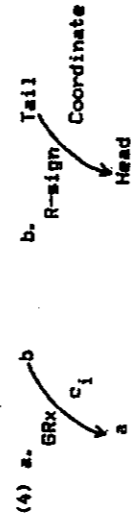
determine the assignment of GRs at the initial level, Perleutter and Postal (1977:402) claim that "the assignment of GRs at the initial level is universally determined by principles referring to the semantic role of the nominal. Thus, as traditionally recognized, agent nominals are initially is (although, of course, not all is represent agents), patients 2s, etc.."

1.1.2 Relational Networks

As previously stated, RG represents clause structure by means of relational networks (RNs). An RN involves three types of primitives:

- (3) a. a set of nodes representing linguistic elements
- b. a set of relational signs, which are the names of the grammatical relations that elements bear to other elements
- c. a set of coordinates, which indicate the level at which the elements bear grammatical relations to other elements

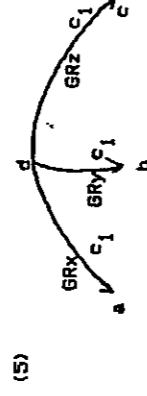
This information, that a given element bears a certain GR to another element at a certain level, can be formally represented as an arc, as in (4).



The interpretation of (4a) is that element a bears the rela-

tion GRx to element b at the c_i level. There are four pieces of information in an arc, as shown in (4b). Element a is called the head of the arc, and element b the tail. The R-sign (GRx) is the name of the GRs and the coordinate (c_i) identifies the level of structure at which the relation holds. Thus, if GRx is 1 and c_i is c_i , then the arc indicates that a bears the subject relation to b at the first level of b.

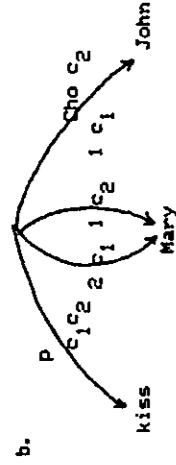
A full RN is a set of arcs meeting certain conditions. A clause d with three elements (a,b,c) bearing GRs (x,y,z respectively) at the c_i level can be represented by the following RN.



An RN ignores such things as tense, aspect, case marking, and the linear order of elements. If properly indexed, the arcs could be displayed in any sort of array and they would still represent the same RN.

In some grammatical constructions, a nominal bears different relations at different levels of the same clause. In passive clauses, for example, a nominal bearing the 2-relation at the c_i level, at which there is also a nominal bearing the i-relation, bears the i-relation at the c_{i+1} level. Consider the following passive and its RN.

(6) a. Mary was kissed by John.



As can be observed in (6b), (6a) has two levels of structure.

Mary heads a 2-arc at the c_1 level and a 1-arc at the c_2 level. Similarly, John heads a 1-arc at the c_1 level and a Cho arc at the c_2 level. However, since the framework of RB is not derivational, passive RNs like (6b) are not formed by the application of some rule of passivization to active RNs, nor are they obtained by the addition of levels to active RNs. Both the active and the passive RNs exist independently as well-formed RNs.

The notion of level can be restated in terms of the notion 'stratum.' A stratum consists of all arcs with a given node as tail which share a coordinate. Thus, in the first or c_1 stratum of (6a), kiss heads a P-arc, John heads a 1-arc, and Mary heads a 2-arc. In the second or c_2 stratum of (6b), kiss heads a P-arc, Mary heads a 1-arc, and John heads a Cho arc.

Perlmutter (1982:288) defines the notions of 'initial stratum' and 'final stratum' as follows:

- (7) a. A stratum S is the initial stratum of b if and only if S is the c_1 stratum of b.
 b. A stratum S is the final stratum of b if and only if S is the c_k stratum of b and there is no c_{k+1} stratum of b.

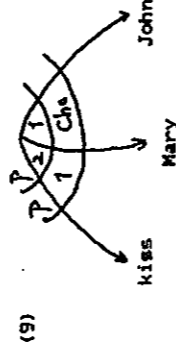
According to these definitions, in (6b), coordinate c_1 is the initial stratum and coordinate c_2 is the final stratum.

Perlmutter (1982:290,292) also defines the notions of 'final i' and 'initial i' in terms of initial stratum and final stratum as defined in (7a,b):

- (8) a. A nominal is a final i of b if and only if it heads a final-stratum 1-arc with tail b.
 b. A nominal is an initial i of b if and only if it heads an initial-stratum 1-arc with tail b.

The notions of initial and final i are needed to define the different notions of subject and to state rules and generalizations in the grammars of natural languages.

Since RNs with several levels are hard to read, they are often represented in the form of stratal diagrams, which make each stratum stand out more clearly. The stratal diagram equivalent to (6b) is given in (9).



Each stratum is represented by a horizontal row, and the GR borne by an element at each stratum is represented by a cell. In (9), the initial 2 Mary advances to 1, placing the initial 1 John en chômage. The predicate kiss heads a P-arc in both strata.

1.1.3 Some Laws in Relational Grammar

Perlmutter and Postal (1977, 1983, 1984) have proposed a number of laws (i.e. well-formedness conditions on RNs) stated in terms of grammatical relations. The following are some of the proposed universal laws governing the form of one-clause RNs. All of them are restated in an informal way for the sake of brevity.

- (10) a. The Stratal Uniqueness Law: No two nominals can bear the same term relation in the same stratum.
- b. The Motivated Chômeage Law: A nominal Na can bear the chômeur relation only in constructions in which some other nominal Nb assumes Na's relation.
- c. The Final 1 Law: Every basic clause must have a 1-arc in the final stratum.
- d. The Oblique Law: If a nominal bears a given oblique relation to a clause, it does so in the initial stratum.
- e. The i-Advancement Exclusiveness Law: No clause can contain more than one advancement to i.

The above do not exhaust the notions and laws that have been proposed by Perlmutter and Postal. Other notions and

laws will be referred to in this study, and these will be introduced as they become relevant to the discussion.

1.2 Relational Diagnostics for Korean Subjecthood

This section presents several syntactic phenomena of Korean which make crucial reference to subjecthood, identifies the relational conditions which govern them, and establishes those conditions as diagnostics for subjecthood. However, some of the conditions formulated in this section will be revised in Chapter 3.

1.2.1 Subject Honorification

Korean has grammatical means referred to as honorification for expressing the speaker's deference toward the person referred to or being addressed. One way of expressing deference is to suffix the honorific morpheme gi to the predicate stem and substitute the honorific nominative marker kkayssa for the plain nominative case form ka/i, as shown in (11) below.¹

- (11) a. Suni-ka phyenci-l*l*i ssi-n-ta.
S.-NOM letter-ACC write-pres-ind
'Soon-i writes/is writing a letter.'
- b. Samsaengni-a-kkayssa phyenci-l*l*i ssi-si-n-ta.
teacher+HON-NOM(HON) letter-ACC write-SH-pres-ind
'The teacher writes/is writing a letter.'

In honorific sentences like (11b), the plain nominative case form ka/i can be used instead of the honorific form kkayssa if

the honorific personal marker *ni*, which generally represents an honorific title, is affixed to the nominal referring to a person of high status:

- (12) a. *Sensaengni-e-kkeyse phyenci-lil ssi-si-n-ta.*
 teacher+HON-NOM(HON) letter-ACC write-SH-pres-ind
 b. *Sensaengni-i phyenci-lil ssi-si-n-ta.*
 teacher+HON-NOM letter-ACC write-SH-pres-ind

In addition to these devices, the speaker shows deference by substituting honorific forms for plain nouns or verbs if the plain forms have honorific counterparts. This can be seen in the contrast between (13a) and (13b):

- (13) a. *Cheisu-ka pap-il mek-nin-ta.*
 C.-NOM meal-ACC eat-pres-ind
 'Chulsoo is having his meal.'
 b. *Apenim-kkeyse cinci-lil*
 father+HON-NOM(HON) meal(HON)-ACC
 capsu-si-n-ta.
 eat(HON)-SH-pres-ind
 'Father is having his meal.'

The use of the verbal suffix *si* has traditionally been called Subject Honorification (SH). Many grammarians have noted that the controller of SH must be "the subject of a sentence." Thus, in a monostratal clause, a nominal which is both the initial and final I can control SH if that nominal is honorable.

- (14) *Halapeci-kkeyse o-si-ess-ta.*
 grandfather-NOM(HON) come-SH-pst-ind
 'Grandfather came.'

- (15) *Epenim-kkeyse Suni-lil manna-si-ess-ta.*
 mother+HON-NOM(HON) S.-ACC meet-SH-pst-ind
 'Mother met Sooni.'

However, neither a 2 nor a 3 can control SH:

- (16) *Suni-ka sensaengnim-il manna-(*si)-ess-ta.*
 S.-NOM teacher+HON-ACC meet-(SH)-pst-ind
 'Sooni met the teacher.'
 (17) *Suni-ka epenim-eykey yenge-lil kalitchi-(*si)-ess-ta.*
 S.-NOM mother+HON-DAT English-ACC teach-(SH)-pst-ind
 'Sooni taught English to Mother.'

In a passive clause, only a final I (i.e. the 2-1 advancee) can control SH:

- (18) *Sensaengnim-i haksaeng-tzil-ey iyhae*
 teacher+HON-NOM student-pl-by
kalomak-aci-si-ess-ta.
 hinder-pas-SH-pst-ind
 'The teacher was hindered by the students.'
 (19) *Apenim-i sunkyeng-eykey cap-hi-si-ess-ta.*
 father+HON-NOM policeman-by catch-pas-SH-pst-ind
 'Father was caught by a policeman.'
 (20) *Sensaengnim-i haksaeng-tzil-ey iyhae*
 teacher+HON-NOM student-pl-by
kuco-toy-si-ess-ta.
 rescue-pas-SH-pst-ind
 'The teacher was rescued by the students.'

It is not possible to attribute the control of SH to the agent. Examples like those in (21-23) show that a I-chômeur, even if it refers to an agent, cannot control SH.

- (21) *Cheisu-ka sensaengnim-ey iyhae*
 C.-NOM teacher+HON-by
*kalomak-aci-(*si)-ess-ta.*
 hinder-pas-(SH)-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo was hindered by the teacher.'

- (22) Yongsu-ka senseaengnim-eykey cap-hi-(*)si)-ess-ta.
 Y.-NOM teacher+HON-by catch-pas-(SH)-pst-ind
 'Yongsu was caught by the teacher.'
- (23) Suni-ka senseaengnim-ey iyhae kuco-toy-(*)si)-ess-ta.
 S.-NOM teacher+HON-by rescue-pas-(SH)-pst-ind
 'Soonie was rescued by the teacher.'

Thus, the condition on controllers of SH can be formulated in terms of final *i*.²

- (24) Subject Honorification Condition (tentative formulation)

A final *i* can control SH.

1.2.2 The Reflexive *casin*

Korean has several reflexive anaphors, such as *casin*, *casin*, *casin*, *casin*, *casin*, etc., which take their reference from some antecedent in the sentence. Among these forms, *casin* and *casin* are the most commonly used reflexive pronouns.³

The reflexives *casin* and *casin* show similar syntactic behavior with respect to some basic conditions on Korean reflexivization: i) they do not require a clausemate antecedent, and ii) their antecedent must be an animate noun. Despite these similarities, there are differences between the two reflexives. One noticeable difference is that *casin* is used for all persons with a human referent, while *casin* can only refer back to the 3rd person animate nominals:

- (25) a. Nae-ka casin/*caki-tl piphanha-ess-ta.
 I-NOM self-ACC criticize-pst-ind
 'I criticized myself.'
- b. Nae-ka casin/*caki-ty calmos-tl kkaest-al-ass-ta.
 I-NOM self-GEN mistake-ACC find out-pst-ind
 'I discovered self's_i mistake.'
- (26) a. Nae-ka casin/*caki-tl al-aya ha-n-ta.
 you-NOM self-ACC be aware-mod-pres-ind
 'You_i must be aware of self_i.'
- b. Nae-ka casin/*caki-ty caeming-tl
 you-NOM self-GEN talent-ACC
 kwataephyengkaha-ess-ta.
 overestimate-pst-ind
 'You_i overestimated self's_i talent.'
- (27) a. Chelsu-ka casin/caki-tl hoksaha-n-ta.
 C.-NOM self-ACC abuse-pres-ind
 'Chuisoo_i abuses self_i.'
- b. Chelsu-ka casin/caki-ty kyalsaesak-tl
 C.-NOM self-GEN innocence-ACC
 ipcingha-ess-ta.
 prove-pst-ind
 'Chuisoo_i proved self's_i innocence.'

Another important difference is that *casin* has a strict subject-antecedent condition, while *casin* can be construed with non-subject nominals.⁴ Consider, for example, the following pairs of clauses:

- (28) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-lil casin-ty cip sph-ayse
 C.-NOM S.-ACC self-GEN house front-in
 manna-ss-ta.
 meet-pst-ind
 'Chuisoo_i met Soonie_j in front of self's_i/s_j
 house.'
- b. Chelsu-ka Suni-lil caki-ty cip sph-ayse
 C.-NOM S.-ACC self-GEN house front-in
 manna-ss-ta.
 meet-pst-ind
 'Chuisoo_i met Soonie_j in front of self's_i/s_j house.'

- (29) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-l*l*l Yengsu-eykey casin-ty
 C.-NOM S.-ACC Y.-DAT self-GEN
 samusil-eyse sokaaha-ess-ta.
 office-in introduce-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i introduced Sooni_j to Youngsoo_k in
 self's_i/_j/_k office.'
- b. Chelsu-ka Suni-l*l*l Yengsu-eykey caki-ty
 C.-NOM S.-ACC Y.-DAT self-GEN
 samusil-eyse sokaaha-ess-ta.
 office-in introduce-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i introduced Sooni_j to Youngsoo_k in
 self's_i/_j/_k office.'

As the English glosses indicate, in (28a-29a) *casin* is uniquely interpreted as coreferential with *Chulsoo*, the subject of the sentences. However, (28b-29b) are ambiguous: in (28b) *caki* refers either to *Chulsoo* or to *Sooni* and in (29b) either to *Chulsoo*, to *Sooni*, or even to *Youngsoo*. Thus the above examples confirm that the antecedent of *casin* must be the subject of a sentence, while *caki* can be construed with nominals other than the subject, and they further tell that the Korean anaphora *casin* and *caki* are insensitive to the command-type relations which constrain their English counterparts. Here I show how this subject-antecedent condition of *casin* can be stated in terms of grammatical relations and syntactic levels as provided in RG.

As we have seen above, the monostratal *i* can antecede the reflexive *casin*:

- (30) Chelsu-ka casin-ty kohyang-*l*io tolaka-ss-ta.
 C.-NOM self-GEN hometown-to go back-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i went back to self's_i hometown.'

- (31) Suni-ka casin-ty tongsaeng-ey taehae iyakiha-ess-ta.
 S.-NOM self-GEN sister-about talk-pst-ind
 'Sooni_i talked about self's_i sister.'

Neither a 2 nor a 3 can be the antecedent of *casin*:

- (32) Chelsu-ka Yengsu-*l*l*l* casin-ty pang-ey katu-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM Y.-ACC self-GEN room-in lock-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i locked Youngsoo_j in self's_i/_j room.'
- (33) Chelsu-ka Suni-eykey casin-ty sacin-*l*l cu-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-DAT self-GEN picture-ACC give-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i gave a picture of self's_i/_j to Sooni.'

In a passive clause, the 2-1 advance can antecede the reflexive *casin*. Observe the passive counterparts of (34a-36a):

- (34) a. Chelsu-ka Yengsu-*l*l*l* casin-ty kohyang-eyse
 C.-NOM Y.-ACC self-GEN hometown-in
 puthcap-ess-ta.
 arrest-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i arrested Youngsoo_j in self's_i/_j
 hometown.'
- b. Yengsu-ka Chelsu-eykey casin-ty kohyang-eyse
 Y.-NOM C.-by self-GEN hometown-in
 puthcap-*hi*-ess-ta.
 arrest-pas-pst-ind
 'Youngsoo_j was arrested by Chulsoo_i in self's_i/_j
 hometown.'
- (35) a. Chelsu-ka Yengsu-*l*l*l* casin-ty pang-ey
 C.-NOM Y.-ACC self-GEN room-in
 katu-ess-ta.
 lock-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i locked Youngsoo_j in self's_i/_j room.'
- b. Yengsu-ka Chelsu-ey tyhae casin-ty pang-ey
 Y.-NOM C.-by self-GEN room-in
 katu-*aci*-ess-ta.
 lock-pas-pst-ind
 'Youngsoo_j was locked by Chulsoo_i in
 self's_i/_j room.'

- (36) a. Chelsu-ka Yengsu-lil casin-ty cip-eyse
 C.-NOM Y.-ACC self-GEN home-in
 salnaeha-ess-ta.
 kill-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i killed Youngsoo_j in self's_i/_j home.'
- b. Yengsu-ka Chelsu-ey tyhae casin-ty cip-eyse
 Y.-NOM C.-by self-GEN home-in
 salhae-toy-ess-ta.
 kill-pas-pst-ind
 'Youngsoo_i was killed by Chulsoo_j in self's_i/_j
 home.'

Given only the above data, the condition on antecedents of *Sasin* could be formulated in terms of final 1 or working 1 (i.e. a nominal which heads a 1-arc in some stratum and a term arc in the final stratum; see Section 4.4.1). However, as shown in (37-38), the 1-chômeur in a passive clause can also serve as antecedent of *Sasin* if the referent of the final subject is inanimate.

- (37) a. Chelsu-ka kt kilim-il casin-ty secae-eyse
 C.-NOM the picture-ACC self-GEN study-in
 paint-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i painted the picture in self's_i study.'
- b. Kt kilim-i Chelsu-ey tyhae casin-ty
 the picture-NOM C.-by self-GEN
 secae-eyse kilim-eci-ess-ta.
 study-in paint-pas-pst-ind
 'The picture was painted by Chulsoo_i in self's_i
 study.'
- (38) a. Chelsu-ka kt chaek-il casin-ty hoysa-eyse
 C.-NOM the book-ACC self-GEN company-in
 chulphanha-ess-ta.
 publish-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i published the book with self's_i
 company.'

- b. Kt chaek-i Chelsu-ey tyhae casin-ty
 the book-NOM C.-by self-GEN
 hoysa-eyse chulphan-toy-ess-ta.
 company-in publish-pas-pst-ind
 'The book was published by Chulsoo_i with
 self's_i company.'

Examples (37-38) show that the antecedence condition of *Sasin* cannot be formulated in terms of working 1. However, it does not follow from (37-38) that only an agent can antecede the reflexive *Sasin*, since dative-marked experiencers or cognizers are also potential antecedents of *Sasin* (cf. Chapter 4).

- (39) Chelsu-eykey(nin) ton-i casin-ty
 C.-DAT(TOP) money-NOM self-GEN
 atti-il wihaese philyoha-ta.
 son-for need-ind
 'Chulsoo_i needs money for self's_i son.'
- (40) Suni-eykey(nin) casin-ty ttal-i
 S.-DAT(TOP) self-GEN daughter-NOM
 kilim-wess-ta.
 miss-pst-ind
 'Booni_i missed self's_i daughter.'

Youn (1986) claims that the dative-marked experiencers in clauses like (39-40) above are inversion nominals which head a 1-arc in one stratum and a 3-arc in the following stratum and that the ability of dative-marked experiencers to antecede the reflexive *Sasin* shows that they head a 1-arc in some stratum. Chapter 4 deals with the so-called inversion constructions in Korean, discussing whether these dative-marked experiencers are initial 1s which retreat to 3 or initial 3s which advance to 1. However, under either analysis, the ability of these

dative nominals to antecede the reflexive *CSsio* may be ascribed to their I-hood in some stratum. A formulation of the condition on antecedents of the reflexive *CSsio* is given here.

(41) Reflexive Antecedence Condition

A metastratal I can antecede the reflexive *CSsio*.

What condition (41) implies is that a nominal which heads a I-arc in any stratum can antecede the reflexive *CSsio*.

1.2.3 Plural Copying

Korean nouns need not to be marked with respect to number, but a Korean speaker can mark the plurality of nouns by suffixing the plural marker *ti* to the nouns s/he wants to pluralize. However, it is hard to characterize the distribution of the plural marker since it shows great flexibility in its occurrence.

As can be seen in the examples below, the plural marker may inconsistently appear on the nouns it pluralizes.

- (42) a. Haksaeŋ-i manhi o-ass-ta.
 student-NOM in large numbers come-pst-ind
 'Many students came.'
- b. Haksaeŋ-tti-i manhi o-ass-ta.
 student-pl-NOM in large numbers come-pst-ind
 'Many students came.'

In (42b), *haksaeŋ* is marked with the plural suffix *tti*, but in (42a), though it is obvious from the adverbial expression

that *haksaeŋ* is plural, plurality is not overtly marked. Yet (42a) and (42b) are identical in their meaning despite the formal differences. Thus, most traditional grammarians maintain that marking plural nouns is optional in Korean. Song (1975) rejects the traditional belief and claims that marking plural nouns is related with the specificity of reference of nouns; that is, plurality must be marked when the referent of the noun is specific. But it is still not clear what syntactic and semantic factors are responsible for the appearance of the plural marker on the noun being pluralized.

In addition, the plural marker can optionally appear on various categories other than the noun it pluralizes. It can be attached to adverbs, postpositions, complementizers, etc. or it can occur inside *ha*-taking adjectives or between compound verbs. These are illustrated in (43-48).

- (43) Al-tti-i manhi-(tti) o-ass-ta.
 child-pl-NOM in large numbers-(pl) come-pst-ind
 'Many children came.'
- (44) Pang-tti-i acu kkaekis-(tti)-ha-ta.
 room-pl-NOM very clean-(pl)-ind
 'The rooms are very clean.'
- (45) Kkoma-tti-i hakkyo-ey-(tti) ka-n-ta.
 little child-pl-NOM school-to-(pl) go-pres-ind
 'The little children go/are going to school.'
- (46) Haksaeŋ-tti-i Cheisu-iti chencae-lako-(tti) mit-nin-ta.
 student-pl-NOM C.-ACC genius-cap-(pl) believe-pres-ind
 'The students believe Chulsoo to be a genius.'

- (47) Ai-ttɪ-i hakkyo-eyse talli-e-(ttɪ)-o-ass-ta.
child-pl-NOM school-from run-ink-(pl)-come-pst-ind
'The children came running from the school.'
- (48) Salam-ttɪ-i mollie-o-ase-(ttɪ)
person-pl-NOM gather together-link-come-and-(pl)
kɪ pul-tɪ kktess-ta.
the fire-ACC put out-pst-ind
'Groups of people came and put out the fire.'

Interestingly enough, when the plural marker is affixed to these categories, it can appear simultaneously in many different places:

- (49) Ai-ttɪ-i kapcaki-(ttɪ) Chelsu-eykey-lo-(ttɪ)
child-pl-NOM suddenly-(pl) C.-to-toward-(pl)
talli-e-(ttɪ)-o-ase ulke-(ttɪ)-ɪ thettɪi-ess-ta.
run-ink-(pl)-come-and crying-(pl)-ACC burst-pst-ind
'The children suddenly came running toward Chulsoo and burst out crying.'
- (50) Ai-ttɪ-i kanpam-ey-(ttɪ) mul-(ttɪ)-ɪ namu
child-pl-NOM last night-at-(pl) water-(pl)-ACC too
manhi-(ttɪ) masi-teni-(ttɪ) ocum-(ttɪ)-ɪ ssa-as-ta.
much-(pl) drink-and-(pl) urine-(pl)-ACC pass-pst-ind
'The children drank too much water last night and wet their beds.'

Of the two types of plural marking, the optional affixation of the plural marker to various categories, referred to here as Plural Copying (PC), may be utilized as a relational diagnostic. Song (1967, 1975), Y. Kim (1978), and Kuh (1987), among others, claim that, when the plural marker appears on these "unorthodox" categories, it invariably indicates the plurality of subject. Let us see how this subject condition can be stated in terms of syntactic levels.

In a monostratal clause, the nominal which is both the initial and final i can control PC:

- (51) a. Chelsu-ka kɪsai-ey sangtanghi-(ttɪ)
C.-NOM meantime-in considerably-(pl)
khi-ess-ta.
grow-pst-ind
'Chulsoo has grown considerably in the meantime.'
- b. Ai-ttɪ-i kɪsai-ey sangtanghi-(ttɪ)
child-pl-NOM meantime-in considerably-(pl)
khi-ess-ta.
grow-pst-ind
'The children have grown considerably in the meantime.'
- (52) a. Suni-ka kɪ kɪlim-ttɪ-ɪl pyek-ey-(ttɪ)
S.-NOM the picture-pl-NOM wall-on-(pl)
kel-ess-ta.
hang-pst-ind
'Soonie hung the pictures on the wall.'
- b. Haksang-ttɪ-i kɪ kɪlim-ttɪ-ɪl pyek-ey-(ttɪ)
student-pl-NOM the picture-pl-NOM wall-on-(pl)
kel-ess-ta.
hang-pst-ind
'The students hung the pictures on the wall.'
- (53) a. Chelsu-ka kɪ kaci-ttɪ-eykey ton-(ttɪ)-ɪl
C.-NOM the beggar-pl-DAT money-(pl)-ACC
give-pst-ind
'Chulsoo gave money to the beggars.'
- b. Salam-ttɪ-i kɪ kaci-ttɪ-eykey ton-(ttɪ)-ɪl
person-pl-NOM the beggar-pl-DAT money-ACC-(pl)
give-pst-ind
'People gave money to the beggars.'

In a passive clause, only the 2-i advance allows PC:

- (54) a. Chelsu-ka kyengchalse-ey
C.-NOM police station-to
kktɪ-li-e-(ttɪ)-ka-ess-ta.
take-pass-ink-(pl)-go-pst-ind
'Chulsoo was taken to the police station.'

- b. Haksaeŋ-tɕi-i kyengchalse-ey
 student-pl-NOM police station-to
 kɕɕi-li-e-(tɕi)-ka-ss-ta.
 take-pas-lnk-(pl)-go-pst-ind
 'The students were taken to the police station.'
- (55) a. Kɕ kɕim-i pyek-ey-(tɕi) kel-eci-ess-ta.
 the picture-NOM wall-on-(pl) hang-pas-pst-ind
 'The picture was hung on the wall.'
- b. Kɕ kɕim-tɕi-i pyek-ey-(tɕi) kel-eci-ess-ta.
 the picture-pl-NOM wall-on-(pl) hang-pas-pst-ind
 'The pictures were hung on the wall.'

That a final i-chomeur cannot control PC is shown by the examples below.

- (56) a. Chelsu-ka kyengchalse-ey kɕ hyengsa-ey tyhae
 C.-NOM police station-to the investigator-by
 kɕɕi-li-e-(tɕi)-ka-ss-ta.
 take-pas-lnk-(pl)-go-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo was taken to the police station by the investigator.'
- b. Chelsu-ka kyengchalse-ey kɕ
 C.-NOM police station-to the
 hyengsa-tɕi-ey tyhae kɕɕi-li-e-(tɕi)-ka-ss-ta.
 investigator-pl-by take-pas-lnk-(pl)-go-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo was taken to the police station by the investigators.'
- (57) a. Kɕ kɕim-i Suni-ey tyhae pyek-ey-(tɕi)
 the picture-NOM S.-by wall-on-(pl)
 kel-eci-ess-ta.
 hang-pas-pst-ind
 'The picture was hung on the wall by Soonni.'
- b. Kɕ kɕim-i ai-tɕi-ey tyhae pyek-ey-(tɕi)
 the picture-NOM child-pl-by wall-on-(pl)
 kel-eci-ess-ta.
 hang-pas-pst-ind
 'The picture was hung on the wall by the children.'

It can be said then that the following condition holds for PC.⁵

(58) Plural Copying Condition (tentative formulation)

A final i can control Plural Copying.

1.2.4 The MYENSE Construction

The form MYENSE is a conjunctive particle which consists of the conditional form MYEN (=MYEN after consonant bases) and the particle SE. It is normally affixed to the stem form of a predicate, and forms a subordinate clause whose understood subject -- a PRO subject -- is controlled by one of the nominals of the main clause. The English equivalent to MYENSE is 'while doing so-and-so'; whatever action is named in the clause following is done at the same time and by the same person as the MYENSE action. Sometimes, the particle to is added to MYENSE to yield its usual meaning 'although' or 'even,' but MYENSE can mean 'although' without the particle to (cf. Martin and Lee 1969:158). In the following, I show which nominal of the main clause can control a PRO subject in a MYENSE clause.

A nominal that heads a i-arc can control a PRO subject in a MYENSE clause:

- (59) Pap-tɕi mek-tyense-to Chelsu-ka chaek-tɕi ilk-ess-ta.
 meal-ACC eat-though C.-NOM book-ACC read-pst-ind
 'Even though he_i was eating, Chulsoo_i read a book.'

- (60) Haksang-i-myenseto Suni-ka ton-i neso manhi
 student-be-though S.-NOM money-ACC too much
 ssi-n-ta.
 spend-pres-ind
 'Even though she_i is a student, Souni_i spends too
 much money.'

In (59-60), Chulsoo is the 1 of the *MYENSE* clause as well as
 the main clause, but does not appear in the *MYENSE* clause
 because it is an understood subject controlled by the 1 of the
 main clause.

A 2 cannot control a PRO subject in a *MYENSE* clause:

- (61) Haksang-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-i+i
 student-be-though C.-NOM Y.-ACC
 hyencang-eyse cap-ess-ta.
 spot-on arrest-pst-ind
 'Even though he_i was a student, Chulsoo_i arrested
 Youngsoo_j on the spot.'
- (62) Haksang-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-i+i
 student-be-though C.-NOM Y.-ACC
 cihasil-ey katu-ess-ta.
 basement-in lock-pst-ind
 'Even though he_i was a student, Chulsoo_i locked
 Youngsoo_j in a basement.'
- (63) Haksang-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-i+i
 student-be-though C.-NOM Y.-ACC
 mucapihakey salhaeha-ess-ta.
 without mercy kill-pst-ind
 'Even though he_i was a student, Chulsoo_i killed
 Youngsoo_j without mercy.'

In (61-63) only Chulsoo, not Youngsoo, is understood to be a
 student. Thus, the understood subject of the *MYENSE* clause
 cannot be the 2 of the main clause.

A 3 cannot control a PRO subject in a *MYENSE* clause

either:

- (64) Kutusoy-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey
 skinflint-be-though C.-NOM Y.-DAT
 tor-i cu-ess-ta.
 money-ACC give-pst-ind
 'Even though he_i was a skinflint, Chulsoo_i gave
 money to Youngsoo_j.'
- (65) Kkini-i+i kelt-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey
 meal-ACC go without-though C.-NOM Y.-DAT
 hakpi-i+i ponae-ss-ta.
 school expenses-ACC send-pst-ind
 ('Even though he_i went without food, Chulsoo_i
 helped finance Youngsoo's_j education.')

Only the 2-1 advance of the main clause can control a

PRO subject in a *MYENSE* clause:

- (66) Haksang-i-myenseto Yengsu-ka Chelsu-ey tyhae
 student-be-though Y.-NOM C.-by
 hyencang-eyse cap-hi-ess-ta.
 spot-on arrest-pst-ind
 'Even though he_i was a student, Youngsoo_i was
 arrested on the spot by Chulsoo_j.'
- (67) Haksang-i-myenseto Yengsu-ka Chelsu-ey tyhae
 student-be-though Y.-NOM C.-by
 cihasil-ey katu-eci-ess-ta.
 basement-in lock-pst-pst-ind
 'Even though he_i was a student, Youngsoo_i was
 locked in a basement by Chulsoo_j.'
- (68) Haksang-i-myenseto Yengsu-ka Chelsu-ey tyhae
 student-be-though Y.-NOM C.-by
 mucapihakey salhae-toy-ess-ta.
 without mercy kill-pst-ess-ta
 'Even though he_i was a student, Youngsoo_i was
 killed without mercy by Chulsoo_j.'

Examples (66-68) are the passive counterparts of (61-63).

Unlike (61-63), (66-68) can only mean that Youngsoo, not

Chulsoo, was a student. This shows that the 2-1 advance can
 control an understood subject in a *MYENSE* clause, while the 1-
 chômeur cannot.

Dubinsky (1985:45-52) provides relational conditions for the controllers of *naqara* clauses in Japanese and shows that there are cases where non-subject nominals can control a PRO subject in a BE-*naqara* clause under appropriate semantic conditions. All the examples he cites to show this involve a predicate nominal of "mutual reference" (e.g. friend, colleague, enemy, neighbor, sibling, etc.) in a *naqara* clause. The same may be said of the *myenseq* construction in Korean.

Given such semantic conditions, non-subject nominals can be the controller of the PRO subject in a *myenseq* clause.

Observe:

- (69) Chinku-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-l*ti*
 friend-be-through C.-NOM Y.-ACC
 silheha-n-ta.
 dislike-pres-ind
 'Even though he_{i/j} is a friend, Chulsoo_i dislikes Youngsoo_j.'
- (70) Cek-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey senmul-*ti*
 enemy-be-through C.-NOM Y.-DAT present-ACC
 ponae-ss-ta.
 send-pst-ind
 'Even though he_{i/j} was an enemy, Chulsoo_i sent a present to Youngsoo_j.'
- (71) Hyengcey-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey
 brother-be-through C.-NOM Y.-by
 salhae-toy-ess-ta.
 kill-pas-pst-ind
 'Even though he_{i/j} was a brother, Chulsoo_i was killed by Youngsoo_j.'

In the above examples, either Chulsoo or Youngsoo can be the understood subject of the *myenseq* clause.

Furthermore, if the predicate nominal in a *myenseq* clause is preceded by the possessive form of the reflexive *saki* or *sasin*, the PRO subject of the *myenseq* clause is always understood to be a nominal other than the 1 of the main clause.

- (72) Caki-iy chinku-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-l*ti*
 self-GEN friend-be-through C.-NOM Y.-ACC
 silheha-n-ta.
 dislike-pres-ind
 'Even though he_{i/j} is self's_i friend, Chulsoo_i dislikes Youngsoo_j.'
- (73) Caki-iy cek-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey
 self-GEN enemy-be-through C.-NOM Y.-DAT
 senmul-*ti* ponae-ss-ta.
 present-ACC send-pst-ind
 'Even though he_{i/j} was self's_i enemy, Chulsoo_i sent a present to Youngsoo_j.'

In contrast, if the predicate nominal is modified by a possessive pronominal, either the subject or a non-subject nominal of the main clause can control a PRO subject in a *myenseq* clause.

- (74) Ki-iy chinku-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-l*ti*
 he-GEN friend-be-through C.-NOM Y.-ACC
 silheha-n-ta.
 dislike-pres-ind
 'Even though he_{i/j} is his_{i/j} friend, Chulsoo_i dislikes Youngsoo_j.'
- (75) Ki-iy cek-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey
 he-GEN enemy-be-through C.-NOM Y.-DAT
 senmul-*ti* ponae-ss-ta.
 present-ACC send-pst-ind
 'Even though he_{i/j} was his_{i/j} enemy, Chulsoo_i sent a present to Youngsoo_j.'

The examples with "mutual reference" predicate nominals suggest that the controller of the PRO subject in *myense* clauses is unrestricted. However, if we treat these cases as a special class of predicate nominals and attend to the more general situation, reflected in (59-68), the condition on the controller of *myense* clauses is still useful as a relational diagnostic. The condition on the controller of a PRO subject in a *myense* clause can be formulated as in the following:

(76) *myense* Control Condition

The controller of a PRO subject in a *myense* clause must be a final I.

1.2.5 Subject-to Object Raising

In Korean, as in many languages, there is a syntactic rule of Subject-to-Object Raising, which has the effect of raising the subject of the complement clause into the matrix clause and making it the object of the matrix clause. Observe, for example, the following pairs of clauses:

- (77) a. Suni-nin Chelsu-ka chanceae-lako mit-nin-ta.
S.-TOP C.-NOM genius-cmp believe-pres-ind
'Soonni believes that Chulsoo is a genius.'
- b. Suni-nin Chelsu-ji chenceae-lako mit-nin-ta.
S.-TOP C.-ACC genius-cmp believe-pres-ind
'Soonni believes Chulsoo to be a genius.'

In (77a) Chulsoo is the subject of the complement clause, while in (77b) it is the object of the matrix clause. One piece of evidence that Chulsoo in (77b) is an element of the

matrix clause is case marking. That is, in (77a) Chulsoo is marked with the nominative case marker *ka*, while in (77b) it is marked with the accusative marker *ji*. This indicates that Chulsoo in (77b) does not act as the complement clause subject, but rather as the matrix clause object.

Kuno (1976:24-26) provides an analysis of Subject Raising constructions in Japanese, showing that the phenomenon of adverb placement gives evidence for the Subject-to-Object Raising. Parallel data in Korean show that Chulsoo in (77b) is an element of the matrix clause. Since Korean, like Japanese, has a relatively free word order, adverbs can be placed in various positions in the sentence, as illustrated in the following.

- (78) a. Milvenhakeyto Chelsu-ka k^z kes-i-l
stupidly C.-NOM the thing-ACC
kkaetat-ci moha-ess-ta.
realize-neg-pst-ind
'Stupidly, Chulsoo did not realize it.'
- b. Chelsu-ka milvenhakeyto k^z kes-i-l
C.-NOM stupidly the thing-ACC
kkaetat-ci moha-ess-ta.
realize-neg-pst-ind
- c. Chelsu-ka k^z kes-i-l milvenhakeyto
C.-NOM the thing-ACC stupidly
kkaetat-ci moha-ess-ta.
realize-neg-pst-ind

However, if an adverb is an element of the matrix clause and is placed inside the complement clause, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical. This can be seen in (79d) below.

- (79) a. *Milyenhakeyto Chelsu-ka Suni-ka cengcikha-ta-ko*
 stupidly C.-NOM S.-NOM honest-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
 believe-pst-ind
 'Stupidly, Chulsoo believed that Sooni was honest.'
- b. *Chelsu-ka milyenhakeyto Suni-ka cengcikha-ta-ko*
 C.-NOM stupidly S.-NOM honest-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
 believe-pst-ind
- c. *Chelsu-ka Suni-ka cengcikha-ta-ko milyenhakeyto*
 C.-NOM S.-NOM honest-ind-cmp stupidly
mit-ess-ta.
 believe-pst-ind
- d. **Chelsu-ka Suni-ka milyenhakeyto cengcikha-ta-ko*
 C.-NOM S.-NOM stupidly honest-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
 believe-pst-ind

In contrast, in sentences like (80) below, which involve

Subject-to-Object Raising, even if an adverb that modifies the matrix predicate is placed inside the complement, a perfectly grammatical sentence results.

- (80) a. *Milyenhakeyto Chelsu-ka Suni-lil cengcikha-ta-ko*
 stupidly C.-NOM S.-ACC honest-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
 believe-pst-ind
 'Stupidly, Chulsoo believed Sooni to be honest.'
- b. *Chelsu-ka milyenhakeyto Suni-lil cengcikha-ta-ko*
 C.-NOM stupidly S.-ACC honest-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
 believe-pst-ind
- c. *Chelsu-ka Suni-lil cengcikha-ta-ko milyenhakeyto*
 C.-NOM S.-ACC honest-ind-cmp stupidly
mit-ess-ta.
 believe-pst-ind

- d. *Chelsu-ka Suni-lil milyenhakeyto cengcikha-ta-ko*
 C.-NOM S.-ACC stupidly honest-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
 believe-pst-ind

The contrast between (79d) and (80d) reveals that *Chulsoo* in (77a) is an element of the complement clause, while *Chulsoo* in (77b) is an element of the matrix clause.

That (77b) involves Subject-to-Object Raising is further evidenced by the fact that it has a corresponding passive construction. As (81) shows, sentences like (77b) have their passive counterparts. The matrix clause object in (81a), i.e. *Sooni*, functions as the subject of the matrix clause in its passive counterpart (81b).

- (81) a. *Chelsu-ka Suni-lil cengcikha-ta-ko*
 C.-NOM S.-ACC honest-ind-cmp
saenggakha-ess-ta.
 think-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo thought that Sooni was honest.'
- b. *Suni-ka Chelsu-eykey cengcikha-ta-ko*
 S.-NOM C.-by honest-ind-cmp
saenggak-toy-ess-ta.
 think-pas-pst-ind
 'Sooni was thought to be honest by Chulsoo.'

The preceding examples give additional support to the claim that sentences like (77b) involve Subject-to-Object Raising.

Subject-to-Object Raising in Korean manifests some noticeable characteristics (similar to Japanese; cf. Kuno (1976: 40-41)). In English, Subject-to-Object Raising is not allowed with complement clauses whose main verbs are finite, but in

Korean it applies to complement clauses whose main verbs are finite, as shown in (82-83).

- (82) Suni-nin Chelsu-l*l* kohyang-*l*o tolaka-*ss*-ta-ko
 S.-TOP C.-ACC home town-to go back-pst-ind-cmp
 mit-nin-ta.
 believe-pres-ind
 'Soonni believes that Chulsoo went back to his home town.'
- (83) Suni-nin Chelsu-l*l* maeu sengsilha-*ess*-ta-ko
 S.-TOP C.-ACC very sincere-pst-ind-cmp
 saenggakha-n-ta.
 think-pres-ind
 'Soonni thinks that Chulsoo was very sincere.'

Another characteristic is that Subject-to-Object Raising is not freely applicable when the complements are transitive clauses. As (84-85) show, if the subject is raised out of a transitive complement clause, the resultant sentence, though not grammatical, is somewhat awkward.

- (84) a. Suni-nin Chelsu-ka ki chaek-*l*l ilk-*ess*-ta-ko
 S.-TOP C.-NOM the book-ACC read-pst-ind-cmp
 mit-nin-ta.
 believe-pres-ind
 'Soonni believes that Chulsoo read the book.'
- b. *Suni-nin Chelsu-l*l* ki chaek-*l*l ilk-*ess*-ta-ko
 S.-TOP C.-ACC the book-ACC read-pst-ind-cmp
 mit-nin-ta.
 believe-pres-ind
- (85) a. Suni-nin Chelsu-ka Yengsu-*l*l ttaeli-*ess*-ta-ko
 S.-TOP C.-NOM Y.-ACC hit-pst-ind-cmp
 mit-nin-ta.
 believe-pres-ind
 'Soonni believes that Chulsoo hit Youngsoo.'
- b. *Suni-nin Chelsu-*l*l Yengsu-*l*l ttaeli-*ess*-ta-ko
 S.-TOP C.-ACC Y.-ACC hit-pst-ind-cmp
 mit-nin-ta.
 believe-pres-ind

However, if the complement clause describes a nonspecific or habitual action or state, the subject can be raised even if the complement is a transitive clause.

- (86) Suni-nin Chelsu-*l*l manhin chaek-*l*l ilk-*ess*-ta-ko
 S.-TOP C.-ACC many book-ACC read-pst-ind-cmp
 mit-nin-ta.
 believe-pres-ind
 'Soonni believes that Chulsoo read many books.'
- (87) Suni-nin Yengsu-*l*l theynisi-*l*l cal chi-n-ta-ko
 S.-TOP Y.-ACC tennis-ACC well play-pres-ind-cmp
 mit-nin-ta.
 believe-pres-ind
 'Soonni believes that Chulsoo plays tennis well.'

Some native speakers may disagree with my judgments on the degree of grammaticality of (84b-85b), but those who regard them as marginal would agree that (86-87) are such better than (84b-85b).

Thus far we have seen a general picture of Subject-to-Object Raising in Korean. We can assume that Subject-to-Object Raising is a phenomenon that occurs most commonly from intransitive complements. Therefore, in the remainder of this section, I will use examples with intransitive complements. I will show how this subject condition can be stated in terms of syntactic levels.

When the complement is a monostratal clause, only the I can be raised to the matrix-clause 2.

- (88) a. Suni-nin Chelsu-ka aph*l*-ta-ko mit-nin-ta.
 S.-TOP C.-NOM sick-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind
 'Soonni believes that Chulsoo is sick.'

- b. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-lɿl aphɿ-ta-ko mit-nŋn-ta.
S.-TOP C.-ACC sick-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind
- (89) a. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-ka Seul-ey sa-n-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-NOM Seoul-in live-pres-ind-cmp
mit-nŋn-ta.
believe-pres-ind
'Soonni believes that Chulsoo lives in Seoul.'
- b. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-lɿl Seul-ey sa-n-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-ACC Seoul-in live-pres-ind-cmp
mit-nŋn-ta.
believe-pres-ind

When the complement is a passive clause (note that a passive clause is intransitive), only the passive 1 can be raised to the matrix clause as a 2.

- (90) a. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-ka cha-ey chi-i-ess-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-NOM car-by hit-pas-pst-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
believe-pst-ind
'Soonni believed that Chulsoo had been hit by
a car.'
- b. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-lɿl cha-ey chi-i-ess-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-ACC car-by hit-pas-pst-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
believe-pst-ind
- (91) a. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-ka Yengsu-ey tyhae kɿ pang-ey
S.-TOP C.-NOM Y.-by the room-in
katu-eci-ess-ta-ko mit-nŋn-ta.
lock-pas-pst-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind
'Soonni believes that Chulsoo was locked in the
room by Youngsoo.'
- b. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-lɿl Yengsu-ey tyhae kɿ pang-ey
S.-TOP C.-ACC Y.-by the room-in
katu-eci-ess-ta-ko mit-nŋn-ta.
lock-pas-pst-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind

- (92) a. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-ka kyengchal-ey
S.-TOP C.-NOM police-by
cheypho-toy-ess-ta-ko mit-nŋn-ta.
arrest-pas-pst-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind
'Soonni believes that Chulsoo was arrested by the
police.'
- b. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-lɿl kyengchal-ey
S.-TOP C.-ACC police-by
cheypho-toy-ess-ta-ko mit-nŋn-ta.
arrest-pas-pst-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind

A nominal cannot be raised unless it is the final 1 of the complement. Neither a 1-chômeur nor an oblique can be raised to the matrix clause.

- (93) a. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-ka cha-ey chi-i-ess-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-NOM car-by hit-pas-pst-ind-cmp
mit-nŋn-ta.
believe-pres-ind
'Soonni believes that Chulsoo was hit by a car.'
- b. *Suni-nŋn cha-lɿl Chelsu-ka chi-i-ess-ta-ko
S.-TOP car-ACC C.-NOM hit-pas-pst-ind-cmp
mit-nŋn-ta.
believe-pres-ind
- (94) a. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-ka Seul-ey sa-n-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-NOM Seoul-in live-pres-ind-cmp
mit-nŋn-ta.
believe-pres-ind
'Soonni believes that Chulsoo lives in Seoul.'
- b. *Suni-nŋn Seul-lɿl Chelsu-ka sa-n-ta-ko
S.-TOP Seoul-ACC C.-NOM live-pres-ind-cmp
mit-nŋn-ta.
believe-pres-ind

Thus, on the basis of the data given above, the following condition for Subject-to-Object Raising is posited.

(95) Subject-to-Object Raising Condition

Only the final 1 of a complement clause can be raised to the 2 in a matrix clause.

1.2.6 kKEYSS-Marking

Section 1.2.1 showed that when the referent of the final subject designates a person of relatively high status, the speaker shows deference toward that person by some special grammatical means. Honoring the final subject is accomplished in three ways: first, the honorific morpheme *si* is suffixed to the predicate stem; second, the honorific nominative marker *kKEYSS* can be substituted for the plain nominative case marker *ka/i*; third, honorific nouns or verbs are used if honorific counterparts are available. Section 1.2.1 briefly outlined the restriction on the use of the honorific verbal suffix *si* and formulated a tentative condition for controlling it. This section provides a relational condition on *kKEYSS*-marking.

The form *kKEYSS* is a combination of the honorific dative marker *kKEY* and the particle *SS* which represents "existence" (cf. Sung 1982:76). Although opinion is far from being unanimous as to whether *kKEYSS* is a case particle, a delimitative particle, or a combination of two postpositions (i.e. *kKEY*+*SS*), there is general agreement that the form *kKEYSS* has a special use as a subject marker. Both *kKEYSS* and *ka/i* are used as subject markers, but the former differs from the latter in two crucial ways.⁶ First, *kKEYSS* is used only for

human referents, while there is no such restriction for *ka/i*, as in (96-97).

- (96) Chalsu-ty emenim-kKEYSS/i o-si-ess-ta.
C.-GEN mother+HON-NOM(HON)/NOM come-SH-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's mother came.'
- (97) Samsaengnim-ty taek-+kKEYSS/i mel-ta.
teacher+HON-GEN home(HON)-NOM(HON)/NOM far away-ind
'The teacher's home is far away.'

Second, *kKEYSS* can be used as a subject marker, either alone or followed by the topic marker *ind*, but *ka/i* cannot occur with *ind*:

- (98) Emenim-kKEYSS(nin)/i(*nin) phyencharh-tsi-ta.
mother-NOM(TOP)/NOM(TOP) sick(HON)-SH-ind
'Mother is sick.'
- (99) Apenim-kKEYSS(nin)/i(*nin) chaek-tl ilk-tsi-n-ta.
father-NOM(TOP)/NOM(TOP) book-ACC read-SH-pres-ind
'Father is reading a book.'

Let us turn now to the relational conditions for nominative *kKEYSS*-marking. The above examples show that, in a monostatal clause, a nominal that is both an initial and final 1 can be marked with *kKEYSS* if it is honorable:

- (100) Apenim-kKEYSS Seoul-lo ttena-si-ess-ta.
father-NOM(HON) Seoul-for leave-SH-pst-ind
'Father left for Seoul.'
- (101) Samsaengnim-kKEYSS chaek-tl ilk-tsi-n-ta.
teacher-NOM(HON) book-ACC read-SH-pres-ind
'The teacher is reading a book.'

However, neither a 2 nor a 3 can be marked with *kKEYSS*:

(102) Chelsu-ka sensaengnim-kkeyse/zi manna-ss-ta.
C.-NOM teacher-NOM(HON)/ACC meet-ss-ind
'Chulsoo met the teacher.'

(103) Suni-ka emeni-kkeyse/eykey senmul-ti
S.-NOM mother-NOM(HON)/DAT present-ACC
t-ti-ess-ta.
give(HON)-pst-ind
'Soonie gave a present to Mother.'

In a passive clause, the 2-1 advance can be marked with

kkeyse:

(104) Halmani-kkeyse cha-ey chi-i-si-ess-ta.
grandmother-NOM(HON) car-by hit-pas-SH-pst-ind
'Grandmother was hit by a car.'

(105) Emeni-kkeyse ki pang-tlo mosi-eci-si-ess-ta.
mother-NOM(HON) the room-into show-pas-SH-pst-ind
'Mother was shown into the room.'

(106) Apaci-kkeyse kyangchal-ey cheypho-toy-si-ess-ta.
father-NOM(HON) police-by arrest-pas-SH-pst-ind
'Father was arrested by the police.'

That the i-Chomeur cannot be marked with kkeyse is shown
by the following examples:

(107) *Paein-i apaci-kkeyse cap-hi-ess-ta.
culprit-NOM father-NOM(HON) catch-pas-pst-ind
'(The culprit) was caught by Father.'

(108) *ki chaeksang-i apaci-kkeyse mantil-eci-ess-ta.
the desk-NOM father-NOM(HON) make-pas-pst-ind
'(The desk) was made by Father.'

(109) *Kyeilwa-ka sensaengnim-kkeyse palphyo-toy-ess-ta.
result-NOM teacher-NOM(HON) publish-pas-pst-ind
'(The result) was published by the teacher.'

Thus, based on the above data, the following condition
for nominative kkeyse-marking is posited.

(110) Nominative kkeyse-Marking Condition

Only a final 1 can be marked with the honorific
nominative marker kkeyse.

1.2.7 Causatives

Korean has two types of causatives: morphological and
syntactic causatives, as illustrated in (111).

(111) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-lil ul-li-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-ACC cry-cs-pst-ind
'Chulsoo made Soonie cry.'

b. Chelsu-ka Suni-lil ul-key ha-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-ACC cry-cmp do-pst-ind
'Chulsoo made Soonie cry.'

Morphological causatives such as (111a), which are morphologi-
cally irregular and nonproductive, are realized with the af-
fixation of derivational suffixes like i, hi, ki, li, etc. to
the noncausative verb stem. Syntactic causatives like (111b)
are formed by affixing the complementizer key to the clause-
final verb and adding the causative pro-verb ha 'do' to it as
the matrix verb.

Our primary concern in this section is the case alterna-
tions of the "causee" in syntactic causative constructions.
As the following examples show, the "causee" can appear in
three different cases —nominative, accusative, and dative —
regardless of the transitivity of the complement clause.

(112) Chelsu-ka Suni-ka/lil/eykey ul-key ha-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-NOM/ACC/DAT cry-cmp do-pst-ind
'Chulsoo made Soonie cry.'

- (113) Chelau-ka Suni-ka/i/ɬl/eykey kt̚ chaek-ɬl ilk-key
 C.-NOM S.-NOM/ACC/DAT the book-ACC read-cmp
 ha-ess-ta.
 do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo made Suni read the book.'

Many previous studies provide considerable evidence for the initial biclausal structure of causatives like the above.⁷ Let us cite a few examples from these studies to serve as an illustration. Gerdts (1986) and Shibatani (1973,75), among others, argue that the data involving Subject Honorification give an argument for the biclausal source of syntactic causatives. Section 1.2.1 showed that Korean has a syntactic device of Subject Honorification and that only the final subject can control Subject Honorification. As can be observed in (114-115) below, in syntactic causatives, the "causee", which is the complement final subject under a biclausal analysis, can control Subject Honorification in the complement clause.

- (114) Ai-ɬɬi-i sensaengnim-i/ɬl/eykey us-ɬɬi-key
 child-pl-NOM teacher-NOM/ACC/DAT smile-SH-cmp
 ha-ess-ta.
 do-pst-ind
 'The children made the teacher smile.'

- (115) Ai-ɬɬi-i sensaengnim-i/ɬl/eykey kt̚ chaek-ɬl
 child-pl-NOM teacher-NOM/ACC/DAT the book-ACC
 ilk-ɬɬi-key ha-ess-ta.
 read-SH-cmp do-pst-ind
 'The children made the teacher read the book.'

When the "causee" is not honorable, it cannot be the controller of Subject Honorification.

- (116) Sensaengnim-i ai-ɬɬi-i/ɬl/eykey us-(ɬɬi)-key
 teacher-NOM child-pl-NOM/ACC/DAT smile-(SH)-cmp
 ha-ess-ta.
 do-pst-ind
 'The teacher made the children smile.'

- (117) Sensaengnim-i ai-ɬɬi-i/ɬl/eykey chaek-ɬl
 teacher-NOM child-pl-NOM/ACC/DAT book-ACC
 ilk-(ɬɬi)-key ha-ess-ta.
 read-(SH)-cmp do-pst-ind
 'The teacher made the children read books.'

Examples (116-117) show further that when the "causer", i.e. the subject of the matrix clause, is honorable, the honorific suffix *gi* cannot be incorporated in the complement verb. When the honorific *gi* refers to the "causer", it should appear on the matrix clause verb:

- (118) Sensaengnim-i ai-ɬɬi-i/ɬl/eykey us-(ɬɬi)-key
 teacher-NOM child-pl-NOM/ACC/DAT smile-(SH)-cmp
 ha-ɬi-ess-ta.
 do-SH-pst-ind
 'The teacher made the children smile.'

- (119) Sensaengnim-i ai-ɬɬi-i/ɬl/eykey chaek-ɬl
 teacher-NOM child-pl-NOM/ACC/DAT book-ACC
 ilk-(ɬɬi)-key ha-ɬi-ess-ta.
 read-(SH)-cmp do-SH-pst-ind
 'The teacher made the children read books.'

Therefore, the above data show not only that syntactic causatives are biclausal in their initial structure but that the "causee" is a final subject in the complement clause.

The phenomenon of reflexivization provides another argument for the biclausal source of syntactic causatives. As discussed in Shibatani (1973, 75) and I. Yang (1974), etc., in Korean the reflexive pronoun *ɬsin* can refer back across

clause boundaries to any nominal heading a 1-arc (cf. Section 1.2.3). This means that, in general, when a sentence has just one subject, the reflexive pronoun refers only to that subject, but when a sentence has a complex structure with two subjects, one in the complement clause and the other in the matrix clause, an ambiguity arises as to which subject the reflexive pronoun refers to. Observe, for example, the following complex sentences:

- (120) S₁-nin Chelsu-ka casin-ti haktseha-ess-ta-ko
 S.-TOP C.-NOM self-ACC abuse-pst-ind-cmp
 mit-nin-ta.
 believe-pres-ind
 'Soon₁ believes that Chulsoo_j has abused self_{i/j}.'

In (120), the reflexive *casin* can refer to either the complement subject *Chulsoo* or the matrix subject *Soon₁*; therefore, the sentence is ambiguous.

Turning now to syntactic causatives, we find that the reflexive *casin* is ambiguously interpreted; in one reading, *casin* refers to the "causee" (i.e. the complement subject) and in the other to the "causer" (i.e. the matrix subject), as shown in (121-122) below.

- (121) Chelsu-ka Suni-ka/1i1/eykey casin-ty kohyang-ti
 C.-NOM S.-NOM/ACC/DAT self-GEN hometown-to
 tolaka-key ha-ess-ta.
 go back-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo₁ made Soon_j go back to self's_{i/j}
 hometown₁.'

- (122) Chelsu-ka Suni-ka/1i1/eykey casin-ty chaek-ti
 C.-NOM S.-NOM/ACC/DAT self-GEN book-ACC
 ilk-key ha-ess-ta.
 read-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo₁ made Soon_j read self's_{i/j} book.'

Thus, the data from reflexivization give another argument for the subjecthood of the "causee" in the complement clause as well as the biclausal initial structure of syntactic causatives.

A number of syntactic and semantic proposals (e.g. Patterson (1974), Kang (1986), Gendts (1986), etc.) have been made to account for case marking in causative constructions. In this section, however, there will be no discussion of this issue since our main concern here is to show that only the final subject of the complement clause can appear in three different cases in syntactic causatives and that the case alternations of the complement subject can be used to test the subject properties of a nominal.

In all the examples given thus far, the complement clause is monostratal. Let us now see whether the passive 1 of the complement clause can also be marked with three different cases.

- (123) Chelsu-ka Yongsu-ka/1i1/eykey cha-ey chi-i-key
 C.-NOM Y.-NOM/ACC/DAT car-by hit-Cs-cmp
 ha-ess-ta.
 do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo caused Yongsu to be hit by a car.'

- (124) Chelsu-ka Yengsu-ka/i:l/eykey kyengchal-ey
 C.-NOM Y.-NOM/ACC/DAT police-by
 cheypho-toy-key ha-ess-ta.
 arrest-pas-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo caused Youngsoo to be arrested by the
 police.'
- (125) Chelsu-ka Yengsu-ka/i:l/eykey ki pang-ey
 C.-NOM Y.-NOM/ACC/DAT the room-in
 katu-eci-key ha-ess-ta.
 lock-pas-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo caused Youngsoo to be locked in the room.'

As (123-125) show, the same condition (i.e. the final 1-hood of the complement clause) is applicable when the complement is a passive clause. When the complement 1 is marked with the dative case, the sentences are a little awkward. The reason they seem to be awkward is that the dative-marked complement 1 has semantic restrictions in its distribution: i) it should be an animate noun, and ii) it requires a predicate which represents a self-controllable action or state in the complement clause. This is shown by the ungrammaticality of the following sentences:

- (126)*Chelsu-ka ki kikyey-eykey caktongha-key ha-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM the machine-DAT work-cmp do-pst-ind
 (Chulsoo made the machine work.)
- (127)*Chelsu-ka Suni-eykey kippaha-key ha-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-DAT rejoice-cmp do-pst-ind
 (Chulsoo made Sooni rejoice.)

In (126-127), if we make an adverb that expresses a self-controllable action modify the complement verb, then those who regard them as marginal or unacceptable would agree that they are grammatical.

- (128) Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey ilpule cha-ey chi-i-key
 C.-NOM Y.-DAT purposely car-by hit-cs-cmp
 ha-ess-ta.
 do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo caused Youngsoo to be hit by a car
 purposely.'
- (129) Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey ilpule kyengchal-ey
 C.-NOM Y.-DAT purposely police-by
 cheypho-toy-key ha-ess-ta.
 arrest-pas-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo caused Youngsoo to be arrested by the
 police purposely.'

Thus, it may be safely said that the following condition holds for the case alternations of the complement 1 in syntactic causatives.

(130) Syntactic Causative Case Alternation Condition

Only the final 1 of the complement clause can be in the nominative, accusative or dative case in syntactic causatives.

1.3 Summary

Thus far we have examined several syntactic phenomena of Korean which make reference to subjecthood and identified the relational conditions which govern such phenomena. The table in (131) summarizes the relational conditions established in this chapter.

(131) Tests for Subjecthood Condition

Subject Honorification	final 1
Antecedent of \bar{S} in	metatratal 1

Plural Copying	final 1
Control in a <i>myŋŋŋ</i> Clause	final 1
Subject-to-Object Raising	final 1
<i>kkeyŋŋ</i> -Marking	final 1
Case Alternations in Causatives	final 1

With the exception of *casin* antecedents, which may be 1-*chomeurs* as well as final 1s, the above phenomena are limited to final 1s (with some slight modifications brought forth in later discussion) and will be used as tests for subjecthood in subsequent chapters.

These syntactic devices are used for showing the speaker's deference to "the subject of a sentence." In addition to honoring the subject, Korean has a grammatical means commonly called object honorification, used for expressing the speaker's deference toward "the object of a sentence" by a limited number of predicates such as *tŋli-* 'give, present,' *mosi-* 'show, attend,' *yesŋŋ-* 'tell, ask,' *goyŋ-* 'see, meet,' etc.. In object honorification, when the indirect object designates a person to be honored, the honorific form of the dative *kkey* is used instead of the dative case *gykgy* or *hanthey*. Examples:

(i) *Chelsu-ka chaek-tŋl apci-kkey tŋli-ess-ta.*
 C.-NOM book-ACC father-DAT(HON) give(HON)-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo gave the book to Father.'

(ii) *Suni-ka sensaengnim-il kaeksil-lo mosi-ess-ta.*
 S.-NOM teacher-ACC parlor-into show(HON)-pst-ind
 'Soonŋ showed the teacher into the parlor.'

To honor the person being addressed, the speaker also uses honorific verbal endings which are simultaneously represented by the mood suffix occurring finally in the predicate, as shown in (iii).

(iii) a. *Aki-ka us-ess-ta.*
 baby-NOM smile-pst-ind
 'The baby smiled.'

b. *Aki-ka us-ess-ŋnita.*
 baby-NOM smile-pst-HON(POLITE)-ind(HON(MODEST))
 (same as (a))

²This condition will require revision in Chapter 3 since possessors can be the controllers of SH in certain circumstances.

³It is generally accepted by Korean grammarians (e.g. C. Lee (1973), H. Lee (1976), I. Lee (1978)) that *casin* is a reflexive pronoun, but opinion is divided as to whether or not *casin* is one. I. Lee (1978a) claims that *casin* is not a reflexive pronoun but rather an element which appears immediately after a personal pronoun or *casin* to reinforce its meaning. The reason he distinguishes it from reflexive pronouns is that *casin* always occurs with a personal pronoun; only the personal pronoun takes its reference from its antecedent. However, C. Lee (1973), H. Lee (1976), and

M. Kim (1981), among others, show that *casin* can stand alone and be conferential with the subject, and include *casin* under the category of reflexive pronouns. Observe:

- (i) *Nae-ka kwaŋm-tlo casin-ti*
 I-NOM excessive drinking-with self-ACC
hoksaha-ess-ta.
 abuse-pst-ind
 'I have abused myself with excessive drinking.'

- (ii) *Chelsu-ka casin-ti kɛ cali-ey chuchenha-ess-ta.*
 C.-NOM self-ACC the position-for recommend-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo recommended himself for the position.'

They claim this confirms that *casin* is an independent reflexive pronoun, not an element to emphasize the meaning of a pronoun.

⁴Grady (1987) claims that, when *saki* is construed with nominals other than the subject, the interpretation of *saki* is organized around the relational hierarchy in (i); *saki* takes as antecedent the highest 3rd person NP with a human referent in the hierarchy.

- (i) a. Subject
 b. Verbal complements
 c. Other NPs

He includes direct objects, indirect objects, and the NP's governed by a postposition under the category of verbal complements. Thus, in his hierarchy, direct objects and indirect objects occupy the same rank, and the NPs governed by a postposition are equal to direct and indirect objects. The NP's governed by a postposition are highly ranked than non-arguments of the verb (e.g. genitives).

⁵However, the final i-hood of the controller inadequately characterizes the class of nominals that can control PC. Chapter 3 will discuss cases in which possessors can control PC.

⁶In addition to these syntactic differences, there is a semantic difference. The subject marked with *kkeyse* always receives the neutral description interpretation, while the subject with *ka/i* is ambiguous between neutral description and exhaustive-listing; that is, if the predicate represents an action, or temporary state, the subject with *ka/i* receives either the neutral description or the exhaustive-listing interpretation; if the predicate represents a stable

state, it receives only the exhaustive-listing interpretation (cf. Kuno (1973:49-61)). Examples:

- (i) a. *Lee sensaengnim-kkeyse o-si-ess-ta.*
 Lee teacher-NOM(HON) come-SH-pst-ind
 'Prof. Lee came.'
 b. *Lee sensaengnim-kkeyse haksaeŋ-tɿl-eykey*
 Lee teacher-NOM(HON) student-pl-to
aeu chincalha-si-ta.
 very kind-SH-ind
 'Prof. Lee is very kind to the students.'
 c. *Lee sensaengnim-i haksaeŋ-tɿl-eykey aeau*
 Lee teacher-NOM student-pl-to very
chincalha-si-ta.
 kind-SH-ind
 'It is Prof. Lee who is very kind to the students.'

⁷Gerds (1986) argues that syntactic causatives like (112-113) involve clause union as formulated in RG by Perlmutter and Postal (1974); that is, these constructions involve the complement clause at the initial level, but have a flat or unilevel structure at a later level of structure. Hence, each element in the complement clause is assigned a relation in the matrix clause.

The previous chapter discussed the syntactic properties of subject in Korean and provided several diagnostics for subjecthood. This chapter uses these tests for subjecthood to analyze the structures of the two types of multiple nominative constructions (MNCs) illustrated in (1a, b).¹

- (1) a. Suni-ka nun-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-NOM eye-NOM pretty-IND
'Soonie's eyes are pretty.'
- b. Suni-ka tongsaeng-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-NOM sister-NOM pretty-IND
'Soonie's sister is pretty.'
- (2) a. Suni-iy nun-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-GEN eye-NOM pretty.'
- b. Suni-iy tongsaeng-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-GEN sister-NOM pretty.'

The claim here is that the first nominative nominal in these MNCs is a possessor which may, in fact, appear in the genitive case, as in (2a, b) respectively.

On the surface, (1a) and (1b) seem to have identical structures: the only apparent difference is the semantic relations between the two nominals. In (1a) the possessee refers to a body part of the possessor, while in (1b) the possessee has a kinship relation to the possessor. However, this chapter argues that (1a) and (1b) have different

syntactic structures. Clauses like (1a) are Possessor Ascension MNCs: the first nominative nominal is an initial possessor which ascends to subject. In contrast, clauses like (1b) are Focus MNCs: the first nominative nominal is not a subject but rather a focussed nominal.²

The format of this chapter is as follows. Section 2.1 discusses Possessor Ascension MNCs and argues that the first nominative nominal is a final subject, while the second nominative nominal is not. Section 2.2 deals with Focus MNCs and shows that the second nominative nominal, not the first nominative nominal, is a final subject. Section 2.3 is a summary of and conclusion for this chapter.

2.1 Possessor Ascension MNCs

This section discusses Possessor Ascension MNCs and demonstrates that the first nominative nominal is an ascended subject, while the second nominative nominal is not. Section 2.1.1 gives a brief overview of Possessor Ascension as posited in RG. Section 2.1.2 reviews Chun's (1986) Possessor Ascension analysis in Korean, summarizing the syntactic and semantic conditions on Possessor Ascension, and provides a Possessor Ascension analysis for clauses like (1a). In order to justify this analysis, Sections 2.1.3 and 2.1.4 present arguments for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal and the non-final subjecthood of the second nominative nominal in

these NNCs, by testing the subject properties of each nominal. Section 2.1.5 is a brief summary.

2.1.1 Possessor Ascension in Relational Grammar

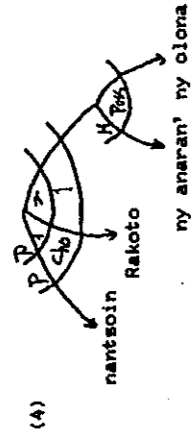
In a number of languages, some possessive clauses have nonpossessive counterparts where a possessor is expressed not as a dependent of the possessive phrase but as part of the clause proper. The following Malagasy examples from Keenan (1972:177) cited by Perlmutter and Postal (1983:43-45) give a good illustration of this.

- (3) a. Nantsoin-dRakoto ny anaran' ny olona.
 called Rakoto the names-of the people
 'The names of the people were called by Rakoto.'
- b. Nantsoin-dRakoto anarana ny olona.
 called Rakoto name the people
 'The people were name-called by Rakoto,' i.e.,
 'called by name.'

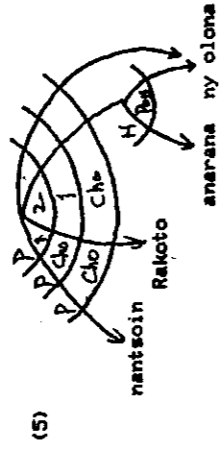
As is clear from the glosses, (3a) is a possessive construction; (3b) is its nonpossessive counterpart. The difference between the two constructions is: in (3a) *ny olona* is the possessor of the possessive phrase *ny anaran' ny olona*, which is a final subject, while in (3b) the original possessor *ny olona* has lost its genitive marker *ny* (notice that the possessor *see anaran* has also lost its definite article *ny*) and appears as the subject of the clause.³

To provide a cross-linguistic account of this phenomenon, Perlmutter and Postal (1972, 1983) relate such pairs of clauses

by positing a rule of Possessor Ascension (PA) by which the possessor ascends from its possessive phrase and assumes the relation of the possessive phrase to bear that grammatical relation to the clause. Under their analysis, (3a) is a possessive construction where the possessor *ny olona* bears a final possessive relation, as represented in (4).



However, (3b) involves PA, and it has the structure in (5).



In (3b), as can be observed in (5), the possessor *ny olona* has ascended out of its host *ny anaran' ny olona* and assumed the relation of the host to bear the subject relation to the clause containing the host nominal.

PA constructions like (3b) above follow the Relational Succession Law (RSL), stated informally in (6).

(6) Relational Succession Law

An ascendea assumes the grammatical relation borne by the host out of which it ascends.

The RSL was proposed by Perlmutter and Postal (1972, 1983) as a part of universal grammar to capture a generalization that holds in ascensions (raising constructions and PA constructions) in various languages. Some apparent counterexamples to the RSL as a universal law have been discussed in the RB literature. In PA structures that follow the RSL, the possessor ascends from its host and takes over the grammatical relation of the host, as in (3b) (e.g. Cebuano (Bell 1983), Chamorro (Crain 1979), etc.). However, in PA structures that violate the RSL, the possessor ascends from a host which is either a subject or a direct object to bear the indirect object relation to the clause (e.g. Georgian (Harris 1976), Tzotzil (Aissen 1979), Choctaw (Davies 1981, 1984), etc.). Although the latter type of PA structures violates the RSL, it is consistent with the Host Limitation Law (HLL), a statement of which is given in (7).

(7) Host Limitation Law

Only a term grammatical relation can be the host of an ascension.

This law was also proposed by Perlmutter and Postal (1974, 1983) as a universal to limit the hosts of ascensions to subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects, i.e. the term

relations.

2.1.2 Possessor Ascension in Korean

Chun (1986) (see also S.J.Park (1985)) examines some constructions in Korean which involve double nominative/accusative-marked nominals, and proposes an analysis involving PA for clauses like (8-9) below.⁴

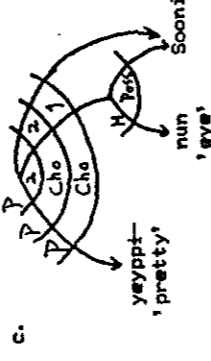
(8) Suni-ka økul-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-NOM face-NOM pretty-ind
'Soonil's face is pretty.'

(9) Chelsu-ka kɛ namu-lɛl kaci-lɛl kkek-ess-ta.
C.-NOM the tree-ACC branch-ACC pick-pst-ind
'Chuisoo picked the branches of the tree.'

Following Chun's proposal, I maintain that multiple nominative clauses like (1a) above involve PA. Thus, the first nominative nominal of (1a) repeated here as (10a) ascends from the possessive phrase of (10b), as represented in (10c) below.

(10) a. Suni-ka nun-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-NOM eye-NOM pretty-ind
'Soonil's eyes are pretty.'

b. Suni-ty nun-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-GEN eye-NOM pretty-ind



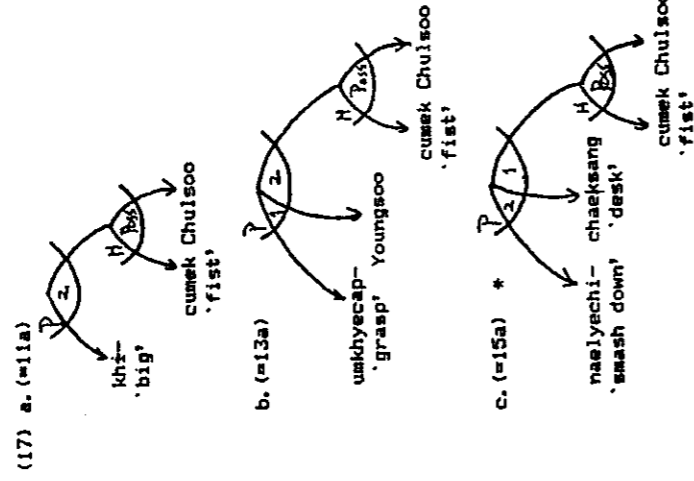
In (10a,b), *veygǔ* 'pretty' is a predicate which determines initially unaccusative clauses. According to Perlmutter and Postal's (1984) Unaccusative Hypothesis, there are two types of initially intransitive clauses: initially unergative clauses, whose initial stratum contains a 1-arc but no 2-arc, and initially unaccusative clauses, whose initial stratum contains a 2-arc but no 1-arc. Under the proposed analysis, (10a) is an initially unaccusative clause, and the host heads an initial 2-arc. The possessor has ascended from its host and usurped the relation of the host in the second stratum, placing the host nominal en chômeage, to bear that grammatical relation (i.e. the 2-relation) to the clause containing the host. In the third stratum the possessor has advanced to 1 by means of Unaccusative Advancement, which stipulates that clauses with an unaccusative stratum involve an advancement to 1 (see Section 3.1 for an explanation of the Unaccusative Hypothesis and Unaccusative Advancement).⁵

Chun claims that PA in Korean obeys not only the Relational Succession Law but also the Host Limitation Law (cf. Section 2.1.1), since the possessor ascends from a host that heads either a 1-arc or a 2-arc and assumes the grammatical relation of the host out of which it ascends. Although I believe she is correct in claiming that Korean PA structures follow both the Relational Succession Law and the Host Limitation Law, further work on this topic has led me to posit that

PA in Korean should be limited to cases where the host heads a 2-arc.⁶ Observe the following pairs of clauses.

- (11) a. Chelsu-ty cumek-i khi-ta.
C.-GEN fist-NOM big-ind
'Chulsoo's fists are big.'
- b. Chelsu-ka cumek-i khi-ta.
C.-NOM fist-NOM big-ind
- (12) a. Kt cip-ty cipung-i muneci-ess-ta.
the house-GEN roof-NOM collapse-pst-ind
'The roof of the house collapsed.'
- b. Kt cip-i cipung-i muneci-ess-ta.
the house-NOM roof-NOM collapse-pst-ind
- (13) a. Yongsu-ka Chelsu-ty cumek-tl umkhyecap-ess-ta.
Y.-NOM C.-GEN fist-ACC grasp-pst-ind
'Youngsoo grasped Chulsoo's fist.'
- b. Yongsu-ka Chelsu-tl cumek-tl umkhyecap-ess-ta.
Y.-NOM C.-ACC fist-ACC grasp-pst-ind
- (14) a. Sopangsu-tl-i kt cip-ty pyek-tl
fireman-pl-NOM the house-GEN wall-ACC
flat-ess-ta.
flatten-pst-ind
'The firemen flattened the wall of the house.'
- b. Sopangsu-tl-i kt cip-tl pyek-tl
fireman-pl-NOM the house-ACC wall-ACC
flat-ess-ta.
flatten-pst-ind
- (15) a. Chelsu-ty cumek-i chaeksang-tl naelyechi-ess-ta.
C.-GEN fist-NOM desk-ACC smash down-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's fist smashed down on the desk.'
- b. #Chelsu-ka cumek-i chaeksang-tl naelyechi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM fist-NOM desk-ACC smash down-pst-ind
- (16) a. Kt cip-ty pyek-i pulkil-tl mak-ess-ta.
the house-GEN wall-NOM flame-ACC prevent-pst-ind
'The wall of the house prevented the spread of
the flames.'
- b. #Kt cip-i pyek-i pulkil-tl mak-ess-ta.
the house-NOM wall-NOM flame-ACC prevent-pst-ind

The above examples show that PA hosts in Korean are limited to 2-arcs. (11a-12a) are unaccusative clauses whose initial stratum contains a 2-arc but no 1-arc, so the host must head a 2-arc. (13a-14a) are transitive clauses whose initial stratum contains a 1-arc and a 2-arc, and the host heads the 2-arc. However, in (15a-16a) the host nominal does not allow PA since it heads an erg-arc (i.e. a 1-arc in a transitive stratum). The differences in the above examples are illustrated in (17).



Stratal diagrams (17a), (17b), and (17c) correspond to the initial structures posited for (11a), (13a), and (15a) respectively.

Another syntactic restriction is that, even when the host heads a 2-arc in transitive clauses, PA is not allowed in Korean if the possessor is coreferential with the clausal subject. Thus, PA constructions like (18b-19b) below are ruled out since the reflexive *casin* (i.e. the possessor of the direct object) is construed with the final subject in the clause.⁷

- (18) a. Chelsu-ka casin-ty elkul-¹il k²li-ess-ta.
C.-NOM self-GEN face-ACC draw-pst-ind
'Chulsu_i drew self's_i face.'
- b. ?*Chelsu-ka casin-¹il elkul-¹il k²li-ess-ta.
C.-NOM self-ACC face-ACC draw-pst-ind
- (19) a. Chelsu-ka casin-ty sengkyek-¹il silheha-n-ta.
C.-NOM self-GEN personality-ACC dislike-pres-ind
'Chulsu_i dislikes self's_i personality.'
- b. ?*Chelsu-ka casin-¹il sengkyek-¹il silheha-n-ta.
C.-NOM self-ACC personality-ACC dislike-pres-ind

PA hosts are limited to 2-arcs. Nominals which are 3s or obliques cannot host PA. This is illustrated by the following:^{8,9}

- (20) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-ty tongsaeng-¹eykey kwaca-¹il
C.-NOM S.-GEN sister-DAT cookie-ACC
cu-ess-ta.
give-pst-ind
'Chulsu gave a cookie to Suni's sister.'

- b. *Chelsu-ka Suni-eykey tongsaeng-eykey kwaca-lil
 C.-NOM S.-DAT sister-DAT cookie-ACC
 cu-ess-ta.
 give-pst-ind
- (21) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-iy meli-ey kko-chil kko-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-GEN hair-LOC flower-ACC stick-pst-ind
 'Chulsu stuck a flower in Sooni's hair.'
- b. *Chelsu-ka Suni-ey meli-ey kko-chil kko-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-LOC hair-LOC flower-ACC stick-pst-ind
- (22) a. Suni-ka cha-iy bampa-lo k-i namu-lil
 S.-NOM car-GEN bumper-INSTR the tree-ACC
 pat-ass-ta.
 hit-pst-ind
 'Sooni hit the tree with the bumper of the car.'
- b. *Suni-ka cha-lo bampa-lo k-i namu-lil
 C.-NOM car-INSTR bumper-INSTR the tree-ACC
 pat-ass-ta.
 hit-pst-ind
- (23) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-iy som-eyse kasi-lil
 C.-NOM S.-GEN hand-SOUR thorn-ACC
 ppaena-ss-ta.
 pull out-pst-ind
 'Chulsu pulled out the thorn from Sooni's hand.'
- b. *Chelsu-ka Suni-eyse som-eyse kasi-lil
 C.-NOM S.-SOUR hand-SOUR thorn-ACC
 ppaena-ss-ta.
 pull out-pst-ind

Chun also claims that PA in Korean is possible only when the possessor and the possessee have the relation of "inalienable possession."¹⁰ Her generalization is correct, but her conception of inalienability should be enlarged to cover relational-locative concepts as well as part-whole relations. According to Claudi and Heine (to appear), inalienability encompasses three different kinds of relational concepts: i) socially determined inalienability, which involves a social or

kinship relationship (e.g. father, cousin, friend, neighbor, teacher, etc.), ii) partitive inalienability, which refers to part-whole relations (e.g. body part, name, voice, property, etc.), and iii) localizing inalienability, which involves spatial-relational concepts (e.g. behind, back, top, etc.).

In terms of these relational concepts, PA in Korean is allowed only when the possessee and the possessor are in a relation of partitive inalienability or localizing inalienability.

Observe:¹¹

- (24) a. Suni-iy son-i kechil-ta.
 S.-GEN hand-NOM rough-ind
 'Sooni's hands are rough.'
- b. Suni-ka son-i kechil-ta.
 S.-NOM hand-NOM rough-ind
- (25) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-iy son-il cap-ass-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-GEN hand-ACC hold-pst-ind
 'Chulsu held Sooni's hand.'
- b. Chelsu-ka Suni-il son-il cap-ass-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-ACC hand-ACC hold-pst-ind
- (26) a. Yengsu-iy sengkyek-i kwaeshwalha-ta.
 Y.-GEN personality-NOM cheerful-ind
 'Yongsu's personality is cheerful.'
- b. Yengsu-ka sengkyek-i kwaeshwalha-ta.
 Y.-NOM personality-NOM cheerful-ind
- (27) a. Chelsu-ka Yengsu-iy sengkyek-il
 C.-NOM Y.-GEN personality-ACC
 silheha-m-ta.
 dislike-pres-ind
 'Chulsu dislikes Yongsu's personality.'
- b. Chelsu-ka Yengsu-il silheha-m-ta.
 C.-NOM Y.-ACC personality-ACC
 silheha-m-ta.
 dislike-pres-ind

- (28) a. Kɛ theyiptɪl-ɪy tali-ka puleci-ess-ta.
the table-GEN leg-NOM be broken-pst-ind
'The leg of the table was broken.'
b. Kɛ theyiptɪl-i tali-ka puleci-ess-ta.
the table-NOM leg-NOM be broken-pst-ind
- (29) a. Chelsu-ka kɛ theyiptɪl-ɪy tali-lɪl kochi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM the table-GEN leg-ACC fix-pst-ind
'Chulsoo fixed the leg of the table.'
b. Chelau-ka kɛ theyiptɪl-ɪl tali-lɪl kochi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM the table-ACC leg-ACC fix-pst-ind
- (30) a. Kɛ cip-ɪy aph-i hwenhakey thi-i-ess-ta.
the house-GEN front-NOM extensively open-pas-pst-ind
'The view from the front of the house was
completely unobstructed.'
b. Kɛ cip-i aph-i hwenhakey thi-i-ess-ta.
the house-NOM front-NOM extensively open-pas-pst-ind
- (31) a. Chelsu-ka kɛ cip-ɪy twi-lɪl nelp-hi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM the house-GEN behind-ACC broad-cs-pst-ind
'Chulsoo cleared the land to increase the open
area behind the house.'
b. Chelsu-ka kɛ cip-ɪl twi-lɪl nelp-hi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM the house-ACC behind-ACC broad-cs-pst-ind

In (24-29), the possessee and the possessor are in a part-whole relation; that is, the possessee denotes a body part of the possessor in (24-25), a property in (26-27), and a part in (28-29), respectively. (30-31) are instances of localizing inalienability where the possessor represents a relator and the possessee a location.

So far we have seen the syntactic and semantic conditions on PA in Korean; i.e. PA hosts in Korean are limited to 2-arcs and PA in Korean is possible only when the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability or

localizing inalienability. The following sections provide evidence to justify the analysis proposed in (10c).

2.1.3 The Final l-hood of the First Nominative Nominal in PA MNCs

This section presents arguments for the final l-hood of the first nominative nominative in Possessor Ascension MNCs (PA MNCs) based on Subject Honorification, the reflexive *casin*, Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and *keyse*-marking.

2.1.3.1 Subject Honorification

As discussed in 1.2.1, Korean has grammatical devices for expressing the speaker's deference toward the subject of the clause when it designates a person socially superior to the speaker. One way of honoring the subject is to suffix the honorific morpheme *si* to the predicate stem, as exemplified in (32).

- (32) a. Chelsu-ka chaek-il ilk-nɪn-ta.
C.-NOM book-ACC read-pres-ind
'Chulsoo reads/is reading a book.'
b. Apnim-i chaek-il ilk-ɪsi-n-ta.
father-NOM book-ACC read-HON-pres-ind
'Father reads/is reading a book.'

This use of the verbal suffix *si* was referred to as Subject Honorification, and the following condition on Subject Honorification was proposed.

- (33) A final *l* can control Subject Honorification.

Turning now to PA MNCs, let us see whether or not the first nominative nominal can control Subject Honorification. Observe the following pairs; (34-38) are parallel in structure to PA constructions shown in Section 2.1.2:

- (34) a. Suni-ka nur-i khi-(ssi)-ta.
S.-NOM eye-NOM big-(SH)-ind
'Soonii's eyes are big.'
- b. Emenie-i nun-i khi-si-ta.
mother-NOM eye-NOM big-SH-ind
'Mother's eyes are big.'
- (35) a. Chelsu-ka phal-i puleci-(ssi)-ess-ta.
C.-NOM arm-NOM be broken-(SH)-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's arm was broken.'
- b. Apenie-i phali-i puleci-si-ess-ta.
father-NOM arm-NOM be broken-SH-pst-ind
'Father's arm was broken.'
- (36) a. Yengsu-ka sengkyek-i khwahwalha-(ssi)-ta.
Y.-NOM personality-NOM cheerful-(SH)-ind
'Youngsoo's personality is cheerful.'
- b. Apenie-i sengkyek-i khwahwalha-si-ta
father-NOM personality-NOM cheerful-SH-ind
'Father's personality is cheerful.'
- (37) a. Chelsu-ka moksoli-ka kuik-(ssi)-ta.
C.-NOM voice-NOM deep-(SH)-ind
'Chulsoo's voice is deep.'
- b. Sensaengnim-i moksoli-ka kuik-tsi-ta.
teacher-NOM voice-NOM deep-SH-ind
'The teacher's voice is deep.'
- (38) a. Suni-ka ilim-i myengtan-eyse
S.-NOM name-NOM list-from
ceyoy-toy-(ssi)-ess-ta.
leave out-pas-(SH)-pst-ind
'Soonii's name was left off the list.'

- b. Sensaengnim-i ilim-i myengtan-eyse
teacher-NOM name-NOM list-from
ceyoy-toy-si-ess-ta.
leave out-pas-SH-pst-ind
'The teacher's name was left off the list.'

The contrast between the (a) and (b) clauses in the above examples shows that the first nominative nominal can control Subject Honorification if its referent is honorabile. This follows from the proposed analysis; since the first nominative nominal is claimed to be an initial possessor which ascends to a final I, it can control Subject Honorification.

2.1.3.2 The Reflexive SASEIN

Section 1.2.3 showed that the reflexive SASEIN has a strict subject-antecedent condition, as shown in (39-40).

- (39) Chelsu-ka Suni-i=i casin-ty samusil-eyse
C.-NOM S.-ACC self-GEN office-in
manna-ss-ta.
meet-pst-ind
'Chulsoo_i met Soonii_j in self's_i/s_j office.'
- (40) Chelsu-ka Suni-eykey casin-ty chaeok-ti
C.-NOM S.-DAT self-GEN book-ACC
cu-ess-ta.
give-pst-ind
'Chulsoo_i gave self's_i/s_j book to Soonii_j.'

The strict subject-antecedent condition was formulated as follows:

- (41) A metastratal I can antecede the reflexive SASEIN.

Condition (41) says that a nominal which heads a I-arc in any stratum is a potential antecedent of SASEIN. Given this

condition, the first nominative nominal in PA MNCs is predicted to antecede casin since it is a final 1 under the proposed analysis. This prediction is borne out, as in (42-45).

- (42) Chelsu-ka elkul-i casin-ty kothong-tio
 C.-NOM face-NOM self-GEN pain-with
 ilkileci-ess-ta.
 become twisted-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo's_i face became twisted with self's_i pain.'
- (43) Suni-ka son-i casin-ty puekhil-lo
 S.-NOM hand-NOM self-GEN kitchen work-with
 kechileci-ess-ta.
 become rough-pst-ind
 'Sooni's_i hands became rough with self's_i kitchen work.'
- (44) Yengi-ka khi-ka casin-ty pan-eyse kacang
 Y.-NOM stature-NOM self-GEN class-in most
 khi-ta.
 tall-pres-ind
 'Youngi_i is the tallest in stature in self's_i class.'
- (45) Yengsu-ka sanghyek-i casin-ty puluhan
 Y.-NOM personality-NOM self-GEN adverse
 hwankyeng-ttaemney waekok-toy-ess-ta.
 circumstances-because of warp-pas-pst-ind
 'Yengsoo's_i personality was warped on account of self's_i adverse circumstances.'

It is obvious in the above examples that the first nominative nominal is the antecedent of casin because only nominals with a human referent can serve as antecedents of casin.

The ability of the first nominative nominal in (42-45) to antecede the reflexive casin follows from the proposed analysis since the first nominative nominal is claimed to be an ascended final 1.

2.1.3.3 Plural Copying

It was noted in Section 1.2.3 that the plural marker tl in Korean can optionally appear on various categories other than the noun it pluralizes, as illustrated in (46-49).

- (46) ai-ttl-i ki pang-tl almtapkey-(ttl)
 child-pl-NOM the room-ACC beautifully-(pl)
 kkumi-ess-ta.
 decorate-pst-ind
 'The children decorated the room beautifully.'
- (47) Kkoma-ttl-i ki namu-ltl hwapur-ey-(ttl)
 little kid-pl-NOM the tree flowerpot-in-(pl)
 sia-ess-ta.
 plant-pst-ind
 'The little kids planted the tree in the flowerpot.'
- (48) Haksaeong-ttl-i kyengchalse-ey kkzi-li-e-(ttl)
 student-pl-NOM police station-to take-pas-ink-(pl)
 ka-ss-ta.
 go-pst-ind
 'The students were taken to the police station.'
- (49) Noiri-ttl-i namu-mithey anc-ase-(ttl) cangkil-ttl
 old man-pl-NOM tree-under sit-and-(pl) chess-ACC
 tu-ess-ta.
 play-pst-ind
 'The old man sat under a tree and played Sangkil.'

This optional affixation of the plural marker of the noun to other categories was referred to earlier as Plural Copying (cf. Song (1967, 1975), Y. Kim (1978), Kuh (1987), etc. for background), and the condition in (50) was proposed.

- (50) A final 1 can control Plural Copying.

Given condition (50), we expect the first nominative nominal in PA MNCs to control Plural Copying since it is a

final 1 under the proposed analysis. Observe the following pairs of PA MNCs:

- (51) a. *Chaisu-ka elkul-i manhi-(#tɬl) yewi-ess-ta.*
 C.-NOM face-NOM much-(pl) become thin-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo's face became very thin.'
 b. *Ai-tɬl-i elkul-i manhi-(tɬl) yewi-ess-ta.*
 child-pl-NOM face-NOM much-(pl) become thin-pst-ind
 'The children's faces became very thin.'

- (52) a. *Yengsu-ka khi-ka chenceng-ey-(#tɬl)*
 Y.-NOM height-NOM ceiling-to-(pl)
 tah-ass-ta.
 touch-pst-ind
 'Youngsoo's height was such that his head
 touched the ceiling.'

- b. *Ki sanai-tɬl-i khi-ka chenceng-ey-(tɬl)*
 the man-pl-NOM height-NOM ceiling-to-(pl)
 tah-ass-ta.
 touch-pst-ind
 'The man's height was such that their heads
 touched the ceiling.'

- (53) a. *Ki tyca-ka tɪngpati-ka manhi-(#tɬl)*
 the chair-NOM back-NOM much-(pl)
 haeci-ess-ta.
 wear-pst-ind
 'The back of the upholstered chair was very worn.'

- b. *Ki tyca-tɬl-i tɪngpati-ka manhi-(tɬl)*
 the chair-pl-NOM back-NOM much-(pl)
 haeci-ess-ta.
 wear-pst-ind
 'The backs of the upholstered chairs were very worn.'

- (54) a. *I cip-i cipung-i palam-ey-(#tɬl)*
 this house-NOM roof-NOM wind-by-(pl)
 nal-li-e ka-ss-ta.
 fly-pas-lnk go-pst-ind
 'The roof of this house was blown off by the
 wind.'

- b. *I cip-tɬl-i cipung-i palam-ey-(tɬl)*
 these house-pl-NOM roof-NOM wind-by-(pl)
 nal-li-e ka-ss-ta.
 fly-pas-lnk go-pst-ind
 'The roofs of these houses were blown off by
 the wind.'

- (55) a. *Ki cip-i aph-i hwonhakey-(#tɬl)*
 the house-NOM front-NOM broad and wide-(pl)
 thi-i-ess-ta.
 open-pas-pst-ind
 'The view from the front of the house was
 completely unobstructed.'

- b. *Ki cip-tɬl-i aph-i hwonhakey-(tɬl)*
 the house-pl-NOM front-NOM broad and wide-(pl)
 thi-i-ess-ta.
 open-pas-pst-ind
 'The views from the front of the houses were
 completely unobstructed.'

In each pair of the above examples, (a) and (b) are identical with one exception; i.e. in (a) the first nominal is singular, but in (b) it is plural. Because of this difference, they show a dissimilarity with respect to Plural Copying. That is, in the (b) clauses the plural marker can optionally be affixed to categories other than the noun it pluralizes, while in the (a) clauses this option does not exist.

Condition (50) says that, when a final 1 is plural, it can control Plural Copying. The appearance of the plural marker on non-nominal categories in the (b) clauses, therefore, is compatible with the proposed analysis: the first nominative nominal in PA MNCs is an ascended final subject.

2.1.3.4 Subject-to-Object Raising

In Section 1.2.5, it was shown that the subject of an intransitive complement can be raised to the object in the

matrix clause, as shown in (56).

- (56) a. *Chelsu-nin Suni-ka cengcikha-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.*
 C.-TOP S.-NOM honest-ind-cap believe-pst-ind
 'Chulsu believed that Sooni was honest.'

- b. Chelsu-nŋn Suni-lŋl cengcŋkha-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
C.-TOP S.-ACC honest-ind-cmp believe-pst-ind

Further, the following condition for Subject-to-Object Raising was proposed:

- (57) Only the final 1 of a complement clause can be raised to the 2 in a matrix clause.

Given this condition, the first nominative nominal in PA MNCs is predicted to be raised to matrix object since the first nominative nominal is a final 1 under the proposed analysis. This prediction is verified by the examples below.

- (58) a. Chelsu-nŋn Suni-ka elkul-i yeyppi-ta-ko
C.-TOP S.-NOM face-NOM pretty-ind-cmp
saengkakha-ess-ta.
think-pst-ind
'Chulsu thought that Sooni's face was pretty.'
- b. Chelsu-nŋn Suni-lŋl elkul-i yeyppi-ta-ko
C.-TOP S.-ACC face-NOM pretty-ind-cmp
saengkakha-ess-ta.
think-pst-ind
- (59) a. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-ka sengkyek-i khwaehwalha-ta-ko
C.-TOP S.-NOM character-NOM cheerful-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
believe-pst-ind
'Soonie believed that Chulsu's character was cheerful.'
- b. Suni-nŋn Chelsu-lŋl sengkyek-i khwaehwalha-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-ACC character-NOM cheerful-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
believe-pst-ind
- (60) a. Yengsu-nŋn kt kutu-ka patak-i talh-ass-ta-ko
Y.-TOP the shoe-NOM sole-NOM wear-pst-ind-cmp
saengkakha-ess-ta.
think-pst-ind
'Youngsoo thought that the soles of the shoes were worn.'

- b. Yengsu-nŋn kt kutu-lŋl patak-i talh-ass-ta-ko
Y.-TOP the shoe-ACC sole-NOM wear-pst-ind-cmp
saengkakha-ess-ta.
think-pst-ind

- (61) a. Yengsu-nŋn kt cip-i cipung-i
Y.-TOP the house-NOM roof-NOM
munaci-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
collapse-pst-ind-cmp believe-pst-ind
'Youngsoo thought that the roof of the house had collapsed.'

- b. Yengsu-nŋn kt cip-lŋl cipung-i
Y.-TOP the house-ACC roof-NOM
munaci-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
collapse-pst-ind-cmp believe-pst-ind

- (62) a. Yengi-nŋn kt cip-i aph-i
Y.-TOP the house-NOM front-NOM
thŋ-i-ess-ta-ko saengkakha-ess-ta.
open-pst-ind-cmp think-pst-ind
'Youngie thought that the view from the front of the house was unobstructed.'

- b. Yengi-nŋn kt / cip-lŋl aph-i
Y.-TOP the house-ACC front-NOM
thŋ-i-ess-ta-ko saengkakha-ess-ta.
open-pst-ind-cmp think-pst-ind

Examples (58-62) involve an MNC as the complement clause. In the (a) sentences, Subject-to-Object Raising is not involved, while in the (b) sentences, the first nominal of the complement is raised to matrix object, as is evidenced by case marking. As we saw in (57) above, if a nominal can be raised to matrix object, it is the final subject of the complement clause. We can then say that the first nominal of a PA MNC complement clause is a final subject since it can be raised to the object in the matrix clause.

The above data involving Subject-to-Object Raising provide

support for the proposed analysis and an argument for the final 1-hood of the first nominative nominal in PA MNCs.

2.1.3.5 Causatives

Section 1.2.7 stated that, in syntactic causatives formed with the complementizer key and the causative pro-verb h̄a'do, only the final 1 of the complement clause can appear in three different cases -- nominative, accusative, or dative -- regard less of the final transitivity of the complement.

(63) Suni-ka Chelsu-ka/l̄i/l̄/eykey Seoul-lo ttena-key
S.-NOM C.-NOM/ACC/DAT Seoul-for leave-cmp
ha-ess-ta.
do-pst-ind
'Sooni made Chulsoo leave for Seoul.'

(64) Suni-ka Chelsu-ka/l̄i/l̄/eykey sensaengnim-ti
S.-NOM C.-NOM/ACC/DAT teacher-ACC
manna-key ha-ess-ta.
meet-cmp do-pst-ind
'Sooni made Chulsoo meet the teacher.'

Under a PA analysis of the MNCs in question, the first nominative nominal is a final 1; therefore, it is predicted that if a PA MNC is a complement in a causative, the first nominative nominal should be able to be in the nominative, accusative, or dative cases. This prediction is verified in the following examples:¹²

(65) Chelsu-ka Suni-ka/l̄i/l̄/eykey pal-i pascul-ey
C.-NOM S.-NOM/ACC/DAT foot-NOM rope-in
kel-li-key ha-ess-ta.
catch-pas-cmp do-pst-ind
'Chulsoo made Sooni's foot get caught in the rope.'

(66) Kacenghankyeng-i Yengsu-ka/l̄i/l̄/eykey sengkyek-i
home background-NOM Y.-NOM/ACC/DAT character-NOM
pittuleci-key ha-ess-ta.
become warped-cmp do-pst-ind
'His home background made Youngsoo's character
become warped.'

(67) Chelsu-ka k̄i sikyey-ka/l̄i/l̄/eykey thaeyp-i
C.-NOM the watch-NOM/ACC/DAT spring-NOM
k̄i-k̄h-eci-key ha-ess-ta.
snap-pas-cmp do-pst-ind
'Chulsoo made the spring of the watch snap.'

(68) Phoku-ka k̄i cip-i/t̄i/l̄/eykey cipung-i
torrential rain-NOM the house-NOM/ACC/DAT roof-NOM
muneci-key ha-ess-ta.
collapse-cmp do-pst-ind
'A torrential rainfall made the roof of the house
collapse.'

(69) K̄i kemul-ty cheike-ka k̄i cip-i/t̄i/l̄/eykey
the building-GEN removal-NOM the house-NOM/ACC/DAT
aph-i thi-i-key ha-ess-ta.
front-NOM open-pas-cmp do-pst-ind
'The removal of the building made the view from
the front of the house unobstructed.'

In (65-69), the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability or localizing inalienability. The first nominative nominal in PA MNCs can appear in three different cases in causatives.

When the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of socially determined inalienability or when the possessee represents an alienable possession of the possessor, the possessor does not show case alternations in causatives.

(70) Sensaengnim-i Chelsu-?ka/*l̄i/l̄/eykey emeni-m-i
teacher-NOM C.-NOM/ACC/DAT mother-NOM
hakkyo-ey nao-si-key ha-ess-ta.
school-at come-SH-cmp do-pst-ind
'The teacher made Chulsoo's mother come to the
school.'

- (71) *Sensaengniw-i Yengsu-??ka/ɛiɪ/ɛykey chaek-i*
 teacher-NOM Y.-NOM/ACC/DAT book-NOM
chulphan-toy-key ha-ess-ta.
publish-pas-cmp do-pst-ind
 (The teacher caused Youngsoo's book to be published.)

Thus, the fact that the first nominative nominal of PA NNCs shows case alternations in causatives provides evidence for its final i-hood and support for the proposed PA analysis.

2.1.3.6 *kkeyss*-Marking

As noted in Section 1.2.6, the Korean speaker shows deference to the nominal that is the subject by substituting the honorific nominative marker *kkeyss* for the plain nominative case form *ka/i* and by suffixing the honorific morpheme *si* to the predicate stem. If the speaker adds the honorific personal marker *nim* to the referent of the subject, he need not substitute the honorific form *kkeyss* for the plain nominative case form *ka/i*.

- (72) a. *Emeni-kkeyse hakkyo-ey o-si-ess-ta.*
 mother-NOM(HON) school-to come-SH-pst-ind
 'Mother came to school.'
 b. *Emeni-kkeyse hakkyo-ey o-si-ess-ta.*
 mother+HON-NOM(HON) school-to come-SH-pst-ind
 c. *Emeni-i hakkyo-ey o-si-ess-ta.*
 mother+HON school-to come-SH-pst-ind

Section 1.2.6 provided the following relational condition for *kkeyss*-marking:

- (73) Only a final i can be marked with the honorific nominative marker *kkeyss*.

The final i-hood of a nominal is a necessary and sufficient condition for *kkeyss*-marking, so we can say that if a nominal can be marked with *kkeyss*, it should be a final i. Under the proposed analysis, the first nominative nominal is a final i; condition (73) predicts that it can be marked with *kkeyss* if its referent is honorable. This prediction is affirmed, as the following examples show.

- (74) a. *Halseoni-i nun-i etu-usi-ta.*
 grandmother-NOM eye-NOM weak-SH-ind
 'Grandmother's eyes are weak.'
 b. *Halseoni-kkeyse nun-i etu-usi-ta.*
 grandmother-NOM(HON) eye-NOM weak-SH-ind
 (75) a. *Emeni-i som-i kechileci-si-ess-ta.*
 mother-NOM hand-NOM become rough-SH-pst-ind
 'Mother's hands have become rough.'
 b. *Emeni-kkeyse som-i kechileci-si-ess-ta.*
 mother-NOM(HON) hand-NOM become rough-SH-pst-ind
 (76) a. *Apenim-i khi-ka khi-si-ta.*
 father-NOM stature-NOM tall-SH-ind
 'Father is tall in stature.'
 b. *Apenim-kkeyse khi-ka khi-si-ta.*
 father-NOM(HON) stature-NOM tall-SH-ind
 (77) a. *Kim sensaengniw-i sengkyek-i khwahwalha-si-ta.*
 Kim teacher-NOM character-NOM cheerful-SH-ind
 'Prof. Kim's character is cheerful.'
 b. *Kim sensaengniw-kkeyse sengkyek-i*
 Kim teacher-NOM(HON) character-NOM
khwahwalha-si-ta.
 cheerful-SH-ind
 (78) a. *Lee sensaengniw-i moksoli-ka khi-si-ta.*
 Lee teacher-NOM voice-NOM loud-SH-ind
 'Prof. Lee's voice is loud.'

- b. Lee *sensaengnim-kkeyse moksoli-ka khit=si-ta.*
Lee teacher-NOM(HON) voice-NOM loud-SH-ta.

Therefore, the data involving nominative *kkeyse*-marking support the proposed analysis and give evidence for the final 1-hood of the first nominative nominal.

2.1.4 The Non-final 1-hood of the Second Nominative Nominal in PA MNCs

The previous section presented evidence for the final 1-hood of the first nominative nominal in PA MNCs. In this section, I show that the second nominative nominal in PA MNCs is not a final subject by giving evidence from Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and topicalization.

2.1.4.1 Plural Copying

The preceding sections showed that, when a final subject is plural, the plural marker *il* can optionally appear on various categories other than the noun it pluralizes. It can be attached to adverbs, postpositions, complementizers, etc. or it can occur inside *hg*-taking adjectives or between compound verbs. Besides these non-nominal categories, when a final subject is plural, the subject-induced plural marker can appear on nominal categories.¹³ When it appears on indirect objects, it is affixed to the case marker. If a plural marker is affixed to the case marker of the indirect object, it indicates the plurality of the subject, whereas one which occurs between the nominal root and the case marker pluralizes the preceding nominal.¹⁴

- (79) a. *Suni-ka kɛ keci-eykey-(tɛɪ) ton-tɪ*
S.-NOM the beggar-DAT-(pl) money-ACC
cu-ess-ta.
give-pst-ind
'Suni gave money to the beggar.'
b. *Ai-tɪɪ-i kɛ keci-eykey-(tɛɪ) ton-tɪ*
child-pl-NOM the beggar-DAT-(pl) money-ACC
cu-ess-ta.
give-pst-ind
'The children gave money to the beggar.'
- (80) a. *Suni-ka kɛ keci-tɪɪ-eykey-(tɛɪ) ton-tɪ*
S.-NOM the beggar-pl-DAT-(pl) money-ACC
cu-ess-ta.
give-pst-ind
'Suni gave money to the beggars.'
b. *Ai-tɪɪ-i kɛ keci-tɪɪ-eykey-(tɛɪ) ton-tɪ*
child-pl-NOM the beggar-pl-DAT-(pl) money-ACC
cu-ess-ta.
give-pst-ind
'The children gave money to the beggars.'

In contrast, when the subject-induced plural marker appears on direct objects, it should occur between the nominal and the case marker. So the plural marker which occurs in this position is ambiguous. It reflects the plurality of either the subject or the direct object. When the direct object is a mass or abstract noun, the plural marker reflects the plurality of the subject (note that a mass or abstract noun is normally not "pluralizable"). When the direct object nominal is a count or concrete noun, the plural marker reflects the plurality of the direct object or the subject, depending on whether a final subject is singular or plural. In other words, if a final subject is singular, the plural marker reflects the plurality of the direct object; if a final

subject is plural, an ambiguity arises as to whether the plural marker reflects the plurality of the direct object or the subject. These cases are illustrated in (81-83).

- (81) a. Chelsu-ka ton-(tɬi)-i nangpiha-n-ta.
C.-NOM money-(pl)-ACC waste-pres-ind
'Chulsoo wastes his money.'
- b. Ai-tɬi-i ton-(tɬi)-i nangpiha-n-ta.
child-pl-NOM money-(pl)-ACC waste-pres-ind
'The children waste their money.'
- (82) a. Chelsu-ka tokse-(tɬi)-i cohaha-n-ta.
C.-NOM reading-(pl)-ACC be fond of-pres-ind
'Chulsoo is fond of reading.'
- b. Ai-tɬi-i tokse-(tɬi)-i cohaha-n-ta.
child-pl-NOM reading-(pl)-ACC be fond of-pres-ind
'The children are fond of reading.'
- (83) a. Chelsu-ka kɛ chaek-(tɬi)-i ilk-nin-ta.
C.-NOM the book-(pl)-ACC read-pres-ind
'Chulsoo reads the books.'
- b. Ai-tɬi-i kɛ chaek-(tɬi)-i ilk-nin-ta.
child-pl-NOM the book-(pl)-ACC read-pres-ind
'The children read the book/books.'

Turning now to PA NNCs, let us see whether the plural marker can appear on nominative-marked nominals other than the noun it pluralizes. As can be observed in the examples below, when the first nominative nominal is plural, the plural marker can optionally appear on the second nominative nominal:¹⁵

- (84) a. Kɛ sonye-ka num-(tɬi)-i yeyppi-ta.
the girl-NOM eye-(pl)-NOM pretty-ind
'The girl's eyes are pretty.'
- b. Kɛ sonye-tɬi-i num-(tɬi)-i yeyppi-ta.
the girl-pl-NOM eye-(pl)-NOM pretty-ind
'The girls' eyes are pretty.'

- (85) a. Kɛ sonyen-i khi-(tɬi)-i khi-ta.
the boy-NOM stature-(pl)-NOM tall-ind
'The boy is tall in stature.'
- b. Kɛ sonyen-tɬi-i khi-(tɬi)-i khi-ta.
the boy-pl-NOM stature-(pl)-NOM tall-ind
'The boys are tall in stature.'

In (84), when the first nominal is singular, the plural marker cannot be affixed to the second nominal, though the second nominal is a count noun, but when the first nominal is plural, the plural marker can be affixed to the second nominal. In (85), khi 'stature' is an abstract noun, so it is not "pluralizable." However, when the first nominal is plural, the plural marker can be affixed to the second nominal.

Furthermore, when the first nominal is plural, the plural marker can be doubly affixed to the second nominal, one to the nominal and the other to the case marker.

- (86) Kɛ sonye-tɬi-i num-(tɬi)-i-(tɬi) yeyppi-ta.
the girl-pl-NOM eye-(pl)-NOM-(pl) pretty-ind
'The girls' eyes are pretty.'
- (87) Kɛ sonyen-tɬi-i khi-(tɬi)-i-(tɬi) khi-ta.
the boy-pl-NOM stature-(pl)-NOM-(pl) tall-ind
'The boys are tall in stature.'

In (86-87), both plural markings are induced by the plurality of the first nominal. The plural marker which occurs between

the nominal and the case marker indicates that the second nominal is plural and the one which is affixed to the case marker indicates that the subject is plural. More examples

are presented in (88-89) to show that the same phenomenon is observed in all the types of PA NNCs.

- (88) Ki ai-tɬi-i moksoli-(tɬi)-i-(tɬi) khi-ta.
the child-pl-NOM voice-(pl)-NOM-(pl) loud-ind
'The voices of the children are loud.'
- (89) Kɛ tɣca-tɬi-i tali-(tɬi)-i-(tɬi) puleci-ess-ta.
the chair-pl-NOM leg-(pl)-NOM-(pl) be broken-pst-ind
'The legs of the chairs were broken.'
- (90) Kɛ cip-tɬi-i aph-(tɬi)-i-(tɬi) thi-i-ess-ta.
the house-pl-NOM front-(pl)-NOM-(pl) open-pas-pst-ind
'The views from the fronts of the houses were unobstructed.'

However, when the second nominative nominal is plural, the plural marker cannot be doubly affixed to the first nominative nominal, cf. (91-94).

- (91) Kɛ sonye-tɬi-i-(stɬi) nun-tɬi-i yeyppɪ-ta.
the girl-pl-NOM-(pl) eye-pl-NOM pretty-ind
'The girls' eyes are pretty.'
- (92) Kɛ sonyen-tɬi-i-(stɬi) khi-tɬi-i khi-ta.
the boy-pl-NOM-(pl) stature-pl-NOM tall-ind
'The boys are tall in stature.'
- (93) Kɛ tɣca-tɬi-i-(stɬi) tali-tɬi-i puleci-ess-ta.
the chair-pl-NOM-(pl) leg-pl-NOM be broken-pst-ind
'The legs of the chairs were broken.'
- (94) Kɛ cip-tɬi-i-(stɬi) aph-tɬi-i thi-i-ess-ta.
the house-pl-NOM-(pl) front-pl-NOM open-pas-pst-ind
'The views from the fronts of the houses were unobstructed.'

Some native speakers (25 out of 30 Korean speakers responding to my survey) say that clauses like (95-96) are grammatical, but the same speakers say clauses like (97-98) are unacceptable.

- (95) Kɛ sonye-tɬi-i nun-i-tɬi yeyppɪ-ta.
the girl-pl-NOM eye-NOM-pl pretty-ind
'The girls' eyes are pretty.'
- (96) Kɛ sonyen-tɬi-i pal-i-tɬi khi-ta.
the boy-pl-NOM foot-NOM-pl big-ind
'The boys' feet are big.'
- (97) *Kɛ sonye-ka-tɬi nun-tɬi-i yeyppɪ-ta.
the girl-NOM-pl eye-pl-NOM pretty-ind
(The girl's eyes are pretty.)
- (98) *Kɛ sonyen-i-tɬi pal-tɬi-i khi-ta.
the boy-NOM-pl foot-pl-NOM big-ind
(The boy's feet are big.)

The above examples show that, if the first nominal is plural, the plural marker can be suffixed to the case marker of the second nominal that is a singular form. However, if the second nominal is plural, the plural marker cannot be attached to the case marker of the first nominal which is a singular form.

In the data discussed thus far, if both nominative nominals are final subjects, they should behave similarly with respect to Plural Copying. We cannot account for why the plurality of the first nominative nominal can induce affixation of the plural marker tɬi to the case marker of the second nominative nominal, but the plurality of the second nominative nominal cannot induce the same sort of affixation on the first nominative nominal. In the previous section, we saw that a final subject can control Plural Copying. Under the proposed analysis, only the first nominative nominal is a final subject, and therefore, the first nominative nominal can control Plural

Copying. The second nominative nominal cannot control Plural Copying since it is not a final subject. Thus, the data involving Plural Copying provide evidence that the second nominative nominal in PA MNCs is not a final subject.

2.1.4.2 Subject-to-Object Raising

The phenomenon of Subject-to-Object Raising also provides an argument for the non-final subjecthood of the second nominative nominal in PA MNCs. In Korean, as we noted earlier, only the final subject of an intransitive complement can be raised to the matrix-clause object:

(99) Suni-nin Chelsu-lil kanaha-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
S.-TOP C.-ACC poor-ind-cmp believe-pst-ind
'Soonni believed that Chulsoo was poor.'

(100) Suni-nin Chelsu-lil hakkyo-ey ka-ss-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-ACC school-to go-pst-ind-cmp
saengkakha-ess-ta.
think-pst-ind
'Soonni thought that Chulsoo had gone to school.'

(101) Suni-nin Chelsu-lil kyeytan-eyse tteleci-ess-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-ACC stairs-from fall-pst-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
believe-pst-ind
'Soonni believed that Chulsoo had fallen down the stairs.'

(102) Suni-nin Chelsu-lil Yengsu-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-ACC Y.-by catch-pas-pst-ind-cmp
saengkakha-ess-ta.
think-pst-ind
'Soonni thought that Chulsoo was caught by Youngsoo.'

Section 2.1.3.4 showed that, when a PA MNC is in the complement clause, the first nominative nominal can be raised to matrix object, and claimed that this gives evidence that the first nominative nominal is a final subject.

(103) a. Chelsu-nin Suni-ka nun-i khi-ta-ko
C.-TOP S.-NOM eye-NOM big-ind-cmp
saengkakha-ess-ta.
think-pst-ind
'Chulsoo thought that Soonni's eyes were big.'

b. Chelsu-nin Suni-lil nun-i khi-ta-ko
C.-TOP S.-ACC eye-NOM big-ind-cmp
think-pst-ind

(104) a. Chelsu-nin kt taehak-i tosekwan-til-i
C.-TOP the university-NOM library-pl-NOM
hullyungha-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
excellent-ind-cmp believe-pst-ind
'Chulsoo believed that the libraries of the university were excellent.'

b. Chelsu-nin kt taehak-il tosekwan-til-i
C.-TOP the university-ACC library-pl-NOM
hullyungha-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
excellent-ind-cmp believe-pst-ind

If PA MNCs under consideration were MSCs, not MNCs

involving a single subject, we would expect that the second nominative nominal, as well as the first nominative nominal, could be raised to the matrix-clause object. However, as shown in (105-108) below, if the second nominative nominal is raised, the resultant sentence is ungrammatical.

(105) a. Chelsu-nin Suni-ka eikul-i yeypipi-ta-ko
C.-TOP S.-NOM face-NOM pretty-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
believe-pst-ind
'Chulsoo believed that Soonni's face was pretty.'

b. *Chelsu-nin eikul-il Suni-ka yeypipi-ta-ko
C.-TOP face-ACC S.-NOM pretty-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
believe-pst-ind

(109) *Chelsu-nŋn Suni-ka eikul-il yeyppŋt-ta-ko
 C.-TOP S.-NOM face-ACC pretty-ind-cmp
 saengkakha-ess-ta.
 think-pst-ind
 (Chulsoo thought that Sooni's face was pretty.)

(110) *Chelsu-nŋn kŋ cip-i cipung-il
 C.-TOP the house-NOM roof-ACC
 mune-ci-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 collapse-pst-ind-cmp believe-pst-ind
 (Chulsoo believed that the roof of the house had
 collapsed)

The preceding examples clearly show that the second nominal native nominal cannot be raised to the matrix clause. The inability of the second nominative nominal in PA NMCs to be raised to matrix object, therefore, provides an argument that it is not a final subject.

2.1.4.3 Causatives

It has already been noted that, in syntactic causatives, the "causee", which is the final subject of the complement, can appear in three different cases.

(111) Suni-ka Chelsu-ka/li/i/eykey hakkyo-ey ka-key
 S.-NOM C.-NOM/ACC/DAT school-to go-cmp
 ha-ess-ta.
 do-pst-ind
 'Sooni made Chulsoo go to school.'

(112) Suni-ka Chelsu-ka/li/i/eykey sukcey-il ha-key
 S.-NOM C.-NOM/ACC/DAT homework-ACC do-cmp
 ha-ess-ta.
 do-pst-ind
 'Sooni made Chulsoo do his homework.'

Unless it is the final subject of the complement, no nominal shows these case alternations, as shown in (113-114).

(106) a. Chelsu-nŋn Suni-ka sengkyek-i kkatalop-ta-ko
 C.-TOP S.-NOM character-NOM finicky-ind-cmp
 mit-ess-ta.
 believe-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo believed that Sooni's character was
 finicky.'

b. *Chelsu-nŋn sengkyek-il Suni-ka kkatalop-ta-ko
 C.-TOP character-ACC S.-NOM finicky-ind-cmp
 mit-ess-ta.
 believe-pst-ind

(107) a. Chelsu-nŋn kŋ cip-i cipung-i
 C.-TOP the house-NOM roof-NOM
 mune-ci-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 collapse-pst-ind-cmp believe-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo believed that the roof of the house had
 collapsed.'

b. *Chelsu-nŋn cipung-il kŋ cip-i
 C.-TOP roof-ACC the house-NOM
 mune-ci-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 collapse-pst-ind-cmp believe-pst-ind

(108) a. Chelsu-nŋn kŋ cip-i aph-i thi-i-ess-ta-ko
 C.-TOP the house-NOM front-NOM open-pas-pst-ind
 saengkakha-ess-ta.
 think-pst-ind
 ('Chulsoo believed that the view from the front of
 the house was unobstructed.')

b. *Chelsu-nŋn aph-il kŋ cip-i thi-i-ess-ta-ko
 C.-TOP front-ACC the house-NOM open-pas-ind-cmp
 saengkakha-ess-ta.
 think-pst-ind

One might claim that the ungrammaticality of the (b)

sentences in the above is due to word order tendencies since

in Korean the relative order of the possessor and the head

nominal within the possessive phrase is that the former

precedes the latter. However, even when the ascended pos-

essor is placed before the possessed nominal, the resulting

sentence is unacceptable, as in (109-110).

- (113) Suni-ka Chelsu-ka/lil/eykey Yengsu-ka/lil/eykey
 S.-NOM C.-NOM/ACC/DAT Y.-NOM/ACC/DAT
 ttaeli-key ha-ess-ta.
 hit-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Soonni made Chulsoo hit Youngsoo.'
- (114) Suni-ka Chelsu-ka/lil/eykey Yengsu-ka/lil/eykey
 S.-NOM C.-NOM/ACC/DAT Y.-NOM/ACC/DAT
 yenge-lil kalizchi-key ha-ess-ta.
 English-ACC teach-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Soonni made Chulsoo teach English to Youngsoo.'

Section 2.1.3.5 showed that, when a PA MNC is a causative complement, the first nominal can be marked nominative, accusative, or dative, which gives evidence for its final subject-hood.

- (115) Suni-ka Chelsu-ka/lil/eykey pal-i pascul-ey
 S.-NOM C.-NOM/ACC/DAT foot-NOM rope-in
 kal-li-key ha-ess-ta.
 catch-pas-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Soonni made Chulsoo's foot get caught in the rope.'
- (116) Phoksel-i kɛ cip-i/lil/ey cipun-g-i
 heavy snowfall-NOM the house-NOM/ACC/DAT roof-NOM
 naelyeanc-key ha-ess-ta.
 collapse-cmp do-pst-ind
 'A heavy snowfall caused the roof of the house to collapse.'

If the second nominal in PA MNCs were also a final subject, it would be predicted to be similarly marked for nominative, accusative, or dative case. However, this prediction is not borne out, as (117-121) shows.

- (117) Kɛ kwangkyeng-i Chelsu-ka nun-i/lil/ey
 the scene-NOM C.-NOM eye-NOM/ACC/DAT
 hwitungkilasci-key ha-ess-ta.
 be pop-eyed-cmp do-pst-ind
 'The scene made Chulsoo open his eyes wide.'

- (118) Kacenghwankyeng-i Chelsu-ka sengkyek-i/lil/ey
 home background-NOM C.-NOM character-NOM/ACC/DAT
 myenglangha-key ha-ess-ta.
 cheerful-cmp do-pst-ind
 'His home background made Chulsoo's character cheerful.'

- (119) Phoksel-i kɛ cip-i cipun-g-i/lil/ey
 heavy snowfall-NOM the house-NOM roof-NOM/ACC/DAT
 naelyeanc-key ha-ess-ta.
 collapse-cmp do-pst-ind
 'A heavy snowfall caused the roof of the house to collapse.'

- (120) Chelsu-ka kɛ sikyey-ka thapyeop-i/lil/ey
 C.-NOM the watch-NOM spring-NOM/ACC/DAT
 kkɛnh-eci-key ha-ess-ta.
 snap-pas-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo made the spring of the watch snap.'
- (121) Kɛ kemul-ty chelke-ka kɛ cip-i
 the building-GEN removal-NOM the house-NOM
 aph-i/lil/ey thɛ-i-key ha-ess-ta.
 front-NOM/ACC/DAT open-pas-cmp do-pst-ind
 ('The removal of the building made the view from the front of the house unobstructed.')

Thus, the fact that the second nominative nominal in PA MNCs fails to show the case alternations in syntactic causatives provides evidence that it is not a final subject.

2.1.4.4 Topicalization

It has been observed by many scholars that the so-called topic particle *hi* in Korean has two functions: thematic and contrastive. Consider, for example, the following clauses:

- (122) Chelsu-ka hakkyo-ey ke-ss-ta.
 C.-NOM school-to go-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo went to school.'

- (123) Chelsu-nin hakkyo-ey ka-ss-ta.
 C.-TOP school-to go-pst-ind
 i) 'Speaking of Chulsoo, he went to school.'
 ii) 'As for Chulsoo, he went to school (but as for others, - - -).'

As the English translations show, nin in (123) receives both the thematic and the contrastive interpretations. When it receives the thematic interpretation as in (i), nin (unstressed) marks Chulsoo as the theme of the sentence; when it receives the contrastive interpretation, nin (which carries the primary stress) marks Chulsoo as an element that is in contrast with some other element not mentioned in the sentence.

In fact, it is controversial whether the two nin's, since they are homophonous, constitute a single morpheme or distinct morphemes. Gerdts (1986) claims clauses like (123) to be topic constructions, and refers to a nominal marked with the nin which receives a thematic interpretation as "plain topic" and a nominal marked with the nin which receives a contrastive interpretation as "contrastive topic." The distribution of a plain and a contrastive topic, she says, provides a means of distinguishing final terms and chômeurs in Korean since they show a different distribution with respect to these two types of topics. Gerdts (1986: 106) proposes the following constraint to account for the cases where only the contrastive reading is permitted:

- (124) A nominal heading a Cho arc cannot serve as a plain topic.

Given the constraint in (124), we can say that a nominal heading a final term (i.e. final 1, 2, or 3) can serve as a plain or a contrastive topic; a nominal heading a Cho arc can serve only as a contrastive topic. Let us take an example to serve as an illustration:

- (125) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-eykey yenge-l-i kalitchi-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-DAT English-ACC teach-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo taught English to Sooni.'
 b. Chelsu-ka Suni-l-i yenge-l-i kalitchi-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-ACC English-ACC teach-pst-ind
 (126) a. Sun-i-nin Chelsu-ka yenge-l-i kalitchi-ess-ta.
 S.-TOP C.-NOM English-ACC teach-pst-ind
 i) 'Speaking of Sooni, Chulsoo taught her English.'
 ii) 'As for Sooni, Chulsoo taught her English (but as for other people, ---)'
 b. Yenge-nin Chelsu-ka Suni-l-i kalitchi-ess-ta.
 English-TOP C.-NOM S.-ACC teach-pst-ind
 'As for English, Chulsoo taught it to Sooni
 (but as for other subjects, ---).'

Example (125b) is a 3-2 Advancement clause where Sooni, which is an Initial 3, advances to 2, putting English, which is an initial 2, en chômeur in the final stratum. (126 a,b) are the topicalized versions of (125b). In (126a) the final 2 (i.e. Sooni) is topicalized and thus the clause allows both the thematic and the contrastive interpretations; in (126b) the final 2-chômeur (i.e. English) is topicalized; therefore, only the contrastive interpretation results.

Under a PA analysis, the possessor ascends from its host and usurps the relation of the host, putting the host nominal

en ch'omage, to bear that grammatical relation to the clause. Hence, the possessor heads a final term arc and the possessee heads a Cho arc. The constraint (124) predicts that the ascended possessor in PA MNCs can serve as a plain and a contrastive topic, while the possessee can serve only as a contrastive topic. Let us now turn to PA MNCs under discussion and see whether this prediction is borne out. Observe:

(127) a. Suni-ka nun-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-NOM eye-NOM pretty-ind
'Soonie has pretty eyes.'

b. Suni-nin nun-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-TOP eye-NOM pretty-ind
i) 'Speaking of Soonie, she has pretty eyes.'
ii) 'As for Soonie, she has pretty eyes (but as for other people, - - -).'

c. Nun-in Suni-ka yeyppi-ta.
eye-NOM S.-NOM pretty-ind
'As for eyes, Soonie has pretty eyes (but as for other body parts, - - -).'

We can see from the English glosses that in (127b), where the first nominal (i.e. the ascended possessor) is topicalized, both a thematic and a contrastive reading are possible, but in (127c), where the second nominal (i.e. the possessee) is topicalized, only the contrastive reading is permitted. This variation implies that the first nominal in (127a) heads a final term arc, while the second nominal in (127a) heads a Cho arc. Additional examples are provided below to show that the same phenomenon is observed in all the types of PA MNCs. Note the contrast in the (b) and (c) clauses. In the (b) clauses,

the first nominative nominal is topicalized, and these clauses allow a reading with either a plain or a contrastive topic; in the (c) clauses, the second nominative nominal is topicalized, and these clauses allow a reading with a contrastive topic.

- (128) a. Chelsu-ka khi-ka khi-ta.
C.-NOM stature-NOM tall-ind
'Chulseo is tall in stature.'
- b. Chelsu-nin khi-ka khi-ta.
C.-TOP stature-NOM tall-ind
- c. khi-nin Chelsu-ka khi-ta.
stature-TOP C.-NOM tall-ind
- (129) a. Yongsu-ka sengkyek-i kwaehwalha-ta.
Y.-NOM character-NOM cheerful-ind
'Yongsu has cheerful character.'
- b. Yongsu-nin sengkyek-i kwaehwalha-ta.
Y.-TOP character-NOM cheerful-ind
- c. Sengkyek-in Yongsu-ka kwaehwalha-ta.
character-NOM Y.-NOM cheerful-ind
- (130) a. I sikyey-ka thaeyep-i kkinh-eci-ess-ta.
this watch-NOM spring-NOM snap-pas-pst-ind
'The spring of this watch was snapped.'
- b. I sikyey-nin thaeyep-i kkinh-eci-ess-ta.
this watch-TOP spring-NOM snap-pas-pst-ind
- c. Thaeyep-in i sikyey-ka kkinh-eci-ess-ta.
spring-TOP this watch-NOM snap-pas-pst-ind
- (131) a. I cip-i aph-i thi-i-ess-ta.
this house-NOM front-NOM open-pst-ind
'The view from the front of this house was unobstructed.'
- b. I sip-in aph-i thi-i-ess-ta.
this house-TOP front-NOM open-pas-pst-ind
- c. Aph-in i cip-i thi-i-ess-ta.
front-TOP this house-NOM open-pas-pst-ind

Thus, the fact that the second nominative nominal in PA MNCs cannot serve as a plain topic provides evidence for its non-final subjecthood as well as for the PA analysis proposed for the constructions under discussion.

2.1.5 Summary

This section discussed PA MNCs and argued that the first nominative nominal is a final subject, while the second nominative nominal is not. Section 2.1.1 gave a brief overview of PA provided in RG to facilitate the understanding of the discussion in subsequent sections. Section 2.1.2 discussed the syntactic and semantic conditions on PA in Korean, showing that PA is limited to cases where the host heads a 2-arc and that PA is allowed only when the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability or localizing inalienability. Section 2.1.3 provided evidence for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal in PA MNCs based on Subject Honorification, the reflexive *esin*, Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and *kkevsse-* marking. Finally, section 2.1.4 argued that the second nominative nominal in PA MNCs is not an ascended final subject by demonstrating that it does not behave like a final subject with respect to Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and topicalization.

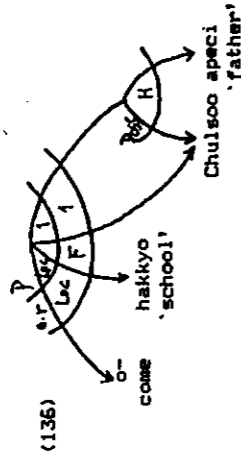
2.2 Focus MNCs

Thus far we have seen that PA in Korean is allowed only when the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability or localizing inalienability. However, there are other examples in Korean in which no such semantic restrictions for PA seem to hold. At first glance, it appears that any possessor can ascend from its host, regardless of the semantic relation between the possessor and the possessee, as illustrated in the following.

- (132) a. Chelsu-ty apeci-ka hakkyo-ey o-si-ess-ta.
C.-GEN father-NOM school-to come-SH-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's father came to school.'
- b. Chelsu-ka apeci-ka hakkyo-ey o-si-ess-ta.
C.-NOM father-NOM school-to come-SH-pst-ind
- (133) a. Suni-ty tongsaeng-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-GEN sister-NOM pretty-ind
'Soonil's sister is pretty.'
- b. Suni-ka tongsaeng-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-NOM sister-NOM pretty-ind
- (134) a. Chelsu-ty kangaci-ka talana-ss-ta.
C.-GEN puppy-NOM run away-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's puppy ran away.'
- b. Chelsu-ka kangaci-ka talana-ss-ta.
C.-NOM puppy-NOM run away-pst-ind
- (135) a. Suni-ty kutu-ka ccic-eci-ess-ta.
S.-GEN shoe-NOM tear-pas-pst-ind
'Soonil's shoes were torn.'
- b. Suni-ka kutu-ka ccic-eci-ess-ta.
S.-NOM shoe-NOM tear-pas-pst-ind

Most previous studies (e.g. Shibatani (1976), Suh (1977), etc.) treat clauses like the above as having the same struc-

ture as PA MNCs discussed in the previous section. However, I claim that such clauses, though relatable to their possessive counterparts, are not PA MNCs. In this section, I refer to these constructions as Focus MNCs and show that the first nominative nominal is a focus and that the second nominative nominal is a final subject. I suggest (132), for example, has the structure represented in (136).



In Focus MNCs like (136), the possessor bears a final overlay relation (i.e. the focus relation) to the clause, and the possessive phrase heads a final 1-arc. 16

The 'focus' I propose here is similar to Chafe's (1976) "focus of contrast" in that sentences with the focus *ka* involve three factors: "awareness," "possible candidate," and "correct choice." However, it differs from Chafe's 'focus' in that a given clause can usually have one focus which has exclusive interpretation in clause-initial position.

This section is organized as follows: Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 discuss the syntactic and semantic restrictions on Focus MNCs; Section 2.2.3 provides evidence that the first nominative nominal is a focus and that the second nominative nominal is a

final subject by examining the syntactic behavior of each nominative nominal; and Section 2.1.4 summarizes my analysis.

2.2.1 Syntactic Conditions on the Focus *ka*

The foregoing section showed that the possessor can ascend out of the host to bear the subject relation to the clause when the host heads a 2-arc — more specifically, a 2-arc in either an unaccusative or transitive stratum. In Focus MNCs like those in (132-135), however, the possessor can bear the focus relation only when the possessive phrase heads a final 1-arc. Consider first the following pairs:

- (137) a. Chelsu-ty emeni-ka kyohoy-ey tani-si-n-ta.
C.-GEN mother-NOM church-to go-SH-pres-ind
'Chulsoo's mother goes to church.'
- b. Chelsu-ka emeni-ka kyohoy-ey tani-si-n-ta.
C.-NOM mother-NOM church-to go-SH-pres-ind
- (138) a. Suni-ty kangaci-ka talana-s-s-ta.
S.-GEN puppy-NOM run away-pst-ind
'Sooni's puppy ran away.'
- b. Suni-ka kangaci-ka talana-s-s-ta.
S.-NOM puppy-NOM run away-pst-ind

Examples (137a-138a) are unergative clauses in which the initial stratum has a 1-arc but no 2-arc (cf. Section 3.1). The possessive phrase heads both the initial and final 1-arc. Thus, as can be seen in (137b-138b), the possessor can bear the focus relation to the clause.

If the possessive phrase appears in a clause that is initially unaccusative (i.e. one whose initial stratum con-

tains a 2-arc but no 1-arc), the possessor can be the focus of the clause.

- (139) a. Chelsu-ty tongsaeng-i nemeci-ess-ta.
C.-GEN brother-NOM fall-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's brother fell.'
- b. Chelsu-ka tongsaeng-i nemeci-ess-ta.
C.-NOM brother-NOM fall-pst-ind
- (140) a. Suni-ty chaeksang-i puseci-ess-ta.
S.-GEN desk-NOM be broken-pst-ind
'Soonie's desk was broken.'
- b. Suni-ka chaeksang-i puseci-ess-ta.
S.-NOM desk-NOM be broken-pst-ind

In (139a-140a), the possessive phrase which is an initial 2 has advanced to 1 by means of Unaccusative Advancement, so the possessor can serve as the focus.

The same is true with the cases where the possessive phrase heads an erg-arc; i.e. a 1-arc in transitive clauses.

- (141) a. Chelsu-ty apci-ka cha-lil sa-ss-ta.
C.-GEN father-NOM car-ACC buy-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's father bought a car.'
- b. Chelsu-ka apci-ka cha-lil sa-ss-ta.
C.-NOM father-NOM car-ACC buy-pst-ind
- (142) a. Suni-ty koyangi-ka cwi-lil cap-ass-ta.
S.-GEN cat-NOM rat-ACC catch-pst-ind
'Soonie's cat caught a rat.'
- b. Suni-ka koyangi-ka cwi-lil cap-ass-ta.
S.-NOM cat-NOM rat-ACC catch-pst-ind

When the possessive phrase heads a 2-arc or a 3-arc in transitive clauses, the possessor cannot be the focus of the clause.

- (143) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-ty apci-lil manna-ss-ta.
C.-NOM S.-GEN father-ACC meet-pst-ind
'Chulsoo met Soonie's father.'
- b. *Chelsu-ka Suni-ka apci-lil manna-ss-ta.
C.-NOM S.-NOM father-ACC meet-pst-ind
- c. *Suni-ka apci-lil Chelsu-ka manna-ss-ta.
S.-NOM father-ACC C.-NOM meet-pst-ind
- (144) a. Suni-ka Chelsu-ty kae-eykey kwaca-lil
cu-ess-ta.
S.-NOM C.-GEN dog-DAT cookie-ACC
give-pst-ind
'Soonie gave a cookie to Chulsoo's dog.'
- b. *Suni-ka Chelsu-ka kae-eykey kwaca-lil
S.-NOM C.-NOM dog-DAT cookie-ACC
cu-ess-ta.
give-pst-ind
- c. *Chelsu-ka kae-eykey Suni-ka kwaca-lil
C.-NOM dog-DAT S.-NOM cookie-ACC
cu-ess-ta.
give-pst-ind

Examples (143c-144c) show that the possessor in (143a-144a) cannot bear the focus relation even though it occurs in clause-initial position.

In a passive clause, only when the possessive phrase heads a final 1-arc, can the possessor be focussed.

- (145) a. Chelsu-ty tongsaeng-i cha-ey chi-i-ess-ta.
C.-GEN brother-NOM car-by hit-pas-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's brother was hit by a car.'
- b. Chelsu-ka tongsaeng-i cha-ey chi-i-ess-ta.
C.-NOM brother-NOM car-by hit-pas-pst-ind
- (146) a. Suni-ty chaek-i ki hoysa-ey fyhae
S.-GEN book-NOM the company-by
chulphan-toy-ess-ta.
publish-pas-pst-ind
'Soonie's book was published by the company.'

- b. Suni-ka chae-ki kt hoysa-ey tyhae
S.-NOM book-NOM the company-by
chulphan-toy-ess-ta.
publish-pas-pst-ind

That the possessor cannot be focussed when the possessive phrase is a final 1-chomeur is shown by the following examples:

- (147) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-ty oppa-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-GEN brother-by catch-pas-pst-ind
'Chulsoo was caught by Sooni's brother.'
b. *Chelsu-ka Suni-ka oppa-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-NOM brother-by catch-pas-pst-ind
c. *Suni-ka oppa-eykey Chelsu-ka cap-hi-ess-ta.
S.-NOM brother-by C.-NOM catch-pas-pst-ind
- (148) a. Suni-ka Chelsu-ty kae-eykey mul-li-ess-ta.
S.-NOM C.-GEN dog-by bite-pas-pst-ind
'Sooni was bitten by Chulsoo's dog.'
b. *Suni-ka Chelsu-ka kae-eykey mul-li-ess-ta.
S.-NOM C.-NOM dog-by bite-pas-pst-ind
c. *Chelsu-ka kae-eykey Suni-ka mul-li-ess-ta.
C.-NOM dog-by S.-NOM bite-pas-pst-ind

Thus, we can say that the possessor can bear the focus relation to the clause only when the possessive phrase heads a final 1-arc.

2.2.2 Semantic Conditions on the Focus ka

As with PA MNCs, Focus MNCs have some semantic restrictions. Semantically, in PA MNCs the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability or localizing inalienability. However, in Focus MNCs the possessor and the possessee should be in a relation of socially deter-

mined inalienability or alienable possession. (149b-152b) show that, when the possessor has a social or kinship relation to the possessor, the possessor can serve as the focus of the clause.

- (149) a. Chelsu-ty anae-ka talana-ss-ta.
C.-GEN wife-NOM run away-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's wife ran away.'
b. Chelsu-ka anae-ka talana-ss-ta.
C.-NOM wife-NOM run away-pst-ind
- (150) a. Suni-ty tongsaeng-i aphit-ta.
S.-GEN brother-NOM sick-ind
'Sooni's brother is sick.'
b. Suni-ka tongsaeng-i aphit-ta.
S.-NOM brother-NOM sick-ind
- (151) a. Chelsu-ty chinku-ka cuk-ess-ta.
C.-GEN friend-NOM die-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's friend died.'
b. Chelsu-ka chinku-ka cuk-ess-ta.
C.-NOM friend-NOM die-pst-ind
- (152) a. Suni-ty sensaengnim-i Seul-lo
S.-GEN teacher-NOM Seoul-to
cankin-toy-ess-ta.
transfer-pas-pst-ind
'Sooni's teacher was transferred to Seoul.'
b. Suni-ka sensaengnim-i Seul-lo
S.-NOM teacher-NOM Seoul-to
cankin-toy-ess-ta.
transfer-pas-pst-ind

When the possessee denotes an alienable possession of the possessor, the possessor can also serve as the focus.

- (153) a. Chelsu-ty sinpal-i talh-ass-ta.
C.-GEN shoe-NOM wear-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's shoes were worn.'

- b. Chelsu-ka sinpal-i talh-ass-ta.
C.-NOM shoe-NOM wear-pst-ind
- (154) a. Suni-ty yemhil-i tteleci-ess-ta.
S.-GEN pencil-NOM fall-pst-ind
'Soonil's pencil fell.'
- b. Suni-ka yemhil-i tteleci-ess-ta.
S.-NOM pencil-NOM fall-pst-ind
- (155) a. Chelsu-ty kae-ka ai-ltl mul-ess-ta.
C.-GEN dog-NOM child-ACC bite-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's dog bit the child.'
- b. Chelsu-ka kae-ka ai-ltl mul-ess-ta.
C.-NOM dog-NOM child-ACC bite-pst-ind
- (156) a. Suni-ty os-i ccic-eci-ess-ta.
S.-GEN clothes-NOM tear-pas-pst-ind
'Soonil's clothes were torn.'
- b. Suni-ka os-i ccic-eci-ess-ta.
S.-NOM clothes-NOM tear-pas-pst-ind

Other than the above-mentioned relations, various other semantic associations can exist between the genitive nominal and the head nominal. However, as (157b-150b) show, the genitive nominal cannot be the focus of the clause unless the above conditions are met.

- (157) a. Yengkwang-ty kil-i Chelsu-eykey
glory-GEN path-NOM C.-DAT
yel-li-ess-ta.
open-pas-pst-ind
'The path of glory was opened to Chulsoo.'
- b. *Yengkwang-i kil-i Chelsu-eykey
glory-GEN path-NOM C.-DAT
yel-li-ess-ta.
open-pas-pst-ind

- (158) a. Pulhu-ty cakpum-i kt kkkcang-eyse
immortality-GEN work-NOM the theater-at
sangyen-toy-ess-ta.
present-pas-pst-ind
'The immortal work was presented at the theater.'
- b. *Pulhu-ka cakpum-i kt kkkcang-eyse
immortality-NOM work-NOM the theater-at
sangyen-toy-ess-ta.
present-pas-pst-ind
- (159) a. Etum-ty cangmak-i taeci-ey
darkness-GEN veil-NOM earth-over
kkal-li-ess-ta.
spread-pas-pst-ind
'The veil of darkness spread over the earth.'
- b. *Etum-i cangmak-i taeci-ey
darkness-NOM veil-NOM earth-over
kkal-li-ess-ta.
spread-pas-pst-ind
- (160) a. Halu-ty hyusik-i pyengsa-ttl-ty saki-ltl
one day-GEN rest-NOM soldier-pl-GEN morale-ACC
puktotu-ess-ta.
raise-pst-ind
'One day's rest raised the morale of the soldiers.'
- b. *Halu-ka hyusik-i pyengsa-ttl-ty saki-ltl
one day-NOM rest-NOM soldier-pl-GEN morale-ACC
puktotu-ess-ta.
raise-pst-ind

The preceding examples verify that the possessor can bear the focus relation to the clause only when the possessor and the possessee are semantically in a relation of socially determined inalienability or alienable possession.

2.2.3 Grammatical Relations in Focus MNCs

This section contrasts the first and the second nominal native nominals in Focus MNCs and demonstrates that the second nominal, not the first nominal, is a final subject by giving

evidence from Subject Honorification, the reflexive *CSAID*, Plural Copying, and *kkeyse*-marking.

2.2.3.1 Subject Honorification

Shibatani (1976), Suh (1977), etc. noted that the phenomenon of Subject Honorification provides evidence that the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs is not a final subject.

Section 1.2.1 showed that Korean has a syntactic device

referred to as Subject Honorification in which the honorific

morpheme *si* is suffixed to the verb stem, and proposed the

following condition on controllers of Subject Honorification:

- (161) A final I can control Subject Honorification.

Given this condition, we may safely say that, if a nominal

cannot control Subject Honorification, it is not a final

subject. Let us see how the first nominative nominal in Focus

MNCs behaves with respect to Subject Honorification.

- (162) Kim *sensaengnim-i* *atti-i* Mikuk-eye
Kim teacher-NOM son-NOM U.S.-from
tolao-()i-ess-ta.*
return-SH-pst-ind

'Prof. Kim's son returned from the United States.'

- (163) Lee *sensaengnim-i* *ttal-i* *yeyppi-(*)i-ta.*
Lee teacher-NOM daughter-NOM pretty-SH-ind
'Prof. Lee's daughter is pretty.'

- (164) Kim *sensaengnim-i* *kapang-i* *khi-(*)i-ta.*
Kim teacher-NOM briefcase-NOM big-SH-ind
'Prof. Kim's briefcase is big.'

- (165) Lee *sensaengnim-i* *kutu-ka* *ccic-eci-(*)i-ess-ta.*
Lee teacher-NOM shoe-NOM tear-pas-SH-pst-ind
'Prof. Lee's shoe was torn.'

In each of (162-165) above, the first nominative nominal is an appropriate person to whom the speaker may show deference in terms of Subject Honorification. If it were a final subject, it should be able to control Subject Honorification; however, it fails to do so. This shows that the first nominative nominal, though marked for nominative case, does not have subject properties. It is more easily observed in the examples below that the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs cannot control Subject Honorification. Consider:

- (166) Chelsu-ka *apnim-i* *hakkyo-ey* *o-si-ess-ta.*
C.-NOM father-NOM school-to come-SH-pst-ind
'Chulsu's father came to school.'

- (167) Suni-ka *emnim-i* *phyenchanh-isi-ta.*
S.-NOM mother-NOM sick(HON)-SH-ind
'Soonie's mother is sick.'

- (168) Chelsu-ka *sensaengnim-i* *tolaka-si-ess-ta.*
C.-NOM teacher-NOM die(HON)-SH-pst-ind
'Chulsu's teacher died.'

- (169) Suni-ka *sensaengnim-i* *seul-lo* *cenkin-toy-si-ess-ta.*
S.-NOM teacher-NOM Seoul-to transfer-pas-SH-pst-ind
'Soonie's teacher was transferred to Seoul.'

Examples (166-169) have exactly the same pattern of MNCs as

(162-165), where the first nominative has a social or kinship

relation to the second nominative nominal. It is clear in

these constructions that the second nominal, not the first

nominal, is responsible for Subject Honorification, since only

the referent of the second nominal would call for the speaker's

deference. Hence, (166-169) show the subjecthood of the

second nominal in Focus MNCs as well as the lack of subject properties in the first nominal of Focus MNCs.

The fact that the second nominal in Focus MNCs behaves like a final subject with respect to Subject Honorification is further confirmed by the following examples:

(170) Kim *sensaengnim-i* atnim-i o-si-ess-ta.
Kim teacher-NOM son(HON)-NOM come-SH-pst-ind
'Prof. Kim's son came.'

(171) Lee *sensaengnim-i* ttanim-i yeyppi-si-ta.
Lee teacher-NOM daughter(HON)-NOM pretty-SH-ind
'Prof. Lee's daughter is pretty.'

In (170-171), the first nominative nominal refers to a more esteemed person than the second nominative nominal. However, as we can see in the contrast between (162-165) and (170-171), Subject Honorification in these latter examples can be attributed to the second nominative nominal, if it designates a person to be honored. This indicates that the second nominative nominal is a final subject.

Thus, the data involving Subject Honorification provide an argument for the non-final I-hood of the first nominative nominal and the final I-hood of the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs.

2.2.3.2 The Reflexive *casin*

As was also noted in Shibatani (1976), the data involving the reflexive *casin* shows that the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs fails to exhibit another characteristic of

Korean subjects.¹⁷ It was shown in Section 1.2.2 that final subject is a sufficient requirement for a nominal to antecede the reflexive *casin*. We can infer from this antecedence condition that any nominal that cannot antecede *casin* is not a final subject. Observe first the following Focus MNCs where the first and the second nominative nominals are in a relation of socially determined inalienability.

(172) Lee *sensaengnim-i* chinku-ka casin-iy kohyang-ey
Lee teacher-NOM friend-NOM self-GEN hometown-in
hakkyo-iti seyu-ess-ta.
school-ACC found-pst-ind
'Prof. Lee's friend_j founded a school in self's_i/j
hometown.'

(173) Kim *sensaengnim-i* atil-i casin-iy pan-eyse
Kim teacher-NOM son-NOM self-GEN class-in
ceyil tokttokha-ta.
most intelligent-ind
'Prof. Kim's son_j is the most intelligent in
self's_i/j class.'

(174) Lee *sensaengnim-i* chinku-ka casin-iy secap-eyse
Lee teacher-NOM friend-NOM self-GEN study-in
coltoha-ess-ta.
faint-pst-ind
'Prof. Lee's_i friend_j fainted in self's_i/j
study.'

(175) Kim *sensaengnim-i* atil-i casin-iy samusil-eyse
Kim teacher-NOM son-NOM self-GEN office-in
slahae-toy-ess-ta.
kill-pas-pst-ind
'Prof. Kim's_i son_j was killed in self's_i/j office.'

In (172-175), the only possible interpretation is one in which *casin* is coreferential with the second nominative nominal; the sentences do not allow any reading in which *casin* is coref-

erential with the first nominative nominal. This indicates that the second nominal, not the first nominal, is a final subject.

The same phenomenon is observed in Focus MNCs where the first and the second nominals are in a relation of alienable possession.

- (176) *?Chelsu-ka kangaci-ka casin-ty cip-eyse
 C.-NOM puppy-NOM self-GEN house-from
 talana-ss-ta.
 run away-pst-ind
 (Chulsu's_i puppy ran away from self's_i house.)
- (177) *?Sumi-ka thokki-ka casin-ty cip-eyse cuk-ess-ta.
 S.-NOM rabbit-NOM self-GEN house-in die-pst-ind
 (Sooni's_i rabbit died in self's_i house.)
- (178) ??Chelsu-ka kapang-i casin-ty pan-eyse kacang
 C.-NOM bag-NOM self-GEN class-in most
 mukep-ta.
 heavy-ind
 (Chulsu's_i bag is the heaviest in self's_i class.)
- (179) ??Chelsu-ka chaek-i casin-ty chulphansa-eyse
 C.-NOM book-NOM self-GEN publishing company-in
 chulphan-toy-ess-ta.
 publish-pas-pst-ind
 (Chulsu's_i book was published in self's_i
 publishing company.)

In (176-179), the only candidate for the antecedent of *casin* is the first nominative nominal since the antecedent must be a nominal with a human referent. However, when *casin* takes the first nominal as its antecedent, the resultant sentence, though not completely unacceptable, is very awkward. This fact shows that the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs is not a final subject.

The preceding examples give evidence for the non-final hood of the first nominal and the final hood of the second nominal in Focus MNCs.

2.2.3.3 Plural Copying

The phenomenon of Plural Copying also provides an argument for the non-final hood of the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs. It was shown in 1.2.3 that, when a final subject is plural, it can control Plural Copying; that is, the plurality of a final subject can induce the affixation of the plural marker *ti* on non-nominal categories, such as adverbs, postpositions, complementizers, etc. Given this condition on controllers of Plural Copying, we can say that, if a nominal cannot control Plural Copying, it is not a final subject. Let us see whether the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs can control Plural Copying. Consider first the following sentences:

- (180) a. I ai-tti-i emeni-ka kapcaki
 this child-pl-NOM mother-NOM suddenly
 tolaka-si-ess-ta.
 die(HON)-SH-pst-ind
 'These children's mother died suddenly.'
- b. *I ai-tti-i emeni-ka kapcaki-tti
 this child-pl-NOM mother-NOM suddenly-pl
 tolaka-si-ess-ta.
 die(HON)-SH-pst-ind
- (181) a. K_i haksaeung-tti-i sensaengni_i-i Seoul-lo
 the student-pl-NOM teacher-NOM Seoul-to
 cenkin-toy-ess-ta.
 transfer-pas-pst-ind
 'The students' teacher was transferred to Seoul.'

- b. *kɨ haksæng-tɨl-i sensaengnim-i Seul-lo-tɨl
the student-pl-NOM teacher-NOM Seoul-to-pl
cenkin-toy-ess-ta.
transfer-pas-pst-ind

Examples (180-181) are Focus MNCs where the first and the second nominative nominals are in a relation of socially determined inalienability. As (180b-181b) show, the first nominative nominal, though it is plural, cannot induce the appearance of the plural marker tɨl on non-nominal categories. This indicates that the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs does not act as a final subject. The same is true in the case of Focus MNCs where the first and the second nominals are in a relation of alienable possession. If the plural marker appears on categories other than the noun it pluralizes, the resulting sentence is somewhat awkward.

- (182) a. Kɨ haksæng-tɨl-i chaek-i kapcaki
the student-pl-NOM book-NOM suddenly
epseci-ess-ta.
be lost-pst-ind
'The students' books were lost suddenly.'

- b. ?Kɨ haksæng-tɨl-i chaek-i kapcaki-tɨl
the student-pl-NOM book-NOM suddenly-pl
epseci-ess-ta.
be lost-pst-ind

- (183) a. Kɨ ai-tɨl-i kapang-i pi-ey cec-ess-ta.
the child-pl-NOM bag-NOM rain-in wet-pst-ind
'These children's bags got wet in the rain.'
- b. ?Kɨ ai-tɨl-i kapang-i pi-ey-tɨl cec-ess-ta.
the child-pl-NOM bag-NOM rain-in-pl wet-pst-ind

Under the proposed analysis, the second nominative nomi-

nal in Focus MNCs is a final subject; hence, if the second nominative nominal is pluralized, it can control plural copying, as in (184-187) below.

- (184) Chelsu-ka tongsaeng-tɨl-i kapcaki-tɨl ul-ess-ta.
C.-NOM brother-pl-NOM suddenly-pl cry-pst-ind
'Chulsu's brothers cried suddenly.'

- (185) Suni-ka sensaengnim-tɨl-i Seul-lo-tɨl
S.-NOM teacher-pl-NOM Seoul-to-pl
cenkin-toy-ess-ta.
transfer-pas-pst-ind

'Soni's teachers were transferred to Seoul.'

- (186) Chelsu-ka chaek-tɨl-i kapcaki-tɨl epseci-ess-ta.
C.-NOM book-pl-NOM suddenly-pl be lost-pst-ind
'Chulsu's books were lost suddenly.'

- (187) Suni-ka kapang-tɨl-i pi-ey-tɨl cec-ess-ta.
S.-NOM bag-pl-NOM rain-in-pl wet-pst-ind
'Soni's bags got wet in the rain.'

The preceding examples provide evidence for the final subjecthood of the second nominative nominal as well as the non-subjecthood of the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs.

2.2.3.4 kkeyse-Marking

Data involving the honorific nominative marker kkeyse show that the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs fails another diagnostic for final subjecthood. Section 1.2.4 provided the following kkeyse-marking condition:

- (188) Only a final subject can be marked with the honorific nominative marker kkeyse.

Given condition (188), if the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs were a final subject, we would expect it to be

marked with *kkeyse*. However, when it is marked with *kkeyse*, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical, as shown in (189b-192b).

- (189) a. Kim *sensaengnim-i ttal-i* *yeyppi-ta*.
Kim teacher-NOM daughter-NOM pretty-IND
'Prof. Kim's daughter is pretty.'
b. *Kim *sensaengnim-kkeyse ttal-i* *yeyppi-ta*.
Kim teacher-NOM(HON) daughter-NOM pretty-IND
- (190) a. Lee *sensaengnim-i ceyca-ka* *cuk-ess-ta*.
Lee teacher-NOM student-NOM die-pst-IND
'Prof. Lee's student died.'
b. *Lee *sensaengnim-kkeyse ceyca-ka* *cuk-ess-ta*.
Lee teacher-NOM(HON) student-NOM die-pst-IND
- (191) a. Kim *sensaengnim-i kutu-ka* *ccic-eci-ess-ta*.
Kim teacher-NOM shoe-NOM tear-pas-pst-IND
'Prof. Kim's shoe has been torn.'
b. *Kim *sensaengnim-kkeyse kutu-ka* *ccic-eci-ess-ta*.
Kim teacher-NOM(HON) shoe-NOM tear-pas-pst-IND
- (192) a. Lee *sensaengnim-i chaek-i* *chulphan-toy-ess-ta*.
Lee teacher-NOM book-NOM publish-pas-pst-IND
'Prof. Lee's book was published.'
b. *Lee *sensaengnim-kkeyse chaek-i* *chulphan-toy-ess-ta*.
Lee teacher-NOM(HON) book-NOM publish-pas-pst-IND

That the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs cannot be marked with *kkeyse* is more clearly seen by the ungrammaticality of the following examples in which the verb is made into the honorific form by the suffixation of the honorific morpheme *si* to its stem.

- (193) *Kim *sensaengnim-kkeyse ttal-i* *yeyppi-si-ta*.
Kim teacher-NOM(HON) daughter-NOM pretty-SH-IND
(Prof. Kim's daughter is pretty.)

- (194) *Lee *sensaengnim-kkeyse ceyca-ka* *tolaka-si-ess-ta*.
Lee teacher-NOM(HON) student-NOM die(HON)-SH-pst-IND
(Prof. Lee's student died.)
(195) *Kim *sensaengnim-kkeyse kutu-ka* *ccic-eci-si-ess-ta*.
Kim teacher-NOM(HON) shoe-NOM tear-pas-SH-pst-IND
(Prof. Kim's shoe has been torn.)
(196) *Lee *sensaengnim-kkeyse chaek-i* *chulphan-toy-si-ess-ta*.
Lee teacher-NOM(HON) book-NOM publish-pas-SH-pst-IND
(Prof. Lee's book was published.)

In the above examples, the referent of the first nominative nominal is an appropriate person to whom the speaker can show deference. And we have seen that the final *i*-hood of a nominal is a sufficient condition for controlling Subject Honorification. However, as was shown above, the first nominative nominal cannot control Subject Honorification. If it were a final subject, there is no reason why it should not be able to control Subject Honorification.

Under my analysis, the second nominative nominal is a final subject. Condition (188) says that only a final subject can be marked with *kkeyse*. Thus we can make the prediction that the second nominative nominal can be marked with *kkeyse* if its referent is honorable. This prediction is borne out by the following examples:

- (197) Chelsu-ka *apeci-kkeyse* *hakkyo-ey o-si-ess-ta*.
C.-NOM father-NOM(HON) school-to come-SH-pst-IND
'Chulsog's father came to school.'
(198) Suni-ka *emeni-kkeyse* *phyenchanh-si-ta*.
S.-NOM mother-NOM(HON) sick(HON)-SH-IND
'Soonji's mother is sick.'

(199) Cheisu-ka apeci-kkeyse tolaka-si-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM father-NOM(HON) die(HON)-SH-pst-ind
 'Chulsog's father died.'

(200) Suni-ka sensaengnim-kkeyse Seoul-lo
 S.-NOM teacher-NOM(HON) Seoul-to
 cenkin-toy-si-ess-ta.
 transfer-pas-SH-pst-ind
 'Sooni's teacher was transferred to Seoul.'

Therefore, the data given above not only provide an argument for the non-final I-hood of the first nominal and the final I-hood of the first nominal in Focus MNCs but also give support for the proposed analysis.

2.2.4 Summary

This section discussed Focus MNCs where the first nominative nominal does not behave like a final subject. Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 showed that in Focus MNCs the possessive phrase heads a final I-arc and the possessor and the possessee are in relation of socially determined inalienability or alienable possession. Section 2.2.3 contrasted the first nominative nominal and the second nominative nominal in these MNCs and argued that the first nominal is not a final subject and that the second nominal is a final subject.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter attempted a description of a set of MNCs like (1a,b) repeated here as (201a,b) in which the first nominative nominal stands in a possessor relation to the second nominative nominal.

- (201) a. Suni-ka nun-i yeyppti-ta.
 S.-NOM eye-NOM pretty-ind
 'Sooni's eyes are pretty.'
 b. Suni-ka tongsaeng-i yeyppti-ta.
 S.-NOM sister-NOM pretty-ind
 'Sooni's sister is pretty.'

Evidence was presented to show that these two constructions actually have different syntactic structures despite their apparent similarity. Clauses like (201a) are Possessor Ascension MNCs; the first nominative nominal is an ascended subject. In contrast, clauses like (201b) are Focus MNCs; the first nominative nominal is a focussed nominal, not a subject.

In order to justify this claim, Section 2.1 discussed Possessor Ascension MNCs. Section 2.1.1 gave a brief sketch of Possessor Ascension as provided in RG, and Section 2.1.2 showed that Possessor Ascension in Korean is limited to cases where the possessive phrase heads a 2-arc and the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability or localizing inalienability. Section 2.1.3 presented arguments for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal based on Subject Honorification, the reflexive *casin*, Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and *kkeyse*-marking. Section 2.1.4 showed that the second nominative nominal does not behave like a final subject with respect to Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and topicalization.

Section 2.2 dealt with Focus MNCs. Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 discussed the syntactic and semantic conditions on the focus *ka*, showing that the possessor can bear the focus relation to the clause only when the possessive phrase heads a final 1-arc and the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of socially determined inalienability or alienable possession. Section 2.2.3 argued that the second nominative nominal is a final subject by demonstrating that the second nominative nominal behaves like a final subject with respect to Subject Honorification, the reflexive *cašim*, Plural Copying, and *kačeyse*-marking, while the first nominative nominal fails such relational diagnostics for subjects. Under the proposed analysis, the first nominative nominal in these MNCs is not a subject but rather a focus. The above discussions and arguments can be summarized in the following chart.

	PA MNCs	Focus MNCs
(202)		
Syntactic conditions	The possessive phrase heads a 2-arc.	The possessive phrase heads a final 1-arc.
Semantic conditions	NP ₁ and NP ₂ are in a relation of partitive inalienability or localizing inalienability.	NP ₁ and NP ₂ are in a relation of socially determined inalienability or alienable possession.
NP ₁	final subject	focus
NP ₂	final non-subject	final subject

To my knowledge, no previous studies have made a distinction between PA MNCs and Focus MNCs. Some studies (e.g. Song

(1967), Suh (1971), Kang (1986), etc.) are only concerned with the structure of PA MNCs like (201a), and they overgeneralize in their claim that the first nominative nominal in both types of MNCs is the subject which is derived from the corresponding possessive constructions. Other linguists (e.g. B. Park (1973, 1982), Yim (1985), etc.) reject such a proposal by demonstrating that the first nominative nominal in Focus MNCs like (201b) shows no subject-like behavior, and claim that MNCs like (201a,b) above cannot be derived from the corresponding single nominative constructions. This has led to much controversy as to whether these MNCs can be related to the corresponding possessive constructions, or whether they are MSCs or just MNCs involving a single subject. Closer examination of the data in terms of grammatical relations and syntactic levels shows that the two construction types have different syntactic structures and that they are MNCs with a single subject which can be related to the corresponding possessive constructions.

¹Kuno (1973:49-61), following Kuroda (1965), claims that the subject of a sentence marked with the particle *ga* in Japanese receives either a neutral description interpretation or an exhaustive-listing interpretation depending upon what kind of a predicate the sentence has. That is, if the predicate represents an action, existence, or temporary state, the subject marked with *ga* is ambiguous between the neutral description and the exhaustive listing; if the predicate represents a stable state, the subject with *ga* can receive only the exhaustive-listing interpretation. When a sentence has the exhaustive-listing interpretation, Kuno says, the proper English translation for it is the cleft-sentence construction "It is X that - - -." As Korean grammarians like Im (1972) and Shin (1975) point out, the same can be said of the subject marked with the particle *ka/i* in Korean. In this thesis, however, I do not provide the cleft-sentence construction as English glosses for sentences like (1) with the exhaustive-listing interpretation. The reader is advised to give the exhaustive-listing interpretation to sentences with nominative-marked subjects if the predicate represents a stable state. When a sentence has the focus *ka* (cf. Section 2.2) proposed for nominative-marked nominals in sentences like (1b), there is no proper English translation for the sentence, so I underscore the focussed nominal in English glosses.

²Since the original drafting of this chapter, two papers have appeared which agree in part with the ideas presented here. Lee and Kim (1986) make a similar claim about the structures of clauses like those in (1a) and (1b). They note that the first nominative nominal in clauses like (1a) can control Subject Honorification and antecede the reflexive *Saki*, while the first nominative nominal in clauses like (1b) fails such diagnostics for subjecthood. Yoon (1987) treats clauses like (1a) and (1b) as having identical structures, and analyzes them as a sort of "gapless focus construction" in which the first nominative nominal is a focus and the second nominative nominal is a subject, thus paralleling my treatment of some, though not all, such MNCs as focus constructions. He suggests that the first nominative nominal in both construction types is licensed by the same principles that license "As for" phrases and other parentheticals in English, and that the nominative marker on the first nominal is some kind of "discourse particle" whose distribution is not determined syntactically but pragmatically.

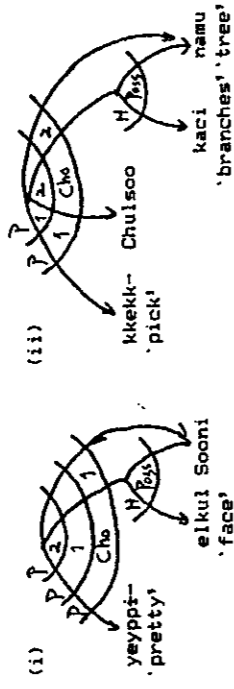
³Keenan's Relative Forming Strategy in Malagasy provides evidence for the subjecthood of *ny olona* in (3b). Only subjects can be relativized in Malagasy. Since *ny olona* in (3b) is the subject of the clause, it is relativizable, as in (i).

- (i) *ny olona izay nantsoin-dRakoto amarana.*
 the people that called Rakoto name
 'the people who were name-called by Rakoto, i.e.
 'whose names were called by Rakoto.'

However, *ny olona* in (3a) cannot be relativized, for it is not the subject of the clause.

- (ii) *ny olona izay nantsoin-dRakoto ny anaran' ny*
 the people that called Rakoto the names of

⁴Chun (1986) proposes structures for (8) and (9) represented as in (i) and (ii), respectively.



⁵This approach may be rejected by Park (1973, 1982), Teng (1974), Shibatani (1976), among others, because it claims that MNCs like (10a) are relatable to the corresponding possessive constructions. To show that the first nominative-marked nominal in (10a) and the genitive-marked nominal in (10b) are different from each other in syntactic and semantic behavior, Park (1982) provides examples like (i) below, which involve coreferential noun phrase deletion.

- (i) a. *Suni-ty nun-i cak-ase maesepkey*
 S.-GEN eye-NOM small-and so fiercely
 see-pas-pres-ind
 'Soonii's eyes are small, so they look fierce.'
- b. *Suni-ka nun-i cak-ase maesepkey*
 S.-NOM eye-NOM small-and so fiercely
 see-pas-pres-ind
 'Soonii has small eyes, so she looks fierce.'

According to him, in (ia) the deleted constituent in the second clause refers to *eyes*, while in (ib) the deleted constituent can be understood to refer to *Soon-i*.

However, his argument is not borne out upon deeper examination of the data. Consider, for example, the following pairs of sentences which involve coreferential noun phrase deletion.

(ii) a. I sikyey-iy thaeyep-i kkinh-eci-ese
 thi watch-GEN spring-NOM snap-pas-and so
 sstlmo-ka eps-ta.
 use-NOM do not exist-ind
 'The spring of this watch was snapped, so it is
 useless.'

b. I sikyey-ka thaeyep-i kkinh-eci-ese
 this watch-NOM spring-NOM snap-pas-and so
 sstlmo-ka eps-ta.
 use-NOM do not exist-ind

(iii) a. K_i kkoeh-iy hyangki-ka coh-ase
 the flower-GEN scent-NOM fine-and so
 salam-tti-ey/key salang-tl pat-nih-ta.
 man-pl-by love-ACC receive-pres-ind
 'The scent of the flower is fine, so it is
 loved by people.'

b. K_i kkoeh-i hyangki-ka coh-ase
 the flower-NOM scent-NOM fine-and so
 salam-tti-ey/key salang-tl pat-nih-ta.
 man-pl-by love-ACC receive-pres-ind

It is clear from the above (a) examples that the deleted constituent in the second clause refers to the possessive noun phrase. In my survey of 30 Korean speakers living in the Buffalo area, about 90% say that there is no significant meaning difference between such pairs of sentences and that the deleted pronoun in the (a) sentences is understood to refer to the possessive noun phrase. Thus, it is inappropriate to claim that MNCs like (10a) are not related to the corresponding possessive constructions.

In addition to this, Park provides two other arguments neither of which is tenable. Let us consider one of these arguments. To show that MNCs like (10a) cannot be related to the corresponding possessive constructions, he gives examples like (iv) below.

(iv) a. Suni-ka kan-i khi-ta.
 S.-NOM liver-NOM big-ind
 'Soon-i has a big liver,' or 'Soon-i is bold.'

b. Suni-iy kan-i khi-ta.
 S.-GEN liver-NOM big-ind
 'Soon-i has a big liver.'

He says (iva) may be used to describe *Soon-i*'s personality, while (ivb) characterizes *Soon-i*'s liver only in physical terms. However, as (v-vi) show, his claim cannot be maintained.

(v) a. Suni-ka pal-i ccalp-ta.
 S.-NOM foot-NOM short-ind
 ('Soon-i came too late for a treat.')

b. Suni-iy pal-i ccalp-ta.
 S.-GEN foot-NOM short-ind
 (same as (a))

(vi) a. Chelsu-ka meli-ka nappi-ta.
 C.-NOM head-NOM bad-ind
 ('Chulsoo has no brains.')

b. Chelsu-iy meli-ka nappi-ta.
 C.-GEN head-NOM bad-ind
 (same as (a))

In the above examples, both (a) and (b) have only metaphorical meanings. They cannot be used to characterize *Soon-i*'s foot or *Chulsoo*'s head in physical terms. These examples clearly show that his argument is not warranted at all.

5 In fact, it might be safer to say that PA in Korean should be limited to the cases where the host heads an abs-arc (i.e. a nuclear term arc in an intransitive stratum or a 2-arc in a transitive stratum). However, I cannot think of any example in which PA is allowed in an initially unergative clause whose initial stratum contains a 1-arc but no 2-arc. Since PA in Korean is possible only when the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability or localizing inalienability, it is hard to find a case where the possessee which denotes a body part or a part of the possessor indicates an animate referent which can perform willed or volitional acts. One may adduce examples like (i-ii) below where the possessee is a personified nominal. However, these cases could also be considered initially unaccusative clauses.

(i) a. Chelsu-iy cusek-i u-n-ta.
 C.-GEN fist-NOM cry-pres-ind
 ('Chulsoo's fist aches to strike out.')

- b. Chelsu-ka cume*k*-i u-n-ta.
C.-NOM fist-NOM cry-pres-ind
- (ii) a. Chelsu-ty melikhalak-i kontuse-ss-ta.
C.-GEN hair-NOM stand on edge-pst-ind
('Chulsoo's hair stood on edge. ')
- b. Chelsu-ka melikhalak-i kontuse-ss-ta.
C.-NOM hair-NOM stand on edge-pst-ind

Therefore, I claim here that PA in Korean is limited to cases where the host heads a 2-arc.

⁷Rissen (1979) noted the same phenomenon in Tzotzil.

⁸As will be discussed below, even if (20b) is grammatical, it is not a PA construction since the possessee has a kinship relation to the possessor. The reason why I provide this example is to show that a nominal which heads a 3-arc cannot host PA in Korean.

⁹Y. Kim (1985:10-12), using examples like (20b-23b), says that they are all grammatical, following I. Yang's (1972:53) grammaticality judgments. She claims that the grammaticality of these "double oblique constructions" poses a serious problem for the Oblique Law in (i), proposed as a universal in RG.

(i) Oblique Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1983)

We say that B is a c_i arc, if B is an arc one of whose coordinates is c_i .

Then: If A is an oblique arc, A is a c_i arc.

In other words, any nominal that bears an oblique relation to a clause must bear that relation in the initial stratum. Accordingly, there can be no advancements or demotions to oblique grammatical relations.

If examples (20b-23b) are grammatical, she claims, either PA or the Oblique Law should be abandoned, because the ascended oblique would put the host nominals en chômage, resulting in a violation of the Oblique Law which stipulates that there can be no oblique chômeur. However, Im (1974:121) and I. Lee (1973:51-53), among others, do not accept clauses like (20b-23b) as grammatical, and 26 out of 30 Korean speakers in my informal survey also reject such constructions. Thus, Kim's claim that either PA or the Oblique Law should be abandoned cannot be maintained.

Although the Korean data do not run counter to the Oblique Law as it is, it is no longer viable as a universal law. Joseph (1982), based on the Greek data, argues for a revision to the Oblique Law, given informally in (ii).

- (ii) Oblique Law
An oblique cannot be the target of a reevaluation rule.

His revised law allows the raising of a nominal to oblique status, since he says the notion 'revaluation' covers advancements or retreats, but not ascensions or unions. For a more thorough discussion and justification of the law, see Joseph (1982).

¹⁰Chun distinguishes between an "inalienable possession" relation and a part-whole relation, and conceives of only a body-part relation as an "inalienable possession" relation. However, as Claudi and Heine claim (see below), a part-whole relation should also be subsumed under the category of inalienability.

¹¹I cannot give a literal translation to (30a-31a) because there are no satisfactory English equivalents for agh in (30a) and twi in (31a). English translations in parentheses are free translations, given for readers to extract the meaning of the examples.

¹²In (66-69), the "causee" cannot be marked for dative case. As pointed out in Section 1.2.7, if the "causee" is to be marked dative, it should be an animate noun and it requires a predicate which represents a self-controllable action or state in the complement clause.

¹³That the subject-induced plural marker can be copied onto nominal categories is noted in Y. Kim (1978) and Kuh (1987).

¹⁴This observation is due to Kuh (1987).

¹⁵I cannot offer an explanation of why the plural marker cannot appear on the second nominative nominal and reflect the plurality of the second nominative nominal in (84a) in spite of the fact that it is a count noun.

¹⁶Overlay relations include relations, such as "Q," "Rel," "Top," "QM," etc. These are illustrated by the 'last' relations borne by the underscored nominals in the following. (cf. Perlmutter and Postal 1983a: esp. pp.86-87)

- a. Who do you think Ted met?
b. The table which he is sending
c. That I would never have believed he would do.
d. I offered to Frederica at that time the most beautiful Pearl of the most expensive collection.

17 Shibatani (1976) claims that the subject in Korean can antecede the reflexive *saki*. It is true that the subject is a potential antecedent of *saki*, but it does not follow that any nominal that can antecede *saki* is subject. As the following examples show, given a certain condition, a possessor, a dative subject, or a final 1-chômeur can serve as antecedent of *saki*.

- (i) Chelsu-ty khi-ka caki-ty pan-eyse kacang khi-ta.
C.-GEN stature-NOM self-GEN class-in most tall-ind
'Chulsu_i is the tallest in stature in self's_i class.'
- (ii) Chelsu-eykey(nin) caki-ty emeni-ka kelli-wess-ta.
C.-DAT(TOP) self-GEN mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
'Chulsu_i missed self's_i mother.'
- (iii) K_i chaek-i Chelsu-ey tyhae caki-ty pang-eyse
the book-NOM C.-by self-GEN room-in
palkyen-toy-ess-ta.
find-pas-pst-ind
'The book was found by Chulsu_i in self's_i room.'

Furthermore, unlike the reflexive *sasin*, *saki* can be construed with non-subject nominals, as in (iv).

- (iv) Chelsu-ka Suni-ltl caki-ty cip aph-eyse
C.-NOM S.-ACC self-GEN house front-in
man-ss-ta.
meet-pst-ind
'Chulsu_i met Suni_j in front of self's_i/j house.'

Chapter 3

Nominative and Oblique

The previous chapter analyzed the structures of PA MNCs and Focus MNCs, and demonstrated that they are not MSCs but rather MNCs which can be related to possessive constructions. This chapter discusses a different kind of MNC in which the semantically oblique nominal (for example the locative, temporal, or source in (1-3) respectively) appears in the nominative case.¹

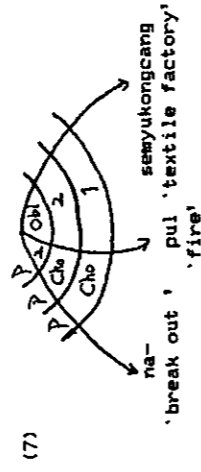
- (1) Semyukongcang-i pul-i na-ss-ta.
textile factory-NOM fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the textile factory.'
- (2) Cinan kyeul-i nun-i manhi o-ess-ta.
last winter-NOM snow-NOM much come-pst-ind
'We had a lot of snow last winter.'
- (3) Chencang-i mul-i tteleci-n-ta.
ceiling-NOM water-NOM drip-pres-ind
'Water drips from the ceiling.'

It is claimed that the first nominal in MNCs like the above is an initial oblique which advances to final subject. These MNCs have corresponding single nominative constructions in which the first nominal bears oblique case.

- (4) Semyukongcang-ey pul-i na-ss-ta.
textile factory-DAT fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the textile factory.'
- (5) Cinan kyeul-ey nun-i manhi o-ess-ta.
last winter-DAT snow-NOM much come-pst-ind
'We had a lot of snow last winter.'

- (6) Chenceng-eyse mul-i tteleci-n-ta.
 ceiling-DAT water-NOM drip-pres-ind
 'Water drips from the ceiling.'

The examples in (1-3) and (4-6) might be thought to have different structures. In (1-3) the first nominal appears in the nominative case, while in (4-6) the first nominal is in the oblique case. However, this chapter argues that, despite the difference in case marking, both construction types involve advancement of an oblique to final subject. The former will be referred to as AI MNCs (=multiple nominative constructions involving advancement to 1) and the latter as A1 SNCs (=single nominative constructions involving advancement to 1). Thus, (1) and (4), for example, are represented in the stratal diagram in (7).



Under the proposed analysis, the initial structure of AI MNCs is unaccusative --- the second nominal (i.e. the theme) is an initial 2 and the first nominal is an initial oblique. The first nominal advances to 2 in the second stratum, placing the second nominal en chômage, then advances to 1 in the third stratum.

A1 SNCs are different from clauses like (7-9) below.

- (8) I tycə-ey Chelsu-ka anc-ass-ta.
 this chair-DAT C.-NOM sit-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo sat on this chair.'
- (9) Cinan ilyoil-ey Suni-ka ttena-ss-ta.
 last Sunday-DAT S.-NOM leave-pst-ind
 'Soon-i left last Sunday.'
- (10) I pang-eyse Yengsu-ka nao-ass-ta.
 this room-DAT Y.-NOM come out-pst-ind
 'Youngsoo came out of this room.'

At first glance, (4-6) resembles (8-10) in structure. However, I claim (4-6) differ from (8-10) in that the former, which are initially unaccusative clauses, involve advancement of an oblique to final subject, while the latter, which are initially unergative clauses, do not.

Section 3.1 gives a brief overview of the Unaccusative Hypothesis put forward in Perlmutter (1978) and Perlmutter and Postal (1984), and claims that A1 MNCs and A1 SNCs are initially unaccusative. Section 3.2 discusses A1 MNCs, providing evidence for the final 1-hood of the first nominative nominal and the non-final 1-hood of the second nominative nominal. Section 3.3 shows that A1 SNCs have the same structure as A1 MNCs by contrasting the syntactic behavior of the dative-marked nominal in clauses like (4-6) and clauses like (8-10). Section 3.4 discusses the relational properties of the second nominal in A1 SNCs, and provides additional support for the proposed structure for A1 SNCs, and for A1 MNCs as well. Section 3.5 is a summary for this chapter.

3.1 The Unaccusative Hypothesis

Perlmutter (1978, also Perlmutter and Postal 1984) argues that there are two types of initially intransitive clauses: unergative and unaccusative. Initially unergative clauses are ones whose initial stratum has a subject but no direct object, and initially unaccusative clauses are ones whose initial stratum has a direct object but no subject. These are schematically represented as in (11 a, b).

- (11) a. Unergative  b. Unaccusative 

This independently motivated hypothesis about clause structure, i.e. that certain intransitive clauses have an initial object but no initial subject, is called the Unaccusative Hypothesis.

Perlmutter asserts that initial unergativity vs. unaccusativity is predictable from the semantics of the clause, and presents an extensive (though, he suggests, provisional and incomplete) list of the different semantic classes of predicates determining initially unergative or unaccusative clauses (cf. Perlmutter 1978: 162-163).²

Predicates determining initially unergative clauses are basically those that express activity.

- (12) a. Predicates describing willed or volitional acts
(e.g. play, speak, walk, knock, whisper, etc.)
b. Predicates denoting certain bodily processes
(e.g. cough, sneeze, burp, sleep, etc.)

Predicates determining initially unaccusative clauses include the following:

- (13) a. Predicates expressed by adjectives in English
(e.g. small, heavy, red, sweet, happy, etc.)
b. Predicates whose initial nuclear term is semantically a patient
(e.g. burn, fall, drip, drown, melt, die, etc.)
c. Predicates of existing and happening
(e.g. exist, happen, arise, disappear, etc.)
d. Predicates expressing involuntary emission of stimuli that effect the senses
(e.g. shine, glitter, smell, stink, etc.)
e. Aspectual predicates
(e.g. begin, start, stop, continue, etc.)
f. Duratives
(e.g. last, remain, stay, survive, etc.)

Perlmutter claims that this division is universal. Although some variation may exist across languages, predicates with equivalent meanings will behave in the same way with respect to determining initial unergativity vs. unaccusativity.³

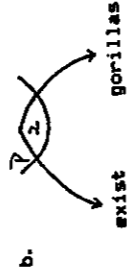
He also states that it is possible for one predicate to be used both in initially unergative clauses and in initially unaccusative ones. The verb 'fall' is an example of such a predicate (cf. Perlmutter 1978:163-164).

- (14) a. Marcia fell right on cue in the second act.
 b. Marcia fell from the second-story window.

The verb 'fall' in (14a) describes a willed act and thus (14a) is an initially unergative clause. However, (14b) is an initially unaccusative clause because 'fall' here describes a non-volitional act.

As we have seen above, under the Unaccusative Hypothesis, initially unaccusative clauses have a direct object but no subject. For example, (15a) can be represented by the stratal diagram in (15b).

- (15) a. Gorillas exist.

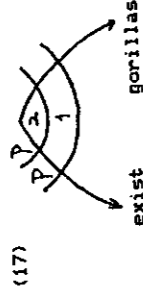


The structure in (15b), however, does not conform to the Final 1 Law, a putatively universal law proposed in Perlmutter and Postal (1983), stated informally in (16).⁴

- (16) Final 1 Law

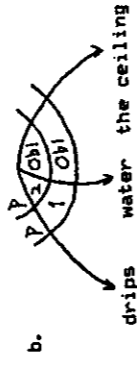
Every "basic" clause has a final 1.

The violation of the Final 1 Law in (15b) is remedied by Unaccusative Advancement proposed in Perlmutter (1978) which stipulates that every clause with an unaccusative stratum normally involves an advancement to 1. Thus, (15a) consists of an unaccusative initial stratum, plus a second stratum in which gorillas advances to final subject, as represented in (17).

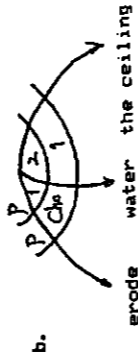


Although both Unaccusative Advancement and Passive involve 2-1 advancement, there is a crucial difference between the two. In the former, the object is in an intransitive stratum, while in the latter, the departure stratum is transitive.⁵ This can be seen clearly in the contrast between (18b) and (19b), which are the simplified RNs for (18a) and (19a).

- (18) a. Water drips from the ceiling.



- (19) a. The ceiling is eroded by water.



The above has been a brief sketch of the Unaccusative Hypothesis, an independent hypothesis about clause structure. To my knowledge, there is, at the moment, no semantic or syntactic evidence for initial unergativity vs. unaccusativity in Korean. Nevertheless, the following discussion assumes that the Unaccusative Hypothesis is appropriate in Korean. I argue that both A1 MNCs like (1-3) and A1 SNCs like (4-6) are initially unaccusative clauses.

3.2 Arguments for the MNC Analysis

Returning to A1 MNCs, I claim that the initial structure of clauses like (1-3) is unaccusative --- the second nominal is an initial object and the first nominal is an initial oblique, as represented in (7) above. This section shows that clauses like (1-3) are not MSCs but rather MNCs which involve advancement of obliques to final subject by testing the subject properties of each nominative nominal. Section 3.2.1, gives arguments for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal, and section 3.2.2 provides evidence that the second nominative nominal is not a final subject.

3.2.1 The Final 1-hood of the First Nominative Nominal

This section presents four arguments for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal in A1 MNCs based on Subject Honorification, Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object

Raising, and causatives.

3.2.1.1 Subject Honorification

It has already been noted that a final subject can control Subject Honorification. However, the final subjecthood of the controller cannot be a necessary condition for controlling Subject Honorification since there are cases where the possessor can control Subject Honorification. The possessor can control Subject Honorification when the possessive phrase heads a final 1-arc and the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability. As (20-21) show, when the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability, i.e. when the possessee denotes a body part, as in (20), or property, as in (21), etc. of the possessor, the possessor can control Subject Honorification:

(20) Emenia-ty nun-i khi-si-ta.
mother-GEN eye-NOM big-SH-ind
'Mother's eyes are big.'

(21) Kim senseangnim-ty sengkyek-i khwaehwalha-si-ta.
Kim teacher-GEN personality-NOM cheerful-SH-ta
'Prof. Kim's personality is cheerful.'

In (20-21), it is clear that the possessor is responsible for Subject Honorification since only the referent of the possessor can call for the speaker's deference.

When the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of socially determined inalienability, the possessor cannot be the controller of Subject Honorification.

- (22) Kim *sensaengniw-ty* at'i-i kenkangha-(#si)-ta.
Kim teacher-GEN son-NOM healthy-(SH)-ta.
'Prof. Kim's son is healthy.'
- (23) Lee *sensaengniw-ty* haksaeŋ-i kyengchal-ey
Lee teacher-GEN student-NOM police-by
cheypho-toy-(#si)-ess-ta.
arrest-pas-(SH)-pst-ind
'Prof. Lee's student was arrested by the police.'

The same is true of in the case of alienable possession:
when the possessee denotes an alienable possession of the
possessor, the possessor cannot control Subject Honorifica-

tion:

- (24) Apeniw-ty cinci-ka ttike-(#usi)-ta.
father-GEN meal(HON)-NOM hot-(SH)-ind
'Father's meal is hot.'
- (25) Emaniw-ty kufu-ka ccic-eci-(#si)-ess-ta.
mother-GEN shoe-NOM tear-pas-(SH)-pst-ind
'Mother's shoe was torn.'
- (26) *Sensaengniw-ty* chaek-i chulphan-toy-(#si)-ess-ta.
teacher-GEN book-NOM publish-pas-(SH)-pst-ind
'The teacher's book was published.'
- (27) *Sensaengniw-ty* kapang-i tteleci-(#si)-ess-ta.
teacher-GEN book-NOM fall-(SH)-pst-ind
'The teacher's bag has fallen.'

Thus, the condition on controllers of Subject Honorifica-
tion formulated in Section 1.2.1 should be revised as follows:

- (28) Subject Honorification Condition

The controller of Subject Honorification must be
(a) a final *i*, or
(b) a possessor in a possessive phrase heading a
final *i*-arc in which the possessor and the
possessee are in a relation of partitive
inalienability.

Given condition (28), if the first nominative nominal in
A1 MNCs is a possessive phrase, and the possessor and the
possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability, we
expect the possessor to control Subject Honorification since
the first nominative nominal (i.e. the possessive phrase) is a
final subject under the proposed analysis. Consider first the
following clauses:

- (29) Chelsu-ty elkul-i paekeuk-i mut-ess-ta.
C.-GEN face-NOM chalk-NOM smudge-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's face was smudged with chalk.'
- (30) Yengsu-ty son-i ttae-ka kki-ess-ta.
Y.-GEN hand-NOM dirt-NOM cake-pst-ind
'Youngsoo's hands were caked with dirt.'

The structure of (29-30) is parallel to the one proposed for
multiple nominative clauses like (1-3). As in (1-3), the
predicates in (29-30) are ones whose initial nuclear term is
semantically a patient, so the initial structure of (29-30) is
unaccusative. In addition, (29-30) have corresponding single
nominative constructions where the first nominal (i.e. the
possessive phrase) is marked for oblique case. The only
difference between (1-3) and (29-30) is that, in the former
the first nominative is a single nominal, while in the latter
it is a possessive phrase.

Since (29-30) are parallel in structure to A1 MNCs in
(1-3) and the first nominal is a possessive phrase where the
possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive

inalienability, the possessor is expected to control Subject Honorification if it is honorable. This prediction is borne out by (31-32):

- (31) *Sensaengnim-ty elkul-i paekeuk-i mut-tsi-ess-ta.*
 teacher-GEN face-NOM chalk-NOM smudge-SH-pst-ind
 'The teacher's face was smudged with chalk.'
 (32) *Halapeci-ty son-i ttae-ka kki-si-ess-ta.*
 grandfather-GEN hand-NOM dirt-NOM cake-SH-pst-ind
 'Grandfather's hands were caked with dirt.'

The ability of the possessor in (31-32) to control Subject Honorification shows that the possessive phrase heads a final i-arc. Additional examples are given below in confirmation of this argument.

- (33) *Emanim-ty nun-i nunaul-i koi-si-ess-ta.*
 mother-GEN eye-NOM tear-NOM well up-SH-pst-ind
 'Mother's eyes welled up with tears.'
 (34) *Apenim-ty ima-ka culmsal-i ci-si-ess-ta.*
 father-GEN forehead-NOM wrinkle-NOM crease-SH-pst-ind
 'Father's forehead became creased with wrinkles.'
 (35) *Halapeci-ty elkul-i ttae-i hali-si-ess-ta.*
 grandfather-GEN face-NOM sweat-NOM drip-SH-pst-ind
 'Grandfather's face dripped with sweat.'
 (36) *Sensaengnim-ty meli-ka meoci-ka anc-si-ess-ta.*
 teacher-GEN hair-NOM dust-NOM sit-SH-pst-ind
 'The teacher's hair was covered with dust.'

The above data involving Subject Honorification provide an argument for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal in AI MNCs.

3.2.1.2 Plural Copying

The phenomenon of Plural Copying provides a test for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal in AI MNCs. Section 2.1.4.1 showed that when a final subject is plural, the plural marker *ti* can be optionally affixed to nominal categories as well as to non-nominal elements. Consider the following examples.

- (37) a. *Chelsu-ka mul-(*tɕi)-ti masi-ess-ta.*
 C.-NOM water-(pl)-ACC drink-pst-ind
 'Chulsu drank water.'
 b. *Ai-tɕi mul-(tɕi)-ti masi-ess-ta.*
 child-pl-NOM water-(pl)-ACC drink-pst-ind
 'The children drank water.'
 (38) a. *Suni-ka tokse-(*tɕi)-ti cohaha-n-ta.*
 S.-NOM reading-(pl)-ACC be fond of-pres-ind
 'Soonie is fond of reading.'
 b. *Ai-tɕi tokse-(tɕi)-ti cohaha-n-ta.*
 child-pl-NOM reading-(pl)-ACC be fond of-pres-ind
 'The children are fond of reading.'

In (37a-38a), where the final subject is singular, the plural marker does not appear on direct objects (i.e. *mul* in (37a) and *tokse* in (38a)), while in (37b-38b) where the final subject is plural, the subject-induced plural marker can be affixed to direct objects, in spite of the fact that they are not normally "pluralizable."

It was also shown in Section 2.2.2.1 that the plural marking of a final subject can be copied onto nominative-marked nominals which are non-subject elements. There

fore, it is predicted that the first nominative nominal in A1 MNCs, can induce the appearance of the plural marker on the second nominative nominal. (39-43) verify this prediction:⁶

- (39) a. Kꞑ kongcang-i pul-(*tɬi)-i na-ss-ta.
the factory-NOM fire-(pl)-NOM break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the factory.'
- b. Kꞑ kongcang-tɬi-i pul-(tɬi)-i na-ss-ta.
the factory-pl-NOM fire-(pl)-NOM break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the factories.'
- (40) a. I kapang-i phi-(*tɬi)-ka mut-ess-ta.
this bag-NOM blood-(pl)-NOM stain-pst-ind
'This bag was stained with blood.'
- b. I kapang-tɬi-i phi-(tɬi)-i mut-ess-ta.
this bag-pl-NOM blood-(pl)-NOM stain-pst-ind
'These bags were stained with blood.'
- (41) a. Ilen nal-i nun-(*tɬi)-i simhakey
such day-NOM snow-(pl)-NOM heavily
naeli-n-ta.
fall-pres-ind
'Snow falls heavily on a day like this.'
- b. Ilen nal-tɬi-i nun-(tɬi)-i simhakey
such day-pl-NOM snow-(pl)-NOM heavily
naeli-n-ta.
fall-pres-ind
'Snow falls heavily on days like this.'
- (42) a. Kꞑ usan-i mul-(*tɬi)-i sae-n-ta.
the umbrella-NOM water-(pl)-NOM leak-pres-ind
'The umbrellas leaks.'
- b. Kꞑ usan-tɬi-i mul-(tɬi)-i sae-n-ta.
the umbrella-pl-NOM water-(pl)-NOM leak-pres-ind
'The umbrellas leak.'
- (43) a. I chenceng-i mul-(*tɬi)-i tteleci-n-ta.
this ceiling-NOM water-(pl)-NOM drip-pres-ind
'Water drips from this ceiling.'
- b. I chenceng-tɬi-i mul-(tɬi)-i tteleci-n-ta.
this ceiling-pl-NOM water-(pl)-NOM drip-pres-ind
'Water drips from these ceilings.'

The preceding examples provide an argument for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal in A1 MNCs.

As with Subject Honorification, the fact that the possessor can control Plural Copying also provides evidence for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal in A1 MNCs. It is true that a final subject can control Plural Copying, but the final subjecthood of the controller is a sufficient but not necessary condition for a nominal to control Plural Copying. As can be observed in (44-47), the possessor can control Plural Copying when the possessive phrase heads a final I-arc and the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability:

- (44) Ai-tɬi-ty elkul-i manhi-(tɬi) yewi-ess-ta.
child-pl-GEN face-NOM much-(pl) become thin-pst-ind
'The children's faces became very thin.'
- (45) Kꞑ kutu-tɬi-ty patak-i mamhi-(tɬi) talh-ass-ta.
the shoe-pl-GEN sole-NOM much-(pl) wear-pst-ind
'The soles of the shoes are very worn.'
- (46) Kꞑ sanai-tɬi-ty khi-ka chenceng-ey-(tɬi)
the man-pl-GEN height-NOM ceiling-to-(pl)
tah-ass-ta.
touch-pst-ind
'The men's height was such that their heads touched the ceiling.'
- (47) Kꞑ cip-tɬi-ty cipung-i palam-ey-(tɬi)
the house-pl-GEN roof-NOM wind-by-(pl)
nal-li-e ka-ss-ta.
fly-pas-link go-pst-ind
'The roofs of the houses were blown off by the wind.'

The same is true with the cases where the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of localizing inalienability;

i.e. the possessor represents a relator and the possessee a location:

(48) Kɛ cip-tɬi-ty aph-i hwenhakey-(tɬi)
the house-pl-GEN front-NOM broad and wide-(pl)
thɬ-i-ess-ta.
open-pas-pst-ind
('The view from the front of the house was completely unobstructed.')

(49) Kɛ hakkyo-tɬi-ty twi-ka suph-ɬilo-(tɬi)
the school-pl-GEN behind-NOM forest-by-(pl)
tulli-e-iss-ta.
be enclosed-ink-exist-ind
'The backs of the schools were enclosed by the forest.'

The possessor can induce Plural Copying even when the possessee denotes an alienable possession of the possessor:

(50) Ai-tɬi-ty kutu-ka manhi-(tɬi) talh-ass-ta.
child-pl-GEN shoe-NOM much-(pl) wear-pst-ind
'The children's shoes were very worn.'

(51) Haksaeŋ-tɬi-ty kapang-i pi-ey-(tɬi) cec-ess-ta.
student-pl-GEN bag-NOM rain-in-(pl) get wet-pst-ind
'The students' bags got wet in the rain.'

However, when the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of socially determined inalienability, the possessor cannot control Plural Copying:

(52) Kɛ kkoma-tɬi-ty emeni-ka kapcaki-(tɬi)
the little kid-pl-GEN mother-NOM suddenly-(pl)
tolaka-si-ess-ta.
die(HON)-SH-pst-ind
'The little children's mother died suddenly.'

(53) Kɛ haksaeŋ-tɬi-ty sensaengnim-i Seul-lo-(tɬi)
the student-pl-GEN teacher-NOM Seoul-to-(pl)
cenkin-toy-si-ess-ta.
transfer-pas-SH-pst-ind
'The students' teacher was transferred to Seoul.'

That a possessor can control Plural Copying forces us to revise the condition for Plural Copying as follows:

(54) Plural Copying Condition

The controller of Plural Copying must be

- (a) a final I, or
(b) a possessor in any possessive phrase heading a final I-arc except those in which the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of socially determined inalienability.

Given condition (54), if the first nominative nominal in AI MNCs is a possessive phrase in which the possessor and the possessee are not in a relation of socially determined inalienability, it is predicted the plural marking of the possessor can be copied onto the second nominative nominal, because the first nominative nominal (i.e. the possessive phrase) is a final subject under the proposed analysis.

Examples (55-58) bear out this prediction.

(55) Ai-tɬi-ty son-i ttae-(tɬi)-i kki-ess-ta.
child-pl-GEN hand-NOM dirt-(pl)-NOM cake-pst-ind
'The children's hands were caked with dirt.'

(56) Ai-tɬi-ty kutu-ka hɬik-(tɬi)-i mut-ess-ta.
child-pl-GEN shoe-NOM mud-(pl)-NOM saudge-pst-ind
'The children's shoes were saudged with mud.'

(57) I cətoŋcə-tɬi-ty thae-ka palaw-(tɬi)-i
this car-pl-GEN tire-NOM air-(pl)-NOM
pae-ci-ess-ta.
leak out-pst-ind
'Air escaped from the tires of these cars.'

(58) Kɛ sanai-tɬi-ty os-i ttamae-(tɬi)-i
the man-pl-GEN clothes-NOM smell of sweat-(pl)-NOM
na-n-ta.
smell-pres-ind
'The men's clothes smell of sweat.'

Thus, the data involving Plural Copying provide evidence that the first nominative nominal in AI MNCs is a final subject.

3.2.1.3 Subject-to-Object Raising

Data from Subject-to-Object Raising also provide a test for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal in AI MNCs. It has already been noted that only the final subject of an intransitive complement can be raised to matrix object, as shown in (59b-60b).⁷

- (59) a. Chelsu-nin Suni-ka kohyang-ilo tolaka-ss-ta-ko
C.-TOP S.-NOM hometown-to return-pst-ind-cmp
saengkakha-n-ta.
think-pres-ind
'Chulsoo thinks that Sooni returned to her hometown.'
- b. Chulsu-nin Suni-lil kohyang-ilo tolaka-ss-ta-ko
C.-TOP S.-ACC hometown-to return-pst-ind-cmp
saengkakha-n-ta.
think-pres-ind
- (60) a. Suni-nin Chelsu-ka kyengchal-ey
S.-TOP C.-NOM police-by
cap-hi-ess-ta-ko mit-nin-ta.
arrest-pas-pst-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind
'Soonie believes that Chulsoo was arrested by the police.'
- b. Suni-nin Chelsu-lil kyengchal-ey
S.-TOP C.-ACC police-by
cap-hi-ess-ta-ko mit-nin-ta.
arrest-pas-pst-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind

Under the proposed analysis, the first nominative nominal in AI MNCs is a final subject. Therefore, we expect that it will be possible to raise it to matrix object. Observe the

following:

- (61) a. Chelsu-nin i semyukongcang-i pul-i
C.-TOP this textile factory-NOM fire-NOM
na-ss-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
break out-pst-ind believe-pst-ind
'Chulsoo believed that fire had broken out in this textile factory.'
- b. Chelsu-nin i semyukongcang-il pul-i
C.-TOP this textile factory-ACC fire-NOM
na-ss-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
break out-pst-ind-cmp believe-pst-ind
- (62) a. Chelsu-nin ilen nal-i nun-i simhakey
C.-TOP such day-NOM snow-NOM heavily
naeli-n-ta-ko saengkakha-n-ta.
fall-pres-ind-cmp think-pres-ind
'Chulsoo thinks that snow falls heavily on a day like this.'
- b. Chelsu-nin ilen nal-il nun-i simhakey
C.-TOP such day-ACC snow-NOM heavily
naeli-n-ta-ko saengkakha-n-ta.
fall-pres-ind-cmp think-pres-ind
- (63) a. Chelsu-nin i chenceng-i mul-i
C.-TOP this ceiling-NOM water-NOM
tteleci-n-ta-ko saengkakha-n-ta.
drip-pres-ind-cmp think-pres-ind
'Chulsoo thinks that water drips from this ceiling.'
- b. Chelsu-nin i chenceng-il mul-i
C.-TOP this ceiling-ACC water-NOM
tteleci-n-ta-ko saengkakha-n-ta.
drip-pres-ind-cmp think-pres-ind

Sentences (61-63) contain an AI MNC as a complement clause. In the (b) sentences, the first nominative nominal in the complement clause is raised to object, as indicated by case marking. This constitutes an argument that the first nominative nominal in AI MNCs is a final subject.

3.2.1.4 Causatives

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, in syntactic causatives like (64-65), the "causee," which is the final subject of the complement clause, can be marked for nominative, accusative, or dative case, irrespective of the final transitivity of the complement clause:

- (64) Chelsu-ka Suni-ka/isi/eykey ca-key ha-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-NOM/ACC/DAT go to bed-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chuisoo made Sooni go to bed.'
- (65) Chelsu-ka Suni-ka/isi/eykey yak-ti mek-key
 C.-NOM S.-NOM/ACC/DAT medicine-ACC take-cmp
 ha-ess-ta.
 do-pst-ind
 'Chuisoo made Sooni take the medicine.'

Since the "causee" is the final subject of the complement clause, the fact that it shows case alternation in causatives can be used as a diagnostic for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal in AI MNCs. Consider the following examples:⁸

- (66) Keyilla-ti-i ki kongcang-i/ti/ey pul-i
 guerrilla-pl-NOM the factory-NOM/ACC/DAT fire-NOM
 na-key ha-ess-ta.
 break out-cmp do-pst-ind
 'The guerrillas caused fire to break out in the factory.'
- (67) Chelsu-ka i os-i/ti/ey kemtaeng-i
 C.-NOM this clothes-NOM/ACC/DAT soot-NOM
 mut-key ha-ess-ta.
 smudge-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chuisoo caused these clothes to be smudged with soot.'

- (68) Isangkenco-ka cinan kyeul-i/ti/ey pul-i
 abnormal dryness-NOM last winter-NOM/ACC/DAT fire-NOM
 manhi na-key ha-ess-ta.
 in large numbers break out-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Abnormally dry weather caused fire to break out frequently last winter.'

- (69) Chelsu-ka i chenceng-i/ti/eyse mui-i
 C.-NOM this ceiling-NOM/ACC-DAT water-NOM
 sae-key ha-ess-ta.
 leak-cmp do-pst-ind
 'Chuisoo caused this ceiling to leak.'

- (70) Suni-ka i latio-ka/isi/eyse capat-i na-key
 S.-NOM this radio-NOM/ACC/DAT noise-NOM come out-cmp
 do-pst-ind
 'Sooni made this radio make noises.'

The causatives in (66-70) all involve AI MNCs as complement clause. The first nominal (i.e. the "causee") in the complement can appear in three different cases. Therefore, this provides an argument for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal in AI MNCs.

3.2.2 The Non-final i-hood of the Second Nominative Nominal

This section shows that the second nominative nominal in AI MNCs is not a final subject by giving evidences from Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and topicalization.

3.2.2.1 Plural Copying

Section 3.2.1.2 showed that, when the first nominal in AI MNCs is plural, the plural marker can be affixed to the second nominal. It is claimed that since the plurality of a final

subject can induce the affixation of the plural marker to nominal categories, this provides an argument for the final subjecthood of the first nominative nominal. This section demonstrates that the plural marking of the second nominative nominal cannot be copied onto the first nominative nominal, thereby showing that the second nominative nominal is not a final subject. Consider first the following clauses:

- (71) a. Kɛ̃ kɔŋcɔŋ-i pul-i-(*tɛ̃i) na-ss-ta.
the factory-NOM fire-NOM-(pl) break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the factory.'
- b. Kɛ̃ kɔŋcɔŋ-tɛ̃i-i pul-i-(*tɛ̃i) na-ss-ta.
the factory-pl-NOM fire-NOM-(pl) break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the factories.'
- (72) a. I mɔcɔ-ka mɛnci-ka-(*tɛ̃i) ɔnc-ass-ta.
this hat-NOM dust-NOM-(pl) collect-pst-ind
'Dust collected on this hat.'
- b. I mɔcɔ-tɛ̃i-i mɛnci-ka-tɛ̃i ɔnc-ass-ta.
this hat-pl-NOM dust-NOM-(pl) collect-pst-ind
'Dust collected on these hats.'

The above shows that when a final subject is plural, the plural marker can be attached to the case marker of the second nominal, despite the fact that the plural marker is not normally allowed to be suffixed to the nominative case marker. However, the plurality of the second nominal in AI MNCs cannot induce the affixation of the plural marker after the case marker of the first nominative nominal. This can be seen in the contrast between the (a) and (b) clauses in the following examples:

- (73) a. Kɛ̃ kɔŋcɔŋ-tɛ̃i-i phɔkthɔn-i-(*tɛ̃i) tteleci-ess-ta.
the factory-pl-NOM bomb-NOM-(pl) drop-pst-ind
'Bombs were dropped on the factories.'
- b. Kɛ̃ kɔŋcɔŋ-i-(*tɛ̃i) phɔkthɔn-tɛ̃i-i tteleci-ess-ta.
the factory-NOM-(pl) bomb-pl-NOM drop-pst-ind
'Bombs were dropped on the factory.'
- c. Phɔkthɔn-tɛ̃i-i kɛ̃ kɔŋcɔŋ-i-(*tɛ̃i) tteleci-ess-ta.
bomb-pl-NOM the factory-NOM-(pl) drop-pst-ind
'Bombs were dropped on the factory.'
- (74) a. I paci-tɛ̃i-i kumɛŋ-i-(*tɛ̃i) na-ss-ta.
this trousers-pl-NOM hole-NOM-(pl) be made-pst-ind
'There is a hole in each of these trousers.'
- b. I paci-ka-(*tɛ̃i) kumɛŋ-tɛ̃i-i na-ss-ta.
this trousers-NOM-(pl) hole-pl-NOM be made-pst-ind
'There are holes in this pair of trousers.'
- c. Kumɛŋ-tɛ̃i-i paci-ka-(*tɛ̃i) na-ss-ta.
hole-pl-NOM this trousers-NOM-(pl) be made-pst-ind
'There are holes in this pair of trousers.'

The fact that the plural marking of the second nominal cannot be copied onto the first nominal like in the above examples indicates that the second nominative nominal in AI MNCs is not a final subject.

Further, when the first nominative nominal is plural, the plural marker can be doubly affixed to the second nominal, one to the nominal and the other to the case marker. When the second nominal is plural, however, this option does not exist, as shown in (75-76).

- (75) a. X(kɛ̃ kɔŋcɔŋ-tɛ̃i-i phɔkthɔn-tɛ̃i-i-(*tɛ̃i) tteleci-ess-ta.
the factory-pl-NOM bomb-pl-NOM-pl drop-pst-ind
'Bombs were dropped on the factories.'

- b. *kɨ kɔŋcang-tɬi-i-tɬi phokthan-tɬi-i
the factory-pl-NOM-pl bomb-pl-NOM
tteleci-ess-ind
(same as (a))
- (76) a. *ɬi paci-tɬi-i kumeng-tɬi-i-tɬi
this trousers-pl-NOM hole-pl-NOM-pl
na-ss-ta.
be made-pst-ind
(‘There are holes in these trousers.’)
- b. *ɬi paci-tɬi-i-tɬi kumeng-tɬi-i
this trousers-pl-NOM-pl hole-pl-NOM
na-ss-ta.
be made-pst-ind
(same as (a))

Some native speakers may disagree with my judgment on the degree of grammaticality of (75-76), but they will probably agree that the (a) clauses are far better than the (b) clauses, which are totally ungrammatical. The different behavior of the two nominative nominals with respect to double marking is attributable to the fact that while the first nominal is a final subject, the second nominal is not.

3.2.2.2 Subject-to-Object Raising

Section 3.2.1.3 demonstrated that the first nominal in AI MNCs can be raised to matrix object, arguing that this provides evidence for its final subjecthood. If the second nominative nominal were also a final subject, we would expect it to be raised to matrix object, but (77-78) show that such a construction is impossible.

- (77)*Chelsu-nɬn kɨ kɔŋcang-i pul-tɬi
C.-TOP the factory-NOM fire-ACC
na-ss-ta-ko saengkakha-ess-ta.
break out-pst-ind-cmp think-pst-ind
(Chulsoo thought that fire had broken out in the factory.)

- (78)*Suni-nɬn i usan-i mul-tɬi
S.-TOP this umbrella-NOM water-ACC
sae-n-ta-ko saengkakha-n-ta.
leak-pres-ind-cmp think-pres-ind
(Sooñi thinks that this umbrella leaks.)

The ungrammaticality of (77-78) cannot be attributed to the relative word order of the first and second nominal in the embedded clause. When the second nominal precedes the first nominal, the resulting sentence is still ungrammatical.

- (79)*Chelsu-nɬn pul-tɬi kɨ kɔŋcang-i
C.-TOP fire-ACC the factory-NOM
na-ss-ta-ko saengkakha-ess-ta.
break out-pst-ind-cmp think-pst-ind

- (80)*Suni-nɬn mul-tɬi i usan-i
S.-TOP water-ACC this umbrella-NOM
sae-n-ta-ko saengkakha-n-ta.
leak-pres-ind-cmp think-pres-ind

Other examples are provided below to show that the second nominal cannot be raised to the object of the matrix clause.

- (81) a. Chelsu-nɬn i congi-ka ingkhi-ka
C.-TOP this paper-NOM ink-NOM
penci-n-ta-ko mit-nɬn-ta.
blot-pres-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind

‘Chulsoo believes that ink stains this paper.’

- b. *Chelsu-nɬn ingkhi-i-tɬi i congi-ka
C.-TOP ink-ACC this paper-NOM
penci-n-ta-ko mit-nɬn-ta.
blot-pres-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind

- (82) a. Suni-nin cinan kyeul-i nun-i manhi
 S.-TOP last winter-NOM snow-NOM much
 o-ass-ta-ko saengkakha-n-ta.
 come-pst-ind-cmp think-pres-ind
 'Soonie thinks that we had much snow last winter.'
- b. *Suni-nin nun-tl cinan kyeul-i manhi
 S.-TOP snow-ACC last winter-NOM much
 o-ass-ta-ko saengkakha-n-ta.
 come-pst-ind-cmp think-pres-ind
- (83) a. Chelsu-nin kt yangmal-i naemsae-ka
 C.-TOP the sock-NOM stink-NOM
 na-n-ta-ko mit-nin-ta.
 smell-pres-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind
 'Chulsoo believes that the socks smell of stink.'
- b. *Chelsu-nin naemsae-izi kt yangmal-i
 C.-TOP smell-ACC the sock-NOM
 na-n-ta-ko mit-nin-ta.
 smell-pres-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind

These data involving Subject-to-Object Raising provide further evidence that the second nominative nominal in AI MNCs is not a final subject.

3.2.2.3 Causatives

Section 3.2.1.3 showed that the first nominative nominal in AI MNCs can appear in three different cases in causatives and claimed this to be evidence for its final subjecthood. If the second nominative nominal in AI MNCs were a final subject, we would expect it to also be marked for nominative, accusative, or dative case in causatives. However, the second nominal does not show such case alternation as evidenced by the following examples.

- (84) Keyilla-tti-i pul-#i/##i/##ey kt kongcang-i
 guerrilla-pl-NOM fire-NOM/ACC/DAT the factory-NOM
 na-key ha-ess-ta.
 break out-cmp do-pst-ind
 (The guerrillas caused fire to break out in the factory.)
- (85) Chelsu-ka kemaeng-#i/##i/##ey i os-i
 C.-NOM soot-NOM/ACC/DAT this clothes-NOM
 mut-key ha-ess-ta.
 smudge-cmp do-pst-ind
 (Chulsoo caused these clothes to be smudged with soot.)
- (86) Isangkenco-ka pul-#i/##i/##ey cinan
 abnormal dryness-NOM fire-NOM/ACC/DAT last
 kyeul-i manhi na-key ha-ess-ta.
 winter-NOM in large numbers break out-cmp do-pst-ind
 (Abnormally dry weather caused fire to break out frequently last summer.)
- (87) Chelsu-ka mul-#i/##i/##ey i multhong-i
 C.-NOM water-NOM/ACC/DAT this water tank-NOM
 sae-key ha-ess-ta.
 leak-cmp do-pst-ind
 (Chulsoo caused this water tank to leak.)
- (88) Chelsu-ka capim-#i/##i/##ey i latio-ke
 C.-NOM noise-NOM/ACC/DAT this radio-NOM
 na-key ha-ess-ta.
 come out-cmp do-pst-ind
 (Chulsoo caused this radio to make noises.)

The failure of the second nominative nominal in AI MNCs to show case alternation in causatives gives an argument that that nominal is not a final subject.

3.2.2.4 Topicalization

Section 2.1.4.4 discussed the topic marker *in*, which receives both the thematic and contrastive interpretation, as in (89).

- (89) Suni-nin Chelsu-lil saiangha-n-ta.
 S.-TOP C.-ACC love-pres-ind
 i) 'Speaking of Sooni, she loves Chulsoo.'
 ii) 'As for Sooni, she loves Chulsoo (but as for others, ---).'

Gerdts (1986) refers to the nominal which receives the thematic interpretation, like Sooni in (i), as plain topic and that which receives the contrastive interpretation, like Sooni in (ii), as contrastive topic. In order to provide a means of distinguishing final terms and chômeurs in Korean, she proposes the following constraint (cf. Gerdts (1986: 106) and Section 2.1.4.4).

- (90) A nominal heading a Cho arc cannot serve as a plain topic.

Given the above constraint, we can make a prediction about which nominal in AI MNCs can serve as both a plain and a contrastive topic and which nominal can serve only as a contrastive topic. Under the proposed analysis of AI MNCs, the first nominal is a final 1 and the second nominal is a final 2-chômeur; therefore, the first nominal should serve as both a plain and a contrastive topic, but the second nominal should serve only as a contrastive topic. Observe the following clauses:

- (91) a. I kongcang-i pul-i na-ss-ta.
 this factory-NOM fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
 'Fire broke out in this factory.'

- b. I kongcang-in pul-i na-ss-ta.
 this factory-TOP fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
 i) 'Speaking of this factory, fire broke out in it.'
 ii) 'As for this factory, fire broke out in it (but as for others ---).'

In (91b), which involves the topicalization of the first nominal in (91a), the nominal marked with in (i.e. the first nominal) allows both the thematic and the contrastive interpretations. This is evidence for the final term-hood of the first nominative nominal. However, as can be observed in (86) below, when the second nominal pul is topicalized, only the contrastive reading is permitted.

- (92) Pul-in i kongcang-i na-ss-ta.
 fire-TOP this factory-NOM break out-pst-ind
 'As for fire, it broke out in this factory (but as for other events ---).'

In the above example, the topic particle in cannot mark pul 'fire' as the theme of the sentence. Instead, it marks pul as an element that contrasts with some other element in the previous discourse. This indicates that the second nominative nominal heads a Cho arc, which in turn constitutes an argument for its non-final subjecthood.

Additional examples are presented below to confirm that the sentence receives only the contrastive interpretation when the second nominative nominal appears as a topic.

- (93) a. I moca-ka merci-ka anc-ass-ta.
 this hat-NOM dust-NOM collect-pst-ind
 'Dust collected on this hat.'

- b. I moca-nin menci-ka anc-ass-ta. .
 this hat-TOP dust-NOM collect-pst-ind
 i) 'Speaking of this hat, dust collected on it.'
 ii) 'As for this hat, dust collected on it (but as for other hats ---).'
- c. Menci-nin i moca-ka anc-ass-ta.
 dust-TOP this hat-NOM collect-pst-ind
 'As for dust, it collected on this hat (but as for dirt ---).'
- (94) a. Cuma-i kilim-i pissa-ta.
 weekend-NOM gas-NOM expensive-ind
 'Gas is expensive on weekends.'
 b. Cuma-in kilim-i pissa-ta.
 weekend-TOP gas-NOM expensive-ind
 i) 'Speaking of weekends, gas is expensive then.'
 ii) 'As for weekends, gas is expensive then (but as for weekdays ---).'
- c. Kilim-in cumal-i pissa-ta.
 gas-TOP weekend-NOM expensive-ind
 'As for gas, it is expensive on weekends (but as for other things ---).'
- (95) a. I chenceng-i mul-i tteleci-n-ta.
 this ceiling-NOM water-NOM drip-pres-ind
 'Water drips from this ceiling.'
 b. I chenceng-in mul-i tteleci-n-ta.
 this ceiling-TOP water-NOM drip-pres-ind
 i) 'Speaking of this ceiling, water drips from it.'
 ii) 'As for this ceiling, water drips from it (but as for other ceilings ---).'
- c. Mul-in i chenceng-i tteleci-n-ta.
 water-TOP this ceiling-NOM drip-pres-ind
 'As for water, it drips from this ceiling (but as for other things ---).'

Thus, the data involving topicalization provide evidence for the non-final subjecthood of the second nominative nominal in AI MNCs.

3.3 Advancements to I vs. Non-Advancements to I

The previous section discussed AI MNCs, i.e. advancements to I where both the first and the second nominals have nominative markings, and showed that only the first nominal behaves like a final subject with respect to several syntactic phenomena. This section deals with clauses like (96-98), which are exactly the same as AI MNCs except that the first nominal appears in the oblique case.

- (96) I kongcang-ey pul-i na-ss-ta.
 this factory-DAT fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
 'Fire broke out in this factory.'
 (97) Cinan ilyoil-ey nun-i manhi naeli-ess-ta.
 last Sunday-DAT snow-NOM much fall-pst-ind
 'We had a lot of snow last Sunday.'
 (98) I chenceng-eyse mul-i tteleci-n-ta.
 this ceiling-DAT water-NOM drip-pres-ind
 'Water drips from this ceiling.'

I argue that the above constructions also involve the advancement of an oblique to I; hence, the oblique nominal is a final subject. This situation, where a final subject appears in a non-nominative case, is not unique to Korean. For example, in Icelandic some clauses contain a non-nominative subject, as in (99), or a non-accusative object, as in (100) (cf. Levin and

Simpson 1981:185).

- (99) a. Bátnum(D) hvolfdi.
 the-boat capsized

- b. Tunglal jóssings(G) geatir mest um miðnóttid.
 Moonlight is noticeable most at midnight

- (100) a. Ég(N) hjálpa honum(D).
I help him
b. Ég(N) sakna hans(S).
I miss him

Levin and Simpson (1981) refer to this type of case marking as examples of quirky case marking, claiming that certain verbs demand quirky cases to mark particular thematic roles regardless of grammatical functions. They attempt to account for the syntactic behavior of quirky subjects and objects in Icelandic with the theory of lexical representation adapted from Marantz (1981). Zaenen et al. (1985) also discuss quirky case in Icelandic, and argue that an approach based on grammatical functions gives the correct result for Icelandic. The main evidence for their argument comes from passives. They show that, when an initial 2 is assigned an idiosyncratic case like dative in (100a) repeated here as (101a), this case also appears on the advancee in a passive like (101b).

- (101) a. Ég(N) hjálpa honum(D).
I help him
b. Honum(D) var hjálpad.
him was helped

Furthermore, many languages have dative/oblique subjects, or experiencers, in psych constructions (cf. Section 4.2). For example, Georgian, Italian, and Japanese all have been suggested to have such structures.

- (102) Georgian (Harris 1984)

Gelas uqvars nino.
Gela-DAT he-loves-her-IND Nino-NOM
'Gela loves Nino.'

- (103) Italian (Perlmutter 1984)

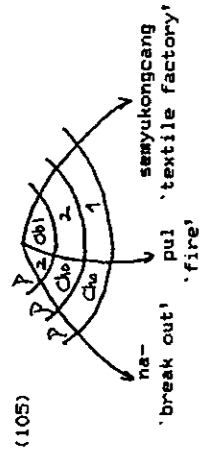
Gli piacciono le sinfonie di Beethoven.
him-DAT like the symphonies of Beethoven
'He likes Beethoven's symphonies.'

- (104) Japanese (Perlmutter 1984)

Kimura-san ni sono mondai ga wakaru.
Mr.Kimura DAT that problem NOM understand
'Mr. Kim understands that problem.'

Thus, positing an analysis involving non-nominative subjects for Korean is consistent with our knowledge of possible case systems in other languages.

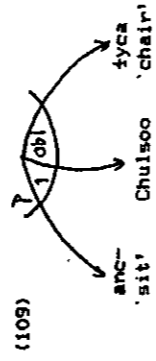
In the analysis proposed, AI SNCs like (96-98) above have the same structure as AI MNCs. Their initial structure is unaccusative, so the second nominal (i.e. the theme) is an initial 2 and the first nominal is an initial oblique. The first nominal advances to 2, placing the second nominal in chōmage, then advances to 1. These constructions and AI MNCs are parallel in structure to psych constructions (which will be discussed in the next chapter) in that they all involve advancement to 1.⁹ The structure I propose for (96), for example, is represented as in (105).



The structure of these clauses contrasts with that of clauses like (106-108) below, which I refer to here as Unergative Clauses.

- (106) I t'ya-ey Chelsu-ka anc-ass-ta.
this chair-DAT C.-NOM sit-pst-ind
'Chulsoo sat on this chair.'
- (107) Cinan ilyoil-ey Suni-ka ttena-ss-ta.
last Sunday-DAT S.-NOM leave-pst-ind
'Soonie left last Sunday.'
- (108) I pang-eyse Yengsu-ka nao-ass-ta.
this room-DAT Y.-NOM come out-pst-ind
'Youngsoo came out of this room.'

One crucial difference between the two constructions is that the former (e.g. 96-98) is initially unaccusative, while the latter (e.g. 106-108) is initially unergative. I claim that clauses like (106-108) do not involve advancement to I and therefore the first nominal is not a final subject. Thus, (106), for example, has the structure in (109).



In what follows, I show that advancement of obliques to I is allowed only in initially unaccusative clauses, but not in initially unergative clauses, and justify the proposed analysis for the two construction types by giving evidence from case alternation, Subject Honorification, and Plural Copying.

3.3.1 Case Alternation

The first argument in support of the general claim of a distinction between (105) and (109) is based on the case alternations of the oblique nominal in the two types of constructions.

As we saw in the previous sections, the first nominal in AI SNCs can also be marked for nominative case.

- (110) I kongcang-ey/i pul-i na-ss-ta.
this factory-DAT/NOM fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in this factory.'
- (111) Cinan ilyoil-ey/i nun-i manhi naeli-ess-ta.
last Sunday-DAT/NOM snow-NOM much fall-pst-ind
'We had a lot of snow last Sunday.'
- (112) I chenceng-eyse/i mul-i tteleci-n-ta.
this ceiling-DAT/NOM water-NOM fall-pres-ind
'Water drips from this ceiling.'

However, the first nominal in Unergative Clauses does not show such case alternations.

- (113) I t'ya-ey/ska Chelsu-ka anc-ass-ta.
this chair-DAT/NOM C.-NOM sit-pst-ind
'Chulsoo sat on this chair.'
- (114) Cinan ilyoil-ey/*i Suni-ka ttena-ss-ta.
last Sunday-DAT/*NOM S.-NOM leave-pst-ind
'Soonie left last Sunday.'

- (115) I pang-eyse/*i Yengsu-ka nao-ass-ta,
 this room-DAT/NOM Y.-NOM come out-pst-ind
 'Youngsoo came out of this room.'

This asymmetry in the case marking of the oblique nominal is attributable to the difference in the initial structures of the two construction types. According to the analysis proposed here, the initial structure of (110-112) is unaccusative, while the initial structure of (113-115) is unergative. The predicates in (110-112) are ones whose initial nuclear term is semantically a patient, so they determine initially unaccusative clauses. However, the predicates in (113-115) determine initially unergative clauses, since they describe willed or volitional acts (cf. Section 3.1). When the initial structure of a clause is unaccusative, the first nominal can be marked for nominative or oblique case (see (110-112), but when it is unergative, the first nominal does not show case alternations (see (113-115)). The following gives further examples of this type of case marking. Notice that (116-121) are initially unaccusative clauses; (122-127) are initially unergative clauses.

(Examples of Initially Unaccusative Clauses)

- (116) I kuk-ey/i phali-ka ppaci-ess-ta.
 this soup-DAT/NOM fly-NOM fall-pst-ind
 'A fly fell into this soup.'
- (117) I os-ey/i phi-ka mut-ess-ta.
 this clothes-DAT/NOM blood-NOM stain-pst-ind
 'These clothes were stained with blood.'

- (118) Yelim-ey/i pi-ka manhi o-n-ta.
 summer-DAT/NOM rain-NOM much come-pres-ind
 'We have a lot of rain in summer.'
- (119) Cinan kyeul-ey/i sutokwan-i theci-ess-ta.
 last winter-DAT/NOM water pipe-NOM burst-pst-ind
 'The water pipe burst last winter.'
- (120) I multihong-eyse/i mul-i nemchi-n-ta.
 this wterr tank-DAT/NOM water-NOM overflow-pres-ind
 'Water overflows from this water tank.'
- (121) I chaeksang-eyse/i chaek-i tteleci-ess-ta.
 this desk-DAT/NOM book-NOM fall-pst-ind
 'A book fell from this desk.'
- (Examples of Initially Unergative Clauses)
- (122) I kongcang-eyse/*i Chelsu-ka ilha-ess-ta.
 this factory-DAT/NOM C.-NOM work-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo worked in this factory.'
- (123) I kang-eyse/*i ai-tti-i heyemchi-n-ta.
 this river-DAT/NOM child-pl-NOM swim-pres-ind
 'The children swim in this river.'
- (124) Cumal-ey/*i Chelsu-ka ilha-n-ta.
 weekend-DAT/*NOM C.-NOM work-pres-ind
 'Chulsoo works on weekends.'
- (125) Dnfi achim-ey/*i Suni-ka ul-ess-ta.
 today morning-DAT/*NOM S.-NOM cry-pst-ind
 'Sooni cried this morning.'
- (126) I changun-eyse/*i Chelsu-ka ttwienaeji-ess-ta.
 this window-DAT/*NOM C.-NOM jump-down-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo jumped out of this window.'
- (127) I tycal-eyse/*ka Suni-ka ilese-ss-ta.
 this chair-DAT/*NOM S.-NOM rise-pst-ind
 'Sooni rose from this chair.'

Such predicates as *ans* 'sit' in (113) and *nao* 'come out' in (115), etc. can appear in initially unaccusative clauses. 10

- (128) I moca-ey menci-ka anc-ass-ta.
 this hat-DAT dust-NOM sit-pst-ind
 'Dust collected on this hat.'

3.3.2 Subject Honorification

Data from Subject Honorification give a second argument for the proposed structures.

Section 3.2.1.1 showed that the possessor of the advancee in AI MNCs (i.e. the first nominal) can control Subject Honorification, and argued that this provides evidence for the final subjecthood of the advancee. A possessor can control Subject Honorification, if a possessive phrase heads a final 1-arc and the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability (cf. Section 3.2.1.1.). If AI SNCs have the same structure as AI MNCs, we can predict that the possessor of the oblique nominal in such constructions can control Subject Honorification, since the oblique nominal is an advancee to 1.

Consider first the following clauses:

(136) *Cheisu-ty elkul-ey/i paekmuk-i mut-ess-ta.*
C.-GEN face-DAT/NOM chalk-NOM smudge-pst-ind
'Chulsoo's face was saugded with chalk.'

(137) *Suni-ty meli-ey/ka menci-ka anc-ass-ta.*
S.-GEN hair-DAT/NOM dust-NOM sit-pst-ind
'Dust collected in Sooni's hair.'

(138) *Cheisu-ty ima-eyse/ka ttam-i hli-ess-ta.*
C.-GEN brow-DAT/NOM sweat-NOM flow-pst-ind
'Sweat poured from Chulsoo's brow.'

(139) *Suni-ty ip-eyse/i akchwi-ka na-ss-ta.*
S.-GEN mouth-DAT/NOM bad smell-NOM emit-pst-ind
'A bad smell came from Sooni's mouth.'

That (136-139) and (96-98) share a structure is confirmed by the following examples where the oblique-marked possessive

phrase is marked for nominative case.

(140) *Cheisu-ty elkul-i paekmuk-i mut-ess-ta.*
C.-GEN face-NOM chalk-NOM smudge-pst-ind

(141) *Cheisu-ty ima-ka ttam-i hli-ess-ta.*
C.-GEN brow-NOM sweat-NOM flow-pst-ind

The fact that the possessive phrases in (140-141) shows case alternations indicates that their initial structure is unaccusative. Under the proposed analysis, if a given clause is initially unaccusative, it always involves advancement of an oblique to 1.

That the oblique nominal in AI SNCs is an advancee to 1 is substantiated by the phenomenon of Subject Honorification. In (140-141) above, the oblique nominal is a possessive phrase, and the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability. Thus, if the possessor of the oblique nominal designates an honorable person, it can control Subject Honorification, as shown in (142-145).

(142) *Sensaengnim-ty elkul-ey paekmuk-i mut-ssi-ess-ta.*
teacher-GEN face-DAT chalk-NOM smudge-SH-pst-ind
'The teacher's face was smudged with chalk.'

(143) *Emenim-ty meli-ey menci-ka anc-ssi-ess-ta.*
mother-GEN hair-DAT dust-NOM sit-SH-pst-ind
'Dust collected in Mother's hair.'

(144) *Apenim-ty ima-eyse ttam-i hli-ssi-ess-ta.*
father-GEN brow-DAT sweat-NOM flow-SH-pst-ind
'Sweat poured from Father's brow.'

(145) *Sensaengnim-ty ip-eyse akchwi-ka
teacher-GEN mouth-DAT bad smell-NOM
na-ssi-ess-ta.
emit-SH-pst-ind*
'A bad smell came from the teacher's mouth.'

- (129) I pap-ey phali-ka anc-ass-ta.
this boiled rice-DAT fly-NOM sit-pst-ind
'There is a fly on this boiled rice.'
- (130) I pawi thim-eyse mul-i nao-n-ta.
this rock crevice-DAT water-NOM come out-pres-ind
'Water comes out of the crevice of this rock.'
- (131) I sangca-eyse saengcwi-ka nao-ass-ta.
this box-DAT mouse-NOM come out-pst-ind
'A mouse came out of this box.'

Predicates like *anc* 'sit' and *nao* 'sit' are usually understood to describe willed or volitional acts. However, in the above clauses, the second nominal (i.e. *menei* 'dust' and *phali* 'fly', etc.) is not recognized as an entity that can perform a willed or volitional act, so when native speakers encounter such clauses, they take them as unaccusative clauses. When clauses like (129-131) are understood to be initially unaccusative clauses, the first nominal can be marked for nominative case, as in (132-133).

- (132) I moca-ka menci-ka anc-ass-ta.
this hat-NOM dust-NOM sit-pst-ind
'Dust collected on this hat.'
- (133) I pawi thim-i mul-i nao-n-ta.
this rock crevice-NOM water-NOM come out-pres-ind
'Water comes out of this rock.'

However, when the same predicates describe willed or volitional acts, the first nominal cannot be marked nominative.

- (134) a. I tycac-ey Chelsu-ka anc-ilyeko ha-ess-ta.
this chair-DAT C.-NOM sit-mod-pst-ind
'Chulsoo intended to sit on this chair.'

- b. *I tycac-ka Chelsu-ka anc-ilyeko ha-ess-ta.
this chair-NOM C.-NOM sit-mod-pst-ind
- (135) a. I sangca-eyse saengcwi-ka nao-ilyeko ha-ess-ta.
this box-DAT mouse-NOM come out-Mod-pst-ind
'A mouse intended to come out of this box.'
- b. *I sangca-ka saengcwi-ka nao-ilyeko ha-ess-ta.
this box-NOM mouse-NOM come out-Mod-pst-ind

In the above examples, *-(i)lyeko* expresses an agent-oriented type of modality which indicates the subject's intention or desire. Thus, clauses (134a-135a) are understood to be initially unergative clauses, and the first nominal cannot be marked for nominative case, as shown in (134b-135b).

Under the proposed analyses, as represented in (105) and (109), this difference in case assignment is straightforwardly accounted for. At SNCs, whose initial structure is unaccusative, involve advancement of an oblique to I. The first nominal has the career Obl-2-I, and thus the first nominal may be marked for either oblique or nominative case.¹¹ However, in Unergative Clauses, which are initially unergative, there is no advancement to I, and the first nominal bears both the initial and the final oblique relation. Therefore, the first nominal in clauses like (106-108) can be marked for oblique but not for nominative case. This asymmetry in the case marking of the oblique nominal lends support to the proposed structures of the two construction types.

The ability of the possessor in the above examples to control Subject Honorification shows that the oblique possessive phrase, i.e. the oblique nominal in clauses like (96-98), is an advancee to 1, since, as noted in Section 3.2.1.1, a possessor in a possessive phrase heading a final 1-arc can control Subject Honorification.

In contrast, in clauses like (106-108), which I claim do not involve advancement to 1, the possessor of the oblique nominal cannot control Subject Honorification, even if the oblique nominal is a possessive phrase in which the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability. This is clearly seen in the differences of acceptability in the (a) and (b) clauses in (146-147).

(146) a. *Sensaengnim-iy meli-ey/*ka camcali-ka*
 teacher-GEN head-DAT/NOM dragonfly-NOM
*anc-(*isi)-ess-ta.*
sit-(SH)-pst-ind
 'A dragonfly sat on the teacher's head.'

b. *Sensaengnim-iy meli-ey/ka menci-ka*
 teacher-GEN hair-DAT/NOM dust-NOM
anc-(tisi)-ess-ta.
sit-(SH)-pst-ind
 'Dust collected in the teacher's hair.'

(147) a. *Apenim-ty kwi-ey/*ka moki-ka*
 father-GEN ear-DAT/NOM mosquito-NOM
*t:tleka-(*isi)-ess-ta.*
go into-(SH)-pst-ind
 'A mosquito went into Father's ear.'

b. *Apenim-ty kwi-ey/ka mul-i*
 father-GEN ear-DAT/NOM water-NOM
t:tleka-(si)-ess-ta.
go into-(SH)-pst-ta.
 'Water went into Father's ear.'

In (146b-147b), which are initially unaccusative clauses, the possessor can control Subject Honorification. In (146a-147a), however, the initial structure is unergative (notice that the oblique possessive phrase does not show case alternations), so the possessor cannot control Subject Honorification. If the oblique possessive phrase in (146a-147a) were a final subject, the possessor should be able to control Subject Honorification. The fact that it does not control Subject Honorification shows that the oblique nominal in Unergative Clauses is not a final subject.

Under the proposed analysis of Unergative Clauses, the second nominative nominal is a final subject. Thus, if the second nominative nominal designates a person to be honored, we expect it to control Subject Honorification. This prediction is borne out by the following examples:

(148) a. *Emenim-ty muliph-ey Chelsu-ka anc-(*isi)-ess-ta.*
 mother-GEN lap-DAT C.-NOM sit-(SH)-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo sat on Mother's lap.'

b. *Chelsu-ty muliph-ey emenim-i anc-isi-ess-ta.*
 C.-GEN lap-DAT mother-NOM sit-SH-pst-ind
 'Mother sat on Chulsoo's lap.'

(149) a. *Emenim-ty kwi-ey Suni-ka soksaki-(*isi)-ess-ta.*
 mother-GEN ear-DAT S.-NOM whisper-(SH)-pst-ind
 'Soonni whispered in Mother's ear.'

b. *Suni-ty kwi-ey emenim-i soksaki-si-ess-ta.*
 S.-GEN ear-DAT mother-NOM whisper-SH-pst-ind
 'Mother whispered in Soonni's ear.'

The behavior of the second nominative nominal in the above examples coincides with that of the second nominative

nominal in Unergative Clauses with respect to Subject Honorification.

- (150) a. I zyca-ey Chelsu-ka anc-(*isi)-ess-ta.
 this chair-DAT C.-NOM sit-(SH)-pst-ind
 'Chuisoo sat on this chair.'
 b. I zyca-ey emenim-i anc-isi-ess-ta.
 this chair-DAT mother-NOM sit-SH-pst-ind
 'Mother sat on this chair.'
- (151) a. I pang-eyse Yengsu-ka nao-(*si)-ess-ta.
 this room-DAT Y.-NOM come out-(SH)-pst-ind
 'Youngsoo came out of this room.'
 b. I pang-eyse emenim-i nao-si-ess-ta.
 this room-DAT mother-NOM come out-SH-pst-ind
 'Mother came out of this room.'

Thus, the data involving Subject Honorification provide support for the two proposed structures.

3.3.3 Plural Copying

The third argument in support of the proposed analyses comes from Plural Copying.

In Section 3.2.1.2, it was shown that when the advancee in AI MNCs is plural, it can induce the affixation of the plural marker to the theme (i.e. the second nominal), which gives evidence for the final subjecthood of the advancee. Since AI SNCs and AI MNCs share a structure under the proposed analysis, we predict that the plural marking of the oblique nominal in AI SNCs can be copied onto the second nominal.

Observe:

- (152) a. Kɿ kongcang-ey pul-(*tɿl)-i na-ss-ta.
 the factory-DAT fire-(pl)-NOM break out-pst-ind
 'Fire broke out in the factory.'
 b. Kɿ kongcang-tɿl-ey pul-(tɿl)-i na-ss-ta.
 the factory-pl-DAT fire-(pl)-NOM break out-pst-ind
 'Fire broke out in the factories.'
- (153) a. I usan-eyse mul-(*tɿl)-i sae-m-ta.
 this umbrella-DAT water-(pl)-NOM leak-pres-ind
 'This umbrella leaks.'
 b. I usan-tɿl-eyse mul-(tɿl)-i sae-m-ta.
 this umbrella-pl-DAT water-(pl)-NOM leak-pres-ind
 'These umbrellas leak.'

The contrast between the (a) and (b) clauses above shows that the plurality of the oblique nominal can induce the appearance of the plural marker on the second nominal, in spite of the fact that a mass or abstract nominal normally cannot be pluralized. This provides evidence that the oblique nominal in AI SNCs is an advancee to 1.

In addition, the discussion of AI MNCs in the previous pointed out that the plural marking of the advancee is also copied onto to the case marker of the second nominal. We can make a prediction that the plurality of the oblique nominal in AI SNCs can induce the suffixation of the plural marker to the case marker of the second nominal. This prediction is verified by (154b-155b) below.

- (154) a. Kɿ kongcang-ey pul-i-(*tɿl) na-ss-ta.
 the factory-DAT fire-NOM-(pl) break out-pst-ind
 'Fire broke out in the factory.'
 b. Kɿ kongcang-tɿl-ey pul-i-(tɿl) na-ss-ta.
 the factory-pl-DAT fire-NOM-(pl) break out-pst-ind
 'Fire broke out in the factories.'

- (155) a. I usən-eyse mul-i-(tʃi) saɣ-n-ta.
 this umbrella-DAT water-NOM-(pl) leak-pres-ind
 'This umbrella leaks.'
 b. I usən-tʃi-eyse mul-i-(tʃi) saɣ-n-ta.
 this umbrella-pl-DAT water-NOM-(pl) leak-pres-ind
 'These umbrellas leak.'

In contrast, the plural marking of the oblique nominal in

Unergative Clauses cannot be copied onto the case marker of the second nominal, as shown in (156-157).

- (156) a. I tʃa-ey kʃ ai-ka-(tʃi) ɔnc-ɔss-ta.
 this chair-DAT the child-NOM-(pl) sit-pst-ind
 'The child sat on this chair.'
 b. I tʃa-tʃi-ey kʃ ai-ka-(tʃi) ɔnc-ɔss-ta.
 this chair-pl-DAT the child-NOM-(pl) sit-pst-ind
 'The child sat/used to sit on these chairs.'
 (157) a. I paŋ-eyse kʃ sanai-ka-(tʃi) ɔnc-ɔss-ta.
 this room-DAT the man-NOM-(pl) come out-pst-ind
 'The man came out of this room.'
 b. I paŋ-tʃi-eyse kʃ sanai-ka-(tʃi) ɔnc-ɔss-ta.
 this room-pl-DAT the man-NOM-(pl) come out-pst-ind
 'The man came/used to come out of these rooms.'

The inability of the oblique nominal in the above examples to control Plural Copying indicates that it is not an advancee to *i*.

Under the proposed analysis, the nominative nominal in (156-157) is a final subject. As noted earlier, the subject-induced plural marker can appear on non-nominal categories, such as adverbs, postpositions, complementizers, etc. Thus,

in (156-157), it should be possible for the plural marking of the nominative nominal to be copied onto the case marker of the oblique nominal. Observe the following:¹²

- (158) a. Kʃ ai-ka i tʃa-ey-(tʃi) ɔnc-ɔss-ta.
 the child-NOM this chair-DAT-(pl) sit-pst-ind
 'The child sat on this chair.'
 b. Kʃ ai-tʃi-i i tʃa-ey-(tʃi) ɔnc-ɔss-ta.
 the child-pl-NOM this chair-DAT-(pl) sit-pst-ind
 'The children sat on this chair.'
 (159) a. Kʃ sanai-ka i paŋ-eyse-(tʃi) ɔnc-ɔss-ta.
 the man-NOM this room-DAT-(pl) come out-pst-ind
 'The man came out of this room.'
 b. Kʃ sanai-tʃi-i i paŋ-eyse-(tʃi) ɔnc-ɔss-ta.
 the man-pl-NOM this room-DAT-(pl) come out-pst-ind
 'The men came out of this room.'

It is evident from the contrast between (a) and (b) in (158-159) above that the plurality of the nominative nominal (i.e. *tʃi* 'children' in (158) and *sanai-tʃi* 'men' in (159)) can induce the suffixation of the plural marker to the oblique nominal. This shows that the nominative nominal is a final subject in (158-159).

Therefore, the data from Plural Copying add support to the proposed structures of the two construction types.

So far, we have contrasted the two construction types, and argued that AI ENCs, whose initial structure is unaccusative, involve advancement of obliques to *i*, while Unergative Clauses, which are initially unergative clauses, do not. In

order to justify this, we have shown that the oblique nominal in the former behaves like a final subject, while that in the latter does not, with respect to case alternation, Subject Honorification, and Plural Copying. We have also pointed out in passing that AI SNC and AI MNCs share a structure, both of which are parallel in structure to psych constructions, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.4 Relational Properties of the Theme

This section examines the relational status of the second nominal, or "theme," in AI SNCs.

Many traditional or generative grammarians have treated the theme in AI SNCs, and in psych constructions as well, as the subject simply because it is marked for nominative case. However, under the proposed analysis, the theme is a final 2-*chômeur*, having been put en chômage by the advancee, which has the career Obl-2-1.

Section 3.3.1 showed that the predicates in AI SNCs determine initially unaccusative clauses and that the advancee shows case alternations, claiming that this gives evidence that these clauses are initially unaccusative clauses and involve advancement of obliques to 1. We may say then that the theme is semantically a patient at the initial level of structure; that is, its grammatical relation is an initial

2.13

That the theme is not a final subject is evidenced by Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and topicalization. These same phenomena were given in Section 3.2.2 to demonstrate that the theme in AI MNCs is not a final subject. For example, the theme cannot control Plural Copying, as can be seen in the contrast between the (b) and (d) clauses in the following:

- (160) a. I kapang-ey kɛ thong-ty pheyinthi-(tɛtɛl)-i
 this bag-DAT the pail-GEN paint-(pl)-NOM
 mut-ess-ta.
 smudge-pst-ind
 'This bag was smudged with the paint of the pail.'
- b. I kapang-tɛl-ey kɛ thong-ty pheyinthi-(tɛtɛl)-i
 this bag-pl-DAT the pail-GEN paint-(pl)-NOM
 mut-ess-ta.
 smudge-pst-ind
 'These bags were smudged with the paint of the pail.'
- c. Kɛ thong-ty pheyinthi-(tɛtɛl)-ey
 the pail-GEN paint-(pl)-DAT
 nakyp-i tteleci-ess-ta.
 fallen leaf-NOM fall-pst-ind
 'A fallen leaf fell on the paint of the pail.'
- d. Kɛ thong-ty pheyinthi-(tɛtɛl)-ey
 the pail-GEN paint-(pl)-DAT
 nakyp-tɛl-i tteleci-ess-ta.
 fallen leaf-pl-NOM fall-pst-ind
 'The fallen leaves fell on the paint of the pail.'
- (161) a. I chenceng-eyse kɛ thaengkɛ-ty
 this ceiling-DAT the tank-GEN
 mul-(tɛtɛl)-i tteleci-n-ta.
 water-(pl)-NOM drip-pres-ind
 'The water of the tank drips from this ceiling.'

- b. I chenceng-tɬi-eyse kɛ̃ thaengkɛ̃-ɿy
this ceiling-pl-DAT the tank-GEN
mul-(tɬi)-i tteleci-n-ta.
water-(pl)-NOM drip-pres-ind
'The water of the tank drips from these
ceilings.'
- c. Kɛ̃ thaengkɛ̃-ɿy mul-(tɬi)-eyse mulpangul-i
the tank-GEN water-(pl)-DAT waterdrop-NOM
drip-pres-ind
'Waterdrops drip from the water of the tank.'
- d. Kɛ̃ thaengkɛ̃-ɿy mul-(tɬi)-eyse mulpangul-tɬi-i
the tank-GEN water-(pl)-DAT waterdrop-pl-NOM
tteleci-n-ta.
drip-pres-ind
'Waterdrops drip from the water of the tank.'

In (160b-161b), when the theme is plural, the plural marking of the advancee is copied onto the head of the theme, which is a possessive phrase, but in (160d-161d), where the theme is plural, its plural marking cannot be copied onto the head of the advancee. Since the final subjecthood of the controller is a sufficient (but not a necessary) condition for Plural Copying (cf. Section 3.2.1.3), this provides an argument for the non-final subjecthood of the theme.

As we have seen in previous sections, the final subject of an intransitive complement can be raised to matrix object. However, the theme cannot be raised to matrix object, as (162b-163b) show.

- (162) a. Na-nɿn kɛ̃ kapang-ey pheyinθi-ka
I-TOP the bag-DAT paint-NOM
mut-ess-ta-ko saengkakha-ess-ta.
smudge-pst-ind-cmp think-pst-ind
'I thought that the bag was smudged with paint.'

- b. Na-nɿn pheyinθi-ɬi kɛ̃ kapang-ey
I-TOP paint-ACC the bag-DAT
mut-ess-ta-ko saengkakha-ess-ta.
smudge-pst-ind-cmp think-pst-ind
(163) a. Na-nɿn i chenceng-eyse mul-i
I-TOP this ceiling-DAT water-NOM
tteleci-n-ta-ko mit-nɿn-ta.
drip-pres-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind
'I believe that water drips from this ceiling.'
- b. Na-nɿn mul-tɬi i chenceng-eyse
I-TOP water-ACC this ceiling-DAT
tteleci-n-ta-ko mit-nɿn-ta.
drip-pres-ind-cmp believe-pres-ind

Thus, the fact that the theme can not be raised to matrix object gives an argument that it is not a final subject.

Evidence that the theme is not a final 2 comes from the fact that it can serve only as a contrastive topic when it appears as a topic (see Section 2.1.4.4 for a distinction between a plain topic and a contrastive topic). As noted in Sections 2.1.4.4 and 3.2.2.4, Gardts (1986) proposes a constraint for topicalization in Korean stipulating that, while a nominal heading a term arc can serve as both a plain and a contrastive topic, a nominal heading a Cho arc can only serve as a contrastive topic. If the theme were a final 2, it should appear as a plain topic, but as can be observed in the (c) examples below, when the theme appears as a topic, it allows only the contrastive interpretation.

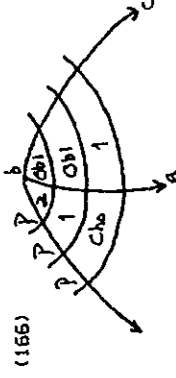
- (164) a. I os-ey phi-ka mut-ess-ta.
this clothes-DAT blood-NOM stain-pst-ind
'These clothes were stained with blood.'

- b. I os-in phi-ka mut-ess-ta.
 this clothes-TOP blood-NOM stain-pst-ind
 i) 'Speaking of these clothes, they were stained with blood.'
 ii) 'As for these clothes, they were stained with blood (but as for others ---).'
- c. Phi-nin i os-i mut-ess-ta.
 blood-TOP this clothes-NOM stain-pst-ind
 'As for blood, these clothes were stained with it (but as for other thing ---).'
- (165) a. I chenceng-eyse mul-i tteleci-n-ta.
 this ceiling-DAT water-NOM drip-pres-ind
 'Water drips from this ceiling.'
- b. I chenceng-in mul-i tteleci-n-ta.
 this ceiling-TOP water-NOM drip-pres-ind
 i) 'Speaking of this ceiling, water drips from it.'
 ii) 'As for this ceiling, water drips from it (but as for others ---).'
- c. Mul-in i chenceng-eyse tteleci-n-ta.
 water-TOP this ceiling-DAT drip-pres-ind
 'As for water, it drips from this ceiling (but as for others ---).'

Therefore, the data from topicalization provide evidence for the chomage of the theme, and eliminates the possibility that it is a final 1 or a final 2.

However, the chomage of the theme still allows the possibility that it is a final 1-chômeur. It has already been argued that the theme is an initial 2. If the proposal that it is a final 1-chômeur is adopted, a structure like that in

(166) is suggested.



The above may seem to be a plausible structure for A1 SMCs, but it is ruled out by the IAEX, a universal law proposed by Perlmutter (1978) and Perlmutter and Postal (1984), one statement of which is given in (167).¹⁴

(167) 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (P & P 1984: 67)

Let A and B be distinct neighboring 1-arcs. Then, if A is an advance arc, B is not an advance arc.

The IAEX characterizes as ill-formed any clauses with more than one advancement to 1; that is, it rules out any clauses in which an advancement to 1 is put en chomage by another advancement. In (166), which is an initially unaccusative clause, the initial 2 in the first stratum advances to 1 in the second by Unaccusative Advancement. In the next stratum, there is an advancement to 1, with the initial oblique heading a 1-arc in the third, and the earlier advancee to 1 heading a Cho arc. (166) thus contains distinct neighboring advancee 1-arcs, in violation of the IAEX.

The above discussion reveals that the theme has the properties of an initial 2, but not a final 1, 1-chômeur, or final 2. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the

theme in A1 SNCs, and in A1 MNCs as well, is a final 2-chômeur, having been placed en chômeage by the oblique nominal, which ultimately advances to 1.

A question remains: If the theme is a final 2-chômeur as claimed above, why is it marked for nominative case? An explanation for its nominative case is necessary since, according to the Korean case rule in Gerdtz and Youn (1988), neither a final 2-chômeur nor an initial 2 is a potential licensor for nominative marking. The nominative marking of the theme will be discussed in chapter 5.

3.5 Summary

This chapter discussed A1 MNCs and A1 SNCs, arguing that they both involve advancement of an oblique to final subject. Section 3.1 briefly reviewed the Unaccusative Hypothesis and claimed that A1 MNCs and A1 SNCs are initially unaccusative clauses. Section 3.2 argued that A1 MNCs involve advancement of an oblique to subject. Section 3.2.1 provided arguments for the final 1-hood of the first nominative nominal based on Subject Honorification, Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising and causatives. Section 3.2.2 showed that the second nominative nominal in A1 MNCs is not a final subject by giving evidence from Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and topicalization. Section 3.3 contrasted the syntactic behavior of the dative-marked nominal in A1 SNCs with the dative-marked nominal in Unergative Clauses using the

diagnostics of case alternation, Subject Honorification, and Plural Copying. These tests demonstrate that A1 SNCs involve advancement of an oblique to final subject, while Unergative Clauses do not. Finally, Section 3.4 showed that the theme in A1 SNCs, and in A1 MNCs as well, is a final 2-chômeur which has been placed en chômeage by the oblique having the career Obi-2-1. These facts provide support for the proposed analysis of A1 MNCs and A1 SNCs.

¹ In Korean, the advancement of obliques to 1 is possible only when the initial structure of a given clause is unaccusative (cf. Section 3.3.1) and an oblique nominal has the locative, temporal, or source relation. We know of no cases where an instrumental, goal, or comitative, etc. advances to 1, as shown in (i-iii).

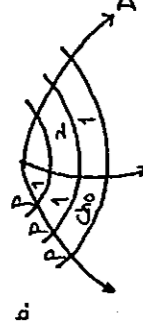
- (i) a. Kɛ phato-lo/ey pae-ka puseci-ess-ta.
the waves-INSTR ship-NOM be broken-pst-ind
'The ship was destroyed by the waves.'
- b. *Kɛ phato-ka pae-ka puseci-ess-ta.
the waves-NOM ship-NOM be broken-pst-ind
- (ii) a. Kɛ multhong-ilo/ey nakyp-i
the water pail-60PL dead leaf-NOM
tteleci-ess-ta.
fall-pst-ind
'A dead leaf fell to the water pail.'
- b. *Kɛ multhong-i nakyp-i
the water pail-NOM dead leaf-NOM
tteleci-ess-ta.
fall-pst-ind
- (iii) a. Atɾi-kwa apeci-ka talm-ass-ta.
son-COM father-NOM resemble-pst-ind
'The son resembled his father.'
- b. *Atɾi-i apeci-ka talm-ass-ta.
son-NOM father-NOM resemble-pst-ind

Examples in (i-iii) are all initially unaccusative clauses. However, as can be seen in the (b) clauses, the oblique nominal cannot be marked for nominative case which is licensed by a final 1, and it fails other diagnostics for subjecthood. (cf. Section 3.3) Some native speakers accept (iib) as grammatical. The reason why they accept it as grammatical is that both locatives and instrumentals can be marked with the particle *ɿ*. When the oblique nominal (i.e. *multhong*) is taken as a locative, it can advance to 1, and the sentence is regarded as grammatical. However, (iib) is ungrammatical in the intended reading.

² Perlmutter (1978) (also Perlmutter and Postal, 1984) provides syntactic evidence for unergativity vs. unaccusativity from Dutch and Turkish impersonal passives.

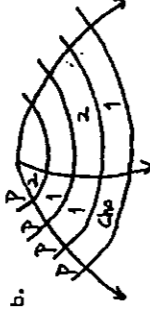
According to his analysis, impersonal passives involve a dummy nominal which is a 2 and which advances to 1. In Dutch, initially unergative clauses are compatible with the impersonal passive construction. Perlmutter gives examples like (ia) as represented in (ib).

- (i) a. Er wordt hier door de jonge lui veer gedanst.
'It is danced here a lot by the young people.'



However, initially unaccusative clauses do not have well-formed impersonal passives, as shown in the following:

- (ii) a. *Er werd door het water uit de rots gedrippeld.
(The water dripped out of the rock.)



Perlmutter argues that the impossibility of initially unaccusative clauses like (iia) is attributable to the fact that they violate the IEX proposed in Perlmutter (1978) (also Perlmutter and Postal, 1984), stated informally in (iii) (for a precise definition of IEX, see Section 3.4).

(iii) 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law

No clause can contain more than one advancement to 1.

As (iib) shows, impersonal passives of initially unaccusative clauses involve two 2-1 advancements, i.e. unaccusative advancement and passive, in conflict of the IEX. Thus, Perlmutter motivates the distinction between two types of initially intransitive clauses on semantic and syntactic grounds.

³ Rosen (1984) argues on the basis of the data from Italian, Choctaw, Eastern Pomo, Lakhotá, etc. that although Perlmutter's division shows the attested cross-linguistic

tendencies, it cannot be a classificatory semantic criterion that determines initial unergativity vs. unaccusativity. Perlmutter hypothesizes that the volitional quality of the action, or protagonist control, is a universally sufficient condition for an intransitive clause to be initially unergative. However, Rosen argues that the volitional quality of the action does not determine in any universal way the division between initial unergativity and unaccusativity. In languages like Italian, Choctaw, and Eastern Pomo, for example, the volitional quality of the action affects initial unergativity only exceptionally, with a handful of verbs. And in Italian, there are many nonvolitional predicates which determine initially unergative clauses. Perlmutter hypothesizes that predicates which describe certain involuntary bodily processes also determine initially unergative clauses, but Rosen claims that a label such as "involuntary bodily processes" is inadequate. For example, 'snore' and 'blush' are included under that heading, but Italian, Albanian and Dutch all agree in assigning to 'snore' an initial 1 and to 'blush' an initial 2. Further, with 'sneeze' the initial stratum is unergative in Italian and Dutch, unaccusative in Eastern Pomo, and flexible in Choctaw. From these cross-linguistic discrepancies, Rosen maintains that initial unergativity and unaccusativity are not predictable from meaning alone.

⁴Perlmutter and Postal (1983: 100) formulates the Final 1 Law as follows:

(1) Final 1 Law

If there is a c_k stratum of \bar{b} and no c_{k+1} stratum of \bar{b} , we say that the c_k stratum is the 'final' stratum of \bar{b} .

Then: If \bar{b} is a basic clause node, the final stratum of \bar{b} contains a 1-arc.

⁵A reevaluation is an instance where a nominal heads a GRx-arc in the c_i stratum and GRy-arc in the c_{i+1} stratum. The two adjacent strata that contain a reevaluation, i.e. the c_i stratum and the c_{i+1} stratum, are called respectively the departure stratum and the arrival stratum. Bickford (1987) refers to the former as the background stratum and the latter as the foreground stratum.

⁶The plural marking of the first nominative nominal can also be copied onto non-nominal categories, as (i-ii) show.

(i) Kt kongang-tt1-i pul-i cinanpam-ey-(tt1)
the factory-pl-NOM fire-NOM last night-at-(pl)
na-ss-ta.
break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the factory last night.'

(ii) Kt usan-tt1-i mul-i mopsi-(tt1)
the umbrella-pl-NOM water-NOM badly-(pl)
sae-n-ta.
leak-pres-ind
'The umbrellas leak badly.'

The above examples provide evidence that the first nominative nominal in AI MNCs is a final subject.

⁷Some native speakers accept as grammatical sentences like (i-ii), where the final subject of a transitive complement is raised to matrix object.

(i) XSuni-nin Chelsu-lt1 Yongsu-lt1 manna-ss-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-ACC Y.-ACC meet-pst-ind-cmp
saengkakha-n-ta.
think-pres-ind
'Soonni thinks that Chulsoo met Youngsoo.'

(ii) XSuni-nin Chelsu-lt1 ton-t1 ilh-ess-ta-ko
S.-TOP C.-ACC money-ACC lose-pst-ind-cmp
mit-ess-ta.
believe-pst-ind
'Soonni believed that Chulsoo had lost his money.'

However, the discussion is unaffected by the grammaticality of sentences like the above. For a general picture of Subject-to-Object Raising in Korean, see Section 1.2.5.

⁸According to the case rule in Gerdts and Youn (1988), given in (i), two types of case are distinguished in Korean --- S-Case and I-Case. S-Case is grammatical case licensed in terms of final structure, while I-Case is selected on the basis of the semantic role of the nominal and licensed in initial structure.

(i) a. S-Case
NOM is licensed by a final 1.
ACC is licensed by a final 2.

b. I-Case
DAT is licensed by an Exp, Loc, Goal, Ben, Temp, etc.

INSTR is licensed by an Instr, Path, etc.
COM is licensed by a Comitative).

The forms for the cases are given in (ii).

(ii) NOM	i/ka
ACC	ʔ1/ʔ1
DAT	eykey (animate)
	ey (inanimate)
INSTR	ʔlo/lo
CDM	kwa/wa

In this study, I posit that the oblique relations of an Exp, Loc, Goal, Ben, Temp, etc. are all subsumed under the category of dative case; that is, they are determined on the basis of the semantic role of the nominal, and morphologically, they are all realized with the same particle *ey* (or *eykey*, if the preceding nominal is animate). For a detailed discussion of the case rule in Korean, see Gerdts and Youn (1988).

⁹ Under the proposed analysis of psych constructions, the experiencer or cognizer is claimed to be an initial oblique which advances to 2, placing the theme en chômage, then advances to 1 (cf. Chapter 4).

¹⁰ Perlmutter (1978) omits verbs of motion from the class of predicates determining initial unergativity vs. unaccusativity because they involve ambiguities and the possibility for alternative analyses.

¹¹ The term 'career' comes from work by Perlmutter (in preparation). Informally, where a nominal heads a sequence of arcs in a clause, the sequence of those arcs' R-signs is called the nominal's 'career.' For example, if an initial 3 advances to 2 and then to 1, its career is 3-2-1.

¹² In (158-159), the nominative nominal precedes the oblique nominal. However, word order does not affect the degree of their grammaticality. The reason I changed word order in (158-159) is to make them sound more natural.

¹³ Gerdts and Youn (1988) claim that the constraint on Korean ascensions in (i) justified in Gerdts and Youn (in preparation) provides evidence that the theme is an initial 2.

(i) An ascension host must head an initial 2-arc.

Constraint (i) limits the hosts of Possessor Ascension, subject raising, and non-subject raising argued for in Gerdts and Youn (1986).

Many psychological predicates can take a clausal theme which has a PRO subject controlled by the experiencer, as exemplified in (ii).

- (ii) Chelsu-ka/eykey i chaek-il ilk-ki-ka
 C.-NOM/DAT this book-ACC read-cmp-NOM
 swi-/tulye-/cikye-wess-ta.
 easy/dreadful/tedious-pst-ind
 'Chulsu finds this book easy/etc. to read.'

A non-subject in the clausal theme (e.g. *chaek* in (iii) and *ʔxsa* in (iv)) may ascend to 2 in the upstairs clause, in which case the ascende, like its theme host, is marked nominative.

- (iii) Sensaengni-w-i/eykey kʔ chaek-ʔ1/i
 teacher-NOM/DAT the book-ACC/NOM
 ilk-ʔ1-i-ka swi-usi-ess-ta.
 read-SH-cmp-NOM easy-SH-pst-ind
 'It is easy for the teacher to read the book.'

- (iv) Chelsu-ka/eykey kʔ ʔyca-wy/ka
 C.-NOM/DAT the chair-DAT/NOM
 anc-ki-ka elyep-ta.
 sit-cmp-NOM hard-ind
 'It is hard for Chulsu to sit in the chair.'

That the theme can be the host of non-subject raising would follow from the assumption that it is an initial 2, given the condition on ascension hosts in (i).

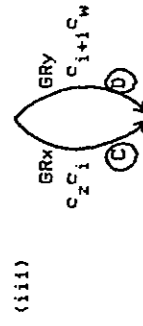
¹⁴ Perlmutter and Postal (1984:85) introduce three predicates characterizing arcs:

- (i) a. Two arcs A and B are neighbors if and only if they have the same tail.
 b. Two arcs A and B overlap if and only if they have the same head node.
 c. Two arcs A and B are parallel if and only if they are neighbors and overlap.

If a sub-RN meets the following conditions:

- (ii) a. There are distinct parallel arcs A and B
 b. The first coordinate index of A is +1 of the last coordinate index of B

A is a 'revaluee arc,' whose general form is that of D in (iii):



where the revaluation corresponding to GRY outranks that corresponding to GRx, there is an advancement; where the reverse holds, a demotion. The revaluee arc is an 'advancee arc' in an advancement and a 'demotee arc' in a demotion.

Nominative and Psych Predicates

The preceding chapter discussed A1 MNCs and A1 SNCs, arguing that they share a structure involving advancement of some kind of oblique to I. This chapter examines MNCs like those in (1-3) which I claim also involve advancement of an initial oblique to I.

- (1) Chelsu-ka ton-i philyoha-ta.
C.-NOM money-NOM need-ind
'Chulsoo needs money.'
- (2) Suni-ka emeni-ka kil-i-wess-ta.
S.-NOM mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
'Soonie missed Mother.'
- (3) Yengsu-ka suhak-i swi-wess-ta.
Y.-NOM math-NOM easy-pst-ind
'Math was easy for Youngsoo.'

As with A1 MNCs, multiple nominative clauses like the above have corresponding single nominative constructions where the first nominal marked with dative case exhibits subject properties.¹

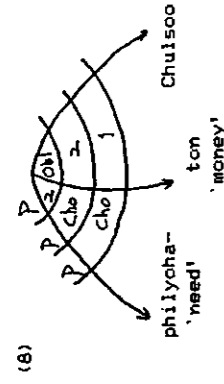
- (4) Chelsu-eykey ton-i philyoha-ta.
C.-DAT money-NOM need-ind
'Chulsoo needs money.'
- (5) Suni-eykey emeni-ka kil-i-wess-ta.
S.-DAT mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
'Soonie missed Mother.'
- (6) Yengsu-eykey suhak-i swi-wess-ta.
Y.-DAT math-NOM easy-pst-ind
'Math was easy for Youngsoo.'

'Dative subject' constructions like (4-6) have been noted in a number of languages and discussed in many frameworks (cf. Section 4.4). One salient characteristic of these constructions is that they have a psychological or perception predicate (cf. Postal 1971), with the dative-marked nominal being semantically an experiencer or cognizer (i.e. the individual who is experiencing the psychological state or process), and the nominative-marked nominal being a theme (i.e. the content or object of the psychological state or process).

The predicates which occur in these constructions include the following:²

(7) philyoha-	'need'	kwiyeop-	'lovable'
mocala-/	'lack'	cikyep-/	'tedious'
pucok-		ciluha-	
nekneka-/	'sufficient'	saengkakna-	'remember'
chungpuna-		iss-	'have'
manh-	'many, much'	eps-	'do not have'
coh-	'like, prefer'	swip-	'easy'
silh-	'dislike'	elyep-	'difficult'
musep-	'afraid'	tilli-	'be heard'
tuiyep-	'dreadful'	poi-	'be seen,' etc.
kayep-	'pitiful'		

In this chapter, I refer to clauses like (1-3) as Psych MNCs and clauses like (4-6) as Psych SNCs. I argue that Psych MNCs are not MSCs but rather MNCs which have the same structure as Psych SNCs. The structure I propose for both construction types is parallel to the one I posited for AI MNCs and AI SNCs in the previous chapter. (1) and (4), for example, have the structure in (8).³



Under the proposed structure, both Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs are initially unaccusative --- the experiencer is an initial oblique and the theme is an initial 2. The experiencer advances to 2, placing the theme en chdage, then advances to 1. 4

In order to justify this analysis, Section 4.1 gives evidence that the experiencer is an initial oblique which advances to 1 by demonstrating that the experiencer behaves like a final subject with respect to several syntactic phenomena. Section 4.2 presents arguments for the non-final subjecthood of the theme by pointing out that it fails diagnostics for subjecthood, thereby showing that clauses like those in (1-3) are not MSCs but MNCs with a single subject. Section 4.3 examines the relational properties of the theme, and provides further support to the proposed structure. Section 4.4 contrasts two proposals, i.e. the advancement analysis and the retreat analysis, with regard to Korean psych constructions, supporting the advancement analysis over the retreat analysis. Section 4.5 is a summary of and conclusion for this chapter.

4.1 The Final I-hood of the Experiencer

This section argues that the experiencer in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs is an initial oblique which advances to final subject. Evidence for its final subjecthood is provided by the phenomena of Case Stacking, Subject Honorification, Plural Copying, and myense constructions.

4.1.1 Case Stacking

Section 3.1.1 showed that the oblique nominal in A1 SNCs can be marked either for dative or nominative case, and

claimed that the case alternations of the oblique nominal provide evidence that A1 SNCs involve advancement of an oblique to final subject since such case alternations can be straightforwardly accounted for when it is assumed that A1 SNCs involve advancement to 1. Under the proposed analysis of Psych SNCs, they have exactly the same structure as A1 SNCs, i.e. they are initially unaccusative and involve advancement of an oblique to 1. We therefore expect the experiencer in Psych SNCs to exhibit case alternations, which is confirmed by the following examples:

(9) Chelsu-eykey/ka tcn-i mocala-ss-ta.
C.-DAT/NOM money-NOM lack-pst-ind
'Chulsoo lacked money.'

(10) Suni-eykey/ka sensaengnim-i muse-wess-ta.
S.-DAT/NOM teacher-NOM afraid-pst-ind
'Sooni was afraid of the teacher.'

(11) Yengsu-eykey/ka ttal-i ise-ta.
Y.-DAT/NOM daughter-NOM have-ind
'Youngsoo has a daughter.'

The fact that the experiencer in Psych SNCs exhibits case alternations is also compatible with the retreat analysis of Psych SNCs in which the experiencer is claimed to be an initial 1 which retreats to 3. However, the data with Case Stacking support the proposed analysis over the retreat analysis of Korean psych constructions (cf. Section 4.4.3).

In Korean, as discussed in M. Kim (1970, 1980), more than one case can be assigned to a nominal.⁵ Observe the following clauses:

(12) Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey-lo kong-i tenci-ess-ta.
C.-NOM Y.-DAT-6OBL ball-ACC throw-pst-ind
'Chulsoo threw the ball to(ward) Youngsoo.'

(13) Suni-ka kyohoy-ey-wa casenhikwan-ey
S.-NOM church-DAT-CDM charitable institution-DAT
phyenci-iti nae-ss-ta.
letter-ACC send-pst-ind
'Sooni sent letters to churches and charitable institutions.'

In (12-13), dative case co-occurs with goal and comitative case, respectively. If the structure involves advancement to 1 or 2, dative case can also combine with nominative or accusative case, respectively. For example, dative case co-occurs with nominative case in Obl-2-1 advancements, as in (14), and with accusative case in Obl-2 advancements, as in (15).

(14) I os-ey-ka kentaeng-i mut-ess-ta.
this clothes-DAT-NOM soot-NOM smear-pst-ind
'These clothes were smeared with soot.'

- (15) Chelsu-ka Seoul-ey-l*l* ka-ss-ta.
 C.-NOM Seoul-DAT-ACC go-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo went to Seoul.'

However, the combination of nominative and accusative cases is impossible, even if the structure involves advancement, ascension, or clause union.

- (16) *Chelsu-_{ka-l*l*} {_{ka-l*l*} kyengchal-ey cap-hi-ess-ta.

C.-{ACC-NOM police-DAT arrest-pas-pst-ind
 {NOM-ACC
 (Chulsoo was arrested by the police.)

- (17) *Chelsu-ka Suni-<sub>{_{ka-l*l*} Seoul-ey ka-ss-ta-ko
 {_{l*l*}-ka
 C.-NOM S.-{NOM-ACC Seoul-DAT go-pst-ind-cmp
 {ACC-NOM</sub>

mit-ess-ta.
 believe-pst-ind
 (Chulsoo believed that Sooni had gone to Seoul.)

- (18) *Chelsu-ka Suni-_{{_{ka-l*l*} ul-key ha-ess-ta.}

C.-NOM S.-{NOM-ACC cry-cmp do-pst-ind
 {ACC-NOM
 (Chulsoo made Sooni cry.)

Gerdts and Youn (1988) refers to the co-occurrence of cases like those in (12-15) as Case Stacking and accounts for such an array of case marking by means of the case rule posited by Gerdts and Youn (1988). The case rule holds that two types of cases are distinguished in Korean, as shown in (19) (cf. Section 5.1 and Gerdts and Youn (in preparation) for more discussion of Korean case).

- (19) a. S-Case

NOM is licensed by a final 1.
 ACC is licensed by a final 2.

- b. I-Case

DAT is licensed by an Exp, Loc, Temp, Ben, etc.
 INSTR is licensed by an Instr, Path, etc.
 COM is licensed by a Com(itative).

They claim that S-Case is grammatical case licensed in terms of final structure; I-Case is selected on the basis of the semantic role of the nominal and licensed in initial structure. Furthermore, when both I-Case and S-Case appear on a nominal as in (14-15), I-Case precedes S-Case since I-Case is determined in the initial stratum, while S-Case is determined in the final stratum (cf. Gerdts' (1988) Satellite Principle in Section 4.4.3).

Gerdts and Youn's case rule, taken together with the proposed analysis in which the experienter advances from initial oblique to final subject, allows us to predict: i) the experienter may be marked with both dative and nominative case, and ii) if it is marked with both cases, dative will occur inside nominative marking. This prediction is verified by the following examples:⁶

- (20) Chelsu-eykey-ka ton-i mocala-ss-ta.
 C.-DAT-NOM money-NOM lack-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo lacked money.'

- (21) Suni-eykey-ka sensaengnim-i muse-wess-ta.
 S.-DAT-NOM teacher-NOM afraid-pst-ind
 'Sooni was afraid of the teacher.'

- (22) Yengsu-eykey-ka ttal-i iss-ta.
 Y.-DAT-NOM daughter-NOM have-ind
 'Youngsoo has a daughter.'

That nominative case is outside dative case in Case Stacking in the above examples can be accounted for simply when we assume that Psych SNCs like (4-6) involve advancement of an oblique to final subject. Thus, the data with Case Stacking not only provide an argument for the final subjecthood of the experiencer but also support the proposed analysis of Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs.

4.1.2 Subject Honorification

It was noted in Section 3.2.1 that the final I-hood of the controller is a sufficient (but not a necessary) condition for a nominal to control Subject Honorification. Under the proposed analysis of Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs, the experiencer is an initial oblique which advances to final subject. Therefore, we expect the experiencer to control Subject Honorification if it is honorable. Observe the following:

- (23) Apenim-i/eykey ton-i philyoha-si-ta.
 father-NOM/DAT money-NOM need-SH-ind
 'Father needs money.'
- (24) Sensaengnim-i/eykey chaek-i manh-isi-ta.
 teacher-NOM/DAT book-NOM many-SH-ind
 'The teacher has many books.'
- (25) Emenim-i/eykey kohyang-i ktli-usi-ess-ta.
 mother-NOM/DAT hometown-NOM miss-SH-pst-ind
 'Mother missed her hometown.'

- (26) Halmenim-i/eykey yenghwa-ka ciluha-si-ess-ta.
 grandmother-NOM/DAT movie-NOM boring-SH-pst-ind
 'Grandmother found the movie boring.'
- (27) Sensaengnim-i/eykey ttal-i iss-isi-ta.
 teacher-NOM/DAT daughter-NOM have-SH-ind
 'The teacher has a daughter.'
- (28) Apenim-i/eykey kt soli-ka ttli-li-si-ess-ta.
 father-NOM/DAT the sound-NOM hear-pas-SH-pst-ind
 'The sound reached Father.'

It is clear in the above examples that the experiencer controls Subject Honorification because only its referent can call for the speaker's deference. The ability of the experiencer to control Subject Honorification gives evidence for its final subjecthood.

Psych SNCs are distinguished from clauses like (29-31) -- referred to here as Basic Unaccusative Clauses -- whose predicates are qualitative adjectives. Consider:⁶

- (29) Chelsu-eykey i os-i kht-ta.
 C.-DAT this clothes-NOM big-ind
 'These clothes are too big for Chulsoo.'
- (30) Suni-eykey sensaengnim-i chinceiha-ta.
 S.-DAT teacher-NOM kind-ind
 'The teacher is kind to Sooni.'
- (31) Yengsu-eykey tampae-ka haelop-ta.
 Y.-DAT cigarette-NOM injurious-ind
 'Cigarette smoking is injurious to Youngsoo's health.'

Superficially, Basic Unaccusative Clauses like (29-31) have a structure identical to Psych SNCs. In both construction types, the first nominal is a dative-marked animate nominal and the predicate is an adjective determining an initially

unaccusative clause (cf. Section 3.3.1). The difference between the two construction types is that Psych SNCs have psychological or perception predicates, while Basic Unaccusative Clauses have predicates which refer to a quality. The dative-marked nominal in (23-28) is understood as an experiencer or cognizer, while the dative-marked nominal in (29-31) is not. Furthermore, the dative-marked nominal in Basic Unaccusative Clauses does not exhibit case alternations.

- (32) Chelsu-eykey/*ka i os-i khi-ta.
C.-DAT/NOM this clothes-NOM big-IND
'These clothes are big for Chulsoo.'
- (33) Sumi-eykey/*ka sengaengnim-i chinceilha-ta.
S.-DAT/NOM teacher-NOM kind-IND
'The teacher is kind to Sooni.'
- (34) Yengsu-eykey/*ka tampae-ka haelop-ta.
Y.-DAT/NOM cigarette-NOM injurious-IND
'Cigarette smoking is injurious to Youngsoo's health.'

That the dative-marked nominal in (32-34) does not exhibit case alternations indicates that Basic Unaccusative Clauses do not involve advancement of an oblique to i. Under my analysis, the dative-marked nominal in Basic Unaccusative Clauses bears both the initial and the final oblique relation, and therefore (29), for example, has the structure in (35).

- (35)
-
- khi-
'big'
- Chulsoo
os
'clothes'

Since the dative-marked nominal is a final oblique, it should not be able to control Subject Honorification.

- (36) Enemim-eykey i os-i khi-(*si)-ta.
mother-DAT this clothes-NOM big-(SH)-IND
'These clothes are too big for Mother.'
- (37) Sengaengnim-eykey Chelsu-ka kongsonha-(*si)-ta.
teacher-DAT C.-NOM polite-(SH)-IND
'Chulsoo is polite to the teacher.'
- (38) Apenim-eykey tampae-ka haelop-(*usi)-ta.
father-DAT cigarette-NOM injurious-(SH)-IND
'Cigarette smoking is injurious to Father's health.'

That the nominative nominal in Basic Unaccusative Clauses is a final subject is evidenced by the fact that it can control Subject Honorification.

- (39) Suni-eykey sengaengnim-i chinceilha-si-ta.
S.-DAT teacher-NOM kind-SH-IND
'The teacher is kind to Sooni.'
- (40) Chelsu-eykey apenim-i emkyekha-si-ta.
C.-DAT father-NOM severe-SH-IND
'Father is severe with Chulsoo.'

The inability of the dative-marked nominal in Basic Unaccusative Clauses to control Subject Honorification adds support to the proposed analysis of Psych SNCs. The different behavior of the dative-marked nominal in the two construction types with respect to Subject Honorification can be adequately accounted for only when we assume that Psych SNCs involve advancement of an oblique to final subject, while Basic Unaccusative Clauses do not.

4.1.3 Plural Copying

It has already been shown that the plural marking of a final subject can be copied onto various non-subject elements. If the experiencer in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs is an initial oblique which advances to final subject, it should allow Plural Copying. Observe the following pairs of clauses:

- (41) a. Chelsu-ka/eykey ton-(#tɬi)-i philyoha-ta.
C.-NOM/DAT money-(pl)-NOM need-ind
'Chulsoo needs money.'
- b. Haksaeng-tɬi-i/eykey ton-(tɬi)-i philyoha-ta.
student-pl-NOM/DAT money-(pl)-NOM need-ind
'The students need money.'
- (42) a. Suni-ka/eykey tongcengsim-(#tɬi)-i
S.-NOM/DAT sympathetic feeling-(pl)-NOM
pucokha-ta.
lack-ind
'Soonil lacks sympathy.'
- b. Kɛ yein-tɬi-i/eykey tongcengsim-(tɬi)-i
the woman-pl-NOM/DAT sympathetic feeling-(pl)-NOM
pucokha-ta.
lack-ind
'The woman lack sympathy.'
- (43) a. Chelsu-ka/eykey pul-(#tɬi)-i muse-wess-ta.
C.-NOM/DAT fire-(pl)-NOM afraid-pst-ind
'Chulsoo was afraid of fire.'
- b. Kɛ ai-tɬi-i/eykey pul-(tɬi)-i muse-wess-ta.
the child-pl-NOM/DAT fire-(pl)-NOM afraid-pst-ind
'The children were afraid of fire.'
- (44) a. Suni-ka/eykey kongpu-(#tɬi)-ka silh-ess-ta.
S.-NOM/DAT studying-(pl)-NOM dislike-pst-ind
'Soonil disliked studying.'
- b. Kɛ ai-tɬi-i/eykey kongpu-(tɬi)-i
the child-pl-NOM/DAT studying-(pl)-NOM
silh-ess-ta.
dislike-pst-ind
'The children disliked studying.'

- (45) a. Chelsu-ka/eykey yongki-(#tɬi)-ka iss-ta.
C.-NOM/DAT courage-(pl)-NOM have-ind
'Chulsoo has courage.'
- b. Kɛ sanai-tɬi-i/eykey yongki-(tɬi)-i iss-ta.
the man-pl-NOM/DAT courage-(pl)-NOM have-ind
'The men have courage.'

In (41a-45a), the experiencer is singular, so it does not allow Plural Copying. However, in (41b-45b), the plural marking of the experiencer can be copied onto the second nominative nominal. Therefore, the preceding examples constitute evidence for the final subjecthood of the experiencer in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs.

The plural marking of the experiencer can also be copied onto the case marker of the second nominative nominal.

- (46) a. Chelsu-ka/eykey ton-i-(#tɬi) philyoha-ta.
C.-NOM/DAT money-NOM-(pl) need-ind
'Chulsoo needs money.'
- b. Kɛ haksæng-tɬi-i/eykey ton-i-(tɬi)
the student-pl-NOM/DAT money-NOM-(pl)
philyoha-ta.
need-ind
'The students need money.'
- (47) a. Suni-ka/eykey kongpu-ka-(#tɬi) silh-ess-ta.
S.-NOM/DAT studying-NOM-(pl) dislike-pst-ind
'Soonil disliked studying.'
- b. Kɛ ai-tɬi-i/eykey kongpu-ka-(tɬi)
the child-pl-NOM/DAT studying-NOM-(pl)
silh-ess-ta.
dislike-pst-ind
'The children disliked studying.'

In contrast, the plural marking of the dative-marked nominal in Basic Unaccusative Clauses which I claim to bear

both the initial and the final oblique relation cannot be copied onto the case marker of the second nominative nominal.

This fact can be seen in the (b) clauses in the examples below.

- (48) a. Chelsu-eykey i moca-ka-(tɬi) khi-ta.
C.-DAT this hat-NOM-(pl) big-ind
'This hat is big for Chulsoo.'
- b. Kɬ ai-tɬi-eykey i moca-ka-(tɬi) khi-ta.
the child-pl-DAT this hat-NOM-(pl) big-ind
'This hat is big for the children.'
- (49) a. Suni-eykey sensaengnim-i-(tɬi) chincelha-ta.
S.-DAT teacher-NOM-(pl) kind-ind
'The teacher is kind to Sooni.'
- b. Kɬ ai-tɬi-eykey sensaengnim-i-(tɬi) chincelha-ta.
the child-pl-DAT teacher-NOM-(pl) kind-ind
'The teacher is kind to the children.'

Under my analysis of Basic Unaccusative Clauses, the nominative-marked nominal is a final subject; hence, its plurality can induce the affixation of the plural marker after the case marker of the dative-marked nominal.⁹

- (50) I os-tɬi-i kɬ ai-eykey-(tɬi) khi-ta.
this clothes-pl-NOM the child-DAT-(pl) big-ind
'These clothes are big for the child.'
- (51) Kɬ ai-tɬi-i sensaengnim-eykey-(tɬi) kongsonha-ta.
the child-pl-NOM teacher-DAT-(pl) polite-ind
'The children are polite to the teacher.'

The differential behavior of the dative-marked nominal in Psych SNCs and Basic Unaccusative Clauses with respect to Plural Copying provides additional support for the proposed

analysis of Psych SNCs in which the experiencer is an initial oblique which advances to final subject.

4.1.4 The myense Construction

The conjunctor myense(to) is suffixed to the stem of a predicate, and forms a subordinate clause whose understood subject is controlled by the final subject of the main clause (cf. Section 1.2.4).

- (52) Emkyekha-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey
strict-though C.-NOM Y.-DAT
chincelha-ess-ta.
kind-pst-ind
'Even though he_{i/*j} was strict, Chulsoo_i was kind to Youngsoo_j.'
- (53) Khtlischan-i-myenseto Yengsu-ka Chelsu-lɬi
Christian-be-though Y.-NOM C.-ACC
sok-i-es-ta.
be deceived-cs-pst-ind
'Even though he_{i/*j} was a Christian, Youngsoo_i deceived Chulsoo_j.'
- (54) Kananha-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey senmul-tɬi
poor-though C.-NOM Y.-DAT present-ACC
ponae-ss-ta.
send-pst-ind
'Even though he_{i/*j} was poor, Chulsoo_i sent a present to Youngsoo_j.'
- (55) Haksaeng-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey
student-be-though C.-NOM Yengsu-DAT
cap-hi-ess-ta.
arrest-pas-pst-ind
'Even though he_{i/*j} was a student, Chulsoo_i was arrested by Youngsoo_j.'

Given the final 1 condition on controllers of a PRO subject in a myense clause, we can predict that the experiencer in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs controls a PRO subject in a

myense clause, since the experiencer is an advancee to 1 under the proposed analysis. Consider:

- (56) Mikuksimin-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka/eykey
U.S. citizen-be-though C.-NOM/DAT
yengesensaengnim-i philyoha-ta.
English teacher-NOM need-ind
'Even though he_i/*_j is an American citizen, Chulsoo_i
needs an English teacher_j.'
- (57) Paekmancangca-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka/eykey Yengsu-ka
millionaire-be-though C.-NOM/DAT Y.-NOM
pule-wess-ta.
'Even though he_i/*_j was a millionaire, Chulsoo_i was
envious of Youngsoo_j.'
- (58) Cangsa-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka/eykey Yengsu-ka
strong man-be-though C.-NOM/DAT Y.-NOM
tulye-wess-ta.
afraid-pst-ind
'Even though he_i/*_j was a Hercules, Chulsoo_i was
afraid of Youngsoo_j.'
- (59) Mihonnyu-i-myenseto Suni-ka/eykey ttal-i
unmarried woman-be-though S.-NOM/DAT daughter-NOM
iss-ta.
have-ind
'Even though she_i/*_j is an unmarried woman, Sooni_i
has a daughter_j.'

In the above examples, the understood subject in the *myense* clause is the experiencer of the main clause. This shows that the experiencer in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs is a final subject.

The dative-marked nominal in Basic Unaccusative Clauses cannot control a PRO subject in a *myense* clause.

- (60) Chincelha-myenseto Yengsu-eykey Chelsu-ka
kind-though Y.-DAT C.-NOM
emkyekha-ta.
severe-ind
'Even though he_i/*_j is kind, Chulsoo_i is severe with
Youngsoo_j.'

- (61) Hyungakpem-i-myenseto Yengsu-eykey Chelsu-ka
heinous criminal-be-though Y.-DAT C.-NOM
kopunkopunha-ess-ta.
obedient-pst-ind
'Even though he_i/*_j was a heinous criminal, Chulsoo_i
was obedient to Youngsoo_j.'

In (60-61), the controller of a PRO subject in the *myense* clause is the nominative nominal of the main clause.

The data given above not only give evidence for the final subjecthood of the experiencer in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs but also provide additional support for the proposed analysis of psych constructions.

4.2 The Non-final 1-hood of the Theme

The foregoing section provided arguments that the experiencer in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs is an initial oblique which advances to final subject. This section shows that the theme (i.e. the second nominative-marked nominal) in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs is not a final subject, and argues that Psych MNCs are not MSCs but rather MNCs having a single subject, by giving evidence from Subject Honorification, the reflexive *casid*, Plural Copying, and *kkeyse*-marking.

4.2.1 Subject Honorification

It has already been demonstrated that final 1s control Subject Honorification. In Section 4.1.2, the ability of the experiencer to control Subject Honorification was used as evidence for its final subjecthood. If the theme in Psych

MNCs and Psych SNCs were also a final subject, we would expect it to control Subject Honorification as well. As can be seen by comparing (a) to (b) in the following examples, the theme cannot control Subject Honorification.

- (62) a. Chelsu-ka/eykey yengesensaengnim-i
C.-NOM/DAT English teacher-NOM
philyoha-(#si)-ta.
'Chulsoo needs an English teacher.'
- b. Yengesensaengnim-i/eykey Chelsu-ka
English teacher-NOM/DAT C.-NOM
philyoha-si-ta.
'The English teacher needs Chulsoo.'
- (63) a. Yengsu-ka/eykey samchon-i manh-(#si)-ta.
Y.-NOM/DAT uncle-NOM many-(SH)-ind
'Youngsoo has many uncles.'
- b. Samchon-i/eykey cokha-ka manh-tsi-ta.
uncle-NOM/DAT nephew-NOM many-SH-ind
'My uncle has many nephews.'
- (64) a. Chelsu-ka/eykey emenim-i klli-(#usi)-wess-ta.
C.-NOM/DAT mother-NOM miss-(SH)-pst-ind
'Chulsoo missed Mother.'
- b. Emenim-i/eykey Chelsu-ka klli-usi-ess-ta.
mother-NOM/DAT C.-NOM miss-SH-pst-ind
'Mother missed Chulsoo.'
- (65) a. Suni-ka/eykey sensaengnim-i mi-(#usi)-wess-ta.
S.-NOM/DAT teacher-NOM hateful-(SH)-pst-ind
'The teacher was hateful to Soonni.'
- b. Sensaengnim-i/eykey Suni-ka mi-usi-ess-ta.
teacher-NOM/DAT S.-NOM hateful-SH-pst-ind
'Soonni was hateful to the teacher.'
- (66) a. Chelsu-ka/eykey hyengnim-i iss-(#si)-ta.
C.-NOM/DAT older brother-NOM have-(SH)-ind
'Chulsoo has an older brother.'
- b. Hyengnim-i/eykey ttal-i iss-tsi-ta.
older brother-NOM/DAT daughter-NOM have-SH-ind
'My older brother has a daughter.'

- (67) a. Suni-ka/eykey sensaengnim-i po-i-(#si)-ess-ta.
S.-NOM/DAT teacher-NOM see-pas-(SH)-pst-ind
'Soonni saw the teacher.'
- b. Sensaengnim-i/eykey Suni-ka po-i-si-ess-ta.
teacher-NOM/DAT S.-NOM see-pas-SH-pst-ind
'The teacher saw Soonni.'

In all of the (a) clauses above, the referent of the theme can call for the speaker's deference, but if the honorific suffix *si* is incorporated in the predicate, the resulting clause is ungrammatical. The inability of the theme in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs to control Subject Honorification is evidence that it is not a final subject.

4.2.2 The Reflexive *esain*

It was shown in Section 1.2.2 that metastratal 1-hood is a sufficient condition for the antecedent of the reflexive *esain*. In other words, a nominal which heads a 1-arc in any stratum is a potential antecedent of *esain*. We can infer from this that a nominal which cannot antecede *esain* is not a 1 in any stratum. Observe the following clauses in which both the experiencer and the theme are set up as possible antecedents for *esain*.

- (68) Chelsu-ka/eykey Yengsu-ka casin-ty sangkong-il wihae
C.-NOM/DAT Y.-NOM self-GEN success-for
philyoha-ta
need-ind
'Chulsoo_i needs Youngsoo_j for self's_i/_j success.'

- (69) Chelsu-ka/eykey Suni-ka casin-ty emeni-pota
 C.-NOM/DAT S.-NOM self-GEN mother-than
 kŕli-wess-ta.
 miss-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i missed Soonij more than self's_{i/*j} mother.'
- (70) Chelsu-ka/eykey Yengsu-ka casin-ty calmos-ttaemurey
 C.-NOM/DAT Y.-NOM self-GEN fault-because of
 tulye-wess-ta.
 afraid-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i was afraid of Youngsoo_j because of
 self's_{i/*j} fault.'
- (71) Chelsu-ka/eykey Yengsu-ka casin-ty chinku-tŕl-cungeyse
 C.-NOM/DAT Y.-NOM self-GEN friend-pl-among
 cevil coh-ass-ta.
 most like-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i liked Youngsoo_j best of all self's_{i/*j}
 friends._†

The reflexive *casin* in the above examples cannot be coreferential with the theme. If the first nominal is marked with nominative case, *casin* can be construed with the second nominal. However, in such cases, the second nominal is understood to be the experiencer, not the theme. Therefore, the data involving the reflexive *casin* provide evidence that the theme in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs is not a final subject.

4.2.3 Plural Copying

As has already been noted, the final 1-hood of a nominal is a sufficient requirement for controlling Plural Copying. If a final 1 is plural, the plural marker *ŕil* can be suffixed to the case marker of other nominals in the clause. If the theme in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs were a final subject, it should control Plural Copying. However, this prediction is

not borne out. Observe first the following pairs of clauses where the experiencer is plural:

- (72) a. Haksaeŕg-tŕl-i/eykey ton-(tŕl)-i philyoha-ta.
 student-pl-NOM/DAT money-(pl)-NOM need-ind
 'The students need money.'
- b. Haksaeŕg-tŕl-i/eykey ton-i-(tŕl) philyoha-ta.
 student-pl-NOM/DAT money-NOM-(pl) need-ind
 (same as (a))
- (73) a. Ai-tŕl-i/eykey kohyang-(tŕl)-i kŕli-wess-ta.
 child-pl-NOM/DAT hometown-(pl)-NOM miss-pst-ind
 'The children pined for their hometowns.'
- b. Ai-tŕl-i/eykey kohyang-i-(tŕl) kŕli-wess-ta.
 child-pl-NOM/DAT hometown-NOM-(pl) miss-pst-ind
 (same as (a))

In (72-73) above, the plural marking of the experiencer can be copied either onto the theme or onto the case marker of the theme, even though the theme is an uncountable nominal.

However, when the theme is plural, its plural marking cannot be copied onto the case marker of the experiencer.

- (74) Kŕ haksaeŕg-i-(tŕl)/eykey-(tŕl) chaek-tŕl-i
 the student-NOM-(pl)/DAT-(pl) book-pl-NOM
 philyoha-ta.
 need-ind
 'The student needs books.'
- (75) Kŕ kkona-ka-(tŕl)/eykey-(tŕl) cangnankam-tŕl-i
 the little kid-(pl)/DAT-(pl) toy-pl-NOM
 manh-ta.
 many-ind
 'The little kid has many toys.'
- (76) Kŕ noin-i-(tŕl)/eykey-(tŕl) chinku-tŕl-i
 the old man-NOM-(pl)/DAT-(pl) friend-pl-NOM
 kŕli-wess-ta.
 miss-pst-ind
 'The old man missed his friends.'

- (77) Kɔ̃ sonye-ka-(*tɕi)/eykey-(*tɕi) sɛnsaengnim-tɕi-i
 the girl-NOM-(pl)/DAT-(pl) teacher-pl-NOM
 muse-wɛss-ta.
 afraid-pst-ind
 'The girl was afraid of the teachers.'
- (78) Kɔ̃ ai-ka-(*tɕi)/eykey-(*tɕi) tɔngsaeng-tɕi-i
 the child-NOM-(pl)/DAT-(pl) brother-pl-NOM
 iss-ta.
 'The child has brothers.'

The failure of the theme in the preceding examples to

allow the affixation of the plural marker to the case marker of the experiencer provides evidence that the theme in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs is not a final subject.

4.2.4 kkeyss-Marking

Section 1.2.6 showed that a final subject can be marked with the honorific nominative marker *kkeyss*. Since under the proposed analysis, the experiencer is a final subject, it ought to be eligible for *kkeyss* marking if its referent denotes a person to whom the speaker can show deference. The following sentences show that this prediction is correct.

- (79) Sɛnsaengnim-kkeyse ton-i philyoha-si-ta.
 teacher-NOM(HON) money-NOM need-ind
 'The teacher needs money.'
- (80) Emenim-kkeyse Suni-ka ktɕi-usi-ess-ta.
 mother-NOM(HON) S.-NOM miss-SH-pst-ind
 'Mother missed Soonni.'
- (81) Halapenim-kkeyse caesan-i iss-isi-ta.
 grandfather-NOM(HON) fortune-NOM have-SH-ind
 'Grandfather has a fortune.'

The dative-marked nominal in Basic Unaccusative Clauses cannot be marked with *kkeyss*, even though it is honorable.

- (82) #Emenim-kkeyse i os-i khi-ta.
 mother-NOM(HON) this clothes-NOM big-ind
 (These clothes are big for Mother.)
- (83) #Sensaengnim-kkeyse Suni-ka kongsonha-ta.
 teacher-NOM(HON) S.-NOM polite-ind
 (Soonni is polite to the teacher.)
- (84) #Apnim-kkeyse tampae-ka haelop-ta.
 father-NOM(HON) cigarette-NOM injurious-ind
 (Cigarette smoking is injurious to Father's health.)

The grammaticality of (79-81) supports the claim that the experiencers in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs are final subjects; in addition, the ungrammaticality of (82-84) provides further evidence that there is a difference between Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs, and Basic Unaccusative Clauses.

If the theme were also a final subject, we would expect it to allow marking with *kkeyss*. However, this prediction is not borne out.

- (85) a. Suni-ka/eykey yengesensaengnim-i philyoha-ta.
 S.-NOM/DAT English teacher-NOM need-ind
 'Soonni needs an English teacher.'
- b. #Suni-ka/eykey yengesensaengnim-kkeyse philyoha-ta.
 S.-NOM/DAT English teacher-NOM(HON) need-ind
 (Soonni needs an English teacher.)
- (86) a. Chelsu-ka/eykey emenim-i ktɕi-wɛss-ta.
 C.-NOM/DAT mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo missed Mother.'
- b. #Chelsu-ka/eykey emenim-kkeyse ktɕi-wɛss-ta.
 C.-NOM/DAT mother-NOM(HON) miss-pst-ind
 (Chulsoo missed Mother.)

- (87) a. *Suni-ka/eykey sensaengnim-i muse-wess-ta.*
 S.-NOM/DAT teacher-NOM afraid-pst-ind
 'Sooni was afraid of the teacher.'
 b. **Suni-ka/eykey sensaengnim-kkeyse muse-wess-ta.*
 S.-NOM/DAT teacher-NOM (HON) afraid-pst-ind
 (Sooni was afraid of the teacher.)
- (88) a. *Chelsu-ka/eykey apenim-i po-i-ess-ta.*
 C.-NOM/DAT father-NOM see-pas-pst-ind
 'Chulsu saw Father.'
 b. **Chelsu-ka/eykey apenim-kkeyse po-i-ess-ta.*
 C.-NOM/DAT father-NOM (HON) see-pas-pst-ind
 (Chulsu saw Father.)

The preceding examples show that the theme does not allow *kkeyse*-marking, thereby providing evidence that the theme is not a final subject in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs.

4.3 Relational Properties of the Theme

In the preceding sections, it was argued that Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs have the same structure as the one posited for A1 MNCs and A1 SNCs. It was also argued that Psych MNCs are not MSCs but rather MNCs; the experiencer behaves like a final subject with respect to several syntactic phenomena which make crucial reference to subject, while the theme does not,

In the analysis I propose for Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs the initial structure is unaccusative --- the experiencer is an initial oblique and the theme is an initial 2; the experiencer advances to 2, placing the theme *en chõmage*, then advances to 1.

Section 4.1 showed that the experiencer in Psych MNCs

and Psych SNCs is an initial oblique which advances to 1. However, the proposed analysis is not complete without some further discussion of the theme. In what follows, I examine the relational properties of the theme in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs, showing that the theme is a final 2-chõmeur which has been put *en chõmage* by the advancement of the experiencer.

There are semantic grounds for maintaining that the theme in psych constructions is an initial 2. As the list in (7) shows, all the members of the class of verbal/adjectival forms which occur in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs could be considered to be initially unaccusative predicates on semantic grounds. They do not describe willed or volitional acts but psychological states, processes, or attributes. We may say, therefore, that the theme is semantically a patient; relationally, this semantic role would be expressed as a 2 at the initial level.

The preceding section argued that the theme in psych constructions is not a final subject. This claim was supported by the fact that the theme fails diagnostics for subjecthood, such as Subject Honorification, Plural Copying, the reflexive *sasid*, and *kkeyse*-marking. For example, as we saw in Section 4.2, the theme cannot control Subject Honorification. Consider again the following examples:

- (89) *Ai-tt1-i/eykey emenim-i k1li-(#usi)-ess-ta.*
 child-pl-NOM/DAT mother-NOM miss-(SH)-pst-ind
 'The children missed their mother.'

- (90) Haksaeŋ-tŭl-i/eykey senseŋnim-i muse-(#usi)-ess-ta.
 student-pl-NOM/DAT teacher-NOM afraid-(SH)-pst-ind
 'The student were afraid of the teacher.'

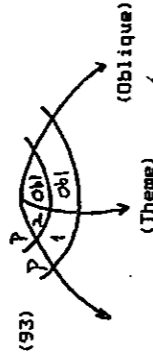
In (89-90), the referent of the theme is a person to whom the speaker would appropriately show deference. Since a final subject can control Subject Honorification, if the theme were a final subject, it should be able to control Subject Honorification. However, it fails to do so. This shows that the theme in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs is not a final subject.

In contrast, the theme in Basic Unaccusative Clauses can control Subject Honorification.

- (91) Ai-tŭl-eykey emenim-i emha-si-ta.
 child-pl-DAT mother-NOM strict-SH-ind
 'The mother is strict with her children.'
- (92) Haksaeŋ-tŭl-eykey senseŋnim-i chincelha-si-ta.
 student-pl-DAT teacher-NOM kind-SH-ind
 'The teacher is kind to the students.'

As pointed out in Section 4.1, the predicates in (91-92) do not designate psychological states or processes. Although they are not psychological predicates, we can assume they determine initially unaccusative clauses since, as we saw in Section 3.1, adjectives determines initially unaccusative clauses. Hence, the initial structure of (91-92) is exactly the same as that of (89-90). That is, the nominative-marked nominal is an initial 2 and the dative-marked nominal is an initial oblique. Section 4.1 contrasted the syntactic behavior of the dative-marked nominals in psych constructions and

Basic Unaccusative Clauses with respect to Case Stacking, Subject Honorification, Plural Copying, and BYENSE constructions, and argued that psych constructions involve advancement of an oblique to final subject, while Basic Unaccusative Clauses do not. Thus, under the proposed analysis of Basic Unaccusative Clauses, the dative-marked nominal bears both the initial and final oblique relation, and the theme, which is an initial 2, advances to final subject by Unaccusative Advancement, as represented in (93) (cf. Section 4.1.2).



Since the theme in Basic Unaccusative Clauses is a final subject, it can control Subject Honorification, which is confirmed by the examples in (91-92) above (see Section 4.1 for other arguments for the final subjecthood of the theme in Basic Unaccusative Clauses).

Evidence from topicalization shows that the theme in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs is not a final 2. As noted earlier, according to Gerdts' (1986) constraint for topicalization in Korean, a nominal heading a term arc can serve as both a plain and a contrastive topic, while a nominal heading a Cho arc can serve only as a contrastive topic (see Section 2.2.2.4 for a detailed discussion of the two types of topics). Given Gerdts'

constraint, since the experiencer has been shown to be a final subject, we predict it will be able to serve as both a plain and a contrastive topic when it appears as a topic. This prediction is borne out --- when the experiencer is topicalized, it allows both the thematic and the contrastive interpretations.

- (94) a. Chelsu-ka/eykey emenim-i kŕi-wess-ta.
C.-NOM/DAT mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
'Chulsoo missed Mother.'
- b. Chelsu-nŕn emenim-i kŕi-wess-ta.
C.-TOP mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
i) 'Speaking of Chulsoo, he missed Mother.'
ii) 'As for Chulsoo, he missed Mother (but as for others ---).'
- (95) a. Suni-ka/eykey sensaengnim-i muse-wess-ta.
S.-NOM/DAT teacher-NOM afraid-pst-ind
'Soonni was afraid of the teacher.'
- b. Suni-nŕn sensaengnim-i muse-wess-ta.
S.-TOP teacher-NOM/DAT afraid-pst-ind
i) 'Speaking of Soonni, she is afraid of the teacher.'
ii) 'As for Soonni, she is afraid of the teacher (but as for others ---).'

When the dative-marked nominal in Basic Unaccusative Clauses is topicalized, it allows both the plain and the contrastive interpretations, because it is a final oblique, not a chômeur, under the proposed analysis.¹⁰

- (96) a. Chelsu-eykey i os-i kŕi-ta.
C.-DAT this clothes-NOM big-ind
'These clothes are big for Chulsoo.'

- b. Chelsu-eykey-nŕn i os-i kŕi-ta.
C.-DAT-TOP this clothes-NOM big-ind
i) 'Speaking of Chulsoo, these clothes are big for him.'
ii) 'As for Chulsoo, these clothes are big for him (but as for others ---).'

- (97) a. Suni-eykey sensaengnim-i chinceiha-ta.
S.-DAT teacher-NOM kind-ind
'The teacher is kind to Soonni.'
- b. Suni-eykey-nŕn sensaengnim-i chinceiha-ta.
S.-DAT-TOP teacher-NOM kind-ind
i) 'Speaking of Soonni, the teacher is kind to her.'
ii) 'As for Soonni, the teacher is kind to her (but as for others ---).'

Let us now see whether the theme in Psych NMCs and Psych SNCs can serve as both a plain and a contrastive or only as a contrastive topic. Consider the following pairs:

- (98) a. Yengsu-ka/eykey ton-i philyoha-ta.
Y.-NOM/DAT money-NOM need-ind
'Youngsoo needs money.'
- b. Ton-in Yengsu-ka/eykey philyoha-ta.
money-TOP Y.-NOM/DAT need-ind
'As for money, Youngsoo needs it (but as for other things ---).'

- (99) a. Chelsu-ka/eykey emenim-i kŕi-wess-ta.
C.-NOM/DAT mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
'Chulsoo missed Mother.'
- b. Emenim-in Chelsu-ka/eykey kŕi-wess-ta.
mother-TOP C.-NOM/DAT miss-pst-ind
'As for Mother, Chulsoo missed her (but as for others ---).'

- (100) a. Suni-ka/eykey sensaengnim-i muse-wess-ta.
S.-NOM/DAT teacher-NOM afraid-pst-ind
'Soonni was afraid of the teacher.'

- b. *Sensaengnim-in Suni-ka/eykey muse-wess-ta,*
teacher-TOP S.-NOM/DAT afraid-pst-ind
 'As for the teacher, Sooni was afraid of him
 (but as for others ---).'
- (101) a. *Yengsu-ka/eykey ttal-i iss-ta.*
Y.-NOM/DAT daughter-NOM have-ind
 'Youngsoo has a daughter.'
- b. *Ttal-in Yengsu-ka/eykey iss-ta.*
daughter-TOP Y.-NOM/DAT have-ind
 'As for a daughter, Youngsoo has one (but as for
 a son ---).'

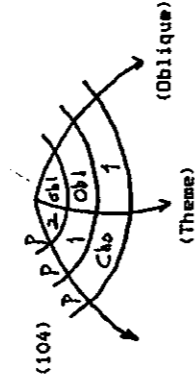
As we can see in the glosses of the (b) sentences in the
 above, when the theme appears as a topic, only the contrastive
 interpretation results. This indicates that the theme does
 not head a term arc but rather a Cho arc. 11

In contrast, when the theme in Basic Unaccusative Clauses
 is topicalized, both a plain and a contrastive readings are
 possible.

- (102) a. *Chelsu-eykey i os-i khi-ta.*
C.-DAT this clothes-NOM big-ind
 'These clothes are big for Chulsoo.'
- b. I *os-in Chelsu-eykey khi-ta.*
this clothes-TOP C.-DAT big-ind
 i) 'Speaking of these clothes, they are big for
 Chulsoo.'
 ii) 'As for these clothes, they are big for
 Chulsoo (but as for other things ---).'
- (103) a. *Suni-eykey sensaengnim-i chincelha-ta.*
S.-DAT teacher-NOM kind-ind
 'The teacher is kind to Sooni.'
- b. *Sensaengnim-in Suni-eykey chincelha-ta.*
teacher-TOP S.-DAT kind-ind
 i) 'Speaking of the teacher, he is kind to
 Sooni.'
 ii) 'As for the teacher, he is kind to Sooni (but
 as for others ---).'

This follows from the proposed analysis of Basic Unaccusative
 Clauses in which the dative-marked nominal bears both the
 initial and the final oblique relation, and the nominative-
 marked nominal, an initial 2, advances to final subject by
 Unaccusative Advancement. Thus, the data involving topicali-
 zation clearly show that the theme in Psych MNCs and Psych
 SNCs has the properties of a 1-chômeur or 2-chômeur, but not a
 final 1 or final 2.

The possibility that the final relation of the theme is a
 1-chômeur is eliminated on theoretical grounds. If the theme
 were a final 1-chômeur, the only structure that could be
 posited would be one such as that in (104), because it has
 been shown that the experiencer is an initial 2 which advances
 to 1; the theme has the properties of an initial 2, but not a
 final 1 or final 2.



However, structure (104) violates the 1-Advancement Exclusive-
 ness Law (IAEX), a universal law proposed by Perlmutter and
 Postal (1978, 1984). Informally, the IAEX states that struc-
 tures containing more than one advancement to 1 are ill-formed
 (see Section 3.4 for the definition of the IAEX). In (104),

both the theme and the experiencer advance to 1 in the same clause. That is, the theme, which is an initial 2, advances to 1 in the second stratum by Unaccusative Advancement, and the experiencer, which is an initial oblique, advances to 1 in the third stratum, placing the earlier advancee to 1 en chômage. This analysis, reflected in (104), is ruled out by the IAREX.

That structure (104) is impossible for psych constructions is further confirmed by the fact that the theme cannot antecede the reflexive *sasin*. Section 4.2.2 showed that metastratal I-hood is a sufficient requirement for a nominal to antecede *sasin*. In (104), the theme heads a 1-arc in the second stratum, so it is a metastratal 1 (note that any nominal which heads a 1-arc in any stratum is a metastratal 1). Since the theme is a metastratal 1 in (104), it should be able to serve as antecedent of *sasin*. However, as (105-106) show, the theme in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs cannot antecede *sasin*.

(105) *Chelsu-ka/eykey sensaengnim-i casin-iy*
 C.-NOM/DAT teacher-NOM self-GEN
calmos-ttaemuney tulye-wess-ta.
 fault-because of afraid-pst-ind
 'Chulsu_i was afraid of the teacher_j because of self's_{i/*j} fault.'

(106) *Yengsu-ka/eykey Suni-ka casin-iy emeni-pota*
 Y.-NOM/DAT S.-NOM self-GEN mother--than
kili-wess-ta.
 miss-pst-ind
 'Youngsoo_i missed Soonij more than self's_{i/*j} mother.'

The inability of the theme in the above examples to antecede *sasin* shows that (104) is not a correct structure for Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs and that the theme is not a final *i-chômeur*.

In fact, the structure (104) is not only impossible for Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs, it is impossible for Basic Unaccusative Clauses as well. Since all clauses must have a final 1, some nominal in the unaccusative stratum must advance to 1.

Consider the following specific examples:

(107) *Ai-tt-i-eykey apeci-ka mukwansimha-ta.*
 child-pl-DAT father-NOM indifferent-ind
 'The father is indifferent to the children.'

(108) *Haksaeng-tt-i-eykey sensaengnim-i pulchinceiha-ind*
 student-pl-DAT teacher-NOM unkind-ind
 'The teacher is unkind to the students.'

As discussed above, (107-108) are initially unaccusative clauses --- the nominative-marked nominal is an initial 2 and the dative-marked nominal is an initial oblique. Since the dative-marked nominal does not advance, the nominative-marked nominal must advance to 1 in the second stratum by Unaccusative Advancement. If the dative-marked nominal advances to 1 in the next stratum, placing the earlier advancee to 1 en chômage, then the resulting structure would be the same as (104). However, as we saw in Section 4.1, evidence from Subject Honorification, Plural Copying, and *myangng* constructions shows that the dative-marked nominal does not advance to 1. Thus, the fact that initially unaccusative clauses like

(107-108) do not allow two advancements to 1 per clause not only supports the claim that (104) is not a possible structure for Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs with an unaccusative initial stratum but also shows that the proposed analysis is consistent with IAEX.

The above discussion leads us to conclude that the theme in psych constructions has the properties of an initial 2, but not a final 1, 1-chômeur, or final 2. We may infer from this that the theme in Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs is a final 2-chômeur which has been placed en chômeage by the advancement of the experiencer from Ob1-2-1.

4.4 Retreat Analysis

The foregoing sections treated clauses with a dative-marked nominal exhibiting subject properties as Psych SNCs, and proposed an analysis, where the initial structure is unaccusative and the dative-marked experiencer is an initial oblique which advances to final 1. In order to support this analysis, it has been shown that the experiencer is a final 1 and that the theme is a final 2-chômeur, having been placed en chômeage by the advancement of the experiencer.

The proposed advancement analysis can be opposed to an inversion, or retreat, analysis proposed for 'dative subject' constructions in a number of languages including: Choctaw

(Davies 1981), Georgian (Harris 1984), Italian (Perlmutter 1984), Japanese (Perlmutter 1984), Kannada (Dryer 1982,

Perlmutter 1978, Sridhar 1979), Quechua (Perlmutter 1984), Russian (Perlmutter 1978), etc. In an inversion analysis, the structure is initially transitive, and a dative-marked experiencer is an inversion nominal that is an initial 1 which retreats to 3, schematically represented as in (109).



Youn (1986) provides such an analysis for Korean 'dative subject' constructions, claiming that they are initially transitive constructions and that the dative-marked experiencer is an initial 1 which retreats to 3.¹²

In the following, I contrast the advancement analysis and the retreat analysis, showing that the advancement analysis is a preferred treatment for Korean psych constructions.

4.4.1 Subject Properties of the Experiencer

As discussed in Youn (1986) (cf. Section 4.1), the experiencer in Korean psych constructions exhibits a variety of subject properties even when it is dative-marked. For instance, it can control Subject Honorification (e.g. 110), antecede the reflexive *sasin* (e.g. 111), and control a PRO subject in a *MYEJGE* construction (e.g. 112).

(110) Emenim-eykey ttal-i kalli-usi-ess-ta.
mother-DAT daughter-NOM miss-SH-pst-ind
'Mother missed her daughter.'

(111) Suni-eykey Chelsu-ka casin-ty calmos-ttaemuney
 S.-DAT C.-NOM self-GEN fault-because of
 tulye-wess-ta.
 afraid-pst-ind
 'Soon_i was afraid of Chulsoo_j because of
 self's_i/*_j fault.'

(112) Paekmancangca-i-myenseto Yengsu-eykey Chelsu-ka
 millionaire-be-though Y.-DAT C.-NOM
 pule-wess-ta.
 envious-pst-ind
 'Even though he_i was a millionaire, Youngsoo_i
 was envious of Chulsoo_j.'

Under the retreat analysis, the experiencer is not a
 final 1 but rather a final 3. Its subject properties are
 captured by reference to notions of subject other than final

1. Perlmutter (1979, 1984) proposes the notion 'working 1' to
 account for the subject properties of the experiencer in
 Italian psych constructions.

(113) Working 1 (Perlmutter 1984:294)

A nominal is a working 1 of clause i if and only if:
 a. it heads a 1-arc with tail b, and
 b. it heads a final term arc with tail b.

According to this definition, any nominal that heads a 1-arc
 and a final term arc is a working 1. Under the retreat
 analysis, the experiencer is a working 1, since it heads a 1-
 arc in the initial stratum and a 3-arc in the final stratum.
 Hence, the subject properties of the experiencer can be
 accounted for with the statement of the condition on control-
 lers or determiners of certain syntactic phenomena which
 reference to subject in terms of the notion 'working 1.' Youn

(1986) accounts for the subject properties of the dative-
 marked experiencer in clauses like (110-112) by formulating
 the conditions on controllers of Subject Honorification and of
 a PRO subject in a *gyense* construction in terms of 'working
 1.'¹³

Another relevant notion is *metastratal 1* which refers to
 a nominal that heads a 1-arc in any stratum. Youn (1986) (see
 also Section 1.2.2) shows that not only a final 1 but a final
 1-*chomeur* (if it is animate) can antecede the reflexive
casid, as exemplified in (114-115).

(114) a. Chelsu-ka ki hakkyo-lil casin-ty kohyang-ey
 C.-NOM the school-ACC self-GEN hometown-in
 seyu-ess-ta.
 found-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo_i founded the school in self's_i
 hometown.'

b. Ki hakkyo-ka Chelsu-ey tyhae casin-ty
 the school-NOM C.-by self-GEN
 kohyang-ey seyu-eci-ess-ta.
 hometown-in found-pas-pst-ind
 'The school was founded by Chulsoo_i in self's_i
 hometown.'

(115) a. Suni-ka ki selyu-lil casin-ty samusil-eyse
 S.-NOM the paper-ACC self-GEN office-in
 sokakha-ess-ta.
 burn up-pst-ind
 'Soon_i burned up the papers in self's_i office.'

b. Ki selyu-ka Suni-ey tyhae casin-ty
 the paper-NOM S.-by self-GEN
 samusil-eyse sokak-toy-ess-ta.
 office-in burn up-pas-pst-ind
 'The papers were burned up by Soon_i in self's_i
 office.'

Based on data like the above, Youn formulates the condition on antecedents of the reflexive $\text{Sasi}\bar{n}$ as follows.

(116) A metastratal 1 can antecede the reflexive $\text{Sasi}\bar{n}$.

The effect of this condition is that a nominal that heads a 1-arc in any stratum is a potential antecedent of $\text{Sasi}\bar{n}$.

Under the retreat analysis, the above subject properties of the experiencer can be captured by reference to notions of subject, such as working 1 and metastratal 1. However, the distribution of these subject properties is compatible with the advancement analysis. Under the advancement analysis, the conditions on Subject Honorification and EXPERSE constructions can be stated without recourse to the notion 'working 1.' The experiencer is an initial oblique which advances to 1, and therefore, its subject properties can be captured in terms of 'final 1.' The advancement analysis can also use the notion of 'metastratal 1' to account for the ability of the experiencer to antecede $\text{Sasi}\bar{n}$. The experiencer is a final 1 under this analysis, and a final 1 qualifies as a metastratal 1. The question of which analysis is to be preferred for Korean psych constructions hinges on whether the dative-marked nominal is a final 3 or not.

4.4.2 Non-subject Properties of the Experiencer

Youn (1986) claims that the fact that the experiencer in Psych SNCs appears in the dative case is evidence that it is a

final 3. In order for dative case to be taken as evidence for the final 3-hood of the experiencer, the case rule in (19) (cf. Section 4.1.1) needs to be revised for dative case to be subsumed under the category of S-Case and licensed by a final 3. Under this revised case rule, a final 3 is marked with the dative case EXKEY .

(117) Suni-ka Chelsu-eykey semmul-ti cu-ess-ta.
S.-NOM C.-DAT present-ACC give-pst-ind
'Soonie gave a present to Chulsoo.'

(118) Chelsu-ka Suni-eykey yenge-lfi kalichi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-DAT English-ACC teach-pst-ind
'Chulsoo taught English to Soonie.'

When these final 3s designate a person to be honored, they can be marked with the honorific dative marker KEY .

(119) Suni-ka apenim-kkey semmul-ti tili-ess-ta.
S.-NOM father-DAT(HON) present-ACC give(HON)-pst-ind
'Soonie gave a present to Mother.'

(120) Chelsu-ka emenim-kkey yenge-lfi kalichi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM mother-DAT(HON) English-ACC teach-pst-ind
'Chulsoo taught English to Mother.'

Under the retreat analysis of Psych SNCs, the experiencer is a final 3, so it should be able to be marked with KEY if its referent is honorable. However, as Chung (1980) points out, the experiencer does not do so.

(121) *Emenim-kkey khyang-i kili-usi-ess-ta.
mother-DAT(HON) hometown-NOM miss-SH-pst-ind
(Mother missed her hometown.)

- (122) *Halmenim-kkey yenghwa-ka ciluha-si-ess-ta.
grandmother-DAT (HON) movie-NOM boring-SH-pst-ind
(The movie was boring to Grandmother.)
- (123) *Sensaengnim-kkey ttal-i iss-isi-ta.
teacher-DAT (HON) daughter-NOM have-SH-ind
(The teacher has a daughter.)
- (124) *Apenim-kkey kt solli-ka tti-li-si-ess-ta.
father-DAT (HON) the sound-NOM hear-pas-pst-ind
(Father heard the sound.)

The fact that the honorific dative marker *kkey* can be used with a final 3 but not with the experiencer provides an argument that the experiencer is not a final 3.¹⁴

Furthermore, oblique nominals with various semantic roles other than a final 3 are also realized with the dative case *eykey*, as exemplified in (125-128).

- (125) Chelsu-eykey Suni-ka takeo-ass-ta.
C.-DAT S.-NOM come up to-pst-ind
'Soonie came up to Chulsoo.'
- (126) Suni-eykey i kutu-ka khi-ta.
S.-DAT this shoe-NOM big-ind
'These shoes are big for Soonie.'
- (127) Chelsu-eykey tampae-ka haelop-ta.
C.-DAT cigarette-NOM injurious-ind
'Cigarette smoking is injurious to Chulsoo's health.'
- (128) Suni-eykey Chelsu-ka kong-il tenci-ess-ta.
S.-DAT C.-NOM ball-ACC throw-pst-ind
'Chulsoo threw the ball to Soonie.'

The fact that dative-marked experiencers are not final 3s, together with the fact that dative-marked nominals fill semantic roles other than recipient, leads to the conclusion

that dative case is not S-Case but I-Case. In other words, dative case is not determined by the final structure of the clause.

Other than case marking, the only non-subject property attributed to experiencers by Youn (1986) is their inability to float quantifiers. Youn claims that grammatical relations determine quantifier float in Korean, and formulates a condition for launching floating quantifiers, stated informally as follows:¹⁵

- (129) Acting 1s and acting 2s (except for advancement 1-chômeurs) can launch floating quantifiers.

The statement includes final 1s and 2s among the nominals that can float quantifiers.

- (130) a. Sey haksaeŋ-i hakkyo-ey o-ass-ta.
3 student-NOM school-to come-pst-ind
'Three students came to school.'
- b. Haksaeŋ-i hakkyo-ey seys(-i) o-ass-ta.
student-NOM school-to 3(-NOM) come-pst-ind
- (131) a. Chelsu-ka sey haksaeŋ-il hakkyo-eyse
C.-NOM 3 student-ACC school-at
manna-ss-ta.
meet-pst-ind
'Chulsoo met three students at school.'
- b. Chelsu-ka haksaeŋ-il hakkyo-eyse sey(-il)
C.-NOM student-ACC school-at 3(-ACC)
manna-ss-ta.
meet-pst-ind

However, final 3s are excluded by the condition as formulated.

- (132) a. Suni-ka sey ai-eykey sakwa-lil cu-ess-ta.
 S.-NOM 3 child-DAT apple-ACC give-pst-ind
 'Soonu gave apples to the three children.'
- b. *Suni-ka ai-eykey sakwa-lil seys(-eykey)
 S.-NOM child-DAT apple-ACC 3(-DAT)
 cu-ess-ta.
 give-pst-ind

Under the retreat analysis of Psych SNCs, the experienter is predicted not to be able to float quantifiers. This prediction is confirmed by the *(b) examples in the following. 16

- (133) a. Sey haksang-eykey ton-i philyoha-ta.
 3 student-DAT money-NOM need-ind
 'The three students need money.'
- b. #Haksang-eykey seys(-eykey) ton-i
 student-DAT 3(-DAT) money-NOM
 philyoha-ta.
 need-ind
- (134) a. Tu sensaengnim-eykey kohyang-i kili-wess-ta.
 2 teacher-DAT hometown-NOM miss-pst-ind
 'The two teachers missed their hometowns.'
- b. #Sensaengnim-eykey tu pun(-eykey) kohyang-i
 teacher-DAT 2 Clas(-DAT) hometown-NOM
 kili-wess-ta.
 miss-pst-ind

Nevertheless, a generalized statement of the condition on quantifier float that uses the notion 'acting term' is not very insightful. Gerds (1986) points out that, because such a generalization includes an apparently *ad hoc* statement to exclude advancement 1-chômeurs, the generalized condition can be seen as correlated with surface case. The exclusion of advancement 1-chômeurs has no motivation other than surface

case since advancement 1-chômeurs never receive either nominative or accusative case marking. Shibatani (1977) suggests that the nominals which sanction floating quantifiers can be stated in terms of surface case. If it is true that the phenomenon of quantifier float can be captured in terms of surface case, the previous analysis, in which the inability of the experienter to float quantifiers was taken as evidence of its final 3-hood, is bled of its explanatory power.

The contrastive behavior of the experiencers in Psych SNCs and Psych MNCs with respect to floating quantifiers gives another indication that the rule of quantifier float cannot be formulated in terms of grammatical relations. Section 4.1 argued that Psych SNCs and Psych MNCs share a structure, providing evidence that the experiencers in the two construction types are final subjects. Although they are both final subjects, the experiencers in these two construction types behave differently with respect to floating quantifiers. The experiencers in Psych SNCs cannot float quantifiers, as (133-134) above show, but the experiencers in Psych MNCs can, as (135-136) show.

- (135) Haksang-i tul(-i) ton-i philyoha-ta.
 student-NOM 2(-NOM) money-NOM need-ind
 'The two students need money.'
- (136) Sensaengnim-i tu pun(-i) kohyang-i
 teacher-NOM 2 Clas(-NOM) hometown-NOM
 kili-wess-ta.
 miss-pst-ind
 'The two teachers missed their hometowns.'

If it is grammatical relations that determine quantifier float, we cannot offer an adequate explanation for the asymmetric behavior of the experiencers in Psych SNCs and Psych MNCs with respect to quantifier float since the experiencers in the two construction types have already been shown to hold the same grammatical relation (i.e. both are final subjects).

4.4.3 Case Stacking

Aside from the problems discussed so far, the retreat analysis offers no explanation of the phenomenon of Case Stacking.

Section 4.1.1 showed that the experiencers in psych constructions allow three types of case marking; that is, they may be marked with dative case, nominative case, or both dative and nominative case. Examples:

- (137) a. Chelsu-eykey ton-i philyoha-ta.
C.-DAT money-NOM need-ind
b. Chelsu-ka ton-i philyoha-ta.
C.-NOM money-NOM need-ind
c. Chelsu-eykey-ka ton-i philyoha-ta.
C.-DAT-NOM money-NOM need-ind
'Chulsoo needs money.'
- (138) a. Suni-eykey emeni-ka kŕi-wess-ta.
S.-DAT mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
b. Suni-ka emeni-ka kŕi-wess-ta.
S.-NOM mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
c. Suni-eykey-ka emeni-ka kŕi-wess-ta.
S.-DAT-NOM mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
'Soonni missed her mother.'

Gerdts and Youn (1988) refers to the co-occurrence of cases like those in (137c-138c) as Case Stacking and accounts

for the array of case marking by the Korean case rule proposed in Gerdts and Youn (1988) (see Section 4.1.1). According to the case rule, two types of cases are distinguished: S-Case and I-Case. S-Case (i.e. NOM and ACC) is grammatical case licensed in terms of final structure and I-Case (e.g. DAT, INSTR, etc.) is semantic case licensed in initial structure. Further, Gerdts (1988) proposes the Satellite Principle, given informally in (139), which is a principle of linearization of grammatical elements.¹⁷

- (139) If an element A is licensed in an earlier stratum than an element B, then A appears inside B.

Given the Korean case rule and the Satellite Principle, we predict that, when both S-Case and I-Case appear on a nominal, I-Case will precede S-Case since I-Case is determined in the initial stratum while S-Case is determined in the final stratum; and, as the Satellite Principle stipulates, the grammatical element (I-Case) licensed in an earlier stratum appears inside the grammatical element (S-Case). licensed in a later stratum. By comparing (137b-138b) to *(140-141), we see that this prediction is correct.

- (140) *Chelsu-ka-eykey ton-i philyoha-ta.
C.-NOM-DAT money-NOM need-ind
(Chulsoo needs money.)

- (141) *Suni-ka-eykey emeni-ka kŕi-wess-ta.
S.-NOM-DAT mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
(Soonni missed her mother.)

Under the advancement analysis, Case Stacking in clauses like (137c-138c) can be straightforwardly accounted for since the experiencer is an initial oblique which advances to final 1. The I-Case dative is licensed since the experiencer is an initial oblique, and the S-Case nominative is licensed since the experiencer is a final 1. Since I-Case references initial level and S-Case reference final level, the I-Case dative precedes the S-Case nominative.¹⁸

The retreat analysis fails to account for Case Stacking in clauses like (137c-138c). Under the retreat analysis, the experiencer is claimed to be an initial 1 which retreats to 3. Since the experiencer is a final 3, it cannot license nominative case (note that only a final 1 can license nominative case under the Korean case rule). Even if the case rule and the notion of I-Case are abandoned, and it is assumed that dative is grammatical case licensed by a final 3, there is still no explanation for the order in which the case markers appear. Under the retreat analysis, nominative case should appear inside dative case, because the 1 is in an earlier stratum than the 3 under this analysis. However, as we saw in (137c-138c), the nominative case apparently licensed by the 1 is outside the dative case licensed by the 3, which contradicts the Satellite Principle.¹⁹ Thus, the data with Case Stacking support the advancement analysis over the retreat analysis for Korean psych constructions.

In the above discussion, I have attempted to contrast the advancement analysis and the retreat analysis of Korean psych constructions. The attested subject properties of the experiencer, such as Subject Honorification, reflexivization, and control of a PRO subject in a *myungsse* construction, are compatible with either the advancement or the retreat analyses. Under the advancement analysis, all subject properties can be captured in terms of final 1, without any special devices. The retreat analysis, however, requires several additional concepts not otherwise needed in the grammar of Korean: inversion, working 1, metastratal 1, and dummies (see Youn (1986) for an impersonal inversion analysis). Even with these additional concepts, the retreat analysis still has difficulty accounting for the phenomenon of Case Stacking of the experiencer. We therefore conclude that the advancement -- not the retreat -- is a preferred analysis for Korean psych constructions.

4.5 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter discussed the structure of Korean psych constructions, i.e. Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs, in which the first nominal is semantically an experiencer and the second nominal is a theme.

I claimed that Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs share a structure, and proposed an advancement analysis for both construction types; i.e. they are initially unaccusative clauses --

the theme is an initial 2 and the experiencer is an initial oblique; the experiencer advances to 2, placing the theme en chomage, then advances to 1.

In order to support this analysis, Section 4.1 provided arguments for the final 1-hood of the experiencer based on Case Stacking, Subject Honorification, Plural Copying, and *MYENSE* constructions. Section 4.2 showed that the theme in psych constructions is not a final subject by giving evidence from Subject Honorification, the reflexive *casin*, Plural Copying, and *KEYSE*-marking. Section 4.3 examined the relational properties of the theme to provide support for the proposed structure, showing that the theme is a final 2-chomageur which has been placed en chomage by the advancement of the experiencer. Finally, Section 4.4 contrasted the advancement analysis and the retreat analysis, demonstrating the difficulties of the retreat analysis of Korean psych constructions.

The above arguments and discussions lead to several conclusions. First, as already stated, Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs are identical in structure. The first nominal in both construction types is an initial oblique which advances to final subject, no matter whether it is marked with nominative or dative case. Second, many previous studies (e.g. B. Park (1982), Yim (1985), I.-H. Lee (1987)) claim Psych MNCs to be MSCs; however, they are not MSCs but rather MNCs with a single

subject. Third, Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs have exactly the same structure as the A1 MNCs and A1 SNCs discussed in Chapter

3. They are initially unaccusative clauses, and they both involve the advancement of an oblique to final subject. Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs differ from A1 MNCs and A1 SNCs in that the former have a psychological or perception predicate with the first nominal serving semantically as an experiencer and the second nominal as a theme. Fourth, since psych constructions have a structure identical to A1 MNCs and A1 SNCs, there is no need for positing the retreat analysis for Korean psych constructions. All aspects of the advancement analysis are accommodated by the devices discussed in Chapter 3, such as initial unaccusativity, oblique advancements, case alternations, and Case Stacking. Furthermore, under the retreat analysis, the subject properties of the experiencer must refer to other notions of subject (e.g. working 1) in addition to final 1. However, under the advancement analysis, since the experiencer is a final 1, its subject properties can be captured in terms of final 1. In addition to this, under the retreat analysis, some additional notions, such as inversion, working 1, and invisible dummies, need to be incorporated into the grammar of Korean. We can, therefore, conclude that the advancement analysis is a preferred treatment for Korean psych constructions.

¹ Although examples like (4-6) are quite common in the literature, I have encountered a few speakers who would not accept them as grammatical. I have found no speakers who dislike examples like (1-3). Native speakers who accept examples (4-6) say that there is no significant meaning difference between clauses like (4-6) and ones like (1-3), other than the fact that a nominative-marked nominal can have an exhaustive-listing reading.

² The majority of verbal/adjectival forms listed in (7) are the so-called psychological or perception predicates. They describe the speaker's emotional reaction to or perception of the stimulus from the outer world or the speaker's purely subjective opinion or judgment about objects in the outer world. Accordingly, they have some restrictions in their distribution. They occur only in psych constructions like (1-6) in Korean where the first nominal is semantically an experiencer or cognizer. In addition, when clauses which involve them are indicative statements and in the present tense, the first nominal (i.e. the experiencer or cognizer) must be the first person singular pronoun, as shown in (i-iii).

(i) Nae-ka/Na-eykey emenim-i kilip-ta.
I-DAT/I-DAT mother-NOM miss-ind
'I miss Mother.'

(ii) *Uli-tti-i/eykey sensaengnim-i musep-ta.
we-pl-NOM/DAT teacher-NOM afraid-ind
'(We are afraid of the teacher.)'

(iii) *Chelsu-ka/eykey Suni-ka mip-ta.
C.-NOM/DAT S.-NOM hate-ind
'(Chulsoo hates Soonni.)'

The unacceptability of (ii-iii) is due to the fact that the speaker does not know others' psychological or perceptual state to the extent that he/she is able to express it freely or correctly at the moment when he/she utters such sentences.

There is no such restriction when these predicates are used in the past tense or in questions.

(iv) Chelsu-ka/eykey emenim-i kilip-wess-ta.
C.-NOM/DAT mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
'Chulsoo missed Mother.'

(v) Uli-tti-i/eykey sensaengnim-i muse-wess-ta.
we-pl-NOM/DAT teacher-NOM afraid-pst-ind
'We were afraid of the teacher.'

(vi) Ney-ka/Ne-eykey Suni-ka mip-ni?
you-NOM/you-DAT S.-NOM hate-interrogative
'Do you hate Soonni?'

The reason why examples like (iv-vi) are acceptable is that the speaker is able to report or ask others' emotional or psychological state as a fact; i.e. the speaker can talk about what others told him/her about their feelings, and the speaker can inquire about someone's feelings.

However, such predicates as *philyoha-* 'need,' *mosala-* 'lack,' *manh-* 'many, much,' *iss-* 'have,' etc. can be used without such restrictions. Examples:

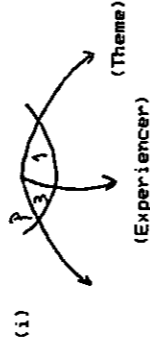
(vii) Chelsu-ka/eykey ton-i philyoha-ta.
C.-NOM/DAT money-NOM need-ind
'Chulsoo needs money.'

(viii) Uli-tti-i/eykey chaek-i manh-ta.
we-pl-NOM/DAT book-NOM many-ind
'We have many books.'

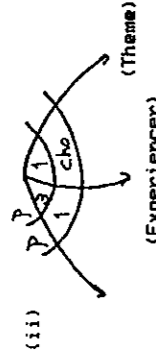
(ix) Yengsu-ka/eykey ttal-i iss-ta.
Y.-NOM/DAT daughter-NOM have-ind
'Youngsoo has a daughter.'

Despite the differences shown in the distributions of these predicates, I place them in the category of psychological predicates, and label clauses which involve them as psych constructions. Such clauses are treated as having the same structure as psych constructions under my analysis. For a further discussion of psychological predicates, see Postal (1971), B. Park (1972), D. Yang (1985), among others.

³ J.-K. Song (1988), arguing against the inversion analysis of Youn (1986) (cf. Section 4.4), provides a 3-1 advancement analysis for Korean psych constructions. He proposes the structure in (i) below for Psych SNCs like those in (4-6).



As (i) shows, under his analysis, Psych SNCs have a mono-stratal structure; i.e. they involve no advancement. In contrast, Psych MNCs like (1-3) have the same initial structure but also involve 3-1 advancement, as represented in (ii).



Song, therefore, posits an initial structure parallel to the one given here, the difference being that he posits initial 3-hood for the experiencer while it is an initial oblique in my analysis.

There are two problems with his analysis. First, as Sections 4.1 and 4.2 show, the experiencer shows a variety of subject properties, regardless of whether it is marked with a dative case or nominative case. Song, by positing that the experiencer is a monostratal 3 in (i), has no account for these subject properties. Second, as I argue in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, the theme in both Psych SNCs and Psych MNCs behaves as a 2-chômeur -- not a final or a 1-chômeur as posited by Song.

Furthermore, the tests for subjecthood on which Song bases his analysis are problematic. For example, Song claims that relativization serves to distinguish terms from non-terms in Korean. He claims, therefore, that the theme in (i) -- a final 1 -- can be relativized while the theme in (ii) -- a 1-chômeur -- cannot, and gives data like the following to support this claim.

- (iii) a. [Chelsu-eykey muse]-un holangi
 C.-DAT afraid-rel tiger
 'the tiger which Chulsoo is afraid of'
 b.*[Chelsu-ka muse]-un holangi
 C.-NOM afraid-rel tiger
 (the tiger which Chulsoo is afraid of)

However, in my own judgement and that of several other speakers I have consulted, (iib) is grammatical, though ambiguous -- it can also mean "the tiger which is afraid of Chulsoo." Therefore, relativization cannot serve to distinguish the theme in (i) and (ii).

Furthermore, the relativizability of nominals cannot be used as evidence for their termhood. Consider:

- (iv) a. Chelsu-ka kɛ sonyen-tɪ yenge-lɪl kalɪchi-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM the boy-ACC English-ACC teach-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo taught English to the boy.'
 b. [Chelsu-ka yenge-lɪl kalɪchi]J-n kɛ sonyen
 C.-NOM English-ACC teach -rel the boy
 'the boy whom Chulsoo taught English'
 c. [Chelsu-ka kɛ sonyen-tɪ kalɪchi]J-n yenge
 C.-NOM the boy-ACC teach -rel English
 'English that Chulsoo taught the boy'

Example (iv) is a 3-2 advancement construction, the boy, which is an initial 3, advances to 2, placing the initial 2 (English) in change in the final stratum (see footnote 3 in Chapter 5 and Gerdts (1986) for the arguments for 3-2 advancement). However, as can be seen in (iv c), English can be relativized, even if it is a final 2-chômeur. This shows that relativization cannot be a diagnostic for subjecthood in Korean.

⁴ Although I have posited here that the experiencer is an initial oblique, it is also possible to posit the initial 3-hood of the experiencer. However, my preliminary research on the honorific form of the dative kkey has led me to the assumption that the experiencer is not a 3 because kkey can be used with a 3, as in (i), but not with the experiencer, as in (ii).

- (i) Suni-ka sensaengnim-kkey chaek-ɪl tɪl-ess-ta.
 S.-NOM teacher-DAT(HON) book-ACC give(HON)-pst-ind
 'Soomi gave the book to the teacher.'
 (ii)*Sensaengnim-kkey ton-i philyoha-si-ta.
 teacher-DAT(HON) money-NOM need-SH-ind
 (The teacher needs money)

Given the Oblique Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1983), an analysis which involves retreat to oblique is impossible because the law stipulates that any nominal that bears an oblique relation to a clause must bear that relation in the initial stratum (cf. footnote 9 in Chapter 2 for the definition of the Oblique Law).

⁵ M. Kim (1970, 1980) shows that more than one case may appear on a nominal in Korean, and classifies such a combination of cases as "a compound form." The following is from his chart, which shows the possible combinations of cases (cf. M. Kim (1980:164).

NOM	GEN	ACC	INSTR	DAT	COM	VOC	PRED
ka	ty	lɬl	lo	ey	wa	ya	i
ka	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
ty	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
lɬl	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
lo	loka	loɬy	loɬl	loɬy	lowa	loi	
ey	eyka	eyty	eyɬl	eylo	eywa	eyi	
wa	wakw	waty	walɬl	walo	wasy	/	
ya	/	/	/	/	/	/	
i	/	/	/	/	/	/	

M. Kim (1970) says that the combination of three cases is also possible, and provides examples, such as *eykeyka*, *eykeyty*, *eykeylɬl*, *eykeylo*, *eykeywa*, etc. However, M. Kim (1980) claims that these examples are instances of the intrusion of the delimitative particle *ky*, and excludes the above as examples of the combination of three cases. Instead, he provides such forms as *eyloka*, *eywaty*, *eyloɬl*, etc. as legitimate examples of three-case compound forms.

6. That *ka* in (20-22) is a case marker rather than a topic marker is clearly seen in the examples below in which dative-marked 3s or obliques do not allow Case Stacking.

- (i) *Suni-eykey(-ska) Chelsu-ka chaek-il cu-ess-ta.*
 S.-DAT C.-NOM book-ACC give-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo gave the book to Sooni.'

- (ii) *Suni-eykey(-ska) Chelsu-ka chincelha-ta.*
 S.-DAT C.-NOM kind-ind
 'Chulsoo is kind to Sooni.'

If *ka* is a topic marker, we cannot account for why the dative-marked nominals in (i-ii) do not allow Case Stacking when they are topicalized in clause-initial position.

7. Following Perlmutter (1978, also Perlmutter and Postal 1984), I claim that the predicates of existence, *iss-* 'exist,' and *eps-* 'not exist,' determine initially unaccusative clauses. They can be used to express the notion of possession, as in (i), or the notion of location, as in (ii).

- (i) *Chelsu-eykey manhɬm caesan-i iss-ta.*
 C.-DAT much fortune-NOM EXIST-ind
 'Chulsoo has a large fortune.'

- (ii) *Chelsu-eykey sako-ty wenin-i iss-ta.*
 C.-DAT accident-GEN cause-NOM EXIST-ind
 ('The responsibility for the accident is with Chulsoo.')

Under my analysis, when the predicate *iss-* expresses the notion of possession, clauses which involve it have the same structure as psych constructions. Under the proposed structure of psych constructions, as represented in (8), the dative-marked nominal is an initial oblique which advances to *i*. It can show case alternations and control Subject Honorification.

- (iii) *Sensaengnim-i manhɬm caesan-i iss-isi-ta.*
 teacher-NOM much fortune-NOM EXIST-SH-ind
 'The teacher has a large fortune.'

However, when the predicate *iss-* expresses the notion of location, clauses which involve it are claimed to have the same structure as Basic Unaccusative Clauses. Under the proposed analysis, given in (35), Basic Unaccusative Clauses do not involve advancement of an oblique to *i*. The dative-marked nominal bears both the initial and the final oblique relation; hence, it does not allow case alternations.

- (iv) **Chelsu-ka sako-ty wenin-i iss-ta.*
 C.-NOM accident-GEN cause-NOM EXIST-ind
 ('The responsibility for the accident is with Chulsoo.')

Since the nominative-marked nominal in Basic Unaccusative Clauses is a final *i*, it should be able to control Subject Honorification if its referent is honorable. However, when the predicate *iss-* expresses the notion of location, the suppletive honorific form *kyeysi-* is used instead of the honorific verbal suffix *ɬi*.

- (v) *Chelsu-eykey halapeci-ka kyeysi-n-ta.*
 C.-DAT grandfather-NOM EXIST(HON)-pres-ind
 'Grandfather is with Chulsoo.'

The dative-marked nominal in (v) does not allow case alternations, because Basic Unaccusative Clauses do not involve advancement of an oblique to *i*.

One might adduce examples like (vi) as an counterexample to the above claim.

- (vi) Chelsu-ka halapeci-ka kyeysi-n-ta.
C.-NOM grandfather EXIST(HON)-pres-ind
'Chulsog's grandfather still lives.'

However, in my analysis, (vi) does not involve advancement of an oblique to I. I claim that clauses like (vi) are Focus MNCs whose source sentences are possessive constructions; the first nominative-marked nominal is not an advancee to I but rather a focussed nominal (cf. Section 2.2). Evidence for the non-final I-hood of the first nominal comes from the fact that it cannot control Plural Copying (e.g. vii), antecede the reflexive *casin* (e.g. viii), and control a PRO subject in a *myense* clause (e.g. ix).

- (vii) Ai-tsi-i halapeci-ka kohyang-ey-(#tɕil)
child-pl-NOM grandfather-NOM hometown-in-(pl)
kyeysi-n-ta.
EXIST-pres-ind
'The children's grandfather is in his hometown.'
- (viii) Chelsu-ka hyengnim-i casin-iy samusil-ey
C.-NOM older brother-NOM self-GEN office-in
kyeysi-n-ta.
EXIST-pres-ind
'Chulsog's older brother_j is in self's_i/j office.'
- (ix) Paekmancanga-i-myenseto, Yengsu-ka apenim-i
millionaire-be-though Y.-NOM father-NOM
sikol-ey kyeysi-n-ta.
country-in EXIST-pres-ind
'Although he_i/j is a millionaire, Youngsog's_i
father_j is in the country.'

8 I am indebted to Chung (1980) for this observation. He points out that the dative-marked experiencer behaves differently from the dative-marked nominal in clauses like (29-31) whose predicates are qualitative adjectives with respect to the honorific form of the dative *kkeyse*, as shown in (i-ii).

- (i) *Emenim-kkey kohyang-i kɕli-wess-ta.
mother-DAT(HON) hometown-NOM miss-pst-ind
'Mother missed her hometown.'

- (ii) Emenim-kkey i os-i khɕi-ta.
mother-DAT(HON) this clothes-NOM big-ind
'These clothes are big for Mother.'

For a further discussion of this, see Section 4.4.2.

9 In (50-51), the nominative-marked nominal precedes the dative-marked nominal. However, the grammaticality of (50-51) is unaffected by word order. I have changed word order to make them sound more natural.

10 When the dative-marked nominal in (96a-97a) is topicalized, dative case cannot be deleted. Under my analysis, only nominals that can be marked with an S-Case can serve as a plain topic without any I-Case following. Further work needs to be done on topicalization in Korean.

11 In (99b-100b), when the experiencer is marked for nominative case, the sentence can have both the thematic and the contrastive interpretations. However, its meaning is different from the intended one. Example:

- Emenim-in Chelsu-ka kɕli-wess-ta.
mother-Top C.-NOM miss-pst-ind
i) 'Speaking of Mother, she missed Chulsog.'
ii) 'As for Mother, she missed Chulsog (but as for others,
---),'

12 See Youn (1986) for an inversion analysis of Korean 'dative subject' constructions.

13 The conditions on controllers of Plural Copying and *kkeyse*-marking can also be formulated in terms of 'working I,' since the dative-marked experiencer can control Plural Copying, as in (i), and be marked with the honorific nominative *kkeyse*, as in (ii).

- (i) Haksaeŋ-tɕil-eykey ton-tɕil-i philyoha-ta.
student-pl-DAT money-pl-NOM need-ind
'The students need money.'

- (ii) Emenim-kkeyse Suni-ka kɕli-usi-ess-ta.
mother-NOM(HON) S.-NOM miss-SH-pst-ind
'Mother missed Sooni.'

14 The ungrammaticality of (121-124) is not attributable to the fact that the experiencer marked with the honorific dative marker *kkey* controls Subject Honorification. Even when (121-124) do not have the honorific suffix *si* incorporated in the predicate, they are still unacceptable. Examples:

- (i) *Emenim-kkey Chelsu-ka kɕli-wess-ta.
mother-DAT(HON) C.-NOM miss-pst-ind
'Mother missed Chulsog.'

(ii)*Halmenim-kkey yenghwa-ka ciluha-ess-ta.
grandmother-DAT(HON) movie-NOM boring-pst-ind
(The movie was boring to Grandmother.)

15 Perlautter (1982:307) defines the notion 'acting term' as follows:

(i) Acting Term_x (Definition)

A nominal node is an acting term_x of clause b if and only if:

- i) it heads a term_x arc, A, with tail b whose last coordinate is c_x,
- ii) it does NOT head an arc B with tail b having a term R-sign distinct from term_x and having coordinate c_j, where j*i*.

This definition groups, for example, final 1s and final 1-chômeurs together as acting 1s, and final 2s and final 2-chômeurs together as acting 2s.

16 Examples like (i-ii), where the floated quantifier is nominative-marked, are also impossible here.

(i)*Haksaeŋ-eykey seys(-i) ton-i philyoha-ta.
student-DAT 3(-NOM) money-NOM need-ind
(ii)*Sensaengnim-eykey tu pun(-i) kohyng-i
teacher-DAT 2 Clas(-NOM) hometown-NOM
klli-wess-ta.
miss-pst-ind

17 Gerdts' (1988) Satellite Principle is the RG equivalent of the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985:375) which states that morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa). Gerdts proposes the Satellite Principle to constrain grammatical elements of all types, nominal as well as verbal morphology, affixes as well as free forms. She claims that although the Satellite Principle may be systematically violated in some languages, it is necessary in Korean.

18 Gerdts (ms.) claims that Korean differs from Italian, Icelandic, and German in one crucial respect: in Korean the experiencer can be assigned more than one case (i.e. I-Case and S-Case), while in languages like Italian, Icelandic, and German, the experiencer is assigned only one case --- i.e. dative case. Gerdts (cf. Gerdts and Youn 1989) proposes Case Resolution Rules, given in (i), and claims that language specific resolution rules like (ia) and (ib) stipulate which case appears on the experiencer.

(i) Case Resolution:

- a. I-Case takes priority over S-Case.
- b. S-Case takes priority over I-Case.

A resolution rule like (ia), she claims, assures that experiencers are assigned dative case in Italian, Icelandic, and German. However, Korean (and Japanese as well) lacks resolution rules like (ia) and (ib), and therefore, experiencers may be in either dative or nominative.

19 As pointed out in footnote 5, an alternative which proposes that the nominative case in (17c-138c) is a topic marker rather than a S-Case marker would fail to account for the fact that dative-marked 3s and obliques do not allow Case Stacking, as (i-ii) show:

(i) Chelsu-eykey(*-ka) Suni-ka semmul-tl cu-ess-ta.
C.-DAT(-NOM) S.-NOM present-ACC give-pst-ind
'Soonie gave a present to Chulsoo.'

(ii) Suni-eykey(*-ka) Chelsu-ka chincelha-ta.
S.-DAT(-NOM) C.-NOM kind-ind
'Chulsoo is kind to Soonie.'

The preceding chapters have discussed a subset of MNCs -- PA MNCs, Focus MNCs, AI MNCs, and Psych MNCs -- arguing that they are not MSCs but rather MNCs with a single subject. To provide evidence for the MNC analysis, it has been shown that the first nominative nominal in the above construction types behaves like a final subject with respect to several syntactic phenomena except in Focus MNCs where the first nominal is a focus. The second nominative nominal shows subject-like properties in relation to these diagnostics.

Under the proposed analysis of each of these construction types, the first nominative nominal is a final 1, and the second nominative nominal is a final 2-chômeur. The nominative marking of the first nominal follows directly from the Korean case rule proposed in Gerdts and Youn (1988) under which nominative case is licensed by a final 1 (see Section 5.1). However, an explanation for the nominative case of the second nominal is necessary since the second nominal is claimed to be a final 2-chômeur and neither a final 2-chômeur nor a non-final 2 is a potential licensor of nominative case.

This chapter is devoted to an explanation for the nominative marking of the second nominal in the above construction types. Section 5.1 takes a brief look at the Korean case rule, and Section 5.2 reviews Gerdts and Youn's (1989) Case

Spread Law. The Case Spread Law's account of case marking in Possessor Ascension multiple nominative or accusative constructions is shown in Section 5.3. How the Case Spread Law accounts for case marking in constructions which involve advancement of an oblique to 1 is explained in 5.4. Section 5.5 is a summary of this chapter.

5.1 Korean Case

Gerdts and Youn (in preparation) distinguishes three types of case -- S-Case, I-Case, and T-Case -- and proposes the Korean case rule given in (1) (cf. Section 4.1.1).¹

(1) Korean Case

a. S-Case

NOM is licensed by a final 1.
ACC is licensed by a final 2.

b. I-Case

DAT is licensed by an Exp, Loc, Temp, Ben, etc.
INSTR is licensed by an Instr, Path, etc.
COM is licensed by a Com(itative).

c. T-Case

TOP is licensed by a Top(ic)
NOM is licensed by a Foc(cus)

Case is realized in Korean as follows:²

(2) NOM

-i/--ka

ACC

-il/-il-i

DAT

-eykey (animates)
-ey (inanimates)

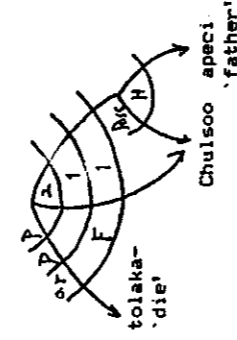
INSTR	-tlo/lo
COM	-kwa/-wa
TOP	-in/-nin

S-Case is grammatical case licensed in terms of final structure. I-Case is selected on the basis of the semantic role of the nominal and licensed in initial structure. T-Case, on the other hand, appears on a nominal when it bears an overlay relation such as topic or focus. For example, each case in (3) is properly licensed since it appears on a nominal with the appropriate grammatical relation.

- (3) Chelsu-ka Suni-eykey sopho-lil hangkongphyem-flo
 C.-NOM S.-DAT parcel-ACC air mail-INSTR
 ponae-ss-ta.
 send-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo sent the parcel to Sooni by air mail.'

Furthermore, the Korean case rule in (1) accounts for case marking in Focus MNCs, e.g. (4a), as represented in (4b).

- (4) a. Chelsu-ka apeci-ka tolaka-si-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM father-NOM die(HON)-SH-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo's father died.'



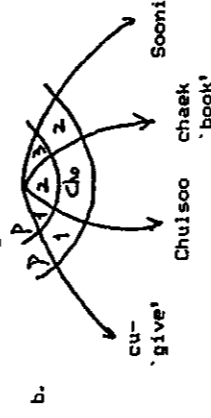
The first nominal is claimed to bear an overlay relation (i.e. the focus relation), and, according to (1c), a focus licenses nominative case. The second nominal is a final 1 and licenses an S-Case, i.e. nominative, according to (1a). Although Focus MNCs are accommodated under the case rule (1), other MNCs are not, a problem taken up below.

5.2 The Case Spread Law

Under the proposed case rule in (1), nominative and accusative are S-Cases licensed in terms of final structure --- i.e. nominative case is licensed by a final 1; accusative case is licensed by a final 2. However, there are clauses where nominative or accusative case appears on a nominal which does not license it. In multiple nominative or accusative constructions, a nominal which is not a final 1 or final 2 nevertheless appears in the nominative or accusative case.

Consider, for example, the clause in (5a), which Gerdts (1986) claims involves 3-2 advancement (the initial 3 advances to 2, placing the initial 2 en chômage), as represented in (5b):³

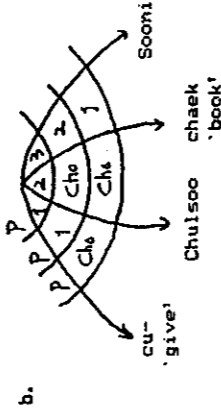
- (5) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-lil chaek-tl/*i cu-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-ACC book-ACC/NOM give-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo gave Sooni a book.'



As the data in (5a) show, the 2-chômeur *chaek* in such a clause should be marked accusative, not nominative. Note, however, that neither initial 2s nor final 2-chômeurs are accommodated by the case rule in (1). Some account of accusative case on the 2-chômeur must be given.

To further illustrate the problem, consider (6a); this clause involves 3-2-1 advancement (i.e. 3-2 advancement in an earlier stratum and passive in a later stratum), as represented in (6b):⁴

- (6) a. Suni-ka Chelsu-ey iyhae chaek-i/*i
S.-NOM C.-by book-NOM/ACC
cu-eci-ess-ta.
give-pas-pst-ind
'Soni was given a book by Chulsoo.'



In (5a), *chaek* is a 2-chômeur, having been placed en chômeage by the advancement of the initial 3 to 2, and is marked accusative. In (6a), however, the 2-chômeur must be nominative in contrast to the 2-chômeur in (5a).

Two questions arise concerning case and 2-chômeurs. First, how do they get case? Second, why do they sometimes appear in nominative and sometimes in accusative case? Gerdts

and Youn (1988), following a suggestion from Bickford (1987), proposes that many instances of S-Case on nominals which do not license it arise through Case Spread -- a nominal which properly licenses S-Case spreads its ability to license an S-Case to another nominal.⁵ They elaborate upon Bickford's analysis of Case Spread which parallels the treatment of Surrogate Agreement (that is, instances where agreement is controlled by a nominal which is not a regular agreement controller in a language) proposed by Aissen (1987, in press).⁶ Gerdts and Youn (1989) gives a universal law (7) which limits Case Spread to structures involving *overrun*, mirroring Aissen's (1987) limitation on Surrogate Agreement:⁷

(7) The Case Spread Law

If *a* spreads its ability to license an S-Case to *b*, where *a* and *b* head nominal arcs, then there are arcs *A* and *B* where *a* heads *A* and *b* heads *B*, and *A* overruns *B*.

Overrun, an Arc Pair Grammar notion (cf. Johnson and Postal 1980), has been cast in RG terms by Aissen (to-appear) as follows:

(8) *Overrun* (to appear)

A overruns *B* if and only if:
i) *A* and *B* have the same term R-sign (i.e. 1, 2, or 3);
ii) and *A*'s first coordinate index is +1 of *B*'s last coordinate index.

Among other things (7) allows a nominal to spread its ability to license an S-Case to a nominal which it has placed en chômeage.

The Case Spread Law can be used to account for the fact that 2-chômeurs in Korean may be marked accusative or nominative depending on the final relation of the nominal which has placed it en chômeage. For example, in (5b) which is a 3-2 advancement clause, the final 2-chômeur is marked accusative since it heads an arc which has been overrun by the final 2-arc, and a final 2 licenses accusative case. In contrast, the final 2-chômeur in (6b) is marked nominative since it heads an arc which has been overrun by an arc headed by the final 1, a licenser of nominative case. In the following two sections, I show how the Case Spread Law can provide a principled account of case marking in multiple nominative clauses.

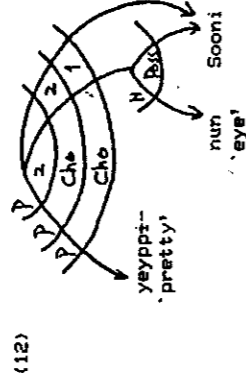
5.3 Case Spread and Possession Ascension

This section explains how the Case Spread Law and Korean case rule can account for case marking in constructions which involve Possessor Ascension.

Chapter 2 discussed MNCs like (9-11) below, which I claim can be related to corresponding possessive constructions in which the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability or localizing inalienability.

- (9) Suni-ka nun-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-NOM eye-NOM pretty-ind
'Soonie's eyes are pretty.'
- (10) Kt chaeksang-i tali-ka puleci-ess-ta.
the desk-NOM leg-NOM be broken-pst-ind
'The leg of the desk was broken.'
- (11) Kt cip-i aph-i thi-i-ess-ta.
the house-NOM front-NOM open-pas-pst-ind
'The view from the front of the house was unobstructed.'

Following Chun (1986), I claimed that MNCs like the above involve Possessor Ascension. (9), for example, has the structure in (12).



As (12) shows, the initial structure of (9) is unaccusative. The possessor heads a 2-arc in the second stratum, having ascended from its host, thus overruling the initial 2-arc borne by the host (cf. Section 2.1.1). The ascended possessor in the second stratum advances to 1 in the third stratum by Unaccusative Advancement.

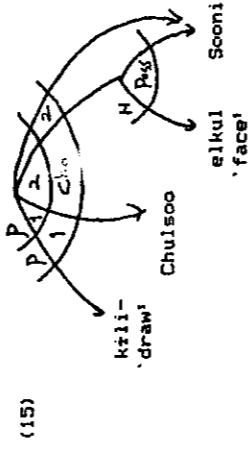
That the ascended possessor in (9-11) is marked with the nominative case follows from the Korean case rule in (1) because it is a final 1 under the proposed analysis, and a

final 1 licenses nominative case. Furthermore, the appearance of nominative case on the host is accounted for by the Case Spread Law in (7). The final 1 spreads its ability to license nominative case to the host because it heads an arc which has overrun an arc headed by the host.

As noted in Section 2.1.2, Korean not only has Possessor Ascension MCSs but also multiple accusative constructions which also involve Possessor Ascension, illustrated by (13-14).

- (13) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-lil elkul-tl kili-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-ACC face-ACC draw-pst-ind
'Chulsoo drew Sooni's face.'
b. Chelsu-ka Suni-ty elkul-tl kili-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-GEN face-ACC draw-pst-ind
- (14) a. Chelsu-ka kt chaeksang-tl tali-lil kochi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM the desk-ACC leg-ACC fix-pst-ind.
'Chulsoo fixed the leg of the desk.'
b. Chelsu-ka kt chaeksang-ty tali-lil kochi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM the desk-GEN leg-ACC fix-pst-ind

Chun (1986) argues of the analysis presented in (15) for clauses like (13).⁶

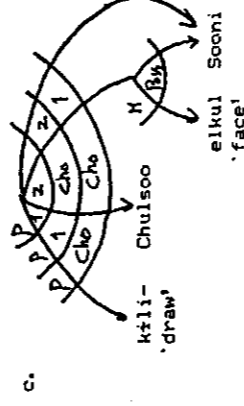


In the proposed structure in (15), the possessor heads a 2-arc in the second stratum, having ascended from its host; the initial 2 is placed en chômage by the ascension nominal; thus the initial 2-arc is overrun in (15) as it was in (12). Since the host, the final 2-chômeur, heads an arc which has been overrun by an arc headed by a final 2, a licensor of accusative case, accusative case can spread to the host. The case marking in multiple accusative constructions like (13-14) is thus accounted for under a Possessor Ascension analysis, given the Case Spread Law in (7).

Chun (1986) also points out that many Possessor Ascension multiple accusative constructions have passive counterparts. For example, (16b) is the passive equivalent of (16a); Gerdtz and Youn (to appear) assign the structure in (16c) to such passives:⁹

- (16) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-lil elkul-tl kili-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-ACC face-ACC draw-pst-ind
'Chulsoo drew Sooni's face.'

- b. Suni-ka Chelsu-ey tyhae elkul-i/tyi.
S.-NOM C.-by face-NOM/ACC
kili-eci-ess-ta.
draw-pas-pst-ind
'Sooni's face was drawn by Chulsoo.'



As seen in (16b), the 2-chômeur in a passive Possessor Ascension clause must be nominative -- not accusative. However, this is accommodated by the Case Spread Law. The nominal which heads the arc which has overrun the initial stratal 2-arc is a final 1, and, according to (7), it can spread its ability to license nominative case to the final 2-chômeur.¹⁰

The data in (13) and (16) above are further examples which show a 2-chômeur can be marked with either nominative or accusative case, depending upon the final grammatical relation of the nominal that has placed it en chômeur.

5.4 Case Spread and Oblique Advancement

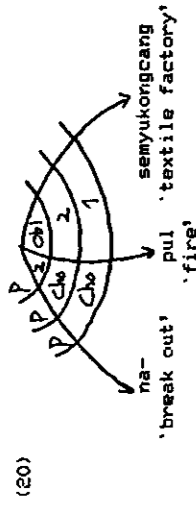
This section shows that the Case Spread Law accounts for the appearance of nominative case on the theme in constructions which involve the advancement of an oblique to 1.

Chapter 3 discussed AI MNCs and AI SNCs like those in (17-19) in which the first nominal bears nominative or dative case.

- (17) Semyukongcang-ey/i pul-i na-ss-ta.
 textile factory-DAT/NOM fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
 'Fire broke out in the textile factory.'
- (18) Cinan yelim-ey/i pi-ka manhi o-ess-ta.
 last summer-DAT/NOM rain-NOM in quantities come-pst-ind
 'We had a lot of rain last summer.'
- (19) I chenceng-eyse/i mul-i tteleci-n-ta.
 this ceiling-DAT/NOM water-NOM drip-pres-ind
 'Water drips from this ceiling.'

It was claimed that both AI MNCs and AI SNCs involve advancement of an oblique to 1. The structure of (17), for

example, is represented as in (20).

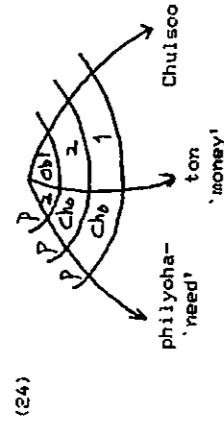


In (20), the initial structure is unaccusative --- the first nominal is an initial oblique and the second nominal (i.e. the theme) is an initial 2. The first nominal advances to 2 in the second stratum, placing the initial 2 en chômeur, then advances to 1 in the third stratum.

The Korean case rule given in (1) allows for either nominative or dative case to be assigned on the Loc(ative) in (17).¹¹ Nominative is licensed (see (1a)) since the locative is a final 1; furthermore, dative is licensed (see (1b)) since the nominal is a locative in the initial stratum. In addition, the Case Spread Law allows the theme to appear in nominative case since it heads an arc which has been overrun by a nominal heading a final 1 arc -- a nominal which has the ability to license nominative case (whether it does so or not).¹²

Chapter 4 posits that Psych MNCs, and also Psych SNCs like (21-23), involve advancement of an oblique to 1; for example, (21) is represented in (24).

- (21) Chelsu-eykey/ka ton-i philyoha-ta.
 C.-DAT/NOM money-NOM need-IND
 'Chulsso needs money.'
- (22) Suni-eykey/ka emeni-ka kili-wet-ta.
 S.-DAT/NOM mother-NOM miss-pst-IND
 'Sooni missed Mother.'
- (23) Yongsu-eykey/ka yeyppin ttal-i iss-ta.
 Y.-DAT/NOM pretty daughter-NOM have-IND
 'Yongsso has a pretty daughter.'



As (24) shows, psych constructions are initially unaccusative. The experiencer (i.e. the first nominal) is an initial oblique and the theme (i.e. the second nominal) is an initial 2. The experiencer advances to 2, placing the theme en chŏmage, then advances to 1.

Since the experiencer is a final 1, it may be marked nominative (see (1a)). Alternatively, it may be marked dative because it is an initial oblique (see (1b)). As for the case of the theme, we again see that it gets nominative case through Case Spread.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has provided an explanation for the nominative marking of the second nominal in a subset of MNCs -- i.e.

PA MNCs, A1 MNCs, and Psych MNCs -- discussed in this study.

The preceding chapters argued that the first nominal is a final 1, and the second nominal is a final 2-chŏmeur, in each of the above construction types. The nominative marking of the first nominal follows from the Korean case rule proposed in Gerdts and Youn (1988) because the first nominal is a final 1, and a final 1 licenses nominative case. However, that the second nominal is marked for nominative case at first appears to be problematic because neither a final 2-chŏmeur nor a non-final 2 is a potential licenser of nominative case under the proposed case rule.

Gerdts and Youn (1988), following Bickford (1987), claim that case marking on 2-chŏmeurs is an instance of Case Spread, a phenomenon by which a nominal which properly licenses S-Case spreads its ability to license an S-Case to another nominal. They give a Case Spread Law which limits Case Spread to structures with overrun. As Sections 5.3 and 5.4 showed, 2-chŏmeurs in MNCs, and also in A1 and Psych SNCs, are marked nominative. This follows from my analysis since in each construction the 2-chŏmeur has been placed en chŏmage by the final 1, a licenser of nominative case. The final 1 spreads its ability to license nominative case in accordance with the Case Spread Law.

¹ A more complete view of Korean case, including discussion of genitive case and complex case assigners like *ey iyhae* 'by' is developed in Gerdts and Youn (in preparation). For the present purpose, the partial formulation in (i) will suffice.

² Where pairs of forms are given, the first appears following consonants and the second following vowels.

³ Many attempts have been made in various frameworks to characterize constructions like (5a) (Shibatani (1976, 1977), Sung (1977), B. Park (1991), Chun (1986), Choe (1985), Gerdts (1986), among others). However, there is still no consensus as to whether they are multiple object constructions or multiple accusative constructions with a single object and what grammatical relation each of the accusative-marked nominals bears to the clause.

Gerdts (1986:105-107), arguing against Shibatani (1977), claims that clauses like (5a) involve 3-2 advancement. She gives two types of arguments to support the 3-2 advancement analysis. Let us cite one of her arguments. As noted in the previous chapters, Gerdts proposes a constraint on topicalization, given in (i), to provide a means of distinguishing final terms and chomeurs (cf. see Sections 2.2.4 and 3.2.4 for an explanation of the constraint in (i)).

- (i) A nominal heading a Cho arc cannot serve as a plain topic.

Given (i), we can make a prediction that the final 2 (i.e. Sooni) in (5a) can serve as a plain topic; the final 2-chomeur (i.e. chaek) in (5a), since it is not a final term under the proposed analysis, cannot serve as a plain topic. This prediction is borne out by (iia) and (iib) below, the topicalized versions of (5a).

- (ii) a. Suni-nin Chelsu-ka chaek-ti cu-ess-ta.
S.-TOP C.-NOM book-ACC give-pst-ind
i) 'Speaking of Sooni, Chulsoo gave her the book.'
ii) 'As for Sooni, Chulsoo gave her the book (but as for other people, ---).'
b. Chaek-in Chelsu-ka Suni-iti cu-ess-ta.
book-TOP C.-NOM S.-ACC give-pst-ind
'As for the book, Chulsoo gave it to Sooni (but as for other things, ---).'

The data involving topicalization provide evidence that (5a) involves 3-2 advancement.

⁴ Gerdts and Youn (1988, in preparation) claim that clauses like (6a) are 3-2-1 advancement constructions. However, we have encountered several native speakers who regard them as marginal. Nevertheless, even those who regard them as marginal agree that the passive counterparts of clauses like (ib), which we claim to involve 3-2 advancement, are far better than the passive counterparts of clauses like (iib), which do not allow 3-2 advancement.

- (i) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-eykey yenge-iti kalchi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-DAT English-ACC teach-pst-ind
'Chulsoo taught English to Sooni.'

- b. Chelsu-ka Suni-iti yenge-iti kalchi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-ACC English-ACC teach-pst-ind
'Chulsoo taught Sooni English.'

- c. *Suni-ka Chelsu-ey iyhae yenge-ka/*iti
S.-NOM C.-by English-NOM/ACC
kalchi-eci-ess-ta.
teach-pas-pst-ind

'Sooni was taught English by Chulsoo.'

- (ii) a. Chelsu-ka Suni-eykey kong-iti tenci-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-DAT ball-ACC throw-pst-ind
'Chulsoo threw the ball to Sooni.'

- b. *Chelsu-ka Suni-iti kong-iti tenci-ess-ta.
C.-NOM S.-ACC ball-ACC throw-pst-ind

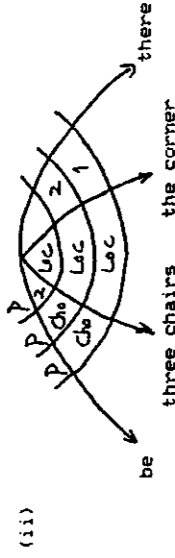
- c. *Suni-ka Chelsu-ey iyhae kong-i/*iti
S.-NOM C.-by ball-NOM/ACC
tenci-eci-ess-ta.
throw-pas-pst-ind

⁵ Gerdts and Youn's (1988, 1989, in preparation) use of the term Case Spread parallels what Bickford (1987) calls "surrogate case." It is not to be confused with Case Agreement (see Gerdts and Youn (in preparation)). Case Agreement involves the actual copying of morphological case, for example, onto the quantifier in (i); in Case Spread, in contrast, it is the ability to license an S-Case which is shared from one nominal to another.

- (i) Haksaeing-ti-i seys-i hakyoyey o-ass-ta.
student-pl-NOM 3-NOM school-to come-pst-ind
'Three students came to school.'

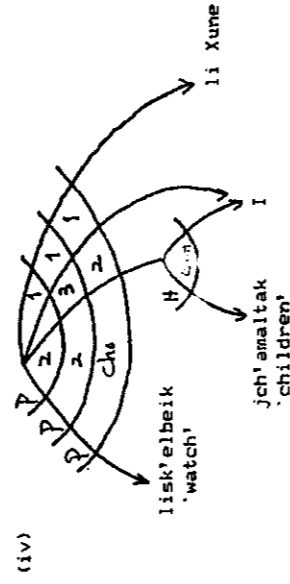
6 Aissen (1987) devises the concept 'surrogate agreement,' which is an extension of the notion 'brother-in-law agreement' (Perlmutter 1983). The latter was conceived to handle instances where a verb agrees not with its final 1, but rather with the nominal which the final 1, a dummy, has placed in *ch'omage*, i.e. its brother-in-law, as in (i), as represented in (ii).

(i) There were three chairs in the corner.



Aissen (1987, to appear) discusses instances of *ch'omage* where no dummy is involved but nevertheless the verb is agreeing with a *ch'omeur* instead of (or sometimes, in addition to) the final term which has placed it in *ch'omage*. For example, in Possessor Ascension in Tzotzil (see iii), which involve ascension to 3 and then advancement to 2, as represented in (iv), the nominal which has been placed in *ch'omage* by the final 2, i.e. *ch'amaltak*, nevertheless determines agreement.

(iii) 7i- s- k'e1 -be -ik j- ch'amaltak.
cp A3 watch io pl AI children
He/she/they watched my children for them. or
They watched my children for him/her/them.



This follows under Aissen's Lateral Feature Passing Law (see footnote 7) since *ch'amaltak* heads an arc which has been overrun by the nominal heading the final 2-arc, and final 2s are normal agreement controllers in Tzotzil.

7 Aissen (1987:205) proposes the Lateral Feature Passing Law, given below, which limits surrogate agreement to structures involving overrun:

- (i) If *a* passes it features to *b*, where *a* and *b* head nominal arcs, then there are arcs *A* and *B* where *a* heads *A* and *b* heads *B*, and *B* overruns *A*.

The parallelisms between Surrogate Agreement and Case Spread are obvious. They differ, however, in that features pass from the nominal heading the overrun arc to the final term in Surrogate Agreement, but they pass from the final term to the nominal heading the overrun arc in Case Spread.

3 Chun (1986) justifies the proposed analysis in (15) by arguing against alternative analyses such as the quirky case analysis, the doubling analysis, and the base generation analysis (cf. Chun 1986: 72-84). She argues that data from topicalization provides evidence that *Sooni* in (13a) is the final 2, while *elkul* in (13a) is the final 2-*ch'omeur*. As noted in footnote 3, according to Gerdt's constraint on topicalization in Korean, a nominal heading a final term arc can serve as a plain and a contrastive topic, whereas a nominal heading a Cho arc can serve only as a contrastive topic. When the final 2 *Sooni* is topicalized, it can serve as both a plain and a contrastive topic, as in (i); however, the final 2-*ch'omeur elkul* appears as a topic, it can serve only as a contrastive topic, as in (ii).

- (i) Suni-nin Chelsu-ka elkul-i1 kili-ess-ta.
S.-TOP C.-NOM face-ACC draw-pst-ind
i) 'Speaking of Sooni, Chulsoo drew her face.'
ii) 'As for Sooni, Chulsoo drew her face (but as for other people ----).'

- (ii) Elkul-a Chelsu-ka Suni-i#1 kili-ess-ta.
face-TOP C.-NOM S.-ACC draw-pst-ind
'As for the face, Chulsoo drew Sooni's (but as for other body parts ----).'

Thus, the data from topicalization give evidence that *Sooni* in (13a) bears the term relation, while *elkul* in (13a) bears the *ch'omeur* relation.

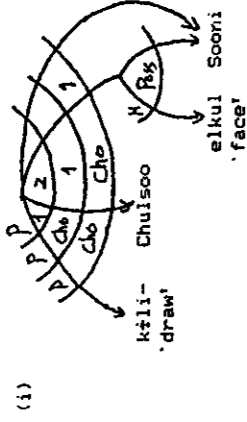
Chun claims that the proposed structure in (15) is further supported by the fact that (13a) can have as its passive counterpart (iii), but not (iv).

- (iii) Suni-ka Chelsu-ey iyhae elkul-i kili-eci-ess-ta.
S.-NOM C.-by hand-NOM draw-pas-pst-ind
'Sooni's face was drawn by Chulsoo.'

(iv) *Elkui-i Chelsu-ey iyhae Suni-ka kŕi-eci-ess-ta.
face-NOM C.-by S.-NOM draw-pas-pst-ind

She claims that, if (13a) is a double object construction, we cannot account for why *Sooni* can advance to 1, while *elkui* cannot. Under her analysis, however, *Sooni* is the final 2, so it is eligible to advance to 1 by passive, but *elkui*, since it is not the final 2, cannot advance to 1.

⁹Gerdt's (to appear) posits an alternative analysis for (16b) in which passive is in an earlier stratum than ascension, as represented in (i).



Her analysis was based upon the following constraint which she assumed for Korean:

(ii) Only initial 2s can advance to 1 in a *Œi*-passive.

However, data like (6a) show that a constraint cannot be maintained for Korean, as discussed in Gerdt's and Youn (in preparation).

Bickford (1987:225) also rejects the analysis in (i) since this structure violates the Nuclear Novice Law.

¹⁰Passives like (16b) are examples of periphrastic passive, which involves a passive verb formed with the addition of the auxiliary verb *Œi* to the verb stem. In a special type of passive, the so-called lexical passive, whose verb is formed with the affixation of a derivational morpheme (i.e. *i*, *hi*, *ki*, and *li*) to the verb stem, the host shows case alternations; i.e. it may be marked with either nominative or accusative case, as illustrated in (i).

(i) Suni-ka Chelsu-ey iyhae son-i/tŕi cap-hi-ess-ta.
S.-NOM C.-by hand-NOM/ACC hold-pas-pst-ind
'Sooni's hand was held by Chuisoo.'

Assuming that (i) has the same structure as that of (16c), the appearance of nominative case on the host (i.e.

son) is similarly accounted for by the Case Spread Law. However, the fact that the host can be marked for accusative case poses a problem for which I have no adequate solution at present.

¹¹In fact, both I-Case and S-Case can appear on Ob1-i advances, at least according to some speakers of Korean, as in (i).

(i) Semyukongcang-ey-ka pul-i na-ss-ta.
textile factory-DAT-NOM fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the textile factory.'

For a discussion of this phenomenon, which I refer to as Case Stacking, see Gerdt's (1988), Gerdt's and Youn (1988, 1989, in preparation), and M. Kim (1970, 1980).

¹²Gerdt's and Youn (in preparation) argue that Case Spread is universally limited to S-Case. Thus, the ability to license nominative but not dative spreads to the theme in Korean, even though dative actually appears on the oblique nominal.

This study gives a syntactic description of several subtypes of Korean MNCs. One characteristic of these constructions is that they involve two or more nominative-marked nominals within the clause, which has aroused the interest of a number of Korean, as well as Japanese and Chinese, linguists. The widespread interest has led to much controversy as to how to characterize these constructions. The major issues involved in the characterization of these constructions are: Are they real MSCs or just MNCs with a single subject? What grammatical relation does each nominative nominal bear? And how does each nominal get nominative case?

This work provides an analysis of these constructions within the theoretical framework of Relational Grammar. The bulk of the study has therefore been devoted to the discussion of the relational properties of the nominals that bear nominative case in these constructions. Relational diagnostics for Korean subjecthood were established, making use of the notions available in Relational Grammar. These diagnostics are listed in (1) (cf. Section 1.2).

(1) Tests for Subjecthood

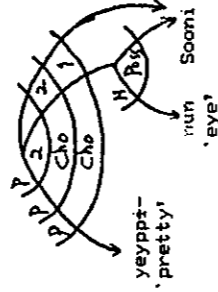
Subject Honorification	Condition
a. Subject Honorification	final 1
e.g. <i>Sensaengnim-i Suni-ltl manna-si-ess-ta.</i> teacher-NOM S.-ACC meet-SH-pst-ind 'The teacher met Sooni.'	
b. Antecedent of <i>Sasid</i>	metastratal 1
e.g. <i>Chelsu-ka casin-ty calmos-tl kkaetal-ass-ta.</i> C.-NOM self-GEN mistake-ACC find out-pst-ind 'Chulsoo _i found out self's _i mistake.'	
c. Plural Copying	final 1
e.g. <i>Ai-ttl-i mul-(ttl)-tl manhi masi-ess-ta.</i> child-pl-NOM water-(pl)-ACC much drink-pst-ind 'The children drank a lot of water.'	
d. Control in a <i>myense</i> Clause	final 1
e.g. <i>Kutosoy-i-myenseto Chelsu-ka Yengsu-eykey</i> skinflint-bé-through C.-NOM Y.-DAT ton-tl cu-ess-ta. money-ACC give-pst-ind 'Even though he _i was a skinflint, Chulsoo _i gave money to Youngsoo _j .'	
e. Subject-to-Object Raising	final 1
e.g. <i>Chelsu-ka Suni-ltl cengcikha-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.</i> C.-NOM S.-ACC honest-ind-cmp believe-pst-ind 'Chulsoo believed Sooni to be honest.'	
f. <i>kkeyse</i> -Marking	final 1
e.g. <i>Sensaengnim-kkeyse chaek-tl ilk-tsi-n-ta.</i> teacher-NOM(HON) book-ACC read-SH-pres-ind 'The teacher is reading a book.'	
g. Case Alternations in Causatives	final 1
e.g. <i>Chelsu-ka Suni-ka/ltl/eykey kt chaek-tl</i> C.-NOM S.-NOM/ACC/DAT the book-ACC ilk-key ha-ess-ta. 'Chulsoo made Sooni read the book.'	

Except for the antecedents of *casin*, the above phenomena are limited to final *is*. To be more precise, however, the final *is* conditions on controllers of Subject Honorification and Plural Copying require slight modification since there are cases where the possessor of a subject can control such phenomena (cf. Sections 3.2.1.1 and 3.2.1.2).

6.1 Korean MNCs

This study has focussed on four subtypes of Korean MNCs. The first type of construction is Possessor Ascension MNCs, in which the first nominative nominal stands in a possessor relation to the second nominative nominal. This type is exemplified in (2a) with its simplified structure represented in (2b).

- (2) a. Suni-ka nun-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-NOM eye-NOM pretty-ind
'Soonil's eyes are pretty.'



Clauses like the above involve Possessor Ascension. In Possessor Ascension as proposed in RG, the possessor ascends from its host, a possessive phrase, and assumes the relation of that host to the clause, placing the host en chômage. In

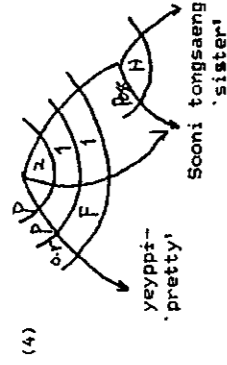
other words, under the Possessor Ascension analysis of clauses like (2), the first nominative nominal is an ascended subject. It was shown that Possessor Ascension in Korean is allowed only when the host heads a 2-arc and the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of partitive inalienability or localizing inalienability (cf. Section 2.1.2). A variety of phenomena, including Subject Honorification, the reflexive *casin*, Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and *kkayss*-marking, were used to show that the first nominative nominal in Possessor Ascension MNCs is a final subject (see Section 2.1.3). That the second nominative nominal is not a final subject is evidenced by the fact that it does not behave like a final subject with respect to Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and topicalization (see Section 2.1.4).

Possessor Ascension MNCs differ from a second type of MNCs shown in (3), in which the first nominative nominal may also appear in the genitive case.

- (3) Suni-ka tongsaeng-i yeyppi-ta.
S.-NOM sister-NOM pretty-ind
'Soonil's sister is pretty.'

Superficially, (2) and (3) seem to have identical structures. The only apparent difference is in the semantic relations between the two nominals; i.e. in (2) the possessee refers to a body part of the possessor, while in (3) the possessee has a

kinship relation to the possessor. I claimed that (2) and (3) have different syntactic structures in addition to this semantic difference. Under my analysis, clauses like (3) are Focus MNCs; the first nominative nominal is not a subject but rather a focussed nominal, as represented in (4).



Unlike PA MNCs, the possessor in Focus MNCs can bear the focus relation to the clause only when the host heads a final I-arc and the possessor and the possessee are in a relation of socially determined inalienability or alienable possession (see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 for the syntactic and semantic conditions on the focus *ka*). Data from Subject Honorification, the reflexive *gasin*, Plural Copying, and *kkeyse*-marking showed that the second nominative nominal, not the first nominative nominal, is a final subject in Focus MNCs (see Section 2.2.3).

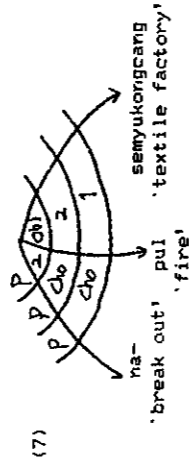
The third type of construction is AI MNCs, illustrated by (5), where the semantically oblique nominal appears in the nominative case.

- (5) Semyukongcang-i pul-i ma-ss-ta.
textile factory-NOM fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the textile factory.'

These MNCs have corresponding single nominative constructions, referred to as AI SMCs, in which the first nominal bears a dative or oblique case.

- (6) Semyukongcang-ey pul-i ma-ss-ta.
textile factory-DAT fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
'Fire broke out in the textile factory.'

Despite the different case marking of the first nominals in (5) and (6), the two construction types were argued to share a structure; i.e. they involve advancement of an oblique to final subject. The structure proposed for (5) and (6) is represented as in (7).



As can be observed in (7), both AI MNCs and AI SMCs are initially unaccusative clauses --- the second nominal is an initial 2 and the first nominal is an initial oblique; the first nominal advances to 2, placing the second nominal in *chomage*, then advances to 1. Evidence for the final subjecthood of the first nominal in both construction types comes from Subject Honorification, Plural Copying, Subject-to-

Object Raising, and causatives (see Section 3.2.1). Data involving Plural Copying, Subject-to-Object Raising, causatives, and topicalization show that the second nominal is not a final subject (see Section 3.2.2).

The structure of AI SNCs contrasts with that of clauses like (8), which are labeled "Unergative Clauses."

- (8) I tycə-ey Chelsu-ka anc-ass-ta.
 this chair-DAT C.-NOM sit-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo sat on this chair.'

One crucial difference between AI SNCs and Unergative Clauses is that the former are initially unaccusative clauses, while the latter are initially unergative clauses. Thus, under my analysis, Unergative Clauses do not involve advancement of an oblique to subject; therefore, the dative-marked nominal is not a final subject. The fact that the dative-marked nominal fails diagnostics of case alternations, Subject Honorification, and Plural Copying provides evidence for the non-finalhood of the dative-marked nominal in Unergative Clauses (see Section 3.3).

The final construction considered in this study is Psych MNCs like those in (9).

- (9) Chelsu-ka emeni-ka ktli-wess-ta.
 C.-NOM mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo missed Mother.'

In Psych MNCs, the first nominative nominal is semantically an experiencer or cognizer, and the second nominative nominal is a theme. As with AI MNCs, Psych MNCs have the corresponding single nominative constructions -- i.e. Psych SNCs -- in which the first nominal marked with dative case shows subject properties.

- (10) Chelsu-eykey emeni-ka ktli-wess-ta.
 C.-DAT mother-NOM miss-pst-ind
 'Chulsoo missed Mother.'

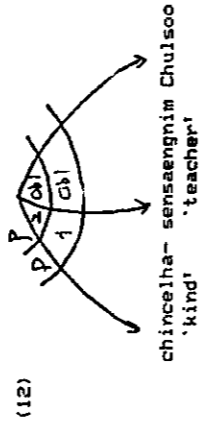
It was argued that Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs share a structure (cf. Sections 4.1 and 4.2). Under my analysis, psych constructions, i.e. Psych MNCs and Psych SNCs, are parallel in structure to the one posited for AI MNCs and AI SNCs. That is, their initial structure is unaccusative --- the theme is an initial 2 and the experiencer is an initial oblique; the experiencer advances to 2, placing the theme en chômage, then advances to 1. Evidence that the experiencer in psych constructions is an initial oblique which advances to final subject is provided by the phenomena of Case Stacking, Subject Honorification, Plural Copying, and ~~MYENSE~~ constructions (see Section 4.1). That the theme is not a final subject was shown by the fact that it does not behave like a final subject with respect to Subject Honorification, the reflexive ~~casia~~, Plural Copying, and ~~kkexse~~-marking (see Section 4.2). Data involving Subject Honorification, Plural Copying, and topicalization,

together with the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law, provide additional support for the proposed structure in which the theme is a final 2-chômeur that has been placed en chômeage by the oblique nominal, which ultimately advances to 1 (see Section 4.3).

The structure of Psych SNCs was argued to differ from that of Basic Unaccusative Clauses like (11).

- (11) Chelsu-eykey sensaengnim-i chincelha-ta.
C.-DAT teacher-NOM kind-ind
'The teacher is kind to Chulsoo.'

On the surface, (10) and (11) appear to be examples of the same structure; the only difference between the two is the predicate. Psych SNCs have a psychological or perception predicate, while Basic Unaccusative Clauses have a qualitative adjective as their predicate. Since the predicates of both construction types are adjective, they are initially unaccusative. However, under my analysis, they are different in structure, as shown (12).



Psych SNCs involve advancement of an oblique to final subject, while Basic Unaccusative Clauses do not. Hence, the dative-

marked nominal in Basic Unaccusative Clauses is not a final subject (see Sections 4.1 and 4.2 for arguments for the non-final 1-hood of the dative-marked nominal in Basic Unaccusative Clauses).

6.2 MNCs and Case

Under the proposed analysis of each of the above construction types (except for Focus MNCs), the first nominal was argued to be a final 1, and the second nominal to be a final 2-chômeur. Despite their different grammatical relations, the two nominals are marked for nominative case. The nominative marking of the two nominals is accounted for by Gerdts and Youn's (1988) Korean case rule and the Case Spread Law (see also Gerdts and Youn (1988, 1989)).

According to the Korean case rule, nominative and accusative are S-Cases licensed in terms of final structure --- i.e. nominative is licensed by a final 1; accusative is licensed by a final 2 (see Section 5.1). The nominative marking of the first nominal in each construction type follows from the case rule since the first nominal is a final 1 and a final 1 licenses nominative case. However, the fact that a 2-chômeur bears nominative case seems at first problematic because a final 2-chômeur is not a potential licensor of nominative case under the proposed case rule.

Gerdts and Youn (1988, 1989) claim that many instances of

S-Case on nominals which do not license it arise through Case Spread, a phenomenon by which a nominal that properly licenses S-Case spreads its ability to license an S-Case to another nominal. They elaborate upon Bickford's (1987) analysis of Case Spread and propose a universal law which limits Case Spread to structures involving overrun, mirroring Aissen's (1987) Lateral Feature Passing Law.

Given the Case Spread Law, the nominative marking of 2-chômeurs in MNCs, and also in AI and Psych SNCs, are accounted for because in each construction type the chômeur has been placed en chômeage by the final 1, a licenser of nominative case. The final 1 spreads its ability to license

nominals with the Case Spread Law (see

based on the con-

provides

The

construction

the fact that it bears the chômeur relation in the final stratum. The chômeur relation is borne by a nominal whose previous relation has been taken over by some other nominal in constructions like advancements, retreats, ascensions, etc. Since the concept of chômeur presupposes grammatical relations and syntactic levels, a theory which defines these notions facilitates a principled account of these constructions.

This study shows that the subject relation and nominative case are not to be equated in Korean. There are nominative-marked nominals which are not subjects -- for example, the chômeurs discussed above which get nominative case by means of Case Spread. Furthermore, there are subjects which are not marked nominative, for example, the final 1s in psych constructions. This study accounts for this divergence of case and grammatical relations by utilizing a refined system of case assignment which refers only in part to final grammatical relations. Nevertheless, grammatical relations do in some sense limit the distribution of nominative case. Since it is claimed to be an S-Case in Korean, it can only appear on a final 1 or a nominal which has a specific relationship to a

nominal which has a specific relationship to a

empirical foundation. However, viewing grammatical relations and syntactic levels as a common denominator of all the types of MNCs enables one to reduce the apparent diversity of MNC structure to a small number which can be accounted for without undue proliferation of the theoretical apparatus.

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