

CASE, CHOMAGE, AND MULTIPREDICATE DOMAINS IN KOREAN

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1. A RELATIONAL THEORY OF CASE SPREAD.*

Many languages of the world, e.g. Korean (1) and (2), Japanese (3), and Icelandic (4) have dative subject constructions, that is constructions where a locative or experiencer tests to be the final subject but nevertheless appears in the dative case.

Korean: (Gerdts & Youn 1988, 1990, Youn 1989)

(1) I kongcang-ey/ -i pwul-i na-ss-ta.
this factory -DAT/-NOM fire-NOM break out-pst-ind
"Fire broke out in this factory."

(2) Chelswu-eykey/-ka Swuni-ka mopsi kuli-wess-ta.
C.-DAT/-NOM S. -NOM badly miss-pst-ind
"Chulsoo missed Sooni badly."

Japanese: (Kuno 1973)

(3) John ni/ga nihongo ga waku.
J. DAT/NOM Japanese NOM understand
"John understands Japanese."

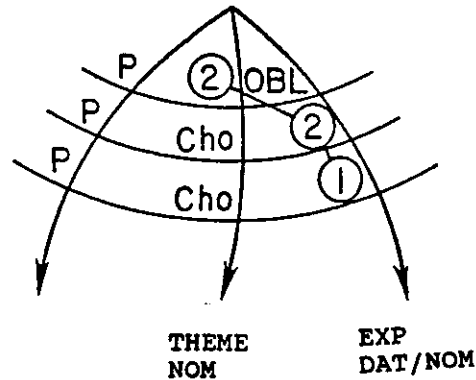
Icelandic: (Zaenen et al. 1985)

(4) Mér brestur kjarkur.
me-DAT lacks (3sg) courage(N)
"I lack courage."

Such clauses raise an interesting question for linguistic theory: How do non-nominative subjects get case? Approaches to case in various theories have more or less answered this question in the same way. The dative case of the subject is inherent or lexical case assigned to the nominal on the basis of its semantic role or status in initial structure.[1]

A Relational Grammar account of dative subject constructions was given by Gerdts and Youn (1988, 1990). Basing our claims on Korean data, we proposed that the subject is an initial oblique (or in some languages perhaps a 3) that advances to final 1, as represented in (5).

(5)



Given the two-tiered approach to Korean case in (6), DAT case is licensed on the experiencer because of its semantic role.

(6) KOREAN CASE (partial):

a. S-Case

NOM is licensed by a final 1.

ACC is licensed by a final 2.

b. I-Case

DAT is licensed by a Goal, Exp, Loc, Ben, Temp, etc.

INSTR is licensed by an Instr, Path, etc.

COM is licensed by a Com(itative).

NOM is also licensed on this nominal since it is a final 1. In fact, in Korean and Japanese, the experiencer can appear in either NOM or DAT case. In addition, for some speakers of Korean, both DAT and NOM case can appear on the experiencer, a phenomenon we refer to as case stacking (see also Gerdts 1988a, 1991).

1.1 Case Spread.

Dative subject constructions like (1)-(4) pose a second, more interesting, problem for case theory: How does the theme nominal, which tests to be a non-subject, get Nominative case? Here there is little agreement between theories. Various approaches have been suggested: sometimes NOM is assigned as a default case, or NOM is assigned to the theme when the experiencer is already case marked with inherent case. Neither of these methods is particularly insightful for Japanese or Korean, where the psych construction can have two NOM nominals.

In Gerdts and Youn (1988) we provide a relationally-based explanation for the nominative case of the theme. Following a suggestion by Bickford (1987), who, in turn, follows the treatment of

surrogate agreement given by Aissen (1987, 1990), we propose that one nominal can spread its ability to license case to another nominal under the condition of overrun.[2] We give this as the Case Spread Law:

- (7) Case Spread Law: (Gerdt's & Youn 1990) 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, which is defined in terms of arcs as in (8), includes, for example, a situation where one nominal has placed another en chomage.

- (8) Definition: (Aissen 1987)
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.

For example, in our analysis of psych constructions in (5), the experiencer advances OBL-to-2-to-1, placing the theme en chomage in the second stratum. The arc headed by the experiencer in the second stratum has overrun the arc headed by the theme in the initial stratum. This sets up what I call an "overrun chain", represented by the circles in (5), consisting of the overrun arc, the overrunning arc and all subsequent arcs headed by the same nominal.

- (9) Overrun chain:
arcs A and B, where A has overrun B, and all arcs with the same head as A with coordinate indices greater than the coordinate index of A.

Case features pass along this chain. Thus, the experiencer, since it is a final 1, can spread its ability to license NOM case onto the theme.[3]

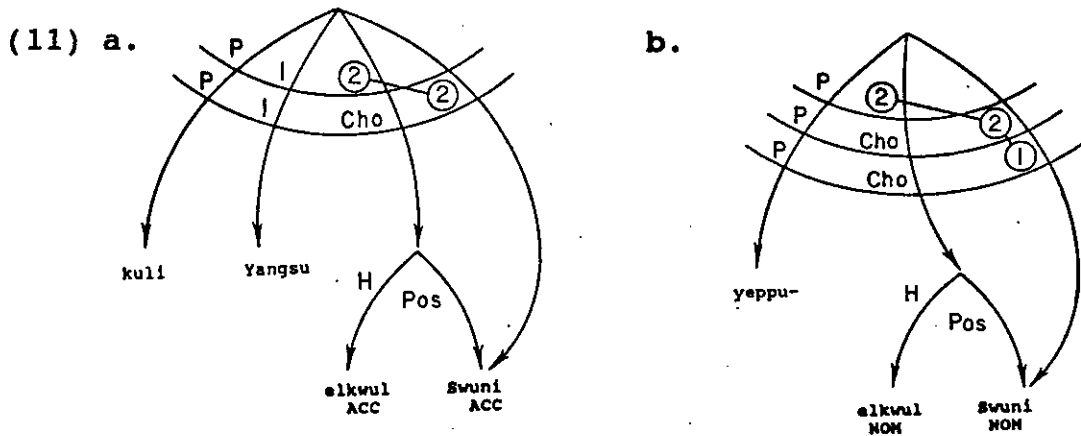
Notice that 2-chomeurs fall between the cracks as far as Case is concerned. The Korean rule in (6) does not refer to either 2-chomeurs or themes. Assuming some version of the case filter (e.g., a visibility condition as in Gerdt's (1990a)), case spread saves the clause by providing a mechanism for assigning case to the 2-chomeur.

1.2. More Case Spread.

This approach to case spread provides a solution to the problem of the case marking of 2-chomeurs in various constructions in Korean. Sometimes 2-chomeurs are marked NOM but other times they are marked ACC. For example, in the Korean possessor ascension (Chun 1986, Gerdts 1990b, Youn 1989) construction in (10a), where the object of a transitive is the host, the head nominal is marked ACC, but in (10b), where the host is an unaccusative, it is marked NOM.

- (10) a. Yangswu-ka Swuni-lul elkwul-ul kuli-ess-ta.
 Y. -NOM S. -ACC face-ACC draw-pst-ind
 "Yangsu drew Sooni's face."
 b. Swuni-ka elkwul-i/*-ul yeppu-ta.
 S. -NOM face-NOM/*ACC pretty-ind
 "Sooni's face is pretty."

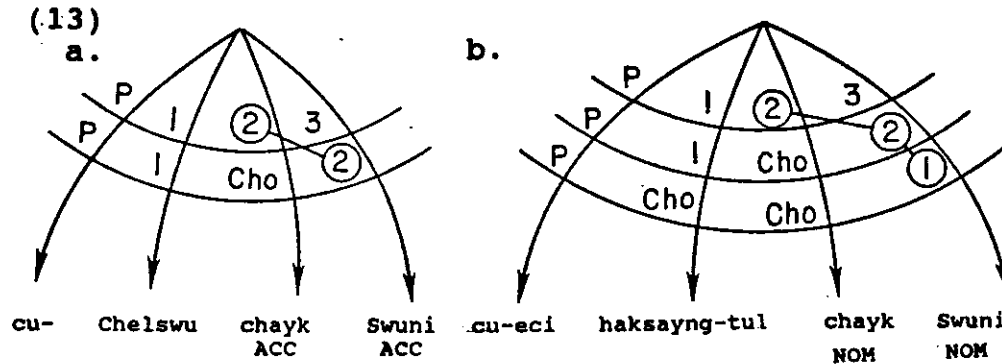
These cases are predicted by case spread, given the representations for these clauses in (11a) and (11b) respectively.



As (11a) shows, the head of the overrun chain is a final 2, which spreads ACC case to the chomeur, but in (11b) the head is a final 1, and thus NOM case is spread to the chomeur.

Data involving 3-2 advancement in Korean also demonstrate case spread to 2-chomeurs. (12a) involves 3-2 advancement (as in 13a) (Gerdts 1987, 1990a); (12b) involves 3-2 advancement and passive, represented tentatively as in (13b) (Gerdts and Youn 1988, Kang 1986):

- (12) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM S.-ACC book-ACC give-pst-ind
 "Chulsoo gave Sooni a book."
 b. Swuni-ka haksayng-tul-ey uyhay chayk-i
 S. -NOM student-pl-by book -NOM
 cwu-eci-ess-ta.
 give-PAS-pst-ind
 "Sooni was given a book by the students."



The head of the overrun chain is a final 2 in (13a) and thus ACC is spread to the 2-chomeur, but it is a final 1 in (13b), thus NOM is spread to the 2-chomeur.

To summarize this brief review of case spread, we find that 2-chomeurs in Korean often get their case from the nominal heading the arc that has overrun them. Either NOM or ACC gets spread to the chomeur, depending upon the final relation of the nominal heading the overrunning arc.

2. LONG-DISTANCE CASE SPREAD.

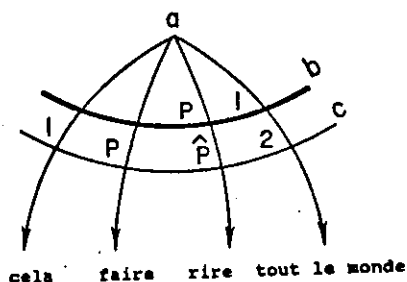
We have seen several examples of case spread in local domains in the above data. The question arises: Does case spread in a long-distance fashion in multipredicate domains?

2.1 Multipredicate Domains.

First, I briefly review the RG concept of multipredicate clauses, proposed by Davies and Rosen (1988), who reformulate the constructions formerly thought to involve clause union as totally monoclausal structures. For example, under their analysis, the French causative in (14a) would be represented as in (14b).

(14) a. Cela fera rire tout le monde.
 "That will make everybody laugh."

b.



A single node (a) is the tail for all arcs in (14b); thus, by definition, it represents a single clause. However, there are nonetheless two P(redicates) in (14): the P1 rire and the causative P faire. The collection of strata containing a P is called a P-sector. I refer to the P-1 sector, that is stratum b in (14a), as the "inner" P-sector.

Research on causatives by Perlmutter and Postal (1974), Gibson and Raposo (1986), and Rosen (1983), among others, has led to the principles for assigning relations to P-1 nominals in the causative stratum, informally given in (15).

(15) Revaluation: The inner 1 is revalued as a 2 or 3 (as stipulated for each language).

Inheritance: Everything else inherits its relation unless the Stratal Uniqueness Law is threatened; in this case the nominal is placed en chomage.

We can see the effect of (15) by contrasting the Chamorro causative in (16) with the Georgian causative in (17).

(16) Chamorro (Gibson and Raposo 1986)

Ha na'-eksplika yu' i ma'estru nu i problema
 3sg CAUS-explain 1sg the teacher OBL the problem
 p̄ara si Jose.
 to the J.

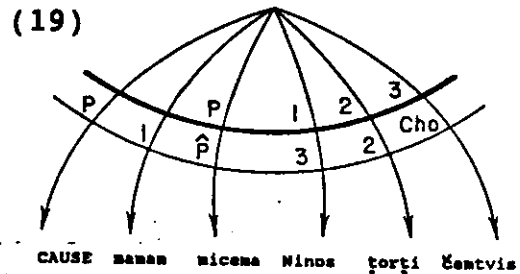
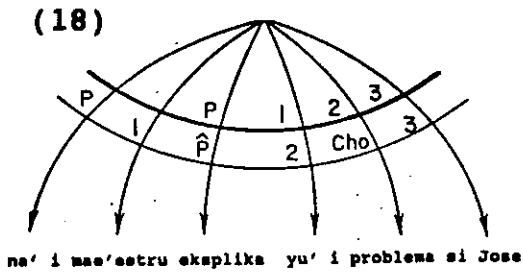
"The teacher made me explain the problem to José."

(17) Georgian (Harris 1981)

Mamam Ninos miacemina
 father-ERG Nino-DAT he-caused-give=her=it=II-1
 ṭorṭi cementvis.
 cake-NOM me-for

"Father made Nino give the cake to me."

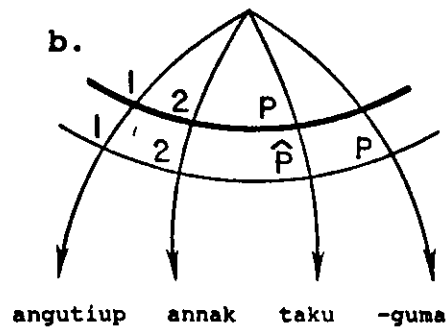
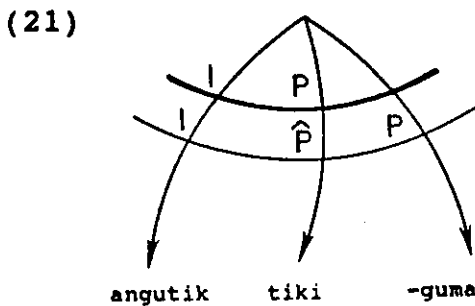
In Chamorro, the inner 1 is revalued as a 2, hence the inner 2 problema fails to inherit in the causative P-sector. Rather it is placed en chomage. The inner 3 Jose is free to inherit. In Georgian, on the other hand, the inner 1 is revalued as a 3, hence the inner 3 cem fails to inherit though the inner 2 torti may fall through. Davies and Rosen (1986) represent these as the multipredicate clauses in (18) and (19).



The effect of inheritance can also be seen in desideratives. Gerds (1988b) gives desideratives --formerly treated as equi union constructions--a monoclausal analysis involving total inheritance. As exemplified by the Eskimo examples in (20), the desiderative predicate does not bring in additional nominal arguments but rather links semantically to the inner 1. All inner relations will fall through in desideratives of this type. Hence a desiderative based on an intransitive will be finally intransitive, as in (21a) and one based on a transitive will be finally transitive as in (21b).

Labrador Inuttut (Smith 1982, Grimshaw and Mester 1985)

- (20) a. angutik tiki-guma-vuk
 man-ABS arrive-want-3SG(SUBJ)
 "The man wants to arrive."
 b. anguti-up annak taku-guma-vaa
 man-ERG woman-ABS see-want-3sg(SUBJ)/3SG(OBJ)
 "The man wants to see the woman."



2.2 Case Spread in Multipredicate Domains.

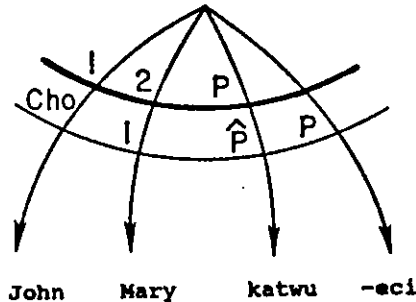
This section treats case in multipredicate domains in Korean. I claim that Korean, unlike some languages, as discussed in Gerdtz (1991), allows long-distance case spread, that is, case spread in contexts where the overrun chain involves more than one P-sector.

2.2.1 Korean Plain Passives.

First, data from plain passives (that is, passives formed with the auxiliary ci "become") provide evidence that long-distance case spread is possible in Korean.[4] I give passives like (22a) a multipredicate representation as in (22b); Mary, the final 1 of the ci-passive corresponds to the inner 2.[5]

- (22) a. Mary-ka John-ey uhayse katwu-eci-ess-ta.
M. -NOM J. -by lock up-PAS-pst-ind
"Mary was locked up by John."

b.



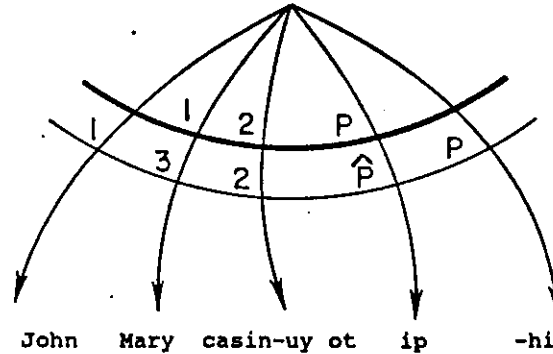
Evidence that passives like (22a) are multipredicate clauses comes from reflexives. Following the treatment of Japanese zibun in Dubinsky (1985), I propose that the condition on antecedents of the Korean reflexive casin can be stated in terms of P-final 1s:[6]

- (23) Reflexive Antecedence Condition:
The antecedent of a reflexive must be
a P-final 1.

Data involving morphological causatives (Yang 1974) provide support for this claim. If we analyze the causative in (24a) as a multipredicate clause (24b), we see that either P-final 1 can antecede the reflexive.

- (24) a. John-i Mary-eykey casin-uy os-ul
 J.-NOM M. -DAT self-GEN clothes-ACC
 ip-hi-et-ta.
 put on-CS-pst-ind
 "John made Mary put on his/her clothes."

b.



The agent in passives like (25) can likewise antecede a reflexive.[7]

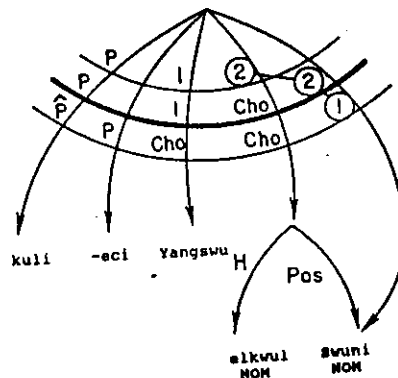
- (25) Ku kulim-i Chelwu-ey uyhay casin-uy secay-eyse
 the picture-NOM C. -by self-GEN study-in
 kuli-eci-ess-ta.
 paint-PAS-pst-ind
 "The picture was painted by Chulsoo(i) in self's
 (i) study."

This shows that the agent is a P-final 1, and thus ci-passives should be given a multipredicate analysis.[8]

Now, to see if Korean allows long-distance case spread, we can look at clauses with both possessor ascension and ci-passive like (26a), represented in (26b).

- (26) a. Swuni-ka Yangswu-ey uyhay elkwul-i/*-ul
 S. -NOM Y. -by face-NOM/*-ACC
 kuli-eci-ess-ta.
 draw-PAS-pst-ind
 "Sooni's face was drawn by Yangsu."

b.



As seen in the representation in (26b), the possessor ascends to 2, placing the head en chomage, and then advances to 1 in the next P-sector. Although the final 1 and the 2-chomeur are not in the same P-sector, NOM case spreads from the former to the latter. Thus, Korean allows long-distance case spread.[9]

2.2.2 Korean Lexical Passives.

A second type of Korean passive, the so-called lexical passive (Youn 1985), shows a different array of cases, as seen by comparing (27) with (26): the 2-chomeur in (27) can be either NOM or ACC, while it can only be NOM in (26).

- (27) Swuni-ka Yangswu-ey uyhay son-i/ul
 S.- NOM Y. -by hand-NOM/ACC
 grab-LP-pst-ind
 cap-hi-ess-ta.
 "Soonil's hand was grabbed by Yangsu."

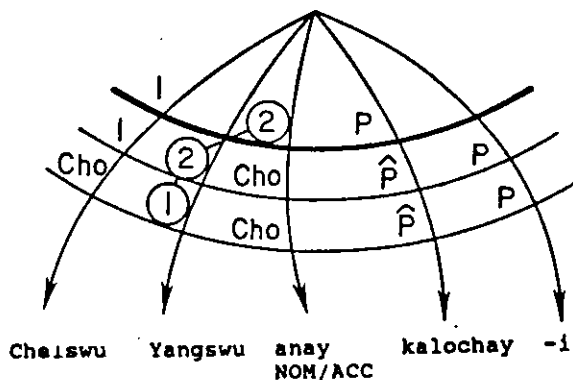
This raises another question for case theory: Why can 2-chomeurs sometimes get either NOM or ACC?

Lexical passives are adversity passives in the sense that they may initialize an affected nominal (for example, Yengswu in (28a)) that is not necessarily an argument of the inner P-sector (as (28b) shows).[10]

- (28) a. Yengswu-ka Chelswu-eykey anay-lul/ka
 Y. -NOM C. -DAT wife-ACC/NOM
 kalochay-i-ess-ta.
 steal-LP-pst-ind
 "Yengsu's wife was stolen by Chulsoo."
 b. Chelswu-ka Yengswu-lul anay-lul kalochay-ess-ta.
 C. -NOM Y. -ACC wife-ACC steal-pst- ind
 "Chulsoo stole Yengsu's wife."

From a relational viewpoint, adversity passives in Korean can be given the same analysis as that proposed by Dubinsky (1985) for Japanese adversity passives, and thus (28a) would be represented as in (29):

(29)



The inner predicate is transitive; anay is a P-final 2 that is overrun by the affectee Yangswu which arrives in the passive P-sector as a 2 and then advances to final 1. Since Korean has long-distance case spread and the head of the overrun chain in (29) is the final 1, we correctly expect NOM case on the 2-chomeur. However, 2-chomeur can also be marked ACC. To account for this, I propose the following revision in the licensing rule for ACC case in (6a):[11]

(30) ACC is licensed by a P-Final 2.

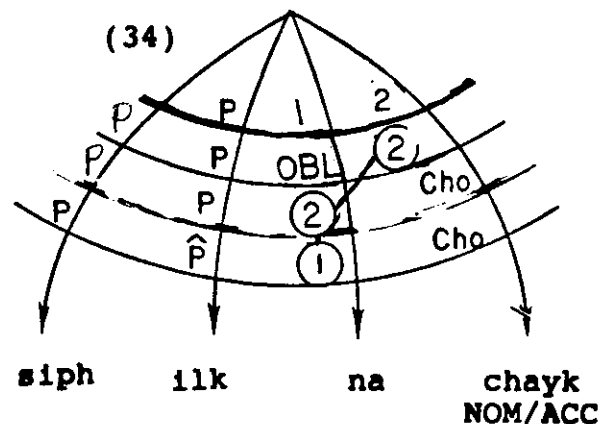
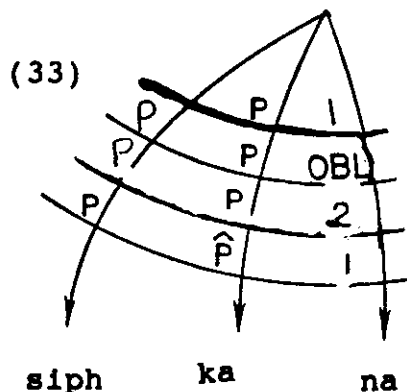
Under (30), ACC case is also expected on anay in (28a), since it is the final-2 of the inner P-sector. In comparison, we see that 2-chomeurs in plain passives, like (26), are not P-final 2s. Rather, the possessor ascends to be P-final 2. Thus, the 2-chomeur in (26) is not ACC but rather NOM via case spread.

2.2.3 Case Spread and Desideratives.

Desideratives formed with siph- provide another example of case spread in Korean. As discussed in Gerdts (1988b), such desideratives are multipredicate clauses (and thus are monoclausal in final structure). Furthermore, I claim that the P2 siph- is a psychological predicate. Thus, it initializes the experiencer, which must be linked to the P-final 1 of the inner P-sector, as an oblique.[12],[13] Thus, desideratives like (31) and (32) would be represented as in (33) and (34) respectively:

(31) Nay-ka ka-ko siph-ta.
 I -NOM go-cmp want-ind
 "I want to go."

(32) Nay-ka i chayk-i/-ul ilk-ko siph-ta.
 I-NOM det book-NOM/ACC read-cmp want-ind
 "I want to read this book."



As seen in (34), the initial 2 in (32) is a final 2-chomeur. As in the case of lexical passives above, the 2-chomeur can be marked either NOM or ACC.[14] NOM results from case spread; as seen in (34), the head of the overrun chain is a final 1 and thus can pass NOM case onto the chomeur. Also, chayk is the P-final 2 of the inner P-sector and thus ACC is licensed by rule (30).

2.2.4 Case and Duration/Frequency Adverbs.

A final example of case in multipredicate domains comes from data involving case marked duration and frequency adverbs (Yang 1972, Maling 1990, Kim 1990, Yang 1991). As Yang (1991) shows, duration and frequency adverbs can be marked NOM or ACC case. The case of the D/F adverb depends however, on the relational structure of the basic clause. If the clause is unergative or transitive, the D/F adverb is marked ACC, as (35) and (36) show:[15]

(35) unergative

- a. Chelswu-ka twupen-ul/*-i ka-ss-ta.
C. -NOM 2 times-ACC/*NOM go-pst-ind
"Chulsoo went two times."
- b. Chelswu-ka twu sikan tongan-ul/*i ca-ss-ta.
C. -NOM 2 hours for -ACC/*NOM sleep-pst-ind
"Chulsoo slept for two hours."
- c. Chelswu-ka twupen-ul/*i oych-yess-ta.
C. -NOM 2 times-ACC/*NOM yell-pst-ind
"Chulsoo yelled two times."

(36) transitive

- a. Chelswu-ka chayk-ul twupen-ul/*i ilk-ess-ta.
C. -NOM book-ACC 2 times-ACC/*NOM read-pst-ind
"Chulsoo read the book two times."
- b. Chelswu-ka thophwul-ul hansigan-ul/*i po-ass-ta.
C. -NOM TOEFL-ACC 1 hour-ACC/*NOM take-pst-ind
"Chulsoo took the TOEFL for one hour."
- c. Chelswu-ka Naiakara phokpho-lul twupen-ul/*-i
C. -NOM Niagara Falls 2 times-ACC/*-NOM
kwukyeng-ha-yess-ta.
sightsee-do-pst-ind
"Chulsoo saw Niagara Falls 2 times."

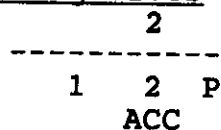
However, if the clause is unaccusative or passive, the D/F adverb can be marked NOM or (for some speakers) ACC, as (37) and (38) show:

- (37) unaccusative
- a. Cha-ka twupen-i/%ul memchu-ess-ta.
 car-NOM 2 times-NOM/%ACC stop-pst-ind
 "The car stalled two times."
- b. Mwun-i twupen-i/%ul yelli-yess-ta.
 door-NOM 2 times-NOM/%ACC open(pas)-pst-ind
 "The door opened two times."
- c. Pwul-i twu sikan tongan-i/%ul tha-ss-ta.
 fire-NOM 2 hour for -NOM/%ACC burn-pst-ind
 "The fire burned for two hours."

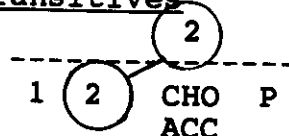
- (38) passive
- a. Uyca-ka twupen-i/%ul pwuse-ci-ess-ta.
 chair-NOM 2 times-NOM/%ACC break-PAS-pst-ind
 "The chair was broken two times."
- b. Ku chayk-i twupen-i/%ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 the book-NOM 2 times-NOM-%ACC read-LP-pst-ind
 "The book was read two times."
- c. Chelswu-ka twupen-i/%ul caphi-eci-ess-ta.
 C. -NOM 2 times-NOM/%ACC hold-PAS-pst-ind
 "Chulsoo was arrested two times."

I propose here a tentative analysis of D/F adverbs that accounts for this array of case marking. Following research by Gerdts (1989) and Rosen (1991) on serial verb constructions in various languages, I claim that case marked D/F adverbs in Korean are inner predicate nominals in multipredicate clauses. Nominals, as Rosen (1987) shows, are unaccusative clauses. The unaccusativity of the D/F adverbs, together with the universal principle of Inheritance in (15a) derives the following generalization concerning D/F adverbs. In unergative clauses (39a), where no 2 is initialized by the P-2 predicate, the D/F adverb can "fall through" to be a P-2 sector 2, but in transitive (39b), unaccusative (39c), and passive(39d) clauses, the P-2 predicate initializes a 2 of its own and thus the D/F adverb cannot inherit in the P-2 sector. (15b) stipulates that in the latter case, the D/F adverb will be placed en chomage.

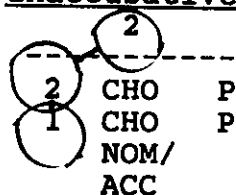
(39) a. unergatives



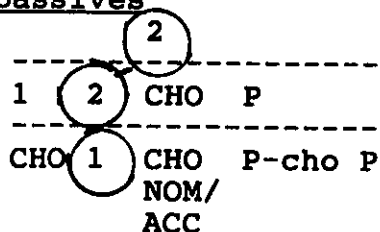
b. transitives



c. unaccusatives



d. passives



This analysis, together with the rules for case developed above, accounts for the case facts in (35)-(38) above. In (35), the D/F adverb is a final 2 (cf. 39a) and thus marked ACC. In (36), the D/F adverb, which is overrun by a nominal bearing a final 2 relation (cf. (39b), is ACC via case spread. In (37) and (38), the D/F adverb is NOM via case spread, since the nominal which heads the overrun chain is a final 1 (cf. (39c) and (39a) respectively). Furthermore, the D/F adverb in (35)-(38) is claimed to be the final 2 in the inner P-sector (see (39)). Thus, rule (30) can assign ACC case to this nominal. The effect of rule (30) can be seen in (37) and (38), where ACC case on the D/F adverb is possible (at least for some speakers).

3. CONCLUSION.

To summarize, case marking of 2-chomeurs in Korean can be accounted for by case spread under the condition of overrun. A variety of constructions with 2-chomeurs in Korean have been discussed, as summarized in Table I below. In a single predicate domain, case spread straightforwardly accounts for the case of the 2-chomeur; the final relation of the overrunning nominal determines the case of the 2-chomeur.

Case in multipredicate domains is more complicated. As data from adversity passives show, case spread is possible in a long-distance context. However, an alternative means for assigning case, (rule (30), which assigns ACC to P-final 2s, is also available in constructions like adversity passives, desideratives, and duration/frequency adverbs. In plain passives, where the 2-chomeur is never a P-final 2, only NOM via case spread is possible.

Thus we see that by means of two concepts of case assignment--case spread (via overrun) and P-final case, some recalcitrant data can be seen to be perfectly regular under the analyses proposed here. The relational concepts of overrun and multipredicate clause provide the basis for this treatment of Korean case.

	<u>CASE SPREAD</u>	<u>RULE 30</u>
<u>1 Predicate domains:</u>		
Locative/Psych Constructions	NOM	
Pos Ascension (transitive)	ACC	
Pos Ascension (unaccusative)	NOM	
3-2 Advancement	ACC	
<u>Multipredicate domains:</u>		
Plain Passive		
Pos Ascension + Passive	NOM	
Dative Passive	NOM	
Adversity Passive		
Pos Passive	NOM	/ACC
Desideratives	NOM	/ACC
Duration/Frequency Adverbs	NOM	/ACC

TABLE I: Case and 2-chomeurs Korean

NOTES.

*Previous versions of this talk have been given at Buffalo, Iowa, Ohio State, Rochester, Simon Fraser, Stanford, UC-Santa Cruz, and UC-San Diego. I thank the audiences there and at CLS for their comments. I especially thank Byung-Soo Park, Byong-seon Yang, And Cheong Youn for their comments on data, and Bill Davies, Stan Dubinsky, Charles Ulrich, and Annie Zaenen. I also thank Cathy Marlett for supplying most of the diagrams. No doubt there are remaining errors and misconceptions for which I take sole responsibility.

[1] For example, Belletti and Rizzi (1988) give this treatment within GB, and Yip et al. (1987) within "Case in Tiers".

[2] As proposed by Aissen (1987, 1990), agreement features can pass from one nominal to another under the condition of overrun.

[3] As Gerdts (to appear) shows, not all languages, however, use this means for case marking themes.

[4] Korean passives formed with toy 'become' parallel ci-passives in their case assignment and thus would be given a parallel analysis. See the appendix in Gerdts (1986) and Youn (1989) for data and discussion.

[5] Actually several other representations of (22a) are consistent with the discussion here. For example, the inner 1 and 2 could inherit in the ci P-sector and then the 2 could advance. Or the 1 could fail to

inherit in the ci P-sector ("spontaneous demotion"). I give a bistratal representation as in (22b) since it is the simplest multipredicate analysis available.

[6]Youn (1989) formulates antecedence of casin in terms of metastratal 1.

[7]The 1-chomeur antecedes the reflexive in (25), where the final 1 is inanimate and thus is not a potential antecedent. However, Youn (1989) gives data where the 1-chomeur apparently cannot be an antecedent:

- (i) Yengswu-ka Chelswu-ey uyhay casin-uy pang-ey
Y. NOM C. -by self-GEN room-DAT
katwu-eci-ess-ta.
lock-PAS-pst-ind
"Youngsoo(i) was locked by Chulsoo(j) in self's
(i/*j) room."

Thus, P-final 1-hood is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for reflexive antecedence.

[8]Although they are multipredicate clauses, ci-passives are not adversity passives, in that an "extra" argument (an "affectee") cannot be initialized in the ci P-sector. For example, (ia), which lacks a transitive counterpart (iib), is impossible.

- (47) a.*Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey kopyeng-i/ul
C. -NOM S.-DAT vase-NOM/ACC
kkay-ci-ess-ta.
break-PAS-pst-ind
"Chulsoo's vase was broken by Swuni."
b.*Swuni-ka Chelswu-lul kopyeng-ul kkay-ess-ta.
S. -NOM C. -ACC vase-ACC broke-pst-ind
"Soonie broke Chulsoo's vase."

[9]Dative passives like (12b), which should be reformulated as multipredicate clauses, also show long-distance case spread. The recipient advances 3-to-2 in the inner P-sector and then is initialized as a 1 in the ci P-sector.

[10]Some speakers allow (28b), while others (including Kim (1990)) do not. Although more research is required on case marking with verbs of deprivation, a possessor ascension analysis is not feasible for (28b) because the possessive phrase does not meet the semantic condition of inalienability (Youn 1989).

[11]This view on case assignment is quite similar to the approach adopted for Japanese by Kuno (1973) and for Korean by Kang (1986).

[12]Desideratives formed with siph- are inheritance desideratives, as Gerdtz (1988b) discusses.

The desiderative must link with the final 1 of the inner P-sector; no new arguments can be initialized as (*i) shows:

- (i) *Na-nun John-i/ul ka-ko siph-ta.
I-TOP J.-NOM/ACC go-cmp want-ind
("I want John to go.")

[13]DAT case is not allowed on the final 1 in Desideratives; this is because that nominal is not an initial oblique (i.e., an P-1 section initial oblique) and thus does not qualify for DAT under rule (6b).

[14]Japanese, as Kuno (1973) shows, also allows "objects" in desideratives to be marked either NOM or ACC:

- (i) Japanese (Kuno 1973)
Boku wa eiga ga/o mitai.
I TOP movie NOM/ACC see-want
"I am anxious to see movies."

[15]The data presented here come from Byong-seon Yang and Cheong Youn.

There is apparently a great deal of variation in speaker judgements on data involving case-marked adverbs, thus, for example, the judgements given in Maling (1990) and Kim (1990) do not always coincide.

D/F adverbs usually appear without S-Case; this may in part account for the "shakiness" of native speaker judgements on such data.

In addition, Byung-Soo Park has informed me that some speakers allow case on frequency adverbs (e.g. (35a) and (36a), but not on duration adverbs (e.g. (35b) and (36b)).

It is my impression that speakers agree about the case of D/F adverbs in unergative (35) and transitive clauses (36); i.e. ACC/*NOM is appropriate here. Great variation exists, however, in the case of D/F adverbs in unaccusative (37) and passive (38) clauses. Some speakers have told me they prefer NOM while others have told me they prefer ACC. As currently instantiated, my theory of Korean case allows either NOM or ACC to be assigned in such contexts. Perhaps the issue of speaker preferences can be handled by additional mechanism.

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