

CASE SPREAD IN MULTIPREDICATE DOMAINS

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1. A RELATIONAL THEORY OF CASE SPREAD.

Many languages of the world, e.g. Icelandic, Italian, Japanese, and Korean, have dative subjects. That is, the experiencer in certain psych constructions is in the dative case but nevertheless tests to be the final subject, as in (1)-(4).

Icelandic: (Zaenen et al. 1985, Yip et al. 1987, Cowper 1988)

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

Italian: (Perlmutter 1983, Belletti and Rizzi 1988)

- (2) Gli piacciono molte sinfonie di Mozart.
to-him like-3pl many symphonies of M.
"He likes many of Mozart's symphonies."

Japanese: (Kuno 1973, Perlmutter 1984)

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

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

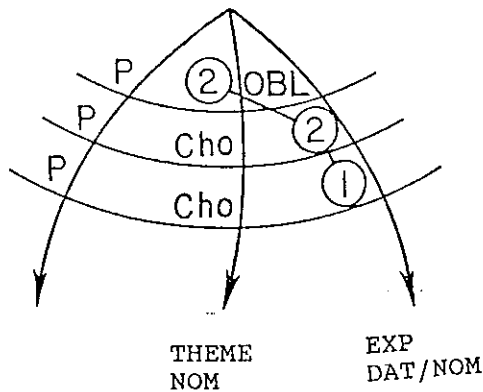
- (4) Chelswu-eykey/-ka Swuni-ka mopsi kuli-wess-ta.
C.-DAT/-NOM S. -NOM badly miss-pst-ind
"Chulsoo missed Soonie badly."

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 experiencer 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 for such psych constructions was given by Gerdts and Youn (1988). Basing our claims on Korean data, we proposed that the experiencer is an initial oblique (or in some languages perhaps a 3) which advances to final 1, as represented in (5).[2]

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(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 Japanese and Korean, the experiencer can appear in either NOM or DAT case and for some speakers of Korean, both DAT and NOM case can appear on the experiencer, a phenomena we refer to as case stacking [see also Gerdts 1988a].

1.1 Case Spread.

Psych 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 by 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), we propose that one nominal can spread its

ability to license case to another nominal under the condition of overrun. We give this as the Case Spread Law in (7).

(7) Case Spread Law: (Gerdts & 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 and agreement 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. Also, as proposed by Aissen (1987, 1990), agreement features can pass from one nominal to another under the condition of overrun. So, for example, the verb in the Italian example in (2) agrees with the person/number of the theme, which spreads its features to the final 1 experiencer along the overrun chain.

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 Gerdts (1990a)) for Korean, case spread

saves the clause by providing a mechanism for assigning case to the 2-chomeur.

1.2 The Case Spread Parameter.

Not all languages, however, use this means for case marking themes. In Kashmiri (Altaha 1985), for example, all initial objects in the present tense are assigned accusative (a.k.a. dative) via a rule of inherent case assignment. Thus, the theme of the psych construction in (10) and the subject of the passive in (11) take accusative case.[3]

- (10) lərk-əs če maštərbay-e xušhara:n
 boy-ACC aux.3fsg teacher.f-ACC liking
 "The boy likes the teacher (f)."
- (11) lərkəs aw wumčne me sindi zeryi
 boy-ACC aux.pst see-PAS me of by
 "The boy is seen by me."

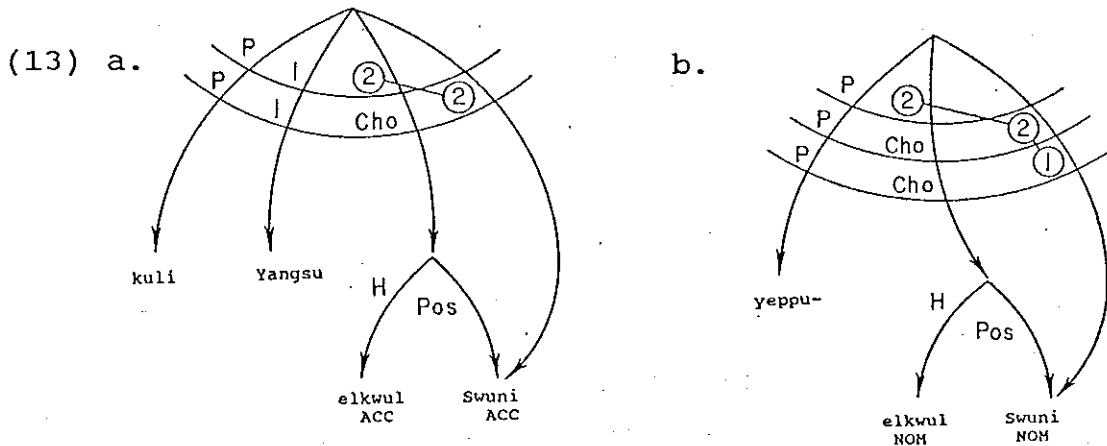
We see then that languages are parameterized as to whether they assign case via case spread or not.

1.3. More Case Spread.

This approach to case spread provides a solution to the problem of the case marking of 2-chomeurs in various constructions. 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 (12a), where the object of a transitive is the host, the head nominal is marked ACC, but in (12b), where the host is an unaccusative, it is marked NOM.

- (12) 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 (13a) and (13b) respectively.



As (13a) shows, the head of the overrun chain is a final 2, which spreads ACC case to the chomeur, but in (13b) the head is a final 1, and thus NOM case is spread to the chomeur.

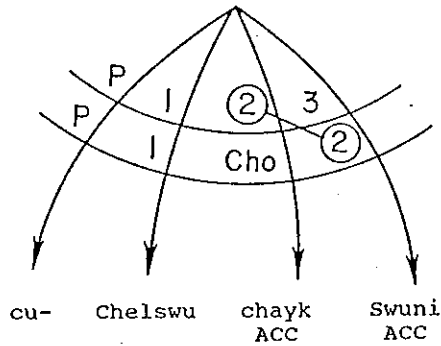
Japanese is another language in which 2-chomeurs are assigned case via case spread in possessor ascension constructions. Example (14) (Poser 1990), where the host is an object of a transitive, shows an ACC 2-chomeur, and (15) (Shūichi Yatabe, Yasunari Harada, Michio Isoda, p.c.), where the host is an unaccusative, shows a NOM 2-chomeur.

- (14) Taroo ga Hanako o kesa hara o sasita.
 T. NOM H. ACC this morning belly ACC stabbed.
 "Taroo stabbed Hanako in the belly this morning."
 (15) Tanaka sensei ga iro ga o-kuroi
 T. teacher NOM color NOM HON-black
 "Prof. Tanaka is dark-skinned"

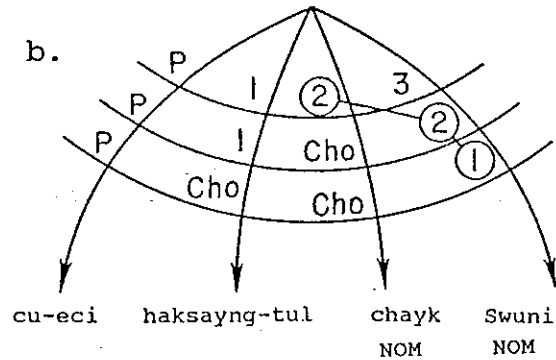
Data involving 3-2 advancement in Korean also demonstrate case spread to 2-chomeurs. (16a) involves 3-2 advancement (as in 17a) (Gerdts 1987, 1990a); (16b) involves 3-2 advancement and passive, represented tentatively as in (17b) (Gerdts and Youn 1988, Kang 1986):

- (16) 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."

(17)
a.



b.



The head of the overrun chain is a final 2 in (17a) and thus ACC is spread to the 2-chomeur, but it is a final 1 in (17b), thus NOM is spread to the 2-chomeur.

An additional case of a NOM theme in a dative passive can be seen in the Icelandic example in (18) (from Zaenen et al. 1985).

- (18) Konunginum voru gefnar ambáttir.
the-king(D) were given(f.pl.) maidservants(Nf.pl.)
"The king was given female slaves."

To summarize this brief review of case spread, we find that 2-chomeurs in languages 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.

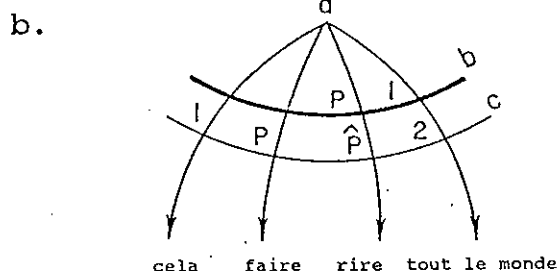
2. LONG-DISTANCE CASE SPREAD.

Now I turn to the central topic of this paper. 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 (19a) would be represented as in (19b).

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



A single node (a) is the tail for all arcs in (19b); thus, by definition, it represents a single clause. However, there are nonetheless two P(redicates) in (19): 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 (19a), 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 (20).

- (20) 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.

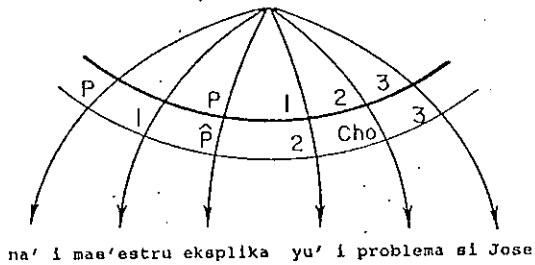
We can see the effect of (20) by contrasting the Chamorro causative in (21) with the Georgian causative in (22).

(21) Chamorro (Gibson and Raposo 1986)
 Ha na'-eksplika yu' i ma'estru nu i problema
 3sg CAUS-explain 1sg the teacher OBL the problem
 pära si Jose.
 to the J.
 "The teacher made me explain the problem to José."

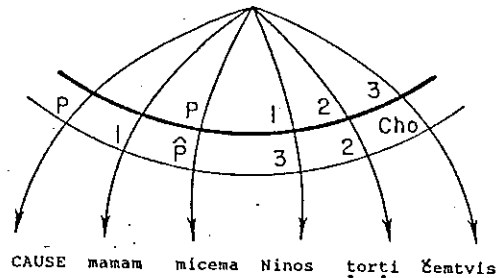
(22) Georgian (Harris 1981)
 Mamam Ninos miacemina
 father-ERG Nino-DAT he-caused-give=her=it=II-1
 țort'i čemtvis.
 cake-NOM me-for
 "Father made Nino give the cake to me."

In Chamorro, the inner 1 is revalued as a 2, hence the inner 2 problema fails to inherit in the causative 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 (23) and (24).

(23)



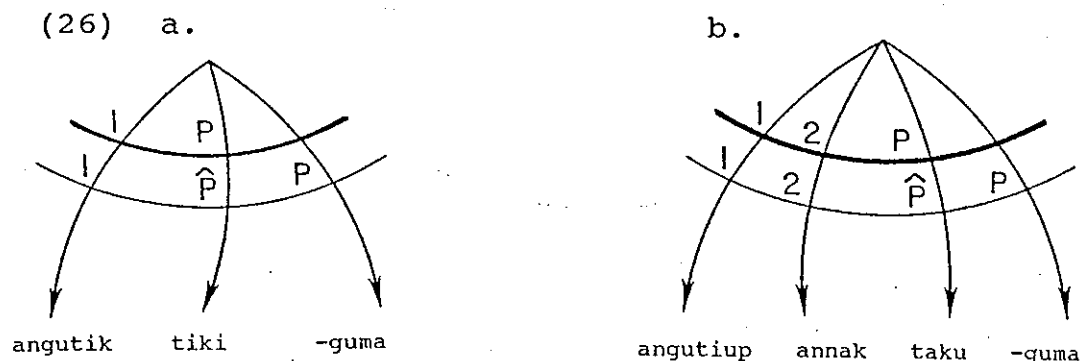
(24)



The effect of inheritance can also be seen in desideratives. Gerdts (1988b) gives desideratives --formerly treated as equi union constructions-- a monoclausal analysis involving total inheritance. As exemplified by the Eskimo examples in (25), 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 (26a) and one based on a transitive will be finally transitive as in (26b).

Labrador Inuttut (Smith 1982, Grimshaw and Mester 1985)

- (25) 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."



2.1. Psych Verbs and Desideratives.

Returning to the issue of case spread in multipredicate domains, I propose that Spanish shows that long-distance case spread is possible. First, Spanish has psych constructions (like (27)) where the experiencer--not the theme--tests to be a subject as shown by Gonzalez (1985); thus I assign them a representation as in (5).

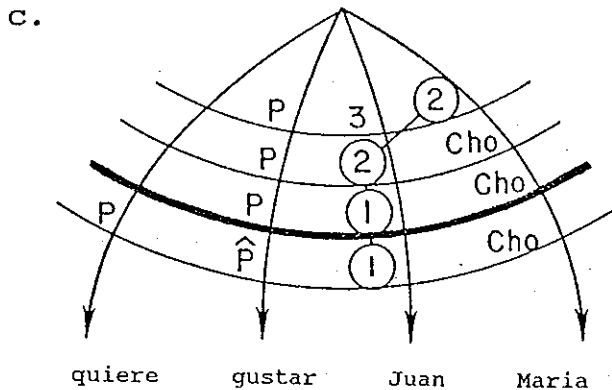
- (27) Al profesor le gustan las estudiantes.
 to the professor to him like-pl the students
 "The professor likes the students."

The theme in (27) is NOM due to local case spread. Second, Spanish "equi-union" constructions (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983) like (28), which, when cast into an analysis involving multipredicate clauses, would be assigned the same structure as the one for Eskimo given in (26b) above.

- (28) a. Juan quiere comer las manzanas.
 "Juan wants to eat the apples."
 b. Juan las quiere comer.
 "Juan wants to eat them."

Finally, according to Gonzalez (1985, 1990) some speakers of (Chilean) Spanish, allow a psych construction like (27) to combine with an equi union construction like (28) resulting in clauses like (29a) and (29b), which I would represent as in (29c). [4]

- (29) a. A Juan le quieren gustar las matemáticas.
 to Juan him want-PL to like the math-PL
 "Juan wants to like math."
 b. A Juan le quiere gustar (*a) Maria.
 to J. to him want-3 like (to) M.
 "Juan wants to like Maria."



As seen in (29b), the theme is NOM, not ACC. Thus case spreads in Spanish even when the overrun chain involves more than one P-sector.

However, parallel data from Kannada (Anilkumar Belvadi p.c.), show that long-distance case spread is not possible in all languages. Local case spread is exhibited in the psych construction in (30), but when this construction is in an equi context (31), case does not spread, as seen in (32).[5]

(30) avaL-ige uttara-gaLu gottaad-avu
 she-DAT answer-plur.NOM learn.past-3pl. neut
 "She learned the answers."

(31) avanu koppa-kke varga-vaag-alu
 he.NOM Koppa-DAT transfer-happen-inf
 iShTapaD-uvud-illa.
 want-pres-not

"He doesn't wish to be transferred to Koppa."

(32) Candra-nige uttara-gaLannu/*-gaLu gottaag-alu
 C.-DAT answer-pl.ACC/*-pl.NOM learn-ing
 iShTa-villa.
 want-not

"Chandra doesn't want to learn the answers."

We see then that long-distance case spread is possible in Spanish but not in Kannada.

3. CASE SPREAD IN JAPANESE VS. KOREAN.

The last section of this paper deals with long-distance case spread in Korean and Japanese. I will claim that Korean is like Spanish in that it allows long-distance case spread, but Japanese, like Kannada, does not. This claim accounts for several differences in the way that 2-chomeurs are assigned

case in Japanese and Korean. Since both Japanese and Korean have local case spread, the data we have seen so far are quite parallel. However, the case of the 2-chomeur in multipredicate domains is very different in the two languages, a fact that follows from the long-distance case spread parameter.

3.1. Japanese Adversity Passives.

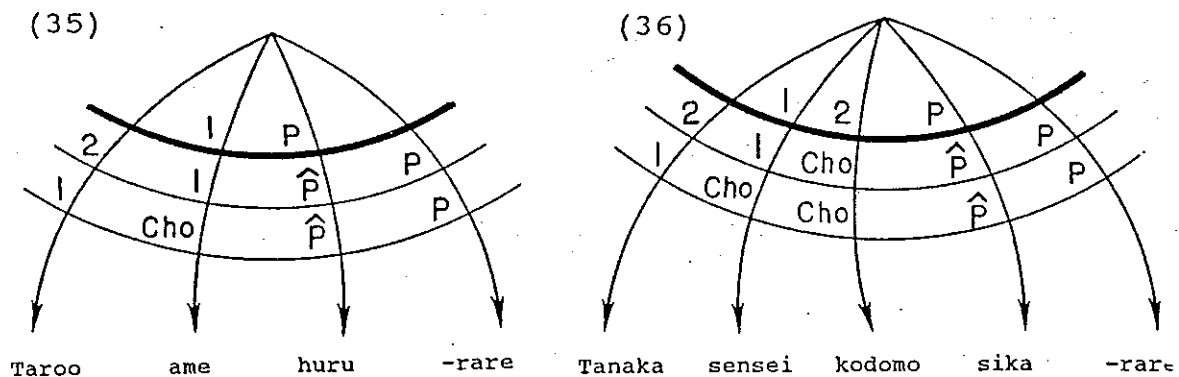
Dubinsky (1985) gives a multipredicate clause analysis of adversity passives like (33a) and (34a), as represented in (35) and (36).

(33) Taroo ga ame ni hurareta.
 T. NOM rain DAT fall-PAS-prf
 "Taro was fallen by rain."

(34) a. Tanaka san ga sensei ni kodomo o/*ga
 T. NOM teacher DAT child ACC/*NOM
 sikar-are-ta.
 scold-PAS-pst
 "(LIT.) Tanaka was scolded his child by the teacher."

b. Sensei ga (Tanaka san no) kodomo o sikat-ta.
 teacher NOM T. GEN child ACC scold-pst
 "The teacher scolded (Tanaka's) child."

c. *Sensei ga Tanaka san o kodomo o sikat-ta.
 teacher NOM T. ACC child ACC scold-pst
 "The teacher scolded Tanaka's child."



For example, in (35) he claims that the inner predicate "fall" has a subject nominal "rain". The passive -rare arrives in the 2nd P-sector, bringing with it the affected nominal Taroo which it initializes as a 2. Taroo obligatorily advances to 1 in the last stratum. In (36), the inner predicate is transitive, "teacher scolded child". When the affected nominal Tanaka is brought in as a 2 in the next P-Sector, it overruns the

2 of the inner predicate kodomo. Tanaka advances to final 1, thus the overrun chain links the 2-chomeur to the final 1. However, the 2-chomeur appears in ACC not NOM case, as the data in (36) show. This follows from the claim that Japanese does not have long-distance case spread.

Dubinsky also treats passives like (37c), which appear to be dative passives (Kuno 1973), since a DAT (37a) but not an ACC counterpart (*37b) exists for such a passive, as multipredicate clauses.

- (37) a. John ga Mary ni kunsyoo o atae-ta.
J. NOM M. DAT medal ACC give-pst
"John gave a medal to Mary."
b. *John ga Mary o kunsyoo o atae-ta.
J. NOM M. ACC medal ACC give-pst
"John gave Mary a medal."
c. Mary ga John ni kunsyoo o/*ga atae-rare-ta.
M. NOM J. DAT ACC/*NOM give-PAS-pst
"Mary was given a medal by John."

Evidence for this claim comes from the interpretation of reflexives in passives. As often noted, reflexives in plain passives (like (38)), which under Dubinsky's analysis are monoclausal, allow only one antecedent, the final 1.

- (38) Mary wa John ni zibun no uti de korosareta.
M. TOP J. DAT self GEN home LOC kill-PAS-prf
"Mary(i) was killed by John(j) in self's (i/*j) home."

However, reflexives in adversity passives (like (39)) allow either the agent or the final 1 as antecedents.

- (39) Taroo wa titi ni zibun no uti de sinareta.
T. TOP father DAT self GET home LOC die-PAS-prf
"Taro(i) was died by [his] father(j) in self's (i,j) home."

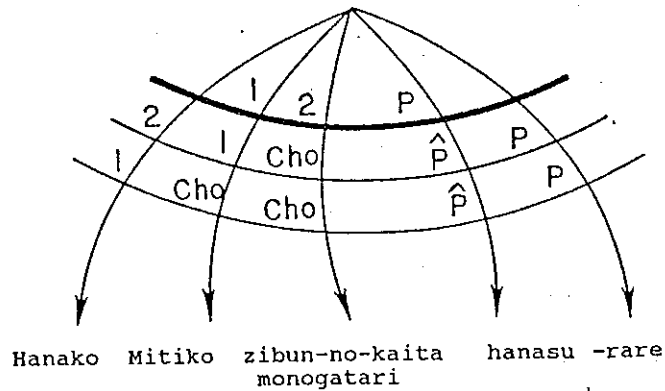
Dubinsky captures this fact in condition (40a).[6]

- (40) Reflexive Antecedence Condition:
The antecedent of a reflexive must minimally be:
a. a P-final 1 or
b. semantically, an experiencer or causee.

Dubinsky claims that passives like (41a), where the recipient is the subject, are multipredicate clauses, since the reflexive is ambiguously anteceded; he gives them the representation in (41b).

- (41) a. Hanako wa Mitiko ni zibun no kaita
 H. TOP M. DAT self GEN write-prf
 monogatari o hanasareta.
 story ACC
 tell-PAS-prf
 "Hanako(i) was told a story by Mitiko(j) that
 she (i,j) wrote herself."

b.



Under this analysis, the inner 2 is placed on chomage by the arrival of the affectee Hanako, which then advances to final 1. Case, however, is not spread along this overrun chain. The theme is marked ACC rather than NOM, as would be expected under case spread.

We see, then, that Japanese lacks long-distance case spread, as stated in (42).

- (42) Japanese: Case spread is blocked if the overrun chain involves more than one P-sector.

The question arises: how do the 2-chomeurs in Japanese adversity passives get ACC case? I propose it is not final 2-hood but rather P-final 2-hood that licenses ACC case in Japanese:

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

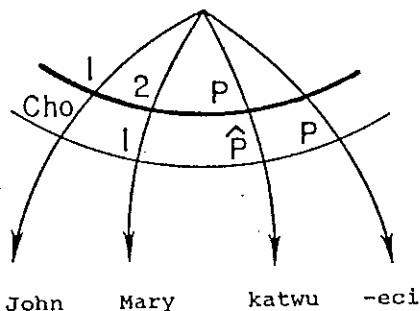
This is the RG equivalent of saying that each verb in a multi-predicate clause has case assigning privileges, an analysis proposed by Kuno (1973) for complex structures in Japanese and developed for Korean by Kang (1986). The 2-chomeurs in (34a), (37a), and (41a) license case in the domain of the inner P-sector where they are, in fact, final 2s.

3.2. Korean Plain Passives.

Turning now to Korean, data from plain passives (that is, passives formed with the auxiliary ci "become") provide evidence that Korean, unlike Japanese, allows long-distance case spread.[7] I give passives like (44a) a multipredicate representation as in (44b); Mary, the final 1 of the ci-passive corresponds to the inner 2.[8]

- (44) 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."

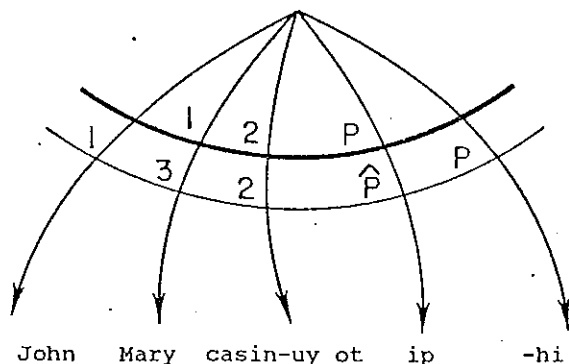
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Evidence that passives like (44a) are multipredicate clauses comes from reflexives. I propose that the Korean reflexive casin, like Japanese zibun, can be anteceded by a P-final 1 (Rule 40a).[9] Data involving morphological causatives (Yang 1974) provide support for this claim. If we analyze the causative in (45a) as a multipredicate clause (45b), we see that either P-final 1 can antecede the reflexive.

- (45) 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 (46) can likewise antecede a reflexive.

- (46) Ku kulim-i Chelswu-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. [10]

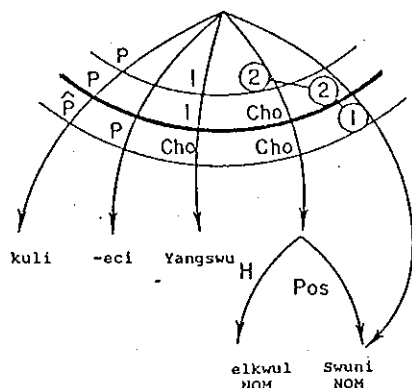
Although they are multipredicate clauses, ci-passives are not adversity passives, in that an "extra" argument (an "affectee") cannot be initialized in the ci P-sector. For example, (47a), which lacks a transitive counterpart (47b), is impossible.

- (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
 "Sooni broke Chulsoo's vase."

Now, to see if Korean allows long-distance case spread, we can look at clauses with both possessor ascension and ci-passive like (48a), represented in (48b).

- (48) 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 (48b), 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, unlike Japanese, allows long-distance case spread. [11]

3.3. 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 (49) with (48): the 2-chomeur in (49) can be either NOM or ACC, while it can only be NOM in (48).

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

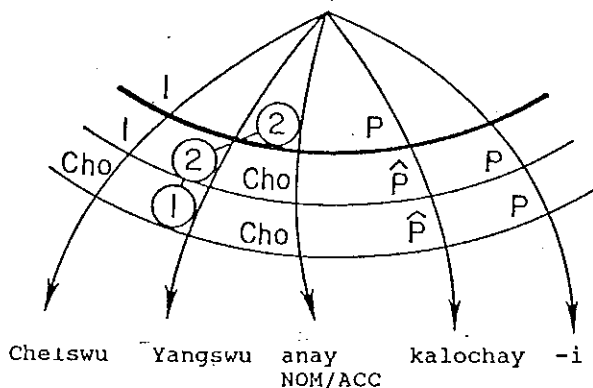
This raises another question for case theory: Why do 2-chomeurs sometimes get either NOM or ACC?

Lexical passives are adversity passives in the sense that they may initialize an affected nominal (for example, Yengswu in (50a)) that is not necessarily an argument of the inner P-sector (as (50b) shows). [12]

- (50) 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."

Such passives should be given the same analysis as Japanese adversity passives, and thus (50a) would be represented as in (51):

(51)



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 and then advances to final 1. Since Korean has long-distance case spread and the head of the overrun chain in (51) is the final 1, we correctly expect NOM case on the 2-chomeur. However, assuming that Korean ACC case is licensed by P-final 2s (that is, rule (43)), then ACC case is also expected on anay in (50a), since it is the final-2 of the inner P-sector. In comparison, we see that 2-chomeurs in plain passives, like (48), are not P-final 2s. Rather, the possessor ascends to be P-final 2. Thus, the 2-chomeur in (48) is not ACC but rather NOM via case spread.

4. CONCLUSION.

To summarize, case marking of 2-chomeurs in some languages can be accounted for by case spread under the condition of overrun. These languages include: Icelandic, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Kannada, and Spanish. Other languages, like Kashmiri, do not have case spread. Furthermore, some languages, such as Spanish and Korean, have long-distance case spread. Case spread is optional in Korean but apparently obligatory in Spanish. Other languages--e.g. Japanese and Kannada--do not have long-distance case spread.

A variety of constructions with 2-chomeurs in Japanese and Korean have been discussed, as summarized in Table I below. We see a parallelism in the case of 2-chomeurs in single predicate domains, since both Japanese and Korean have local case spread. The

2-chomeur is NOM when the head of the overrun chain is a final 1 and ACC when it is a final 2. Long-distance case spread is blocked in Japanese, however, so NOM case is unavailable to 2-chomeurs in this context. In Korean, which does have long-distance case spread, NOM is possible on 2-chomeurs in multipredicate clauses. Both Japanese and Korean allow P-final 2s to be marked ACC (rule (43)). This is the only option available to 2-chomeurs in multipredicate domains in Japanese, while two options (NOM via case spread or ACC by rule (43)) are available for such nominals in Korean.[13]

	<u>JAPANESE</u>	<u>KOREAN</u>
<u>1 Predicate domains:</u>		
Psych Constructions	NOM	NOM
Pos Ascension (transitive)	ACC	ACC
Pos Ascension (unaccusative)	NOM	NOM
3-2 Advancement	---	ACC

<u>Multipredicate domains:</u>		
Adversity Passive		
Pos Passive	ACC	NOM/ACC
Dative Passive	ACC	-----
Plain Passive		
Pos Ascension + Passive		NOM
Dative Passive	---	NOM

TABLE I: Case and 2-chomeurs in Japanese and Korean

NOTES.

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

[2]For the Italian and Japanese structures above,

Perlmutter (1983, 1984) posits an analysis involving impersonal inversion. The clauses are initially transitive. The experiencer is the initial 1 and retreats to 3. A dummy enters as a 2 and advances to final 1. See Gerdts and Youn (1988) for a comparison of the impersonal inversion analysis and the advancement analysis represented in (5).

[3]Although Kashmiri does not exhibit case spread, it does have surrogate agreement. The verb in (10) agrees according to the features of the overrun nominal.

[4]Gonzalez (1985) gives clauses like (27) an impersonal inversion analysis. Clauses like (29), she claims, involve equi clause union and then upstairs impersonal inversion. Thus, the inversion feature of the complement verb is transferred to the matrix verb. Gerdts (1988b) gives an alternative account of this construction. However, recasting the analysis as in (29c) avoids the complications of Gonzalez (1990) and Gerdts (1988b). The desiderative semantically links to the P-final 1 of the inner P-sector, as expected in most theories' treatments of "equi" control.

Note that the rule assigning inherent case to the experiencer in (27) also does so in (29). In both clauses, the experiencer is an initial OBL or 3.

[5]See the references in Dryer (1982) for the various works by Sridhar discussing Kannada Dative Subjects. Following Sridhar, Dryer concludes that the experiencer is a subject in all respects except that it cannot be an equi victim. However, in considering this issue, he gives only ungrammatical data like (32) where the theme is NOM and apparently does not recognize the fact that the data is grammatical if the theme is ACC.

The present discussion of Kannada is incomplete in two respects. First, it must be argued that clauses like (31) and (32) are monoclausal. Second, the predicate iShTa itself allows Dative Subjects--the subject in (31) could alternatively be DAT--greatly complicating the structure in for (31) and (32).

[6]Part b. is irrelevant to the discussion here. However, Dubinsky, who treats dative subject psych constructions [see (3)] as impersonal inversion (following Perlmutter (1984)), must make special reference to experiencers in (40b). Note that under an advancement analysis of such psych constructions, as in (5), the experiencer is a P-final 1 and thus is covered by the general rule in (40a).

[7]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.

[8]Actually several other representations of (44a) 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 (44b) since it is the simplest multipredicate analysis available.

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

[10]The 1-chomeur antecedes the reflexive in (46), 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.

[11]Dative passives like (16b), 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.

[12]Some speakers allow (50b), 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 (50b) because the possessive phrase does not meet the semantic condition of inalienability (Youn 1989).

[13]Since some constructions are unattested in Japanese or in Korean, there are some gaps in Table I. For example, if we accept Dubinsky's arguments, there are only adversity and not plain dative passives in Japanese. Furthermore, Dubinsky claims that plain passives are not multipredicate clauses in Japanese. In Korean, the lexical passive never takes the recipient as its final subject.

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