

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.



University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9129687

**Multiple accusative constructions in Korean and the Stratal
Uniqueness Law**

Lee, Keon Soo, Ph.D.

University of Hawaii, 1991

U·M·I

**300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106**

100

MULTIPLE ACCUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN KOREAN
AND
THE STRATAL UNIQUENESS LAW

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

LINGUISTICS

MAY 1991

By

Keon Soo Lee

Dissertation Committee:

Gregory Lee, Chairperson
John H. Haig
Patricia A. Lee
Ho-min Sohn
Marshall R. Pihl

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was the greatest and most precious experience in my life to realize that I could not have written this thesis without help from many other people. It is, however, very regretful that space does not allow me to list all the persons who helped me in a wide variety of ways.

My first and foremost thanks go to the members of my thesis committee, in particular, Dr. Gregory Lee, my advisor. This thesis would not have been developed without his encouragement, keen insights, sincere guidance, and invaluable comments on numerous drafts. In a word, he knew what I needed and what I should do in writing this thesis. Dr. John Haig helped me time and again with his rich and deep knowledge of Japanese Linguistics. Dr. Ho-min Sohn with his insightful comments and rich data helped me to write this thesis while at the same time leading me to a deeper understanding of Korean Syntax. Dr. Patricia Lee and Marshal Pihl encouraged me constantly in many ways. They read the earlier draft of this thesis, commented on it, and gave me many suggestions helpful to my writing of this thesis.

I was fortunate to have Dr. Geanne Gibson as my academic advisor until she left Hawaii and also Dr. William O'Grady while he was here as a visiting professor at UH. Geanne Gibson introduced me to Relational Grammar and contributed to the completion of the earliest version of Chapter 2 of this thesis. Her clear thought and warm-hearted guidance were of invaluable help when I was a novice perplexed with Linguistics. William O'Grady taught me much about Syntax and was especially suggestive in providing me a wonderful question for my comprehensive

examination which allowed me to considerably extend the idea of Chapter 2. Discussions with him were always a great pleasure and provided me with a better understanding of Syntax and Korean Syntax.

I owe my deepest gratitude to Dr. Yeong-Il Kong and Byung-Soo Park of Kyung Hee University, who first led me to the study of Linguistics and never forgot to send me their warm-hearted encouragement.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Byron W. Bender who helped me to complete my graduate study by providing me a teaching assistantship for the last five years. And I owe a special debt to Professor Dong Jae Lee for his help and constant spiritual support.

Numerous colleagues at the UH linguistics department have contributed to the completion of this thesis as well as of my graduate work in various ways: Philip Bralich, Hsun-Huei Chang, Sungdai Cho, Young-Seok Choi, Mi-Ho Choo, Gigi Glover, Hy-Sook and Weon-Don Jeong, Gyung-Ran Kim, Haeyeon Kim, Jay Kim, Duk-Soo Park, Say-Hyon Park, Yutaka Sato, Sung-Ock Shin, Takako Unetani, Seok-Hoon You, and Sung Kyu Youn. Quite a few other friends at the UH campus and off-campus helped me to study and to survive in their own ways: Byung Mok Choi, Jin Wol, Hyun Woo Kim, Hi Wan Lee, Yong Joo Kim, Moon-su Shin, Korean School teachers.

Finally, I would like to express my sincere gratitude and best wishes to my family: to my mother for her never ceasing prayers; to my daughter and son, Jeong Hyun and Jeong Min, for their having waited for me for a long time; to my wife, Yeon Wook Sohn, for her having taken care of my mother and two kids as well as for her constant financial and moral support. Without their love and sacrifice, I could not have even dreamt a dream of studying abroad leaving my family in Seoul.

ABSTRACT

The Stratal Uniqueness Law in RG specifies that across languages no simplex clause can contain more than one nominal bearing the same term relation such as subject or direct object. However, Korean frequently allows what seem to be multiply case-marked simplex clauses. If Korean really does allow multiple case-marking within simplex clauses, it casts a doubt on the universal validity of the Stratal Uniqueness Law. This thesis primarily concerns the validity of the Stratal Uniqueness Law in connection with apparent double object constructions in Korean.

Of the apparent double object constructions, the one formed by the conspiracy of the so-called Sino-Korean action noun with the verb *ha* has been least readily explicated. It has been analyzed as a simplex clause under the assumption that the Sino-Korean words appearing in the construction are nouns. However, this thesis takes the view that those Sino-Korean words are verbs and claims that this construction has a biclausal structure resulting from the interaction of *ha*'s clausal complementation feature with the morphological characteristic of Chinese verbs. Consequently, this thesis argues that the so-called double object construction does not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law, though it includes two accusative constituents within an apparent simplex clause.

Chapter 1 discusses the pretheoretical assumption in linguistic analysis and delivers a theoretical background of RG.

Chapter 2 proposes a Biclausal Analysis and argues against the mono-clausal analyses of the construction.

Chapters 3 and 4 argue that syntactic causative constructions and the psychological predicate construction are also biclausal due to the clausal complementation feature of *ha*, demonstrating that they share identical phenomena with the so-called double object construction in terms of morphological and syntactic facts.

Chapter 5 argues that other seeming double object constructions that are attributable to dative advancement, lexical causation, or possessor ascension are mono-clausal and shows that the two accusative constituents in those constructions exhibit different syntactic behavior from the second accusative constituent of the so-called double object construction, which is an embedded verb.

Chapter 6 discusses the theoretical implications and residual problems of the proposed analysis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	
1.1 Pretheoretical Assumption	1
1.2 Contexts, Motivations, Objectives, Scope	3
1.3 Overview of Theoretical Framework	18
1.3.1 Basic Concepts and Syntactic Representations	18
1.3.2 Well-Formedness Conditions of Relational Networks	23
1.3.2.1 Relational Valences	23
1.3.2.2 Some Proposed Universal Laws	25
1.3.3 Rule Types	34
1.3.3.1 Revaluation	35
1.3.3.2 Ascension	36
1.3.3.3 Clause Union	38
1.4 Preliminaries	40
1.4.1 General Properties of Direct Object in Korean	40
1.4.2 Types of Multiple Accusative Constructions	45
Formalized Laws in Relational Grammar	47
Notes to Chapter 1	49
CHAPTER 2 THE SO-CALLED DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION	
2.1 Introduction	53
2.2 The So-called Double Object Construction	54
2.2.1 Controversies in Previous Studies	55
2.2.2 Raising Issues through the RG Framework	57
2.2.3 Proposal: Biclausal Analysis	63
2.3 Against Monoclausal Analyses	68
2.3.1 Stem Split Analysis	69
2.3.2 Main Predicate Analysis	74
2.3.3 VP Restructuring Analysis	77
2.3.4 Ascension Analysis	84
2.3.5 Categorical Grammar Analysis	97

2.4	Justification of Biclausal Structure	103
2.4.1	Verbal Properties of Second Accusative Constituent	103
2.4.1.1	Modifier Insertion	104
2.4.1.2	Restriction of Negation Words	109
2.4.1.3	Parallel Construction: Pure Korean Verbs	112
2.4.2	Null Complementizer in Korean	116
2.5	Supporting Arguments for the Biclausal Analysis	120
2.5.1	Overall Accountability	120
2.5.2	Case Marking in the Corresponding Passive Clause	121
2.5.3	Word Order Restriction	126
2.5.4	Parallelism in Pure Korean Verb Construction	130
2.6	Against Possible Monoclausal Analyses	132
2.6.1	Davies and Rosen's Analysis	133
2.6.2	Dubinsky's Analysis of the Japanese Verb <i>Suru</i>	136
2.7	Concluding Remarks	139

Notes to Chapter 2	141
--------------------------	-----

CHAPTER 3 SYNTACTIC CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1	Introduction	151
3.2	Causative Constructions in Korean	152
3.2.1	Types of Causative Constructions	153
3.2.2	Syntactic Causatives and Lexical Causatives	156
3.2.3	Scope of Discussion	162
3.3	Biclausal Structure	162
3.4	Against Monoclausal Analyses	163
3.4.1	Gerdt's Clause Union Analysis	164
3.4.2	Dubinsky's Clause Union Analysis	170
3.5	Biclausal Analysis	178
3.6	Supporting Arguments for the Biclausal Analysis	183
3.6.1	Biclausality	183
3.6.1.1	Passivization	183
3.6.1.2	Time Adverbs Insertion	185
3.6.1.3	Negation Words Insertion	186
3.6.1.4	Verb Compounding	188
3.6.2	Subject-hood of Pivot Nominal	190
3.6.2.1	Subject Honorification	191
3.6.2.2	Reflexivization	195
3.7	Comparison to the <i>Ha-ta</i> Pattern	197
3.8	Case Marking Rule: Markedness vs. Unmarkedness	204
3.9	Concluding Remarks	205

Notes to Chapter 3	207
--------------------------	-----

CHAPTER 4 PSYCHOLOGICAL PREDICATE CONSTRUCTION

4.1	Introduction	211
4.2	Some Relevant Phenomena	212
4.3	Previous Treatments	217
4.4	Biclausal Analysis	227
4.4.1	Biclausal Structure	227
4.4.2	Supporting Arguments	235
4.4.2.1	Negation Word Insertion	235
4.4.2.2	Passivization	237
4.4.3	Potential Problems	239
4.5	Comparison to the <i>Ha-ta</i> Pattern	246
4.6	Concluding Remarks	249
	Notes to Chapter 4	251

CHAPTER 5 OTHER MULTIPLE ACCUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

5.1	Introduction	256
5.2	3-to-2 Advancement Constructions	257
5.2.1	Dative Construction	258
5.2.2	Lexical Causative Construction	260
5.2.3	Comparison to the <i>Ha-ta</i> Pattern	268
5.3	Ascension Constructions	275
5.3.1	Possessor Ascension Construction	276
5.3.2	Comparison to the <i>Ha-ta</i> Pattern	278
5.4	Concluding Remarks	285
	Notes to Chapter 5	287

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

	Notes to Chapter 6	301
--	--------------------------	-----

	REFERENCES	302
--	------------------	-----

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Accusative Marker
CAUS	Causative Morpheme
COMP	Complementizer
DAT	Dative Marker
G	Genitive Marker
H	Honorific Marker
HD	Head
IMP	Imperfective Marker
MOD	Modifier
N	Nominative Marker
NM	Nominalizer
P	Predicate
PASS	Passive Morpheme
PAST	Past Tense Marker
PL	Plural Marker
POS	Possessor
PRES	Present Tense Marker
PRF	Perfective
PRG	Progressive Morpheme
Q	Question Marker
RC	Relative Clause
SE	Sentence Ender
T	Topic Marker
VLZ	Verbalizer

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 Pretheoretical Assumption

Linguistics is the study of language. One of the goals in the study of language is to develop a theory of language. In attempting a theory of language, the first step is to formulate detailed descriptions of particular languages (Radford 1981:2, 1988:2). This is the study of particular grammars. The second step is to abstract from particular grammars universal properties which they all share in common (Radford 1981:2, 1988:2). This is the study of universal grammar. Accordingly, the theory of language ultimately aims at constructing the universal grammar of language which is the collection of universal properties across languages. Therefore, developing universal grammar (i.e., the search for linguistic universals) must rely upon the study of particular grammars because universal properties may be abstracted only from the outputs of the study of particular languages. In this regard, the study of particular grammars is enormously emphasized.

On the other hand, many theoretical frameworks have been proposed, on different assumptions and from different perspectives, as the models searching for such linguistic universals. More narrowly, Government and Binding theory (GB), Lexical Functional Grammar framework, Relational Grammar framework (RG), and others are the proposed theoretical devices

to search for universal properties in terms of sentence structures and to account for those suggested or found universal properties on the basis of their own theoretical assumptions. Non-technically speaking, it might be suggested that constructing the universal grammar (regardless of framework) should be empirical and inductive. An ideal universal grammar might be possible only after all the languages (whether existing or extinct) are thoroughly studied. However, it seems not realistically possible to study all the languages. Rather, the theories for universal grammar have been, in actuality, proposed on the basis of a particular language (largely, English) or a small group of languages.

Accordingly, the study of a particular grammar has been, willy-nilly, devoted to clarifying whether suggested universals work the same way in a particular language or languages. In other words, if some phenomena (i.e., principles, rules, or laws) had been suggested as universals (within a certain framework), linguists working on a particular language have devoted themselves to clarifying whether or not they work the same way in that language. If the suggested universals work differently in the given particular language, parameters, constraints, conditions, or other devices have been proposed to account for the differences. This has been the way that the study of a particular grammar is practiced in modern linguistics.

However, it should be born in mind that the thorough examination and analysis of the given particular language should precede the comparison of the particular language to the languages from which the universal properties have been abstracted. This is because some

peculiarities may exist in particular languages due to language specific structural characteristics or other linguistic facts such as massive borrowings (from a language belonging to a totally different language family group as in the case of Korean). Strictly speaking, no study of universal properties in particular languages is appropriate unless peculiarities are clarified and factored out from the particular languages under study before suggested universals are compared with. In this sense, it will never go too far to repeatedly emphasize the importance of the study of a particular language and its own characteristics which may conceal the universal properties shared by the given particular language.

1.2 Contexts, Motivations, Objectives, Scope

Case markers in Korean have been traditionally assumed to encode grammatical relations (GR), grammatical functions in traditional terms, which the nominals with those markers bear. Accordingly, nominative markers *-i/-ka* and accusative markers *-ul/-lul* have been respectively considered to represent the GR of subject and direct object. In this sense, these case markers have been called subject markers and object markers in many studies. One of the natural consequences of this assumption is the claim that double object (*mutatis mutandis* double subject) constructions exist in Korean. This claim follows from the fact that Korean actually allows more than one constituents to be accusatively marked within the (seemingly) simplex clause although there is a strong tendency (codified in the Stratal Uniqueness Law)¹ to

prohibit simplex clauses (precisely, a single stratum in RG terms) from containing more than one nominal bearing an identical GR across languages.

What makes situations interesting with respect to the appearance of multiple accusative markers is that so-called Sino-Korean action nouns make a somewhat intriguing construction by combining with the pure Korean verb *ha* which roughly means 'do' in English. Numerous lexical items borrowed from Chinese have been used in Korean. As is well known, Chinese is typologically an isolating language which has no morphological distinction, especially between verbs and their nominal forms, whereas Korean is an agglutinating language which allows rich verbal morphologies. Among borrowed Chinese words are so-called action nouns such as *kongpwu*² 'study', *phakoy* 'destruction', *yencwu* 'play', *palkyen* 'discovery', and many others which productively combine with the verb *ha* to form corresponding verbs³. Thus, *kongpwu-ha* 'study', *phakoy-ha* 'destroy', *yencwu-ha* 'play', *palkyen-ha* 'discover', and many others are generally treated as verbs whereas the corresponding members without *ha* are treated as nouns (or nominals).

The words exemplified above, at first glance, seem to behave as other pure Korean verbs in terms of conjugations. That is, they follow the same paradigm that pure Korean verbs exhibit. Specifically, conjugational affixes (whether inflectional or derivational) are attached to the sequence of Sino-Korean noun and *ha* just as those affixes are attached to the stems of pure Korean verbs. Below are some examples of both cases:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------|----|---------------|-----------------|
| (1) | a. | kongpwu-ha -ta | b. | phakoy-ha -ta | (root form) |
| | | -n-ta | | -n-ta | (present tense) |
| | | -yess-ta | | -yess-ta | (past tense) |
| | | -yela | | -yela | (imperative) |
| | | -ni | | -ni | (interrogative) |
| | | -myen | | -myen | (conditional) |
| | | etc. | | etc. | |
-
- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------|----|---------|-----------------|
| (2) | a. | ka -ta | b. | mek -ta | (root form) |
| | | -n-ta | | -nun-ta | (present tense) |
| | | -ss-ta | | -ess-ta | (past tense) |
| | | - (ke) la | | -ela | (imperative) |
| | | -ni | | -ni | (interrogative) |
| | | -myen | | -umyen | (conditional) |
| | | etc. | | etc. | |

In this regard, traditional grammarians had treated the sequences of Sino-Korean action noun and *ha* as verbs which belong to a special verb category, the *Ha-ta* verb, and these seeming verbs are still classified the same way in numerous recent studies. Thus, these verbs and conjugational affixes following *ha* have been considered as morphological operations, and *ha* has been treated as a part of the verb stem under the assumption that the sequences of Sino-Korean noun and *ha* are independent lexical words, say, lexical verbs. Therefore, the sentences below are considered as simplex clauses.⁴

- (3) a. Swuni-ka kongpwuha-n-ta.
 -N study-PRES
 'Swuni studies.'
- b. Chelswu-ka phakoyha-n-ta.
 -N destroy-PRES
 'Chelswu destroys.'
- c. Yenghuy-ka yencwuha-n-ta.
 -N play-PRES
 'Yenghuy plays.'

However, these *Ha-ta* verbs show a somewhat peculiar behavior. That is, the first part (i.e., Sino-Korean action noun) is frequently

split from the rest (i.e., *ha*) and the split part in turn takes an accusative marker. Accordingly, the resulting sentences (4) look like transitive clauses in (5), without altering their meanings.

- (4) a. Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-n-ta.
 -N study-A do-PRES
 'Swuni studies.'
 b. Chelswu-ka phakoy-lul ha-n-ta.
 -N destruction-A do-PRES
 'Chelswu destroys.'
 c. Yenghuy-ka yencwu-lul ha-n-ta.
 -N play-A do-PRES
 'Yenghuy plays.'
- (5) a. Chelswu-ka elkwul-ul ssis-ess-ta.
 -N face-A wash-PAST
 'Chelswu washed his face.'
 b. Swuni-ka changmwun-ul yel-ess-ta.
 -N window-A open-PAST
 'Swuni opened the window.'
 c. Yenghuy-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-ta.
 -N apple-A eat-PAST
 'Yenghuy ate an apple.'

As shown above, split forms *kongpwu-lul ha-ta* 'study', *phakoy-lul ha-ta* 'destroy', *yencwu-lul ha-ta* 'play' in (4) look like typical pairs of direct object and its verb just as *elkwul-ul ssis-ta* 'to wash (his) face', *changmwun-ul yel-ta* 'to open the window', and *sakwa-lul mek-ta* 'eat an apple' in (5) are in the relation of a direct object and its verb.

Furthermore, what makes the situation more interesting is that the Sino-Korean action nouns under consideration, in turn, take their own complements so that the resulting sentences look like double object constructions (DOC), as in (6), provided that the sentences below are simplex clauses.

- (6) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. Cekkwn-i tosi-lul phakoy-lul ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-N city-A destruction-A do-PAST
 'The enemy destroyed the city.'
 c. Swuni-ka phiano-lul yencwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N piano-A play-A do-PAST
 'Swuni played the piano.'

On the other hand, the unsplit forms of those verbs also take complements (i.e., direct objects) so that resulting sentences look like typical simplex transitive clauses, as in (7).

- (7) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwuha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. Cekkwn-i tosi-lul phakoyha-yess-ta.
 enemy-N city-A destroy-PAST
 'The enemy destroyed the city.'
 c. Swuni-ka phiano-lul yencwuha-yess-ta.
 -N piano-A play-PAST
 'Swuni played the piano.'

So far, a peculiar but interesting phenomenon of so-called Sino-Korean action nouns has been illustrated. However, with respect to the phenomenon above, several questions may arise. In the first place, if, as mentioned earlier, *-ul/-lul* is a case maker, are sentences (6) indeed an instance of DOC? Second, do sentences (3) and (7) have different structures from (4) and (6), respectively? In other words, is *kongpwuha-ta*, for instance, an independent verb in (3a) and (7a) whereas *kongpwu-lul ha-ta* is a phrase in (4a) and (6a)? Third, if *yenge* 'English' is the direct object of *kongpwuha-ta* in (3a) and (7a), then what is it in (4a) and (6a)?

However, until Transformational Grammar was introduced to the study of Korean, those questions raised above were almost ignored. Those questions have been put aside even in most recent studies. Needless to say, most studies have implicitly treated *kongpwuha-ta*, *phakoyha-ta*, *yencwuha-ta*, etc. as independent verbs ignoring the existence of corresponding form of *kongpwu-lul ha-ta*, *phakoy-lul ha-ta*, *yencwu-lul ha-ta*, etc.

Unlike traditional treatments, the introduction of Transformational Grammar had made some Korean linguists attempt to relate both forms. H. Im (1979) proposed that so-called Sino-Korean action nouns are separated by stem split phenomenon. C. Suh (1975) contended that those words are main predicates and *ha* is a dummy verb which is semantically empty. B. Park (1972, 1976, 1977, 1981) argued that those Sino-Korean words are the direct objects of *ha* which is a main verb. Thus, those Sino-Korean nouns were treated as the stem of *Ha-ta* verbs, main predicates, or direct objects, and alternative accounts were provided for the appearance of an accusative marker between Sino-Korean action noun and *ha* in accordance with the nature of the proposed analyses.

However, fundamental questions remain untouched despite the these studies. If, as claimed by H. Im, accusatively marked Sino-Korean nouns are the stems separated from verbs, are they still parts of verbs? Or, if they are not parts of verbs, do the structures of sentences (3) and (7) differ from the ones of (4) and (6), respectively? If they are different, what is the grammatical status of the split nouns? Are they objects or something else? If, as contended by C. Suh, Sino-Korean

words are nominal predicates, are they direct objects in sentences like (4) and (6)? Or, do they assume another special grammatical function? If, as proposed by B. Park, accusatively marked Sino-Korean nouns are direct objects, are sentences (6) really instances of a DOC? Thus, more questions still remain unanswered.

Recently, new approaches have been proposed to account for the aforementioned sentences. Such studies are Y. Choi (1988) and O'Grady (to appear). Although these two studies are based on different frameworks, they share the idea that Sino-Korean action nouns are the direct object of the verb *ha* and the element preceding Sino-Korean noun forms a compound in which Sino-Korean noun heads. Therefore, the accusative marker attached to the element preceding Sino-Korean noun is the result of ascension (Y. Choi) or due to the combinatorial function of head nouns (O'Grady). However, although these studies may give accounts for the aforementioned questions (cf. Chapter 2), they still raise other fundamental questions. That is, if Sino-Korean nouns head compounds, why do their complements consistently have to take a patient role, the typical semantic role of a direct object, to head nouns? Why do only Sino-Korean action nouns (in their terms) allow the construction under discussion?

It should be admitted that the studies proposed so far have tried to provide appropriate answers to some of questions from their own perspectives. However, none of them seem to provide satisfactory accounts for the fundamental questions mentioned above. In my opinion, the problems may be attributed to the implicit assumption that all the previous studies rely on. That is, they take the alleged assumption

that Sino-Korean words in issue are nouns. Based on this point, this study rather seeks answers for the raised questions from the thorough examination of situations and structural properties which are specific to Korean.

In connection with borrowing words from Classic Chinese into Korean, B. Park (1981:112) speculates that so-called Sino-Korean action nouns had been imported into Korean as nouns, not as verbs, and that those words had been naturally used as a direct object in the context "____ -ul/-lul ha" by analogy with existing indigenous patterns. His speculation is based on the fact that there is no formal distinction between a verb and its nominal form in Chinese. However, contrary to his speculation and the implicit assumption which other studies rely on, I venture to speculate that those Sino-Korean words have been borrowed as verbs or nouns corresponding to their usage in Chinese.⁵

Then, what might have happened? The first problem was that those Chinese verbs cannot be directly used in Korean sentences. One of the reasons was that borrowed Chinese verbs refuse to be inflected, for example, in terms of tense, although Korean has inflectional variations for tense distinctions. For this reason, the following hypothetical examples are impossible:

- (8) a. *Swuni-ka cwungkwukmal-ul kongpwu-ess-ta.
 -N Chinese-A study-PAST
 'Swuni studied Chinese.'
 b. *Swuni-ka cwungkwukmal-ul kongpwu-n-ta.
 -N Chinese-A study-PRES
 'Swuni studies Chinese.'

Accordingly, there is a strong need to attach already existing tense markers (as well as other markers such as mood, modality, or/and others) to the borrowed verbs. With respect to this situation, I venture again to speculate that *ha* has been adopted as a carrier⁶ of tense or/and other inflectional categories. The adoption of *ha* could then make it possible for borrowed Chinese verbs to get along with Korean morphological affixes. Thus, resulting forms are comparable to the existing indigenous pattern of Korean, as shown below:

- (9) a. Swuni-ka cwungkwukmal-ul kongpwu-ha-yess-ta.
 -N Chinese-A study-do-PAST
 'Swuni studied Chinese.'
 b. Swuni-ka cwungkwukmal-ul kongpwu-ha-n-ta.
 -N Chinese-A study-do-PRES
 'Swuni studies Chinese.'

It has been hypothesized in the above that *ha* had been adopted as a carrier of tense (mood, modality, or/and others) for the borrowed Chinese verbs under discussion. Then, what structure can the resulting sentences like (9) take? It may be speculated and hypothesized that those sentences take a biclausal structure. This line of reasoning comes from the fact that *ha* generally takes a direct object and the fact that borrowed Chinese verbs make a complete sentence structure in terms of propositional meaning. That is, there is a convergence between sentence like (10) and the subcategorizational feature of *ha* in (11). The consequence is the formation of a biclausal structure like (12).⁷

- (10) Swuni-ka cwungkwukmal-ul kongpwu
 -N Chinese-A study
 'Swuni study(-PRES/-PAST, or others).'

(11) ha :: V : (SUBJECT) (DIRECT OBJECT) _____

(12) [Swuni-ka [Swuni-ka cwungkwukmal-ul kongpwu]-lul ha-yess-ta]

As shown above, sentence (10) containing a Chinese origin verb is taken as the direct object of the verb *ha*. One would naturally expect an accusative marker to be attached to the embedded clause. Accusative markers are attached immediately after Chinese origin verbs because Korean allows not prepositions but postpositions. Consequently, sentences like (6) result in conjunction with the operation of *Equi*. Let us, however, turn to the sentences in (5). Direct objects can freely delete their case markers in Korean, as shown in (13).

- (13) a. Chelswu-ka elkwul ssis-ess-ta.
 -N face wash-PAST
 'Chelswu washed his face.'
 b. Swuni-ka changmwun yel-ess-ta.
 -N window open-PAST
 'Swuni opened the window.'
 c. Yenghuy-ka sakwa mek-ess-ta.
 -N apple eat-PAST
 'Yenghuy ate an apple.'

Accordingly, the optional deletion of accusative markers results in sentences like (7).⁸

Then why should *ha* be taken as a carrier of functional affixes? In Korean, *ha* seems to have a special function. The inherent meaning of *ha* is 'do'. However, *ha* varies its meaning in accordance with the semantic nature of its direct object. Consider the following examples:

- (14) a. Chelswu-ka il-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N work-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu worked.'

- b. Swuni-ka pap-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N rice-A do-PAST
 'Swuni cooked (made) meals.'
 - c. Apeci-ka os-kakey-lul ha-si-n-ta.
 father-N clothes-store-A do-H-PRES
 'The father is running (managing) a clothes-store.'
 - d. Yenghuy-ka ssawum-ul cacwu ha-n-ta.
 -N fight-A often do-PRES
 'Yenghuy often fights.'
 - e. Namwukkwun-i namwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 firewood gatherer-N firewood-A do-PAST
 'The firewood gatherer gathered firewoods.'
- etc.

As shown above, the verb *ha* seems to be special in that it has not only the meaning of 'do' as a main verb but also carries the special function of realizing the meaning (or notion) of its direct object concretely. Due to this special function, *ha* might be easily adopted as a device which can concretely realize the propositional meaning of the sentences like (10) as a direct object. Thus, the adoption of *ha* as a device to connect borrowed Chinese words with Korean functional affixes may be understood as an instance of economy principles in language, especially in the situation of the convergence between languages.

In connection with the above speculation and hypothesis, another question may be raised: if the above is the case, then does the verb *ha* show such syntactic behavior only in sentences formed by Chinese origin verbs? Actually, this does not seem to be the case. Let us consider the following sentences:

- (15) a. Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 -N book-A read-PAST
 'Swuni read a book.'
- b. Sensayngnim-i Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key(-lul) ha-si-ess-ta.
 teacher-N -N book-A read-COMP(-A) do-H-PAST
 'The teacher made Swuni read a book.'

- (16) a. Kay-ka mwusep-ta.
 dog-N fearful
 'The dog is fearful.'
 b. Swuni-ka kay-lul mwuse-we(-lul) ha-n-ta.
 -N dog-A fearful-COMP(-A) do-PRES
 'Swuni is fearful of the dog.'

The sentences above seem to show the same behavior as the sentences at issue in every aspect. Ignoring some details, the sentences in (15a) and (16a) are taken as the direct object of the verb *ha* and the verb *ha* seem to carry its special function in the sense that *ha* realizes the propositional meaning of the object clause concretely. Pending the discussion of the sentences in (15) and (16) in chapters 3 and 4, I consider them as parallel structures to the sentences in question.

Finally, a difference can be observed between the sentences in (12=6) and (15-16). The latter sentences have a complementizer whereas the former sentence lacks it. With regard to this difference, I will assume a null complementizer for the sentences like (12=6). This assumption follows from the fact that the position between the Sino-Korean verb and the verb *ha* should be a position for a complementizer if the sentences in question are a biclausal structure. Korean allows the sequence of an embedded verb, a complementizer, and a case marker (accusative in this case) in the process of clausal embedding as a verb complement because Korean is an SOV language which is strictly V final. However, although complementizers such as *-um*, *-ki* are usually used in the verb phrase complementation, neither of these complementizers (or no other existing complementizers) go with borrowed Chinese verbs, as can be seen below:

- (17) a. *Swuni-ka cwungkwukmal-ul kongpwu-um-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N Chinese-A study-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied Chinese.'
 b. *Swuni-ka cwungkwukmal-ul kongpwu-ki-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N Chinese-A study-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied Chinese.'
 c. *Swuni-ka cwungkwukmal-ul kongpwu-ko-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N Chinese-A study-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied Chinese.'

It may be therefore stipulated that the requirement of a complementizer forced the borrowed Chinese verbs to take a null complementizer strategy as a kind of minimal effort principle. The postulation of a null complementizer will be justified in Chapter 2.

So far, it has been hypothesized that the incorporation of borrowed Chinese verbs has resulted in a biclausal structure by adopting the special verb *ha*. Of course, this line of speculation or reasoning should be evidenced diachronically. However, diachronic evidence may not be attainable since the convergence of Chinese words to Korean had begun long before (any kind of) writing systems in Korean were invented. However, syntactic changes are fortunately very few, compared to phonological changes or semantic changes. If there are syntactic changes, they have to do largely with order of the constituents in constructions (Lehmann 1962:184, Greenberg 1957:36). However, base rules tend to differ little, if at all, (King 1969:143) and there seems no positive evidence, to the best of my knowledge, that word order has changed historically in Korean. Therefore, I will treat the facts mentioned above synchronically under the assumption that the reasoning sketched above is on the right track.

The so-called DOC illustrated above is the central concern of this thesis. The overall purpose of this thesis is to show that the Stratal Uniqueness Law, which would be falsified if the *prima facie* DOC were indeed a DOC, is still valid as far as this double accusative construction is concerned. This work is largely devoted to demonstrating that the so-called DOC is not a genuine DOC but a mere reflection of its biclausal structure. More precisely, it will be argued that the fundamental typological constraints of Korean inevitably produce a seeming DOC. Typological constraints in Korean produce the sequence of embedded predicate, complementizer, and case marker when clause embeddings take place because Korean is an SOV language in which V is strictly final. However, this fact seems to be completely disguised by the properties of so-called Sino-Korean action nouns. That is, they look like another object in sentences since no overt complementizer appears between them and the verb *ha* which is a matrix predicate.

To support the Biclausal Analysis of the so-called DOC, it will be argued that other two constructions such as syntactic causative construction, (15b), and psychological predicate construction, (16b), are also biclausal structures resulting from the subcategorizational features of the verb *ha*.

The theoretical framework which this work is carried out is that of RG. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to compare every important aspect of different analyses in different frameworks though references will be frequently made to studies based on Transformational Grammar and other frameworks when needed and relevant. It is

furthermore neither assumed nor claimed that RG is the most appropriate linguistic theory that can provide an adequate account for the linguistic facts being observed in this work. Rather, the framework of RG is adopted as a convenient vehicle to describe the linguistic facts to be discussed. The reason that the RG framework is used in this study is that RG is a framework particularly suitable to discuss the GR of the embedded clause as a direct object since a major focus of RG is on explaining GRs in clauses.

Closing this section, I would like to recall the pretheoretical assumption that this thesis is going to pursue. As discussed, the study of particular grammar should precede the study of universal grammar. Therefore, the study of particular grammar should not overlook the structural or other linguistic characteristics of the given particular language. In this spirit, this thesis aims at clarifying some sets of Korean sentence structures *per se*, not proposing principles, rules or conditions. Rather, the fundamental aim of this thesis is to remove some specific or/and ad hoc rules, conditions, or constraints proposed in other studies, as much as possible, by examining sentence structures and morphological facts thoroughly.

This thesis consists of six chapters. The rest of this chapter provides a brief background of RG to the readers who are not familiar with the RG framework and provides the preliminary things for the main discussion of this thesis. Chapter 2 proposes a Biclausal Analysis and argues against the mono-clausal analyses of the so-called DOC. Chapters 3 and 4 support the proposed analysis by showing that the syntactic causative constructions and the psychological predicate construction are

also the biclausal structures formed by the clausal complementation to the verb *ha* and that they show identical morphological and syntactic phenomena to the so-called DOC. Chapter 5 shows that other seeming DOCs to be illustrated in the later part of this chapter are mono-clausal structures due to different causes, and that the two accusatively marked constituents in those constructions behave differently from the two accusative constituents of the so-called DOC with respect to several syntactic processes. Chapter 6 discusses theoretical implications and residual problems of the proposed analysis.

1.3 Overview of Theoretical Framework

Assuming no previous familiarity with the RG theory, I will briefly outline the fundamentals of the theory as it is directly or indirectly related to the issues being dealt with in this thesis.⁹

1.3.1 Basic Concepts and Syntactic Representations¹⁰

One of the important assumptions underlying RG is that GRs such as 'subject of', 'object of' or 'predicate of' are primitives of linguistic analysis. Under this assumption, RG conceives of the idea that the structure of sentences, and also of clauses, of natural languages be reconstructed in terms of the formal object called a relational network (RN), which consists of the ordered triple of primitive linguistic elements:

- (18) a. a set of 'nodes', which represent linguistic elements of all abstract constituents (i.e., from morpheme to clauses)
- b. a set of 'R(elational)-signs', which represent GRs between linguistic elements
- c. a set of 'coordinates' which represent distinct levels at which GRs hold between linguistic elements

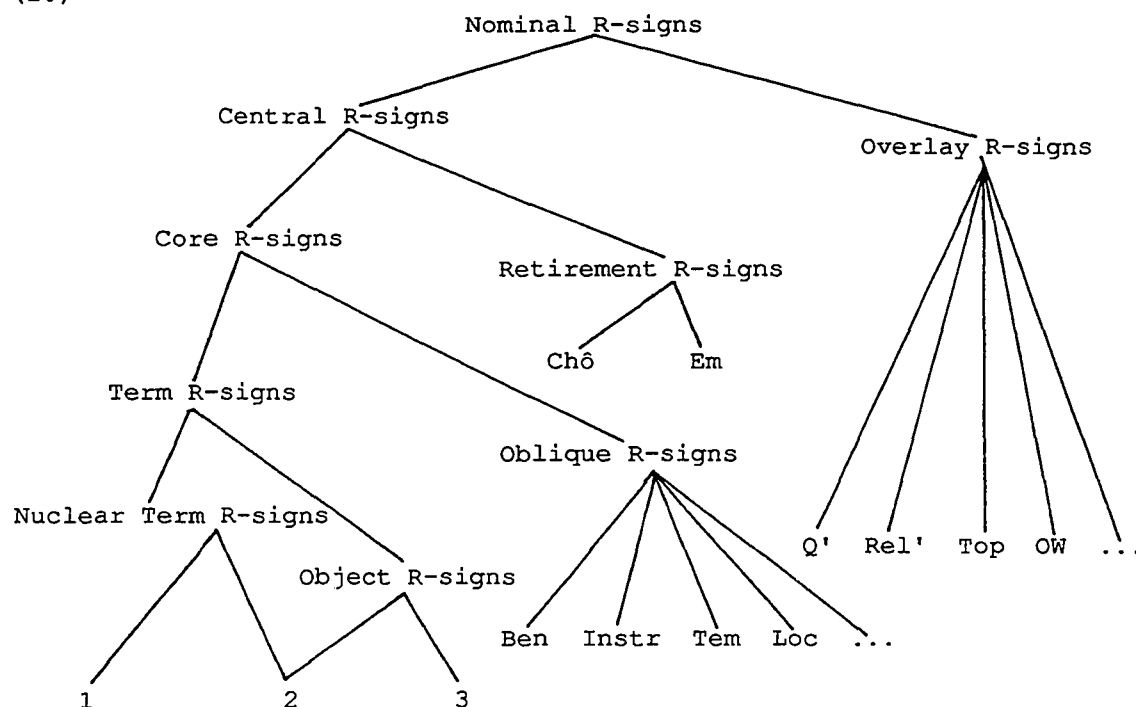
The fundamental element in RN is the 'arc'. An arc is a composite of three ordered linguistic elements, of which the first element designates a GR; the second, a dominance relation between two nodes; and the third, linguistic levels represented by a non-null set of coordinates. Therefore, the fact that a certain primitive linguistic element bears a certain primitive GR to some other element at some levels can be represented by an arc as one of the two equivalent notations below:

- (19) a.
- | | | |
|-----------------|---|-------------------------------|
| | b | |
| | | |
| GR _x | | c ₁ c ₂ |
| | ↓ | |
| | a | |
- b. [GR_x (a, b) <c₁c₂>]

What the formal representations in (19) mean is that the primitive linguistic element *a* bears the relation whose name is GR_x to the primitive linguistic element *b* at the levels *c*₁ and *c*₂. If, for example, GR_x is '1', the name of the subject relation, then (19) indicates that *a* bears the subject relation to *b*, i.e., *a* is a subject of *b*, at the levels *c*₁ and *c*₂. If GR_x is '2', the name of the direct object relation, (19) indicates that *a* is a direct object of *b* at the levels *c*₁ and *c*₂.

Basic clause structures and, in particular, constraints on these, can be represented by a set of different types of arcs, where types are defined by R-signs. These types of arcs fall into a system of subtypes, yielding a hierarchy of classes of arc defined by their R-signs. These classes are equivalent to classes of primitive GRs under the interpretation of the formalism of arcs. A classification of these R-signs relevant for the description of the connections between nominals and clause nodes is (20).

(20)



R-signs '1', '2', and '3' are, respectively, the names of GRs corresponding to subject, direct object, and indirect object in a traditional sense. These term R-signs are categorized into two partially overlapping subsets. One is the Nuclear Term R-sign which

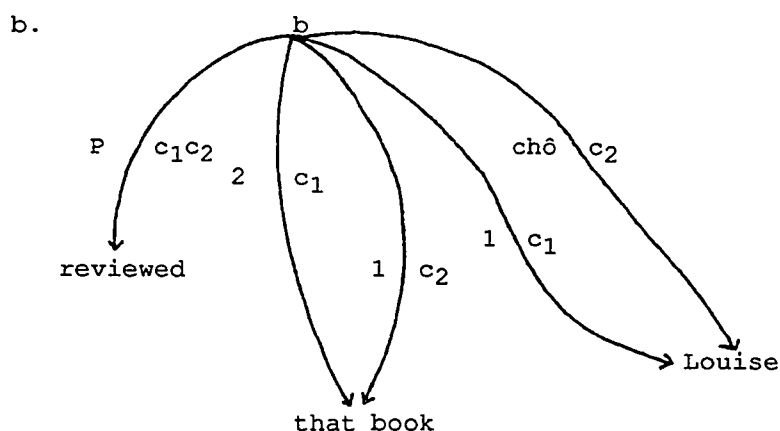
ultimately defines the class of nuclear term relations. The other is the Object R-sign which denotes the class of object relations. Among the Term R-signs is the direct object relation that is being a member of both sets.

'Ben(efactive)', 'Instr(umental)', 'Tem(poral)', 'Loc(ative)', etc. are, respectively, the names of the set of oblique GRs such as benefactive, instrumental, temporal, locative, etc. 'Chô' is the name of the chômeur relation, which indicates that a nominal in a given stratum does not bear the term relation in that stratum that it bears in a previous stratum. 'Em' is the name of the emeritus relation, which plays a role in clause union constructions. This corresponds to the R-sign 'Dead' in the sense of Johnson and Postal (1980). However, both names will be replaced by the R-sign 'U(nion)' in this thesis to clarify that it is the name of the GR connected with clause union. Finally, 'Q'', 'Rel'', 'Top', 'OW', etc. are the names of the overlay R-signs.¹¹

RNs are determined by the R-signs. A full RN is a set of arcs of the form represented in (19). Therefore, for example, the passive sentence in (21) below can be represented either in terms of the arc notation of the form (19b), as in (22a), or in terms of the graphically simplified notation of the form (19a), as in (22b):¹²

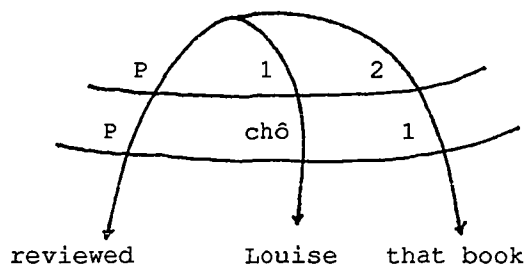
(21) That book was reviewed by Louise.

(22) a. [P (reviewed, b) <c₁c₂>]
 [1 (Louise, b) <c₁c₁>]
 [2 (that book, b) <c₁c₁>]
 [1 (that book, b) <c₂c₂>]
 [chô (Louise, b) <c₂c₂>]¹³



Another important concept in the RG representation of clause structure is the notion of 'strata'. The 'stratum'¹⁴ is the maximal non-null set of arcs sharing the same coordinate and a common tail (i.e., the clause node in (22b) above). This notion makes it possible to represent the notion of linguistic levels in a formal way. It can be, therefore, noted from (22b) that the first stratum is the set of all arcs with tail *b* which have the coordinate *c₁* and the second stratum the set of all arcs with tail *b* which have the coordinate *c₂*. To give this notion of strata a more visible representation, a 'stratal diagram' of the form (23) below is quite often adopted *in lieu of* the representation in (22b):

(23)



In (23), the R-signs of all the arcs sharing the coordinate c_1 are given in the first horizontal row (i.e., in the first stratum), and the R-signs of all the arcs sharing the coordinate c_2 in the second horizontal row (i.e., in the second stratum). Stratal diagrams such as (23) are more convenient because they make the strata stand out more clearly. Representations in (22) and (23) are entirely equivalent in the sense that both are representing the same linguistic object, say, RN. However, the latter representation will be drawn through out this work for expository purposes.¹⁵

1.3.2 Well-Formedness Conditions of Relational Networks

The previous section has shown that clause structures can be represented in terms of RNs which are composites of three ordered linguistic elements, say, GR, a dominance relation between two nodes, and linguistic levels. It is not, however, the case that these RNs make a basic clause in random ways. Like in any generative grammatical framework, there is a set of laws or conditions to make RNs be well-formed in RG. Relational valences and some proposed universal laws (including some conditions) in RG are introduced as well-formedness conditions of RNs in the sections that follow.

1.3.2.1 Relational Valences

The relational valences of individual verbs are what determine the initial assignments of the central relations in a given clause. Thus,

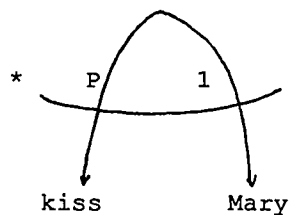
the relational valences of individual predicates rule out the following sentences as ill-formed ones.

(24) *Mary kissed.

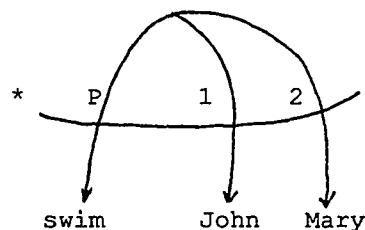
(25) *John swam Mary.

The correct RN for 'Mary kissed John.', for example, contains a P-arc, a 1-arc, and a 2-arc, as in (27). Likewise, the correct RN for 'John swam.' contains a P-arc and a 1-arc, as in (26):

(26) = (24)



(27) = (25)



As shown above, a particular verb can be constrained with regard to the range of RNs in which it heads a P-arc. This constraint refers to the initial strata allowable to that verb. This constraint is referred to as the relational valence of a verb and notated as follows according to the properties of individual verbs:

(28) swim [1]
 kiss [1 2]
 study [1 (2)]
 stop [(1) 2]

What (28) tells us is that *swim*, for example, is an intransitive verb which is subcategorized for an initial 1. Therefore, the stratal diagram (27) is not a well-formed RN for the sentence (25). *Kiss* is obligatorily a transitive which is subcategorized for an initial 1 and 2. Thus, the stratal diagram (26) is not a well-formed RN for the sentence (24), either. Unlike the first two verbs, *study* is optionally a transitive verb which permits the initial strata of its RNs to contain a 1 and 2, or a 1 alone, and *stop* is optionally an intransitive verb which permits the initial strata of its RNs to contain a 1 and 2, or a 2 alone.¹⁶

Therefore, any RNs are ruled out unless they fit to the relational valences of individual verbs, as shown in (28), in their initial strata. The notion of relational valences is roughly equivalent to the notion of subcategorization in Transformational Grammar (including the Government and Binding theory) and Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar. The relational valences of every predicate are assumed throughout this work without a discussion. However, the term 'subcategorization' will be used *in lieu of* the term 'relational valence', if necessary, in this study since the former is more familiar to the readers.

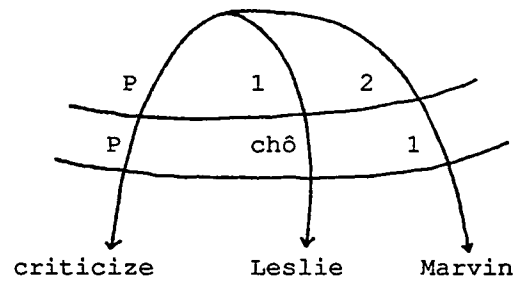
1.3.2.2 Some Proposed Universal Laws

There is a basic asymmetry between the class of 'term relations' and that of 'oblique relations'. That is, a nominal bearing a term relation in a given clause may or may not bear that relation in the initial stratum in that clause whereas a nominal bearing an oblique

relation in a clause bears that relation in the initial stratum. For example, *Marvin* in the clause (29) bears the 1-relation in the second stratum, but not in the initial stratum:

(29) a. Marvin was criticized by Leslie.

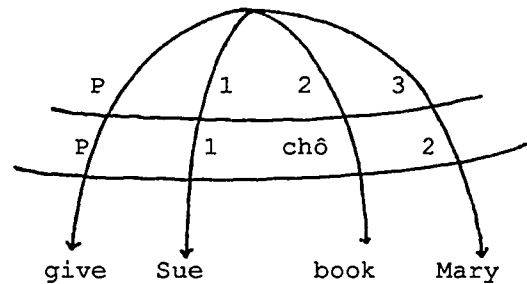
b.



Similarly, in (30), *Mary* is the final 2, but not the initial 2:

(30) a. Sue gave Mary a book.

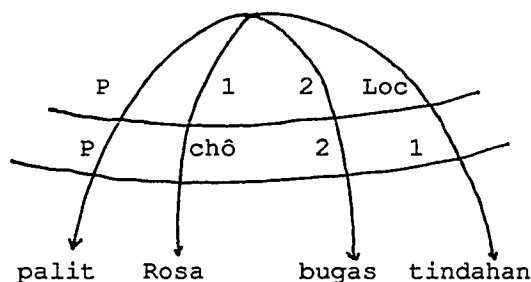
b.



Or, in the Cebuano sentence (Perlmutter & Postal 1983c:89, (22)), even oblique nominal can bear the final term relation, as shown in (31):

(31) a. Gipalitan ni Rosa ug bugas ang tindahan.
 buy-LOC GEN Rosa rice NOM store
 'The store will be bought rice at by Rosa.'

b.



Unlike nominals bearing term relations, however, a nominal bearing an oblique relation in a non-initial stratum in a given clause cannot bear term relations in its initial stratum in any language. Hence, sentences associated with RNs containing a nominal bearing a non-initial oblique relation will not be well-formed in any language. This is the Oblique Law stated as follows:

(32) Oblique Law

Any nominal that bears an oblique relation to a clause must bear it in the initial stratum.

Thus, one of the consequences of the Oblique Law is that there can be no advancement or demotion to oblique GRs.

As mentioned earlier, 'stratum' is a maximal, non-null set of arcs with the same tail sharing a single coordinate. Therefore, some stratum inevitably contains more than one nominal bearing a same term relation if there were advancements or demotions of nominals in terms of its GRs in the previous stratum. This calls for a constraint characteristic of RG, say, the Stratal Uniqueness Law, which limits the number of distinct term arcs (1-arc, 2-arcs, 3-arcs) in a single stratum. The claim of this law, therefore, can be stated as follows:

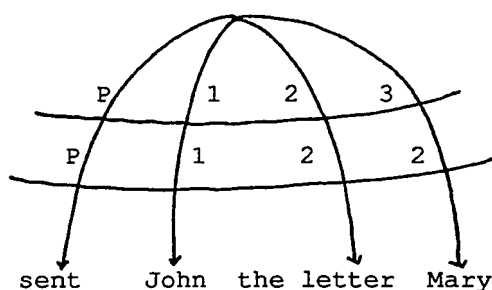
(33) Stratal Uniqueness Law

No stratum can contain more than one 1-arc, one 2-arc, or one 3-arc.¹⁷

Thus, the Stratal Uniqueness Law precludes the structure like (35) as an ill-formed one for the representation of the sentence (34b).

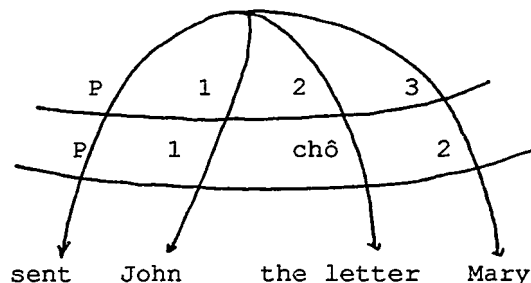
- (34) a. John sent the letter to Mary.
b. John sent Mary the letter.

(35)



The structure in (35) is impossible since it contains two 2-arcs in a single stratum, namely, in the second stratum. Rather, the RN for (34b) is (36):

(36)

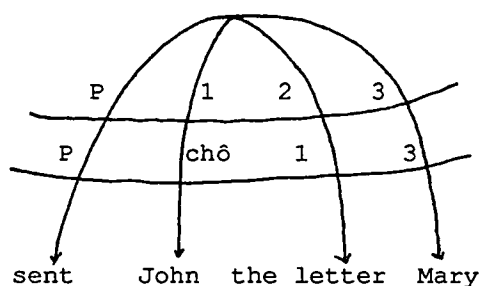


In (36), *Mary* is the head of a 2-arc in the second stratum whereas *the letter* heads a Chô arc (not a 2 arc) in that stratum. The existence of the Chô relation, as a result, renders the structure (36) which does

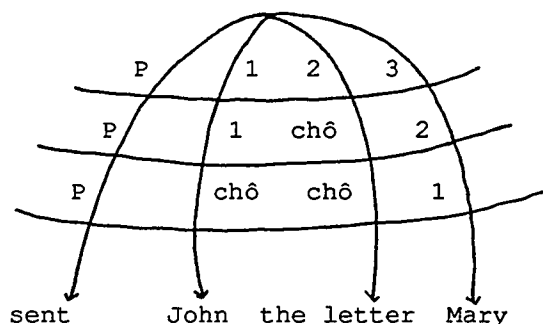
not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law. Thus, the Stratal Uniqueness Law and the existence of the Chô relation consequently permit (38a) and (38b) as the RNs associated with (37a) and (37b), respectively.

- (37) a. The letter was sent to Mary by John.
b. Mary was sent the letter by John.

(38) a.



b.



In (38a), *the letter*, which heads the 2 at the initial stratum, advances to the final 1 at the second stratum.¹⁸ In the second stratum, the initial 1, *John*, gets a chô-relation to avoid the violation of the Stratal Uniqueness Law. In (38b), *Mary*, which heads the 3 at the initial stratum, advances to the 2 in the second stratum putting the initial 2 en chôme, and *Mary* subsequently advances to the final 1 in the third stratum putting the initial 1, *John*, en chôme, too. Consequently, the RN (38b) does not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law.

Thus, The Stratal Uniqueness Law and the Chômeur Relation make the RNs (38a) and (38b) the well-formed ones.

However, it is not the case at all that any nominals acquire the chômeur relation in random ways. It has been assumed that there is a basic law determining the existence of the chômeur relation for a nominal under certain conditions. This law is the Chômeur Law.¹⁹ The basic idea is stated as follows:

(39) The Chômeur Law

Nominals necessarily bear the chômeur relation under conditions that would otherwise lead to violations of the Stratal Uniqueness Law.

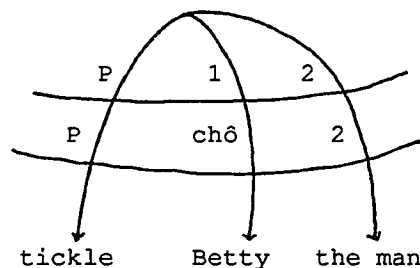
Therefore, for example, if some nominal, N_a , bears a given term relation in a stratum, c_i , and some other nominal, N_b , bears the same term relation in the following successive stratum (c_{i+1}), then N_a bears the chômeur relation in c_{i+1} .

Here, the term 'chômeur' is a French word conveying the meaning of 'unemployed' or 'idle'. A nominal bearing the chômeur relation in a given stratum is said to be 'en chômage' in that stratum. The idea in adopting this terminology is to reflect that a nominal that is en chômage in a given stratum does not bear the term relation in that stratum that it bears in a higher stratum.²⁰ Consequently, a chômeur lacks at least some of the grammatical properties of the corresponding term. For instance, the chômeurized subject *John* in (37a), unlike the subject *John* in (34a), fails to control agreement on the verb and occupies a peripheral position in the clause. Further, chômeur cannot acquire a term relation again (cf. The Chômeur Advancement Ban).

Nominals bearing a chômeur relation are called '1-chômeur', '2-chômeur', and '3-chômeur' according to the GR that those nominals bear in the last stratum before they bear the chômeur relation.²¹

As discussed above, the Chômeur Law claims that a Chômeur arc must exist under a certain condition, and that the chômeur relation holds under the conditions defined by its antecedents. Nevertheless, the Chômeur Law does not exclude the possibility of chômeurs existing under the conditions distinct from those where the Chômeur Law requires chômeurs to exist. In other words, the Chômeur Law alone by no means blocks representations like (40):

(40) a.



b. *(Was) tickled the man by Betty.

What the representation like (40a) shows is that a chômeur relation exists even though not supplanted by any other later term relation. In other words, (40a) is the case of 'unmotivated' or 'spontaneous' chômeurs. To get rid of this kind of illegal chômeurs (i.e., chômeurs which play absolutely no role in preserving stratal uniqueness), the following condition is proposed.

(41) Motivated Chômeage Law

Chômeurs exist only under the conditions described in the Chômeur Law.

Thus, the Motivated Chômeage Law claims that the chômeur condition is limited by the universal principle. The consequence of the Motivated Chômeage Law is therefore that Chô arcs can never occur in the initial strata.

On the other hand, there is a requirement that every final stratum contain a subject.²² This is the Final 1 Law which can be informally stated as follows:

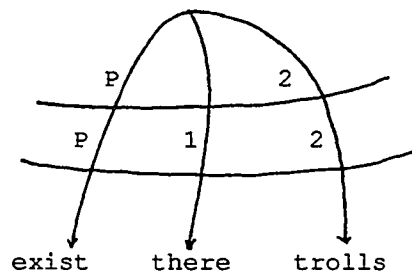
(42) Final 1 Law

Every basic clause must contain a final-stratum 1-arc.

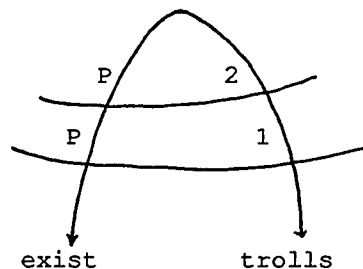
The Final 1 Law does not mean that every basic clause must contain a surface 1. For example, imperative sentences in English have a final 1 but no overt surface 1. There are obviously numerous examples of basic clauses in attested languages which appear not to have a final 1. Such examples are various impersonal sentences which have traditionally been described as having no subject. A claim in RG is that such sentences have a dummy nominal as a final 1. In some cases, such a dummy nominal appears in the surface sentence but it does not in many other cases. However, since the existence of overt dummies are not attested yet in Korean, a related law (i.e., the Nuclear Dummy Law) and other empirical consequences are not dealt with here.²³ Rather, recall that some class of predicates permits the initial strata to contain a 2 alone, as mentioned in the previous section. Below is such an example:

- (42) a. There exist trolls under the bridge.
b. Trolls exist under the bridge.

(43) a.



b.



As shown in (43), the predicate 'exist' contains a 2 alone in the initial stratum. The requirement of the final 1 in every final stratum makes a dummy 'there' appear as a final 1 in English, as in (43a), or renders the initial 2 'trolls' advance to the final 1 in the second stratum, as in (43b). Such predicates are called unaccusative verbs and such an advancement called an unaccusative advancement.

As previously illustrated, Passive is also the advancement to 1 from 2. If this is the case, there may be necessarily more than one advancement to 1. In connection with the advancements to 1, the Final 1 Law, however, does not preclude the possibility of more than one advancement to 1 within same clauses. Consider the following sentences:

- (44) a. The shah slept in the bed.
b. The bed was slept in by the shah.

- (45) a. Trolls exist under the bridge.
 b. *The bridge was existed under by trolls.

English allows passivized intransitive clauses in which various oblique nominals occur as a final 1. This is a so-called pseudo-passive. (44b) is the pseudo-passive sentence in which the oblique nominal 'the bed' advanced to a final 1. However, (45b) is not a possible pseudo-passive sentence. This difference is attributed to the difference in initial stratum relations. The predicate in (44) contains an initial 1, but not an initial 2. The predicate in (45) contains an initial 2 but, not an initial 1. Hence, the initial 2 in (45) first advances to a 1 in accordance with the Final 1 Law.²⁴ After that, the oblique nominal 'the bridge' advances to 1. Thus, the failure of unaccusative predicates to permit pseudo-passive is attributed to the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law which is informally stated as follows:²⁵

(46) 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law

The set of advancements to 1 in a single clause contains at most one member.

1.3.3 Rule Types

Some proposed laws of basic clause structure within the RG theory have been explicated in the previous section. This section further clarifies some notions or terms to help better understanding of the discussion in this work and introduces two proposed laws of complex clause structure.

1.3.3.1 Revaluation

The previous section has shown that a nominal bearing one GR in a clause may acquire a different GR in the same clause, but in the different stratum. For example, passivization is an instance in which an initial 2 becomes a final 1 whereas an initial 1 becomes a final oblique relation. Such GR changes can be indicated on the basis of the relational hierarchy below although the term such as 'advancement' was implicitly used in the previous section.

(47) Hierarchy of Grammatical Relations

Highest	1
	2
	3
Lowest	Nonterm Relations = (Chômeur, Oblique Relations, etc.)

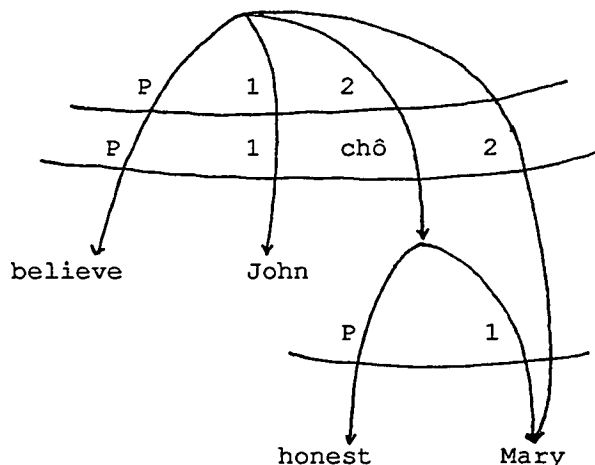
An advancement is a rule that promotes a nominal bearing one GR in a clause to a higher relation in the same clause - "higher" with respect to the relational hierarchy above. Conversely, a demotion is a rule that retreats a nominal bearing one GR in a clause to a lower relation in the same clause. Therefore, Passive can be understood as the composite of an advancement and a demotion. In this sense, a nominal undergoing an advancement is called an "advancee" and a nominal undergoing a demotion is called a "demotee". Further, both an advancement and a demotion are called a "revaluation" in the sense that both are the rules which revalue the GR borne by a nominal. Therefore, a nominal is called, by the same reason, a "revaluee" if it acquires a new GR whether by an advancement or a demotion.

1.3.3.2 Ascension

As shown in the previous section, a revaluation is the class of processes in which nominals change their GRs within the same basic clause. Another class of processes that has been recognized from the earlier development of RG (cf. Perlmutter and Postal 1983b) is a rule of ascension. Roughly speaking, ascension is a rule which promotes a dependent of a downstairs clause to a dependent of the upstairs clause. This rule is roughly equivalent to raising (i.e., Subject-to-Subject Raising, Object-to-Subject Raising, and Subject-to-Object Raising) in various models of Transformational Grammar. Below is one of examples:

(48) a. John believed Mary to be honest.

b.



As shown above, the final 1 of the downstairs clause becomes a final 2 of the upstairs clause putting the remnants of the initial 2 en chômage. However, it is not the case that the promoted dependent of the lower clause can assume the final GR in random ways. It has to take over the GR that the lower clause bore in the upper clause. This is the

Relational Succession Law. Further, it is not the case either that any nominal of the lower clause can be promoted to become a upper clause dependent. It is only limited to the nominals bearing a term relation (i.e., subject or object). This is the Host Limitation Law. These two Laws are stated as follow:

(49) Relational Succession Law

An NP promoted by an ascension rule assumes the GR borne by the host out of which it ascends.

(50) Host Limitation Law

Only a term of a GR can be the host of an ascension.

Here, the element that promotes to the dependent of the higher clause is called an "ascendee" and the constituent that contains the ascendee and bears a GR to the clause to which the ascendee bears a relation at the ascension stratum is called "host".

The similar process also takes place within a same clause level. Possessor Ascension is such an example. Possessor Ascension is not explicated in detail at this moment since details will be described and discussed in Chapter 5. Roughly speaking, Possessor Ascension is the process of promoting the subconstituent (i.e., the possessor) of an NP bearing a GR of a clause as the dependent of the clause. Thus, the subconstituent is an ascendee and the head of an NP (i.e., the possessee) is a host. In this sense, Possessor Ascension is parallel to raising. Consequently, the Relational Succession Law and the Host Limitation Law are also observed in the process of possessor ascending.

In sum, ascension is a rule which multiattaches a nominal bearing a GR in some linguistic unit to some other linguistic unit. Therefore, raising constructions such as Subject-to-Object Raising and Subject-to-Subject Raising are the instances of multiattachment of a nominal across clauses whereas Possessor Ascension is an instance of multiattachment of a nominal within a same clause. However, the term "ascension" will refer only to the latter and the term "raising" is adopted for the former in this work just for conveniences' sake.

1.3.3.3 Clause Union

As shown in the preceding section, Raising is the rule of multiattaching the dependent of a lower clause to a higher clause, keeping the whole clause as a complex clause. RG also recognizes a similar but different type of multiattachment across clauses. Clause Union is such an example. Clause Union constructions are considered complex at the initial stratum but simple in the final stratum. Therefore, a difference is that a single constituent is raised and the others remain behind in various types of Raising but all dependents (including a predicate) of the downstairs clause become dependents of the upstairs clause with Union. The subsequent difference is that Clause Union, unlike Raising, does not observe the Relational Succession Law and the Host Limitation Law.

Largely, causative constructions have been considered an instance of Clause Union.²⁶ In this sense, Clause Union refers only to Causative Union in this study. To account for the GR changes of the dependents of

the downstairs clause in the process of Clause Union, Perlmutter and Postal (1974) proposed universal Union Laws which can be roughly stated as follow:

(51) Union Law²⁷

- a. Downstairs absolutive becomes a upstairs 2.
- b. Downstairs ergative becomes a upstairs 3.

However, Perlmutter and Postal's universal Clause Union Laws seem not solid. Recently, Gibson and Raposo (1986) proposed a general treatment of causatives that allows for languages like Chamorro that are not susceptible of an ergative/absolutive analysis as per the Union Law. They suggested the Clause Union Revaluation Parameter and the Inheritance Principle as supplementaries for the universal Clause Union Laws. Roughly put, according to them, the downstairs 1 must become a 2 or 3 (in accordance with the conditions that language particular rules specify) but all other nominals inherit their downstairs relation subject to the Stratal Uniqueness Law and the Motivated Chômage Law.

However, Rosen (1983) claimed that there is another type of clause union in Italian in which the 1 of the downstairs clause does not undergo revaluation. Moreover, Davies and Rosen (1988) proposed that union constructions should be treated as uniclausal. Thus, Clause Union as well as the Clause Union Laws are controversial. Since Chapter 3 in this study deals with the causative constructions, the detailed descriptions and discussions of the Clause Union is postponed until Chapter 3.

1.4 Preliminaries

In this section, some preliminaries are provided for the easy access to the discussion in this thesis. The examination of the general properties of direct objects in Korean seems indispensable because this study concerns the direct object-hood of constituents in sentences. A tentative classification of multiple accusative constructions also seems helpful for the easy reference during discussion in this work.

1.4.1 General Properties of Direct Object in Korean

Direct objects are usually independent nouns (i.e., NPs assuming a grammatical function as a unit at the clause level) since they represent the person or thing which suffers the action of the verb in the sentence (Hartmann and Stork 1972:155). Therefore, direct objects are easily expected to be replaced with a pronoun, as illustrated below:²⁸

- (52) a. Chelswu-ka soselchayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 -N storybook-A read-PAST
 'Chelswu read a story book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka kukes-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 -N it-A read-PAST
 'Chelswu read it.'
- (53) a. Swuni-ka yeypun inhyeng-ul sa-ss-ta.
 -N pretty doll-A buy-PAST
 'Swuni bought a pretty doll.'
 b. Swuni-ka kukes-ul sa-ss-ta.
 -N it-A buy-PAST
 'Swuni bought it.'

As shown above, *kukes* (glossed as *it* in English) is a pronoun for a third person singular neuter noun) in Korean. In (52b) and (53b), *soselchayk* 'storybook' and *yeypun inhyeng* 'pretty doll' are replaced

with *kukes* because they are third person singular neuter nouns. However, *inhyeng* in (53a) cannot be pronominalized solely, as in (53c), because it is a part of a direct object. Instead, *inhyeng* in (53a) can be replaced by another proform *kes* (glossed as one in English) which is for N' (not for NP) in X-bar terms, as in (53d).

- (53) c. *Swuni-ka yeyppun kukes-ul sa-ss-ta.
 -N pretty it-A buy-PAST
 'Swuni bought a pretty it.'
 d. Swuni-ka yeyppun kes-ul sa-ss-ta.
 -N pretty one-A buy-PAST
 'Swuni bought a pretty one.'

As briefly mentioned above, direct objects make an independent constituent (i.e., NP) in the sentence. Then, since independent constituents except VP can generally cleft, direct objects are expected to be clefted, as shown below:

- (54) a. Chelswu-ka chayk-ul sa-ss-ta.
 -N book-A buy-PAST
 'Chelswu bought a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka sa-n-kes-un chayk-i-ta.
 -N buy-PAST-thing-T book-be
 'What Chelswu bought is a book.'
- (55) a. Swuni-ka say kkochpyeng-ul kkaythuli-ess-ta.
 -N new flower vase-A break-PAST
 'Swuni broke a new flower vase.'
 b. Swuni-ka kkaythuli-n-kes-un say kkochpyeng-i-ta.
 -N break-PAST-thing-T new flower vase-be
 'What Swuni broke is a new flower vase.'

Chayk 'book' in (54a) and *say kkochpyeng* 'new flower vase' in (55a) are clefted, as shown above, because they form an independent constituent NP. However, *kkochpyeng* cannot be clefted solely, as in (55c), because it is not an independent constituent (i.e., not an object) in (55a).

- (55) c. *Swuni-ka say kkaythuli-n-kes-un kkochpyeng-i-ta.
 -N new break-PAST-thing-T flower vase-be
 'What Swuni broke is a new flower vase.'

The above two phenomena are attributed to the categorial status of a direct object. Let us now consider the properties of direct object *per se* in Korean in what follows.

First, the direct object of a sentence optionally scrambles in Korean, as shown below:

- (56) a. Swuni-ka phyenci-lul sse-ss-ta.
 -N letter-A write-PAST
 'Swuni wrote a letter.'
 b. Phyenci-lul Swuni-ka sse-ss-ta.
 letter-A -N write-PAST
 'Swuni wrote a letter.'
- (57) a. Chelswu-ka maynggo-lul tta-ss-ta.
 -N mango-A pick-PAST
 'Chelswu picked a mango.'
 b. Mayngo-lul Chelswu-ka tta-ss-ta.
 mango-A -N pick-PAST
 'Chelswu picked a mango.'

Second, the direct object can be relativized in Korean, as can be seen below:

- (58) a. Haksayng-i chayksang-ul pwusu-ess-ta.
 student-N desk-A break-PAST
 'The student broke a desk.'
 b. haksayng-i pwuswu-n chayksang
 student-N break-RC desk
 'the desk which the student broke'
- (59) a. Chelswu-ka sensayngnim-ul manna-ss-ta.
 -N teacher-A meet-PAST
 'Chelswu met the teacher.'
 b. Chelswu-ka manna-n sensayngnim
 -N meet-RC teacher
 'the teacher whom Chelswu met'

Of course, Korean allows subjects, indirect objects, and various oblique nominals to be relativized (though not illustrated here). If Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Universal Hierarchy of NP Accessibility is correct, the fact that Korean allows the relativization of indirect objects and some classes of oblique nominals guarantees the relativizability of direct objects. In this sense, it may be possible to say that, in Korean, a nominal should be able to relativize if it is a direct object unless there is semantic or pragmatic factor preventing it.

Third, passivization is a particular property that only direct objects show across languages although there might be various restrictions in each language. Although passivization is not a salient phenomenon in Korean, it is generally admitted that direct objects can generally passivize, as shown below:²⁹

- (60) a. Swuni-ka kulim-ul kuli-ess-ta.
 -N picture-A draw-PAST
 'Swuni drew a picture.'
 b. Kulim-i Swuni-eyuyhay kuli-e ci-ess-ta.
 picture-N -by draw-PASS-PAST
 'A picture was drawn by Swuni.'
- (61) a. Chelswu-ka namwu-lul sim-ess-ta.
 -N tree-A plant-PAST
 'Chelswu planted a tree.'
 b. Namwu-ka Chelswu-eyuyhay sim-e ci-ess-ta.
 tree-N -by plant-PASS-PAST
 'A tree was planted by Chelswu.'

Fourth, direct objects can be topicalized in the sentence initial position. This follows from the fact that direct objects scramble. Further, direct objects can be also topicalized *in situ*, as shown below:³⁰

- (62) a. Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-ul kaluchi-si-n-ta.
 teacher-N student-PL-A teach-H-PRES
 'The teacher teaches students.'
- b. Haksayng-tul-un sensayngnim-i kaluchi-si-n-ta.
 student-PL-T teacher-N teach-H-PRES
 'As for students, the teacher teaches them.'
- c. Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-un kaluchi-si-n-ta.
 teacher-N student-PL-T teach-H-PRES
 'The teacher teaches students.'
- (63) a. Swuni-ka phiano-lul chi-n-ta.
 -N piano-A play-PRES
 'Swuni plays the piano.'
- b. Phiano-nun Swuni-ka chi-n-ta.
 piano-T -N play-PRES
 'As for the piano, Swuni plays it.'
- c. Swuni-ka phiano-nun chi-n-ta.
 -N piano-T play-PRES
 'Swuni plays the piano.'

As shown above, direct objects generally scramble, relativize, passivize, and topicalize (*in situ* as well as in the sentence initial position) in Korean. Of course, no part of the direct object can solely undergo these processes, as shown in the cases of pronominalization and clefting. This is because the aforementioned syntactic processes presuppose the constituency of the direct object.

As noted in 1.3, GRs are primitives in the RG framework. Being primitives means that it is impossible to define them in any ways. In this regard, this section does not intend to define the notion of direct object in Korean. The previous sections have shown that nominals bearing GRs may undergo revaluation. This implies that nominals bearing an initial 2 relation may lose some properties of a direct object if they are revalued. By the same implication, nominals bearing a final 2 relation may acquire but lack some properties of a direct object if it is a revalued final 2. Let us consider the following examples:

- (64) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave Swuni a book.'
 b. *Swuni-ka Chelswu-eyuyhay chayk-ul cwu-e ci-ess-ta.
 -N -by book-A give-PASS-PAST
 'Swuni was given a book by Chelswu.'
 c. *Chayk-i Chelswu-eyuyhay Swuni-lul cwu-e ci-ess-ta.
 -N -by -A give-PASS-PAST
 'A book was given Swuni a book.'

In (64a), *Swuni* is the final 2 which was an initial 3 and *chayk* is the final chômeur which was an initial 2.³¹ (64b) and (64c) show that neither *Swuni* nor *chayk* passivize but undergoes other processes (illustrations are omitted). This may indicate that initial 2s lose the ability of passivization through the revaluation to chômeur whereas initial 3s lack the ability of passivization because they are not initial 2s. With regard to this, throughout this work, I will assume that a nominal is a direct object in the narrow sense if it undergoes all the processes mentioned above. Instead, I will use the term 'initial 2' or 'final 2' to indicate nominals which lack or lose some of the properties examined above.

1.4.2 Types of Multiple Accusative Constructions

If, as traditionally assumed, the accusative marker in Korean is the representation of the GR of direct object, Korean may be a language which violates the Stratal Uniqueness Law. This is because Korean allows many instances in which more than one accusative marker occur within a same clause. In this section, I will just provide a tentative (but, not exhaustive) classification of such instances, which will be

dealt with in this study, without any comment and simply give names to those classified examples just for the easy reference for the discussion in this work.

A. Ha-ta Pattern Multiple Accusative Construction

- (65) Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'

B. Syntactic Causative Pattern Multiple Accusative Construction

- (66) Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

C. Ditransitive Pattern Multiple Accusative Construction

- (67) Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave Swuni a book.'

D. Lexical Causative Pattern Multiple Accusative Construction

- (68) Emeni-ka aki-lul sakwa-lul mek-i-si-ess-ta.
 mother-N baby-A apple-A eat-CAUS-H-PAST
 'The mother fed the baby an apple.'

E. Possessor Ascension Pattern Multiple Accusative Construction

- (69) Kay-ka Chelswu-lul tali-lul mwul-ess-ta.
 dog-N -A leg-A bite-PAST
 'The dog bit Chelswu on the leg.'

The examples above will be simply referred to as the *ha-ta* pattern, the syntactic causative pattern, the ditransitive pattern, the lexical causative pattern, and the possessor ascension pattern in the order given above.

Formalized Laws in Relational Grammar

(1) Oblique Law (Perlmutter & Postal 1983c:90)

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_1 arc.

(2) Stratal Uniqueness Law (*ibid.*:92)

Let 'term_x' be a variable over the class of term R-signs, that is, '1', '2', or '3'.

Then: If arcs A and B are both members of the c_k stratum (*b*) and A and B are both term_x arcs, then $A = B$.

(3) Chômeur Law (*ibid.*:96)

If an RN contains arcs of the form [Term_x (a,b) < $c_u c_k c_y$ >] and [Term_x (c,b) < $c_{k+1} c_z$ >], then it contains an arc of the form [Chô (a,b) < $c_{k+1} c_w$ >].

(4) Chômeur Advancement Ban (*ibid.*:117)

Chômeurs cannot advance. That is, if an RN contains an arc of the form [Chô (a,b) < $c_x c_i$ >], then it contains no arc of the form [Term_y (a,b) < $c_{i+1} c_w$ >].

(5) Motivated Chômage Law (*ibid.*:99)

An RN containing an arc of the form [Chô (a,b) < $c_i c_w$ >] also contains distinct arcs of the form [Term_x (a,b) < $c_u c_{i-1}$ >] and [Term_x (c,b) < $c_i c_z$ >].

(6) Final 1 Law (*ibid.*:100)

If there is a c_k stratum of *b* and no c_{k+1} stratum of *b*, we say that the c_k stratum is the 'final' stratum of *b*.

Then: If *b* is a basic clause node, the final stratum of *b* contains a 1-arc.

- (7) 1 Advancement Exclusiveness Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1984:87)

Let A and B be distinct neighboring 1-arcs. Then, if A is an advancee arc, B is not an advancee arc.

- (8) Relational Succession Law (Perlmutter & Postal 1983b:53)

An NP promoted by an ascension rule assumes the grammatical relation borne by the host out of which it ascends.

- (9) Host Limitation Law (*ibid.*:53)

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

Notes to Chapter 1

1. See the next section about the Stratal Uniqueness Law in details.
2. It seems that *kongpwu* 'study' among the illustrated words is not of pure Chinese origin although it is written in Chinese characters. This pseudo-Chinese word was probably invented by Korean speakers. However, it is considered as an instance of a so-called Sino-Korean action noun because it is treated as a Sino-Korean word in other studies to be discussed in this thesis.
3. The Yale romanization system is adopted for the transcription of Korean. The high back rounded vowel is always written "wu" though other users of the Yale system simplify that to "u" after a labial or y, since in those environment there is no contrast with unrounded "u". Further, surface forms (but, not phonetic forms) are transcribed without phonological or morphological details.
4. The illustrated sentences are incomplete in a sense because the verbs in (3) are interpreted with an understood (or unspecified) object. Therefore, (3a), for example, means 'Swuni studies something.' However, this aspect is ignored here since the current issue is the split phenomenon of the so-called *ha-ta* verbs.
5. This assumption is not unreasonable because Chinese has no morphological distinction between a verb and its nominal form. This matter will be dealt with again in Chapter 6.
6. I am indebted to Hae Yeon Kim for this terminology.
7. There are other possibilities for the structures of resulting sentences. *Ha* might serve as an auxiliary verb or a morphological affix. The inadequacies of other possibilities will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.
8. See Chapter 2 for discussion of the sentences like (3) and (4).
9. For a more thorough introduction to RG theory, readers are advised to consult Perlmutter, ed. (1983), Perlmutter and Rosen, eds. (1984), Perlmutter (1980), Davies (1981:77-120), Rosen (1981:6-42), Bickford (1987:12-40), and Blake (1990). Blake (1990), which is the first general book-length treatment of the RG theory, and Dubinsky & Rosen (1983, 1987), which are comprehensive RG bibliographies cross-indexed by language and topic, are especially recommended to the readers who are interested in more specific details in RG.

10. The synopsis of RG in this section largely relies on Perlmutter and Postal (1983a,b,c). Most of the exemplified sentences are consequently drawn from them unchanged. However, laws and conditions are stated informally for easy of exposition. Formalized laws and conditions are listed in the Appendix at the end of this chapter for those readers who are interested. Especially, Johnson and Postal (1980) and Bickford (1987:12-40) are recommended as works introducing notions rigorously.

11. 'Q'', 'Rel'', 'Top', and 'OW' correspond to 'Question', 'Relative Pronoun', 'Topic', and 'Overweight' (roughly equivalent to shifted heavy NP or extraposed constituents in transformational grammar terms), respectively. These R-signs represent the last relations borne respectively by the italicized nominals in the following sentences:

- 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*.

12. In representing a full RN, the internal structure of either nominals or predicates will not be dealt with unless it is necessary to do so. In addition, the structure of flagging devices (i.e., prepositions, cases, etc.), the representation of linear precedence, or auxiliaries are not dealt with, either.

13. For the GR 'chô(meur)', see below.

14. 'Stratum' is a notion equivalent to 'level'.

15. Recently, Bickford (1987) proposes that stratal diagrams like (23) can be simplified further to stratal charts like (i).

(i)

1	2
chô	1

As shown in (i), all symbols are suppressed except the R-signs, which are arranged in rows and columns to represent strata and careers, respectively. Among the advantages of the simplified chart is that it makes it possible to trace the history (i.e., career) of the change of GR of a given nominal. For example, in stratal charts like (ii),

(ii)

1	2	3
1	chô	2
chô	chô	1

Only one 1-arc is represented, which has coordinates <clc2>, although a '1' appears in both the first and second row. Similarly, the two instances of 'chô' in the second column represent only one arc. However, this kind of representation is not adopted in this thesis to avoid confusion.

16. More technically, the terms "unaccusative" and "unergative" are used to refer to the strata in which a 1 arc or a 2-arc is subcategorized alone. See Perlmutter and Postal (1984) and Rosen (1981, 1984) for the detailed discussion of relational valences.

17. This is entirely distinct from the claim that no clause can contain more than one 1-arc, one 2-arc, etc. What this law constrains is the number of distinct term arcs in a given stratum, but not in a given clause.

18. Although RG does not admit derivative relations, this is passivization in the sense of transformational grammar. From the perspectives of RG, Passive is informally characterized as the advancement of the nominal bearing 2-relation to the 1-relation from the transitive stratum. Here, the transitive stratum is the one which consists of 1-arc and 2-arc together.

19. This law was originally called the Relational Annihilation Law in Perlmutter and Postal (1974). This law is sometimes called the Chômeur Condition (e.g., Perlmutter and Postal (1977)).

20. In earlier versions of RG, the chômeur relation was borne by the 'Relational Annihilation Law' (cf. note 19). The name of Relational Annihilation Law as well as some of earlier literature refers to chômeurs as nominals which do not bear any GR whatsoever. However, this idea is misleading in two respects: first, chômeurs do bear a GR, the relation chômeur; second, the statement does not specify the stratum in which the chômeurized nominals do not bear a GR. For these reasons, the 'Chômeur Law' is preferred to 'Relational Annihilation Law' and the chômeur is considered as a GR.

21. On the other hand, nominals bearing the chômeur relation are called 'revaluation chômeurs' or 'ascension chômeurs' in terms of the types of new term arcs which can sanction chômeur status for an earlier term. 'Revaluation chômeurs' are those which are due to advancements or demotion. 'Ascension chômeurs' are those which are due to ascensions. See below about advancements/demotion and ascensions.

22. This claim is analogous to the Extended Projection Principle in the sense of Chomsky (1981, 1982, 1986a, 1986b, etc.).

23. See Perlmutter and Postal (1983c) for the detailed discussion of the empirical consequences of the Nuclear Dummy Law.

24. In this case, a dummy can appear as a final 1, as noted above. However, the dummy is ignored here for expository purposes.

25. See Perlmutter and Postal (1984) for the discussion of various predictions of the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law with respect to interactions with other advancements to 1.

26. Actually, Aissen and Perlmutter (1983) analyze the Equi NP Deletion construction (of early Transformational Grammar) and the causative construction as clause union constructions. However, Equi NP Deletion is ignored here for expository purposes.

27. The absolutive is the nuclear argument of an intransitive predicate and the 2 of a transitive one. The ergative is the 1 of a transitive predicate.

28. Korean is a topic (or theme) prominent language to the extent that subjects are prominently coded in surface structure by topic markers *-un/-nun* rather than nominative markers *-i/-ka* (cf. Li and Thompson (1976), H. Sohn (1980)). However, I will represent subjects by nominative markers in this study for expository purposes. The relation of Topic in RG is not a term relation but an overlay relation, as illustrated in 1.3.1.

29. I will assume, following K. Shin (1982), I. Kim (1985), and many others, that *-e ci* is a passive morpheme in Korean. Further, without argument, I will assume that *-e ci* is a passive morpheme for pure Korean verbs and *toy* is a passive form of *ha*. This assumption is appropriate because *-e ci* and *toy* do not alternate in the same environment. That is, so-called *ha-ta* verbs are passivized in *toy* form whereas other pure Korean verbs are usually passivized in *-e ci* form, though not always.

30. There seem to be differences in meaning between the two topicalized forms. However, I ignore them here.

31. See sections 1.3.2.2 and 5.2.1 for the discussion of 3-to-2 Advancement.

CHAPTER 2

THE SO-CALLED DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the *ha-ta* pattern, among the constructions illustrated in 1.4.2, which could be considered as an instance of DOCs under the assumption that it contains two direct objects within a seemingly simplex clause. The purpose of this chapter is to show that the construction at issue is not a genuine DOC but that the double accusative marking is merely a reflection of its biclausal structure. Put differently, this chapter aims at demonstrating that the *ha-ta* pattern is biclausal with a surface structure that appears to be a simplex clause due to complicated syntactic and morphological circumstances. More precisely, it will be argued that the appearance of multiple accusative markers in the so-called double object construction is a corollary of the fact that Korean is an SOV language and that clauses can also assume a GR of subject or direct object like other nominals in Korean.¹

To support the biclausal structure hypothesis, syntactic processes such as pronominalization, clefting, scrambling, relativization, passivization, and topicalization are discussed, and a Null Complementizer is proposed in this chapter. As a consequence of the biclausal structure, it will be shown that the Stratal Uniqueness Law,

which would be falsified if the construction to be considered were really a DOC, is still valid as far as this construction is concerned.²

On the other hand, this chapter argues against mono-clausal analyses. Special attention is paid to B. Park's (1981), Y. Choi's (1988), and O'Grady's (to appear) analyses. B. Park claims that the second accusative constituent³ of the construction is a direct object NP of the verb *ha*. Y. Choi argues that it is an ascension *chômeur*, more technically, a specifier ascension *chômeur*. O'Grady, on the other hand, suggests that the construction arises from the fact that the verb *ha* can take as its theme term a lexical noun which takes its own argument. Two important claims commonly shared by these three studies, though from different frameworks and perspectives, are that the second accusative constituents at issue are nouns, and that the construction is, therefore, a simplex clause. Unlike the above works, this study claims that they are not nouns but verbs (i.e., predicates in RG terms)⁴ of embedded clauses. Other possible mono-clausal analyses, Korean versions of which may be reconstructed from the recent works of Dubinsky (1985) and Davies & Rosen (1988), are also discussed and argued against.

2.2 The So-called Double Object Construction

This section briefly outlines the construction at issue and proposes a biclausal structure for the construction. Section 2.2.1 examines the surface characteristics of the construction and reviews the controversial issues in previous studies. Section 2.2.2 examines the syntactic behavior of the two accusative constituents in connection with

several syntactic processes and raises the issues to be addressed in this chapter. Section 2.2.3 proposes a biclausal structure providing answers to the questions raised in 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Controversies in Previous Studies

As outlined in 1.2, the so-called Sino-Korean action nouns make a seeming DOC in conjunction with the verb *ha*. Below are some instances of such a construction:

- (1) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. Cekkwn-i tosi-lul phakoy-lul ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-N city-A destroy-A do-PAST
 'The enemy destroyed the city.'
 c. Swuni-ka phiano-lul yencwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N piano-A play-A do-PAST
 'Swuni played the piano.'

The *ha-ta* pattern above has been debated among Korean linguists from various perspectives. Long standing problems are how to define the categorical and grammatical status of the second accusatively marked constituents and how to analyze them. Controversies have been due to the characteristics which the construction displays. The surface characteristics of the construction are: (i) the second accusative constituents are usually Sino-Korean action nouns which refer to events, not general nouns which refer to persons or things, (ii) the main predicate is usually *ha*, and (iii) the semantic relation between the second accusative constituent and its predicate *ha* is not like the relation between usual direct objects and their predicates even though

the second constituents look like direct objects of the verb *ha*. Furthermore, the verb *ha* in (1) frequently combines with the preceding constituent with loss of the accusative marker. This last phenomenon has led linguists to consider sentences (1) to be synonymous to sentences (2).⁵

- (2) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. Cekkwan-i tosi-lul phakoy-ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-N city-A destroy-do-PAST
 'The enemy destroyed the city.'
 c. Swuni-ka phiano-lul yencwu-ha-yess-ta.
 -N piano-A play-do-PAST
 'Swuni played the piano.'

To account for the above-mentioned intriguing facts, many studies within and outside the tradition of generative grammar have been made during the last two decades. Those studies are roughly categorized and summarized into four major point of views as follows (Y. Kim 1988:81):

A. Stem Split Hypothesis (H. Im 1979)

The second accusative constituent is a word topicalized by *-ul/-lul* but it is underlyingly a stem with *ha* as a suffix.

B. Main Predicate Hypothesis (C. Suh 1975)

The second accusative constituent is the nominal predicate of clause, but it plays a role of formal object of *ha* which is introduced by a transformation.

C. VP Restructuring Hypothesis (S. Song 1967, Ree 1974, B. Park 1981).

The second accusative constituent is the direct object of the main verb *ha* and the first accusative constituent is the direct object of the restructured verb phrase which consists of the second accusative constituent and *ha*.

D. **Embedded Predicate Hypothesis**

(H. Lee 1970, Y. Kim 1973, 1988, K. Sung 1974, 1977)

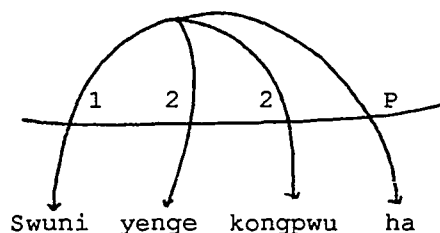
The second accusative constituent is the nominal predicate of embedded clause and *ha* is the predicate of the matrix clause.

As the above list shows, a pivotal point is how to treat the second accusative constituent in analyzing the construction. The Stem Split Hypothesis is the analysis treating the second accusative constituent as the nominal stem of a verb, and the Main Predicate Hypothesis is one that analyzes the second accusative constituent as a main predicate which is a noun. Unlike these hypotheses, the VP Restructuring Hypothesis is an attempt to consider the second accusative constituent as an independent NP which in turn serves as a direct object of the main verb *ha*, and the Embedded Predicate Hypothesis is an analysis that treats the second accusative constituent as a noun which serves as a predicate of the embedded clause which is the direct object of the main verb *ha*. The analyses based on each hypothesis are discussed in 2.3.

2.2.2 Raising Issues through the RG Framework

As has been generally assumed, let us tentatively assume that accusative markers *-ul/-lul* are the representation of the GR of direct object. It follows from this assumption that sentences like (1) are a DOC because they contain two nominals attached with accusative markers, supposing that (1) is monoclausal. If the construction includes two direct objects, the stratal diagram will be (3) illustrated in (3).⁶

(3)



As noted in Chapter 1, the Stratal Uniqueness Law (Perlmutter & Postal: 1974, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c, and elsewhere), however, limits the number of distinct term arcs (e.g., 1-arcs, 2-arcs, 3-arcs) in a single stratum. That is, this universal law prohibits a single stratum from containing more than one 1-arc, one 2-arc, or one 3-arc. Then, an important question subsequently arising is whether the construction at issue really violates the Stratal Uniqueness Law. This is a major issue to be addressed in this thesis as well as in this chapter.

As shown in 1.4.1, direct objects in Korean generally pronominalize, cleft, scramble, relativize, passivize, and topicalize. Among these processes, pronominalization and clefting are sensitive to NP constituent-hood and the rest are sensitive to (direct) object-hood. Then, both assumed direct objects in the sentences like (1) would be expected to behave in the same way regarding these syntactic processes under the assumption that both accusative constituents are NPs and direct objects. K. Lee (1988, 1990a) and many others, however, observe that the second accusative constituents show entirely different behavior from the first ones.

Consider first how the two assumed direct objects behave with respect to pronominalization and clefting.⁷

- (4) a. Swuni-ka kukes-ul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N it-A study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied it (English).'
 b. Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-n kes-un yenge-i-ta.
 -N study-A do-PAST thing-T English-be
 'What Swuni studied is English.'
- (5) a. *Swuni-ka yenge-lul kukes-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A it-A do-PAST
 '*Swuni did it (study) to English.'
 b. *Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-n kes-un kongpwu-i-ta.
 -N English-A do-PAST thing-T study-be
 'What Swuni did to English is to study it.'

The above show that second accusative constituents show different behavior from the first ones in being pronominalized and clefted, although pronominalization and clefting are processes related to the constituency as an NP and both accusative constituents are equally assumed to be NPs. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, *Kukes-Pronominalization* in Korean is extremely productive. Nonetheless, second accusative constituents do not undergo *Kukes-Pronominalization*.

Let us now see how both accusative constituents behave regarding scrambling, relativization, and passivization. The first is one of the language-particular characteristics that the direct object exhibits in Korean, and the other two are syntactic processes related to the direct object-hood of the given constituent across languages. Therefore, both accusative constituents would be expected to behave identically with respect to the processes mentioned above if both of them are indeed direct objects. However, it does not seem to be the case at all. Let us first consider the following sentences:

- (6) a. Yenge-lul Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 English-A -N study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'

- b. Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-n yenge
 -N study-A RC English
 'English which Swuni studied'
- (7) a. *Kongpwu-lul Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-yess-ta.
 study-A -N English-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
- b. *Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-n kongpwu
 -N English-A RC study
 'study which Swuni did of English'

The above show that only the first accusative constituent scrambles and relativizes, contrary to our expectation, although both are assumed to be direct objects and it has been generally agreed among Korean linguists that any direct object can freely scramble and relativize.

Let us now turn to passivization. If both of the accusative constituents are direct objects, then it would be again expected that each of them could separately be advanced to subject by passivization. This is because Passive (especially, in RG) is an advancement to subject from direct object. If this reasoning is correct, (8a) and (8b) are naturally both expected to be possible passive sentences.

- (8) a. *Yenge-ka Swuni-eyuyhay kongpwu-lul toy-ess-ta.⁸
 English-N -by study-A PASS-PAST
 'English was done study by Swuni.'
- b. *Kongpwu-ka Swuni-eyuyhay yenge-lul toy-ess-ta.
 study-N -by English-A PASS-PAST
 'Study was done English by Swuni.'

The above are the sentences in which the first and second accusative constituent underwent passivization, respectively. It would be, therefore, expected that both of them should be grammatical. But they are, in fact, ungrammatical, as shown above.

Putting aside the discussion of the sentences in (8) for the time being, let us now consider the sentences below. (9a) and (9b) are structures very similar to (8a) and (8b), respectively.

- (9) a. Yenge-ka Swuni-eyuyhay kongpwu-ka toy-ess-ta.
 English-N -by study-N PASS-PAST
 'English was studied by Swuni.'
 b. *Kongpwu-ka Swuni-eyuyhay yenge-ka toy-ess-ta.
 study-N -by English-N PASS-PAST
 'Study was done English by Swuni.'

As shown above, (9a) is a possible passive sentence whereas (9b) is not. The only difference between (8a) and (9a) is that the accusative marker of the second accusative constituent is replaced with a nominative marker. In (9b), the two nominative case-marked constituents in (9a) changed their linear order.

Then, the following questions arise: (i) why are sentences in (8) ungrammatical? (ii) why should the second accusative marker in (8a) be replaced with a nominative marker to make a passive sentence possible? (iii) why does the switch of two nominative constituents result in ungrammatical sentences? Putting these questions together, why does the second accusative constituent show different behavior from the first regarding passivization and scrambling in passive sentences? This matter will be addressed in 2.5.2 and 2.5.3.

Let us now turn to topicalization. It has been shown in 1.4.1 that direct objects topicalize *in situ*. Then, both of the two assumed direct objects would be expected to topicalize *in situ*. As expected, both accusative constituents do indeed topicalize *in situ*, as below:

- (10) a. Swuni-ka yenge-nun kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-T study-N do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-nun ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-T do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'

It has been also noted in 1.4.1 that direct objects topicalize in a sentence-initial position. By the same token, both accusative constituents would be, therefore, expected to topicalize in a sentence-initial position. However, contrary to expectation, only the first accusative constituent topicalizes in the sentence-initial position whereas the second one does not, as in (11), although both accusative constituents are assumed to be direct objects as well as NPs.

- (11) a. Yenge-nun Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 English-T -N study-A do-PAST
 'As for English, Swuni studied it.'
 b. *Kongpwu-nun Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-yess-ta.
 study-T -N English-A do-PAST
 'As for study, Swuni did it to English.'

So far, it has been demonstrated how the second accusative constituent behaves differently from the first one regarding pronominalization, clefting, scrambling, relativization, and topicalization. The behavioral differences between the two accusative constituents with respect to these syntactic processes may jeopardize the assumed categorical and grammatical status of the second accusative constituent. This is because the aforementioned syntactic processes have been tested under the assumption that both accusative constituents are equally NPs and direct objects in the given construction. The issue, then, to be discussed is why the two accusative constituents

behave differently regarding the syntactic processes mentioned above. This issue will be discussed in 2.4 and 2.5. Especially, it has been shown that neither of the two accusative constituents can be passivized at all individually, but that the first accusative constituent, unlike the second one, can be passivized with the concomitant replacement of the accusative marker of the second accusative constituent with the nominative marker. It has been also shown that the second accusative constituent can be topicalized *in situ* although it cannot be topicalized in the sentence-initial position. These two intriguing facts also raise questions about the assumption that both of the two accusative constituents are NPs and direct objects. This problem will be addressed in 2.5.2 and 2.5.3.

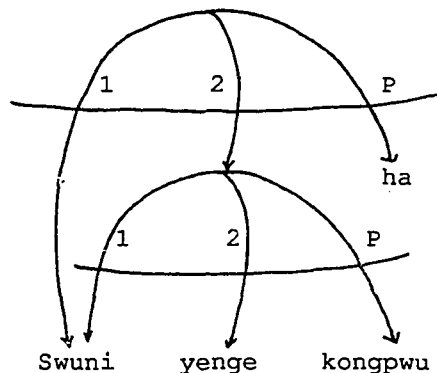
2.2.3 Proposal: Biclausal Analysis

It has been shown in 2.2.1 that the controversies regarding the given construction may be attributed to the difficulty in determining the grammatical status of the second accusative constituent, and it has been also shown in 2.2.2 that the two accusative constituents behave differently with respect to several syntactic processes.

In this thesis, on the other hand, I will propose a biclausal structure, depicted in (12), for the construction in question under the assumption that the second accusative constituents are not nouns but verbs of the embedded clause (cf. Section 2.4.1), and that a Null Complementizer is independently needed in Korean (cf. Section 2.4.2).

- (1) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'

(12)



In the stratal diagram above, *Swuni* is the final 1 of the downstairs clause and the upstairs clause (i.e., Equi construction). *Yenge* is the final 2 of the downstairs clause and the downstairs clause [*Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu*] is the final 2 of the upstairs clause. If the final 1 and the final 2 are, respectively, assigned a nominative case and an accusative case in Korean, *Swuni* gets a nominative marker and *yenge* gets an accusative marker because they are the final 1 and the final 2, respectively. Further, the downstairs clause [*Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu*], which is agglutinated with a null complementizer, also gets an accusative marker because it is the final 2 of the upstairs clause. Therefore, the two consecutive accusative markers in the *ha-ta* pattern are merely the representations of the GR of the direct objects of the embedded clause and the matrix clause, respectively.

The proposed structure shows that the so-called DOC is not a true DOC but merely a reflection of biclausal structure. As a consequence, the Stratal Uniqueness Law is still valid as far as this construction is

concerned since there is no more than one 2-arc in each clause, as shown in (12). Furthermore, a principled account for the different syntactic behavior between the two accusative constituents can now be provided. That is, the second accusative constituent inevitably behaves differently from the first one in connection with the syntactic processes tested in the previous section since it is the verb (i.e., verbal predicate) of the embedded clause, not an NP (therefore, in turn, not a direct object) whereas the first accusative constituent is an NP and a direct object (of the embedded clause).

The motivation for the biclausal structure stems from the observation that Korean allows clauses to be assigned cases, say, GR, as embedded clauses (cf. Section 2.4.2). Another independent motivation is that the verb *ha* usually subcategorizes the nominal bearing a 2-relation, as shown below:

- (13) a. Swuni-ka il-ul ha-n-ta.
 -N work-A do-PRES
 'Swuni is working.'
 b. Chelswu-ka yok-ul ha-n-ta.
 -N bad words do-PRES
 'Chelswu is speaking bad words.'
 c. Emeni-ka pap-ul ha-si-n-ta.
 mother-N rice-A do-H-PRES
 'The mother is cooking rice.'
- (14) a. *Swuni-ka ha-n-ta.
 -N do-PRES
 'Swuni is doing (something).'
 b. *Chelswu-ka ha-n-ta.
 -N do-PRES
 'Chelswu is doing (something).'
 c. *Emeni-ka ha-si-n-ta.
 mother-N do-H-PRES
 'The mother is doing (something).'

The above show that the sentences containing the verb *ha* are complete when the verb *ha* takes a direct object but the sentences are incomplete (i.e., ungrammatical in the strict sense) when the verb *ha* does not take its direct object. The above sentences always presuppose an understood or unspecified object if the direct object is not taken.

In addition, the fact that the verb *ha* can also take clauses as its direct object, as illustrated below, supports and corroborates the proposed analysis.

- (15) a. Swuni-ka Chelswu-ka chayk-ul ilk-key(-lul) ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP(-A) do-PAST
 'Swuni made Chelswu read a book.'
 b. *Swuni-ka ha-yess-ta.
 -N do-PAST
 'Swuni is doing (something).'
- (16) a. Swuni-ka Chelswu-lul silh-e(-lul) ha-n-ta.
 -N -A dislike-COMP(-A) do-PAST
 'Swuni dislikes Chelswu.'
 b. *Swuni-ka ha-n-ta.
 -N do-PAST
 'Swuni is doing (something).'

In (15a) and (16a), the verb *ha* takes a clause its direct object. If the embedded clauses are not taken as a direct object, the sentences are incomplete. In these regards, I will assume that the verb *ha* subcategorizes a nominal or a clause as its direct object and I will consider that the *ha-ta* pattern, (15a), and (16a) are instances of clausal complementation to the verb *ha* (cf. Rosenbaum (1967), B. Park (1972)). The syntactic causative sentence, (15a), and the psychological predicate sentence, (16a), will be, respectively, discussed in chapters 3 and 4 to support the proposed analysis based on a subcategorizational feature (i.e., relational valency in RG terms) of the verb *ha*.

The proposed Biclausal Analysis is not entirely new. H. Lee (1970), Y. Kim (1973, 1988), and K. Sung (1974, 1977) have proposed analogous analyses within the Transformational Grammar framework. These studies also claim that the construction is a complex clause. However, my analysis differs from their analyses at least in two aspects.

One difference is that they take the position that the second accusative constituents are nouns which serve as the predicates of the embedded clause whereas those constituents are here analyzed as verbal predicates. The admission of nominal predicate should raise a subsequent question. That is, does Korean allow any noun in other constructions to play the role of predicate of a clause. It seems not the case at all. Then, why can only the Sino-Korean action nouns serve as predicates (to the best of my knowledge, only in the given construction)? In this regard, postulating the second accusative constituent as a nominal predicate does not seem usual.

The other difference is that their analyses based on the transformational grammar lead to the proposal of an ad hoc device to maintain the biclausal structure of the construction. For instance, K. Sung (1977:86) proposes that the abstract complementizers such as *-um* and *-ki* are inserted between the embedded predicate and the matrix predicate to conjoin the embedded clause with the matrix clause, and that the inserted complementizer is later deleted by a transformation. However, complementizers never surface in the construction. In this respect, the deletion of abstract complementizers should be obligatory, despite the fact that Korean, in actuality, optionally allows complementizers to drop (cf. Section 2.4.2.). Then, the subsequently

arising question is why we should insert the complementizer which should be deleted. Furthermore, there seems no principled way to predict which complementizer should be chosen even though the abstract complementizers could be assumed. Is it determined lexically or in some other ways? If it is determined lexically, what class of Sino-Korean nouns selects *-um* and what other class takes *-ki*? Unfortunately, all the Sino-Korean words appearing in the construction belong to the same category of action noun, however. If it is determined in some other ways, what are they? I know of no principled way at all to predict the correct choice of complementizer in the construction. Further, postulating abstract complementizers raises a subsequent question of how many abstract complementizers should be admitted in the analysis of the construction in question.

For the reasons discussed above, I will not follow the analyses based on the Embedded Predicate Hypothesis which cannot but be too abstract and ad hoc to the extent that they have to admit powerful transformations which insert abstract items that should be deleted.⁹ Rather, I will just follow the idea of clausal embedding and assume a null complementizer which is motivated by the reason discussed in 1.2 and independently needed in the description of Korean grammar.¹⁰

2.3 Against Monoclausal Analyses

Before justifying the proposed analysis and providing supporting arguments, I will argue in this section against the previous analyses, which assume that the so-called DOC is monoclausal. The Stem Split

Analysis is discussed in 2.3.1 and the Main Predicate Analysis is discussed in 2.3.2, respectively. The VP Restructuring Analysis, the Ascension Analysis, and the Categorical Grammar Analysis are discussed in the subsequent sections.

2.3.1 Stem Spilt Analysis

Assuming that the underlying structure of the construction in issue is (2), repeated here as (17a), H. Im (1979) argues that the sequence like *kongpwu-ha* 'study', *phakoy-ha* 'destroy', etc. are single verbs which consist of noun stems (i.e., *kongpwu*, *phakoy*, etc.) and a suffix *ha*. H. Im (1979:57-73) further argues that the sentences like (17b) are derived by *-ul/-lul* topicalization which separates noun stems from the suffix *ha*.

- (17) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'

In his analysis, the second accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern, therefore, are not direct objects but topicalized constituents.

At first glance, his analysis seems able to provide a fairly good account for the different behavior between the two accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern. His answer to the different behavior between the two accusative constituents would be that split noun stems are not available to the syntactic processes tested in 2.2.2. However, his claim seems to have several theoretical and empirical problems.

In the first place, he has to postulate two different topicalization rules. One is *-un/-nun* topicalization that is the typical type of topicalization in Korean and the other *-ul/-lul* topicalization, which seems very unusual. Claiming that the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern is an anaphor and an old information, he treats the second accusative marker as a topic marker, despite the ad hocness of *-ul/-lul* topicalization.^{11,12}

Second, even if there should turn out to be two different topicalization constructions in Korean, there seem to be no principled criteria for distinguishing the topic markers *-ul/-lul* from the case markers *-un/-nun*. It has been noted in 2.2.2 that the second accusative constituents can be attached with the topic marker *in situ* (cf. 10b). Then, the question arising next is how to distinguish the two different types of topic markers. Any adequate theory should provide a proper account for not only the existence of the two different topic markers but also the alternative uses of *-ul/-lul* between case markers and topic markers. However, there seems to be no *a priori* reason to treat *-ul/-lul* as topic markers. Rather, the fact that the split stem can be topicalized *in situ* by topic markers suggests that *-ul/-lul* are not topic markers but just case markers. It seems reasonable to consider that the sentence (10b) is a case in which topic markers *-un/-nun* replaced the case markers *-ul/-lul* after the case markers are assigned. This theoretical inadequacy may be traced to the fact that H. Im intermingles phenomena at morphological level with the syntactic level phenomena (Y. Kim 1988:82).

Third, H. Im's analysis experiences some difficulties in accounting for how the suffix *-ha* alone can be a main verb at surface level after the stem is separated from the verb. It seems to be the case that a suffix alone cannot be a verb in general. Rather, *ha* should be a verb *per se*, not a suffix if it can stand alone (Y. Kim 1988:83).

Besides the theoretical problems pointed out above, his analysis also has empirical problems. Y. Kim (1988:83-4) observes that it is not the case that stems can be separated from verbs even in the case in which stems are combined with the suffixes, as in (18) and (19).¹³

- (18) a. Kuuy anay-ka kokay-lul kkuttek-keli-ess-ta.
 his wife-N head-A nod-do-PAST
 'His wife nodded her head.'
- b. Tongci-tul-i kuuy saki-lul pwuk-totwu-ess-ta.
 colleague-PL-N his spirit-A heap-raise-PAST
 'Colleagues encouraged him.'
- (19) a. *Kuuy anay-ka kokay-lul kkuttek-ul keli-ess-ta.
 his wife-N head-A nod-A do-PAST
 'His wife nodded her head.'
- b. *Tongci-tul-i kuuy saki-lul pwuk-ul totwu-ess-ta.
 colleague-PL-N his spirit-A heap-A raise-PAST
 'Colleagues encouraged him.'

The predicates in (18), *kkuttek-keli* 'nod' and *pwuk-totwu* 'encourage', morphologically consist of a stem (*kkuttek*, *pwuk*) and a suffix (*keli*, *totwu*), respectively. Contrary to the expectation, the sentences are, however, ungrammatical, if the stems are separated from suffixes, as in (19), unlike the case of the *ha-ta* pattern.

Y. Kim (1988:85) further observes an analogous phenomenon with respect to the position of negation words such as *an* 'not' or *mos* 'unable'. Negation words can appear before the stem as well as between the stem and the suffix *-ha* in the sentences like (17a), as shown below:

- (20) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul an/mos kongpwu-ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A not study-do-PAST
 'Swuni did not study English.'
 b. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu an/mos ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study not do-PAST
 'Swuni did not study English.'

However, the sentences in (18) are ungrammatical if the negation words are inserted between the stem and the suffix, as in (22), whereas the negation words can be inserted before the verbs, as in (21).

- (21) a. Kuuy anay-ka kokay-lul an/mos kkuttek-keli-ess-ta.
 his wife-N head-A not nod-do-PAST
 'His wife did not nod her head.'
 b. Tongci-tul-i kuuy saki-lul an/mos pwuk-totwu-ess-ta.
 colleague-PL-N his spirit-A not heap-raise-PAST
 'Colleagues did not encourage him.'
- (22) a. *Kuuy anay-ka kokay-lul kkuttek an/mos keli-ess-ta.
 his wife-N head-A nod-A not do-PAST
 'His wife did not nod her head.'
 b. *Tongci-tul-i kuuy saki-lul pwuk an/mos totwu-ess-ta.
 colleague-PL-N he-G spirit-A heap not raise-PAST
 'Colleagues did not encourage him.'

H. Im's analysis raises another difficulty regarding scrambling of the topicalized constituents by the purported *-ul/-lul* topicalization. Let us consider the following sentences:¹⁴

- (23) a. Swuni-ka pap-ul mek-ess-ta.
 -N rice-A eat-PAST
 'Swuni ate rice.'
 b. Chelswu-ka chayk-ul sa-ss-ta.
 -N book-A buy-PAST
 'Chelswu bought a book.'
- (24) a. Swuni-ka pap-un mek-ess-ta.
 -N rice-T eat-PAST
 'Swuni ate rice.'
 b. Chelswu-ka chayk-un sa-ss-ta.
 -N book-T buy-PAST
 'Chelswu bought a book.'

As shown above, the accusative marked constituent, the direct object here, can topicalize *in situ*. The second accusative constituents as well as the first ones in (17b) can also topicalize *in situ*, as shown in (10). On the other hand, the accusative marked constituents in (23) and the first accusative constituent in (17b) can also scramble to the sentence initial position in topicalized forms, as in (25) and (26).

- (25) a. Pap-un Swuni-ka mek-ess-ta.
 rice-T -N eat-PAST
 'As for rice, Swuni ate it.'
 b. Chayk-un Chelswu-ka sa-ss-ta.
 book-T -N buy-PAST
 'As for the book, Chelswu bought it.'
- (26) Yenge-nun Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 English-T -N study-A do-PAST
 'As for English, Swuni studied it.'

Consequently, the second accusative constituents in (17b) would be naturally expected to scramble in topicalized forms. However, this is not at all the case, as shown in (11b), repeated here as (27).

- (27) *Kongpwu-nun Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-yess-ta.
 study-T -N English-A do-PAST
 'As for study, Swuni did English.'

It is a well-known fact across languages that the beginning of the sentence is the salient topic position. If this is the case, H. Im cannot but experience difficulties in accounting for why the constituents topicalized *in situ* cannot be topicalized in the distinct topic position as far as he claims that the second accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern are topicalized by *-ul/-lul* topicalization.

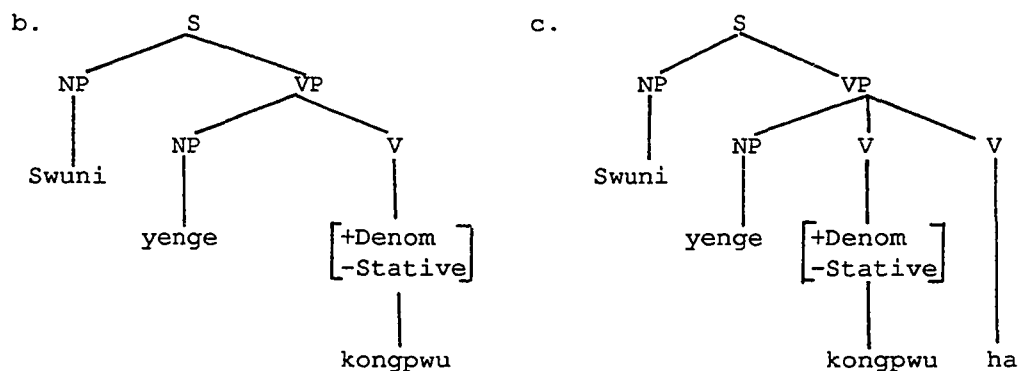
The Stem Split Analysis, then, seems to have problems in terms of empirical data as well as theoretical validity in accounting for the construction in question. These problems may be traced to the unusual assumption that second accusative constituents are noun stems of single verbs.

2.3.2 Main Predicate Analysis

Making a distinction of *ha* between a dummy verb and a pro-verb¹⁵ in accordance with the semantic properties (+substantial, +stative, etc.) of the preceding elements, C. Suh (1975) claims that nonsubstantial action nouns such as *kongpwu*, *phakoy*, *yencwu*, etc. are the main predicate of the *ha-ta* pattern, and that *ha* is a dummy verb which is semantically empty but has only a formal function as a verb (C. Suh 1975:57ff). He further claims that *ha* is later introduced by a transformation, and that the accusative marker following the predicate has a special function which is somehow different from that of marking direct object (C. Suh 1975:75).

Based on the above claims, C. Suh (1975:77) proposes that the underlying structure of the sentences like (28a=1) is (28b) and the surface structure is (28c).

- (28) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu(-lul) ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-a study-(A) do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'



In his analysis, *Ha* Insertion Transformation derives the structure (28c) and optional Object Marker Insertion Transformation derives the sentences like (28a).

His analysis seems to provide a fairly plausible answer in regard to the different behavior of the two accusative constituents. That is, the second accusative constituent behaves differently from the first one because the former is a predicate whereas the latter is a direct object. However, his analysis suffers from several theoretical drawbacks. First, he postulates a set of features like [+denominal, -stative] to make the nominal predicates directly dominated by the V node (cf. (28b,c)). However, it seems not clear why the predicate of the *ha-ta* pattern should be restricted to the nominals having those feature (i.e., largely Sino-Korean action nouns). Second, the inserted dummy verb *ha* (by his *Ha* Insertion Transformation) creates a new V node in his analysis, as can be seen in (28c). However, it seems quite dubious whether transformations can create a new category in the sense of Emonds (1970). With regard to this matter, B. Park (1977:154) argues that *ha* should be rather Chomsky-adjoined if it should be transformationally inserted. Third, the status of the second accusative marker introduced

by a transformation is not clear. Though C. Suh (1975:75) assumes that it has a different function from that of a object marker, it is not clear what kind of function it has. Further, it is very dubious whether nominal predicates can be assigned a case marker even though the second accusative marker could be considered as an object marker. Fourth, he treats the optionality of accusative markers, object markers in his terms, of the two accusative constituents in different manners. In his analysis, the first accusative marker is optionally deleted by a transformation, but the second one is optionally inserted by another transformation. However, if both accusative markers are case markers, their optionality could be accounted for in the same manner, since Korean allows the optional deletion of case markers.

Besides the above-mentioned theoretical problems, there are two important syntactic phenomena which cannot be easily accounted for as far as *ha* is claimed as a dummy verb (i.e., not a main verb). First, manner adverbs occur in front of the main verbs which they restrict, but not in front of auxiliary verbs, in Korean, as in (29)¹⁶. Therefore, adverbs are not supposed to occur in front of *ha* if *ha* is not a main verb. However, manner adverbs seem to serve as proper modifiers of *ha* in the construction at issue, as can be seen in (30).

- (29) a. Swuni-ka chayk-ul kuphi ilk-e peli-ess-ta.
 -N book-A rapidly read-finish-PAST
 'Swuni rapidly read a book and finished it.'
 b. *Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-e kuphi peli-ess-ta.
 -N book-A read rapidly finish-PAST
 'Swuni read a book and rapidly finished it.'
- (30) Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul swuipkey/kuphi ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-A easily/rapidly do-PAST
 'Swuni easily/rapidly studied English.'

In this regard, B. Park (1976, 1977, 1981), unlike C. Suh, claims that *ha* is not a dummy verb but a main verb. Second, in Korean, negation words such as *an* and *mos* should appear in front of a main verb in a simplex clause. Nonetheless, negation words can be placed in front of *ha*, as shown in the previous section. Given these facts, it seems reasonable to treat *ha* as a main verb rather than a dummy verb. The matters related to the insertion of manner adverbs and negation words will be discussed again in 2.4.1.

2.3.3 VP Restructuring Analysis.

Previous sections have argued that the second accusative constituents under discussion are neither stems split from verbs nor main predicates. It has also been argued that *ha* is not a dummy verb. One of the analyses attempting to solve these problems is the VP Restructuring Hypothesis proposed by S. Song (1967), J. Ree (1974), and B. Park (1981). B. Park (1981) among others has claimed that the *ha-ta* pattern is an instance of the DOC. His argument is based on the claim that *ha* is a main verb in the sentences (31):¹⁷

- (31) a. Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-n-ta.
 -N study-A do-PRES
 'Swuni is studying.'
 b. Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-n-ta.
 -N English-A do-PRES
 'Swuni is speaking English.'

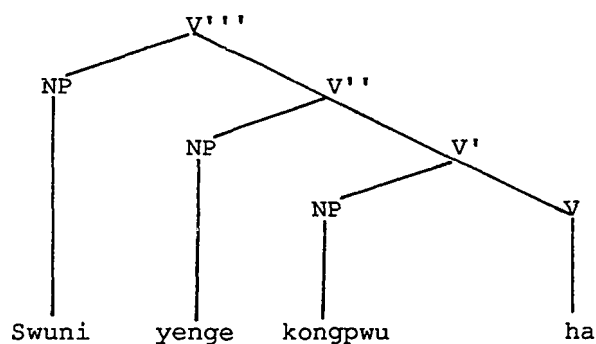
He argues that if *ha* is a main verb in (31), then *kongpwu* is naturally assumed to be a direct object in (31a),¹⁸ as *yenge* is a direct

object in (31b). Accordingly, he claims that *kongpwu* is the direct object of *ha*, and *yenge* is the direct object of the restructured verb *kongpwu-ha* in (1a), repeated as (32).

- (32) Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'

Developing his own X'-schema to account for the VP structure in Korean, B. Park (1981:100) further claims that *kongpwu* is tightly bound to *ha* as a direct object, while *yenge* is only indirectly bound to *ha* in the sense that it serves as a direct object only after the combination of *kongpwu* and *ha* is understood as a verb. Thus, B. Park (1981:99) proposes the structure (33) to represent the sentence (32):

(33)



His claim goes as follow: The NP dominated by V''' is a subject, the NP dominated by V'' is a direct object, and the NP dominated by V' is also a direct object. But the first NP is the direct object of V' (*kongpwu-ha*) and the second NP is the direct object of V (*ha*). With this line of reasoning, he claims that the *ha-ta* pattern sentences are indeed instances of the DOC.¹⁹ B. Park (1981:101) claims that semantic

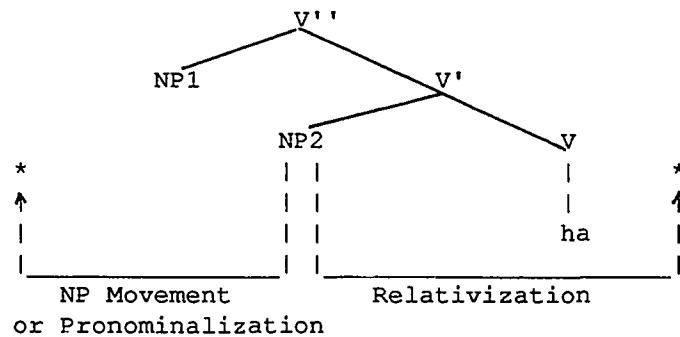
considerations (e.g., making questions and responses and active-passive correspondences)²⁰ support his argument for the existence of the DOC.

However, his analysis seems to have not only theoretical problems but also empirical inadequacies in providing an account of the different behavior of the two assumed objects examined in 2.2.2. First of all, the structure, depicted in (33), seems not valid in the sense of widely accepted X-bar theories (e.g., Jackendoff 1977, Stowell 1981, Chomsky 1981, 1986a, 1986b, and others). In X-bar theories, V' does not subcategorize arguments (complements) but includes only specifiers (modifiers), especially various adverbials not strictly subcategorized by the head, say, V.²¹ Therefore, the first accusative constituent in the structure above ought to be treated as a modifier in the general sense of X'-theory. However, he claims that it is an argument which bears a thematic role 'patient' and serves as a direct object of the restructured verb *kongpwu-ha*, say, V'. Thus, the proposed structure is somewhat peculiar to the extent that it does not fit to the X-bar frameworks being adopted in literature.²²

In addition to the peculiarity of the proposed X'-bar structure, B. Park's analysis also seems inadequate in accounting for the different syntactic behavior between the two assumed direct objects discussed in 2.2.2. He proposes a constraint like (34) to account for the different behavior between the two assumed objects.

(34) **Object-over-Object Constraint** (B. Park 1981:110)

The second object (NP2) may not move over the first object (NP1) nor may it refer to any preceding noun over the first object.



According to him, the above is a special case of island constraint in the sense that V'' is an island with respect to NP2 if and only if V' is dominated by V'' which in turn dominates another NP. Whether or not NP2 can be moved out of V'' depends on whether or not V'' dominates another NP. That is, where V'' is not an island, leftward movement, pronominalization and relativization may take place freely. Thus, the proposed constraint (34) prevents NP2 from moving across NP1, pronominalizing and relativizing, whereas it allows NP1 doing so, as can be seen below:

- (35) a. Yenge-lul Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
English-A -N study-A do-PAST
'Swuni studied English.'
- b. *Kongpwu-lul Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-yess-ta.
study-A -N English-A do-PAST
'Swuni studied English.'
- (36) a. Swuni-ka kukes-ul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
-N it-A study-A do-PAST
'Swuni studied it.'
- b. *Swuni-ka yenge-lul kukes-ul ha-yess-ta.
-N English-A it-A do-PAST
'Swuni did it to English.'
- (37) a. Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-n yenge
-N study-A do-RC English
'English that Swuni studied'

- b. *Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-n kongpwu
 -N English-A do-RC study
 'study that Swuni did of English'

In his analysis, the constraint (34), therefore, excludes (35b) as an ungrammatical sentence because NP2 moved across NP1. (36b) is also excluded as ungrammatical sentences because NP2 refers to a preceding noun (i.e., *kongpwu* in the previous sentence) over NP1. (37b) is ungrammatical because NP2 moved rightward out of an island V'.²³

Though B. Park discusses the cases of pronominalization, scrambling, and relativization, it seems worth while noting how the proposed constraint (34) predicts the nonapplicability of clefting, passivization, and topicalization to the second accusative constituent. Let us again consider the corresponding sentences.

- (38) a. Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-n-kes-un yenge-i-ta.
 -N study-A do-PAST-thing-T English-be
 'What Swuni studied is English.'
 b. *Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-n-kes-un kongpwu-i-ta.
 -N English-A do-PAST-thing-T study-be
 'What Swuni did to English is to study it.'
- (39) a. Yenge-ka Swuni-eyuyhay kongpwu-ka toy-ess-ta.
 English-N -by study-N PASS-PAST
 'English was studied by Swuni.'
 b. *Kongpwu-ka Swuni-eyuyhay yenge-ka toy-ess-ta.
 study-N -by English-N PASS-PAST
 'Study was done to English by Swuni.'
- (40) a. Yenge-nun Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 English-T -N study-A do-PAST
 'As for English, Swuni studied it.'
 b. *Kongpwu-nun Swuni-ka yenge-lul ha-yess-ta.
 study-T -by English-A do-PAST
 'As for study, Swuni did it to English.'

The first and the second sentences in (38) through (40) are, respectively, the cases in which the first and the second accusative

constituents underwent clefting, passivization, and topicalization. The latter sentences are ungrammatical whereas the former sentences are grammatical in each case. The ungrammaticality of the second sentences may come from the fact that the second accusative constituent moved (leftward) across the first accusative constituent (39b and 40b) or the fact that the second accusative constituent moved rightward (38b). Thus, at first glance, his constraint seems to correctly predict the different syntactic behavior between the two assumed objects.

Let us turn to constraint (34) again. The first part (The second object (NP2) may not move over the first object) seems to correctly rule out the cases of scrambling, passivization, and topicalization. This is because scrambling, passivization, and topicalization inevitably moves the second accusative constituents over the first one. The second part (nor may it refer to any preceding noun over the first object) rules out the case of pronominalization. This is because the pronominalized form of the second accusative constituent should refer to some preceding noun over the first accusative constituent. However, the cases of the rightward movement (i.e., clefting and relativization) seem not to work the same way. In both cases, the second accusative constituent neither moves over the first accusative constituent nor refers to any preceding noun over the first accusative constituent. The application of clefting and relativization to the second accusative constituent does not violate the proposed constraint but the derived sentences are ungrammatical. Moreover, his constraint seems to have little to say about why the second accusative marker is replaced with the nominative marker when it is passivized, as noted in 2.2.2.

B. Park's constraint seems to be grounded on the claim that the second accusative constituent is tightly bound to *ha* while the first accusative constituent is only indirectly bound to *ha* (B. Park: 1981:100). This seems to be the reason why he considers V'' an island. In other words, the second accusative constituent cannot move out from the island nor refer to anything outside the island. It may be reasonable. However, consider the following sentences:

- (41) a. Yenge-lul kongpwu-lul Swuni-ka ha-yess-ta.
 English-A study-A -N do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. Yenge-lul kongpwu-nun Swuni-ka ha-yess-ta.
 English-A study-A -N do-PAST
 'As for studying English, Swuni did it.'

Unlike (35a) and (40a), (41) shows that the second accusative constituent scrambles along with the first one. But (41) does not violate the constraint. That is, NP2 neither moves over NP1 nor refers to any preceding noun over NP1. Therefore, (34) can correctly predict that the sentences in (41) are grammatical as they are. However, if V'' is an island (i.e., the second accusative constituent is tightly bound to *ha*), how can the second accusative constituent move out of the island? This problematic case will be discussed further in 2.5.3.

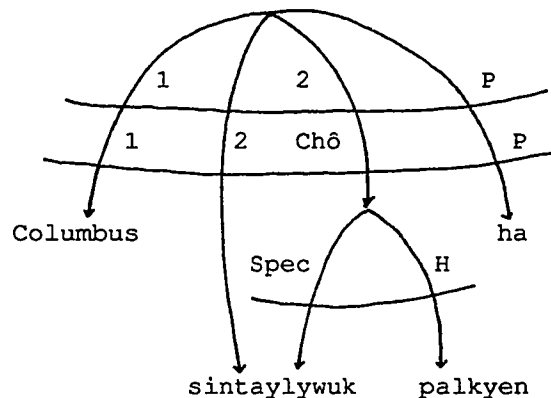
In this section, it has been shown that B. Park's analysis reveals inadequacies in terms of the validity of the proposed structure and of the explanation for the phenomena related to the construction under discussion. Those inadequacies may come from the fact that he assumes that the second accusative constituent is the direct object of *ha* as the first accusative constituent is the direct object of *kongpwu-ha*.

2.3.4 Ascension Analysis

Arguing that the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern is a noun but the first one is not the direct object of the restructured verb, Y. Choi (1988) proposes an alternative analysis based on ascension structures in Korean. He claims that (42), which parallels (1) in terms of its structure, has the ascension structure represented by the stratal diagram (43).²⁴

- (42) Columbus-ka sintaylywuk-ul palkyen-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N new continent-A discovery-A do-PAST
 'Columbus discovered a new continent.'

(43)



Assuming that *sintaylywuk* 'new continent' in (42) is a specifier of the head noun *palkyen* 'discovery' at the initial stratum, Y. Choi accounts for (42) as a special instance of an ascension, specifier ascension, in his terms.²⁵ According to him, *sintaylywuk* ascends to 2 at the second stratum, as shown in (43). Therefore, the ascende, *sintaylywuk*, assumes a final 2-relation (which the host bears at the stratum before ascension takes place) by the Relational Succession Law and the host, the ascender, *palkyen*, assumes a 2-chômeur relation by virtue of the

Stratal Uniqueness Law. Thus, both the ascende and the host are assigned an accusative marker by his case marking rule specifying that acting 2 nominals are assigned an accusative marker. Thus, his analysis takes the position that the second accusative constituent is not an independent constituent at the initial stratum²⁶ in the sense that it is the head of a compound noun.

Y. Choi's claim that the sentences in issue are an instance of ascension construction is supported by the fact that the two accusative constituents in (42) show the same behavior as other ascension constructions such as possessor ascension with respect to scrambling and relativization. He tries to account for the construction by getting a free ride from these other ascension structures. Therefore, given the assumption that the above mentioned are indeed ascension constructions, the merit of his analysis is that there is apparently no need to formulate even a single rule or constraint to account for the construction under question.

Y. Choi's analysis seems *prima facie* to provide a plausible and principled answer to the issues raised in 2.2.2. His answer would be that although he does not provide an explicit answer to the issue except for the cases of scrambling and relativization,²⁷ the second accusative constituent inevitably shows different behavior from the first because it is a final chômeur, whereas the first one is a final 2. Put differently, the second accusative constituent behaves no longer as a final 2 at the final stratum since it loses its GR as a direct object.

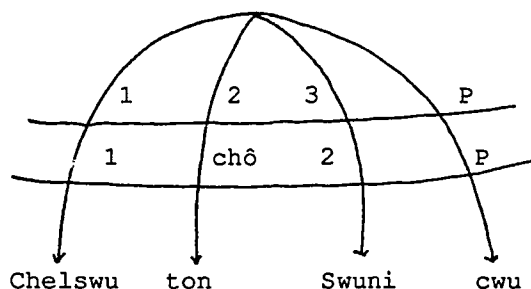
However, his analysis does not seem to cover all the facts examined in 2.2.2 and even the validity of the structure drawn in (43)

seems dubious. First of all, note that bearing a *chômeur* relation in RG does not mean altering the syntactic category of a constituent. Rather, *chômeurized* nominals still remain as nominals (i.e., NPs). If this is correct, then, his analysis may not account for the differences between the two accusative marked constituents regarding pronominalization and clefting. This is because pronominalization and clefting are processes which concern the NP-hood of object.²⁸ Therefore, bearing a *chômeur* relation may provide an answer for the different behavior of the second accusative constituent with respect to scrambling, relativization, and passivization, but not with respect to pronominalization, clefting, and topicalization. The following examples show that final 2-*chômeurs* can pronominalize, cleft, and topicalize.

- (44) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey ton-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -Dat money-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave money to Swuni.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul ton-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -A money-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave Swuni money.'
- (45) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul kukes-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -A it-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave it Swuni.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul cwu-n kes-un ton-i-ta.
 -N -A give-PAST thing-T money-be
 'What Chelswu gave Swuni is money.'
 c. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul ton-un cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -A money-T give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave Swuni money.'

(44b) is the sentence in which the initial 3, *Swuni*, advances to 2 through 3-to-2 advancement, and the initial 2, *ton* 'money', is put en *chômeage*, as shown in the stratal diagram (46).

(46)

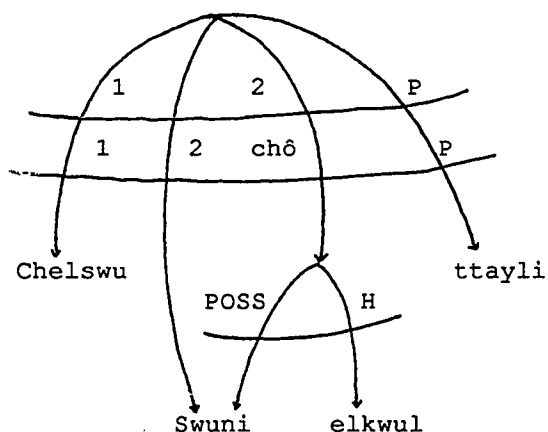


(45) shows that a 2-chômeur can pronominalize, cleft, and topicalize. A question might arise with regard to the pronominalization and clefting of chômeurs at this juncture. That is, the chômeur in (44b) is an advancement, not an ascension, chômeur. However, the examples below show that ascension chômeurs can be also pronominalized and clefted:

- (47) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-uy elkwul-ul ttayli-ess-ta.
 -N -G face-A hit-PAST
 'Chelswu hit Swuni on her face.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul elkwul-ul ttayli-ess-ta.
 -N -A face-A hit-PAST
 'Chelswu hit Swuni on her face.'
- (48) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul ?kukes/keki-lul ttayli-ess-ta.
 -N -A it/there-A hit-PAST
 'Chelswu hit Swuni on it.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul ttayli-n ?kes/kos-un elkwul-i-ta.
 -N -A hit-PAST what/where-T face-be
 'What (Where) Chelswu hit Swuni is her face.'
 c. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul elkwul-un ttayli-ess-ta.
 -N -A face-T hit-PAST
 'Chelswu hit Swuni on her face.'

(47b) is the sentence which contains an ascension chômeur (through possessor ascension). In (47b), elkwul 'face' is put en chômeur because Swuni ascends into a final 2, as seen in (49). However, elkwul can be pronominalized, clefted, and topicalized, as shown in (48).^{29,30}

(49)



The facts seem to tell us that Y. Choi's specifier ascension is not indeed parallel to other ascensions.³¹

Second, the assumption underlying the Specifier Ascension Analysis is that the first accusative constituent forms a compound noun with the second accusative constituent at the initial stratum (cf. Y. Choi 1988:246, 270). It would be then expected that any compound noun can undergo ascension, say, specifier ascension, if the resulting compound bears a direct object relation to its predicate within a same simplex clause. However, this does not seem to be the case at all, as seen below:

- (50) a. Salam-tul-i hakkyo kenmwul-ul seywu-ess-ta.
 people-PL-N school building-A build-PAST
 'People built the school building.'
 b. Swuni-ka cong-i inhyeng-ul mantul-ess-ta.
 -N paper doll-A make-PAST
 'Swuni made a paper doll.'
- (51) a. *Salam-tul-i hakkyo-lul kenmwul-ul seywu-ess-ta.
 people-PL-N school-A building-A build-PAST
 'People built the school building.'
 b. *Swuni-ka cong-i-lul inhyeng-ul mantul-ess-ta.
 -N paper-A doll-A make-PAST
 'Swuni made a paper doll.'

- (52) a. Apeci-ka catongcha kongcang-ul ha-si-n-ta.
 father-N automobile factory-A do-H-PRES
 'The father does (runs) an automobile factory.'
 b. Swuni-ka osakey-lul ha-n-ta.
 -N clothes-store-A do-PRES
 'Swuni does (runs) a clothes-store.'
- (53) a. *Apeci-ka catongcha-lul kongcang-ul ha-si-n-ta.
 father-N automobile-A factory-A do-H-PRES
 'The father does (runs) the automobile factory.'
 b. *Swuni-ka os-ul kekey-lul ha-n-ta.
 -N clothes-A store-A do-PRES
 'Swuni does (runs) a clothes store.'

(50) and (51) show that specifier ascension does not take place when the specifier is not in the relation of semantic patient to the head nouns and when the predicate is not the verb *ha*. On the other hand, (52) and (53) show that specifier ascension does not occur even though the specifier is in the semantic patient relation to its head and the predicate is the verb *ha*, as is the case in the so-called specifier ascension construction. Thus, specifier ascension takes place only in the very restricted case of compound nouns of which the head is a so-called Sino-Korean action noun and the specifier bears the semantic patient role to its head. To account for this limited case, Y. Choi implicitly and/or explicitly assumes that specifier ascension is restricted to exactly such sentences.³² However, this kind of restriction of the rule's application to a particular construction is essentially a stipulation and does not provide an explanation for why such a restriction should exist. In this sense, his analysis seems very ad hoc and has no convincing theoretical grounds, although he is getting a free ride on ascension structures in general.

Third, Y. Choi views the relation between *sintaylywuk* and *palkyen* as a specifier-head relation, as noted above. His view follows from the fact that he, like B. Park (1981), considers *palkyen* as a noun. Even though *palkyen* is assumed to be a noun, it cannot be overlooked that Sino-Korean words such as *palkyen* 'discovery', *kongpwu* 'study', and *phakoy* 'destroy', etc. require the presence of a semantic patient, as Y. Choi (1988:244-6) points out. This semantic requirement is observed in (54) and (55) as well as in the construction under consideration.

- (54) a. Swuni-ka pang-ul chengso-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N room-A clean-A do-PAST
 'Swuni cleaned the room.'
 b. Chelswu-ka tongmwul-tul-ul kwukyeng-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N animal-PL-A look-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu looked at animals.'
- (55) a. Swuni-ka e chengso-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N clean-A do-PAST
 'Swuni cleaned e.'
 b. Chelswu-ka e kwukyeng-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N look-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu looked at e.'

Sentences in (55) are incomplete if there is no semantic patient. (55) cannot be, therefore, fully interpreted without discourse contexts unless the nominals bearing a patient role are provided.

This semantic requirement is the same as with the verbs which can be used both transitively and intransitively in the traditional sense, as shown in (56) and (57):

- (56) a. Chelswu-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-ta.
 -N apple-A eat-PAST
 'Chelswu ate an apple.'
 b. Swuni-ka mwun-ul yel-ess-ta.
 -N door-A open-PAST
 'Swuni opened the door.'

- (57) a. Chelswu-ka e mek-ess-ta.
 -N eat-PAST
 'Chelswu ate e.'
 b. Swuni-ka e yel-ess-ta.
 -N open-PAST
 'Swuni opened e.'

Sentences in (57) cannot be fully interpreted, either, without discourse contexts, unless the nominals bearing a patient role are provided as in (56). (57) can only be interpreted with unspecified objects, as in (58), if discourse contexts are not given.

- (58) a. Chelswu ate something.
 b. Swuni opened something.

The identical semantic relation and requirement are also observed in structures containing pure Korean verbs, as in (59-61).

- (59) a. Nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ppwuli-ki-lul ha-n-ta.
 farmer-N seed-A scatter-NM-A do-PRES
 'The farmer scatters seeds.'
 b. Nongpwu-ka e ppwuli-ki-lul ha-n-ta.
 farmer-N scatter-NM-A do-PAST
 'The farmer scatters e.'
- (60) a. Apeci-ka ai-lul ttayli-si-ki-lul ha-si-ess-ta.
 father-N child-A hit-H-NM-A do-H-PAST
 'Father hit the child.'
 b. Apeci-ka e ttayli-si-ki-lul ha-si-ess-ta.
 father-N hit-H-NM-A do-PAST
 'Father hit e.'
- (61) a. Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-ki-lul culki-n-ta.
 -N book-A read-NM-A enjoy-PRES
 'Swuni enjoys reading a book.'
 b. Swuni-ka e ilk-ki-lul culki-n-ta.
 -N read-NM-A enjoy-PRES
 'Swuni enjoys reading e.'

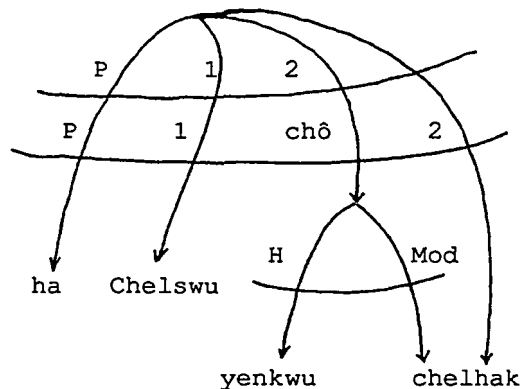
As the above examples show, the identical semantic relation and requirement are also maintained in structures containing pure Korean

verbs, regardless of the types of the matrix verb. If this is the case, the semantic patient relation of the so-called specifier to its head seems inappropriate for the specifier ascension construction. Y. Choi treats the consistent semantic relation between the first and second accusative constituent as a characteristic of the specifier ascension construction. However, the typical semantic relation between transitive verbs and their (direct) objects is a patient role, as shown in (56) and (57).³³ In this regard, it seems to be accidental in his analysis that the first and second accusative marked constituent must be treated as having a specifier-head relation. It might be better to say that they are in the relation of predicate-direct object rather than the relation of specifier-head.

The problems in Y. Choi's analysis may come from his treatment of the second accusative constituents as nouns which are the heads of compound nominals. There is another analysis similar to Y. Choi's. Gerdtz (1986) proposes the Modifier Ascension Analysis for the same construction. She proposes the stratal diagram (62b) for the sentence (62a) within the RG framework:

- (62) a. Chelswu-ka chelhak-ul yenkwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N philosophy-A study-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu studied philosophy.'

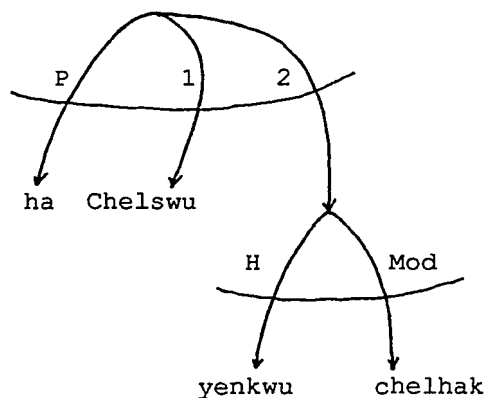
b.



She claims that the sentence corresponding to the initial stratum of the stratal diagram (62b) is (63a), represented in stratal diagram (63b).

- (63) a. Chelswu-ka chelhak-ey kwanhayse yenkwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N philosophy-about study-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu studied about philosophy.'

b.



Like Y. Choi's analysis, Gerdts's Modifier Ascension Analysis relies on the fact that the construction in question exactly parallels other ascension constructions such as possessor ascension in terms of their structure. A conceptual difference between the two analyses is the assumption about the nature of the initial stratum as shown above.

That is, she claims that the non-ascended counterpart of (62a) is (63a) containing the noun phrase consisting of a postpositional phrase and a head whereas Y. Choi proposes that the non-ascended specifier forms a compound noun with the head noun.

However, Gerdts' analysis also has fundamental theoretical problems. First, as pointed out by Y. Choi (1988:270), she assumes that the postpositional phrase,³⁴ say, *chelhak-ey kwanhayse* 'about philosophy', is the modifier of the head nominal *yenkwu* 'study' although postpositional phrases in other constructions cannot serve as modifiers of nouns in Korean. The fact that *chelhak-ey kwanhayse* and *yenkwu* do not form a constituent can be clearly seen from the following examples, in which the postpositional phrase *chelhak-ey kwanhayse* scrambles:

- (64) a. *Chelhak-ey kwanhayse Swuni-ka yenkwu-lul ha-yess-ta.*
 philosophy-about -N study-A do-PAST
 'About philosophy, Swuni studied.'
 b. *Swuni-ka yenkwu-lul chelhak-ey kwanhayse ha-yess-ta.*
 -N study-A philosophy-about do-PAST
 'About philosophy, Swuni studied.'

(64a) and (64b) are the sentences in which the postpositional phrase scrambles into a sentence-initial position and into the position between the head noun *yenkwu* and the predicate *ha*, respectively. Therefore, the grammaticality of (64a) shows that the scrambled constituent is not a modifier of a noun but an adverbial phrase, because Korean does not allow the modifier of a noun to be shifted out of the noun phrase at all. Moreover, the grammaticality of (64b) corroborates that the scrambled postpositional phrase cannot be a modifier of the noun *yenkwu* since Korean is a highly strict head-final language.

Second, Y. Choi (1988:272) further points out that with a number of the so-called action nouns including *phakoy* 'destruction', *salhay* 'murder', *cheypho* 'arrest', etc., the corresponding phrase of the form *NP-ey kwanhayse N* is ill-formed, as seen in (65).³⁵

- (65) a. **Ku-ka Caesar-ey kwanhayse salhay-lul ha-yess-ta.*
 he-N about murder-A do-PAST
 'He committed murder about Caesar.'
 b. *Ku-ka Caesar-lul salhay-lul ha-yess-ta.*
 he-N -A murder-A do-PAST
 'He murdered Caesar.'

If this is the case, the Modifier Ascension Analysis cannot but add specific and ad hoc conditions to ensure that modifier ascension applies obligatorily when such nouns are involved but does not apply otherwise.

Regardless of the problems discussed above, Gerdt's analysis still exposes the same inadequacies that Y. Choi's analysis experiences regarding pronominalization, clefting, and topicalization, which I will not repeat here. This is because both analyses treat the second accusative constituent as a final ascension *chômeur*. Therefore, in the light of the above considerations, I will reject Y. Choi's and Gerdt's analyses.

Before closing this section, it seems worthwhile noting that there are also some pure nouns which require a complement having a semantic relation to them.³⁶ Such nouns are *chayk* 'book', *sacin* 'picture', *pokose* 'report', etc. However, it cannot be overlooked that those nouns show different behavior from the verbal predicates under consideration, as can be seen in (66) and (67).

- (66) a. Chelswu-ka Abraham-ey kwanhan chayk-ul sse-ss-ta.
 -N -about book-A write-PAST
 'Chelswu wrote a book about Abraham.'
 b. *Chelswu-ka Abraham-ul chayk-ul sse-ss-ta.
 -A -A book-A write-PAST
 'Chelswu wrote a book about Abraham.'
- (67) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-uy sacin-ul ccik-ess-ta.
 -N -G picture-A take-PAST
 'Chelswu took a picture of Swuni.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul sacin-ul ccik-ess-ta.
 -N -A picture-A take-PAST
 'Chelswu took a picture of Swuni.'

As shown in (66), pure nouns do not usually permit the DOC, contrary to our expectation. Even though they allow a seeming DOC, as in (67b), its corresponding counterpart (67a) shows a different case marking pattern for the preceding constituent from the *ha-ta* pattern, as in (68).

- (68) a. *Swuni-ka yenge-uy kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-G study-A do-PAST
 (as an intended meaning)
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. *Cekkwun-i tosi-uy phakoy-lul ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-N city-G destroy-A do-PAST
 (as an intended meaning)
 'The enemy destroyed the city.'

Neither (68a) nor (68b) are grammatical whereas (67a) and (67b) are grammatical. Furthermore, the modifier '*Abraham-ey kwanhan*', in (66a), can freely scramble into the position following the head *chayk*, as previously illustrated, if the postposition is replaced with an appropriate form such as '*-kwanhay(se)*'. Both of the two accusative constituents, in (67b), can switch their order whereas the two accusative constituents of the *ha-ta* pattern cannot, on the other hand, as illustrated below:

- (69) a. Chelswu-ka chayk-ul Abraham-ey kwanhay sse-ss-ta.
 -N book-A -about write-PAST
 'Chelswu wrote a book about Abraham.'
 b. Chelswu-ka sacin-ul Swuni-lul ccik-ess-ta.
 -N picture-A -A take-PAST
 'Chelswu took a picture of Swuni.'
- (70) a. *Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul yenge-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N study-A English-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. *Cekkwun-i phakoy-lul tosi-lul ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-N destroy-A city-A do-PAST
 'The enemy destroyed the city.'

In light of this, the examples illustrated above are evidence that *kongpwu*, *palkyen*, *phakoy*, etc. are not nouns. Therefore, I treat them as verbal predicates in my analysis.

2.3.5 Categorical Grammar Analysis

Assuming that *ha* is an auxiliary verb,³⁷ O'Grady (to appear) claims that the special properties of Sino-Korean action nouns and the verb *ha* contribute to the formation of the *ha-ta* pattern. He takes the special properties of Sino-Korean action nouns to be that they have structures like those of verbs, in that their meaning determines optional actor and theme type roles. More concretely, *kongpwu* 'study', for example, takes an NP or an N as its actor term and theme term, as depicted in (71).^{38,39}

(71) Sino-Korean nouns

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|----------------------|----------------------|
| a. kongpwu 'study' | : | (N(P) _a) | (N(P) _t) |
| b. palkyen 'destruction' | : | (N(P) _a) | (N(P) _t) |
| c. swuip 'import' | : | (N(P) _a) | (N(P) _t) |

On the other hand, he takes the special properties of auxiliary verb *ha-ta* to be that it can take as its theme term either an NP or an N, as quoted in (72). Therefore, according to him, the lexical properties of Sino-Korean nouns and the lexical property of *ha* license the *ha-ta* pattern.

(72) auxiliary *ha-ta*: TV - NP_a N(P)_t

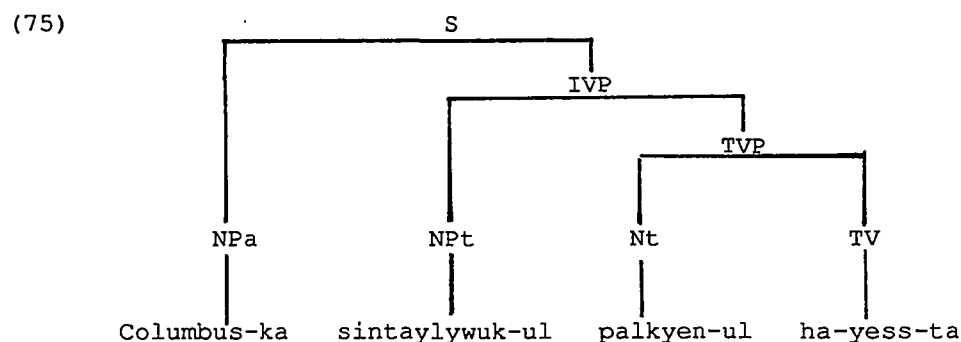
To be specific, in his analysis, the lexical properties of the Sino-Korean action nouns and *ha* produce two different structures like (73) and (74).

- (73) a. John-i [NP kongpwu-lul] ha-n-ta.
 -N study-A do-PAST
 'John is studying.'
 b. John-i [NP enehak yenkwu-lul] ha-yess-ta.
 -N linguistics research-A do-PAST
 'John carried out linguistics research.'
- (74) Columbus-ka sintaylywuk-ul palkyen-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N new continent-A discovery-A do-PAST
 'Columbus discovered a new continent.'

(73a) is produced by the combination of *ha* with a complete NP in the single complement structure where the Sino-Korean N has no overtly realized complements or modifiers, and (73b) results in when *ha* combines with a complete NP where the Sino-Korean N appears with an argument (and a modifier). In other words, (73) are the sentences formed by the combination of *ha* with the complete NP where the Sino-Korean N is a head.

However, unlike the cases in (73), (74) results from the combination of *ha* with the Sino-Korean N. More precisely speaking, *ha*

takes the N *palkyen* as its theme term. Of *palkyen*'s two arguments, the actor term is suppressed and the theme term is unsatisfied. Therefore, the phrase *palkyen-ul ha-yess-ta* 'discovered' exhibits two unsatisfied NP dependencies (i.e., the theme associated with *palkyen* and the actor associated with *ha-ta*). Since the category *ha-ta* is a transitive verb (TV) by definition in his analysis, it makes transitive verb phrase (TVP) by combining with Nt (i.e., *palkyen*) (cf. (72)). The first of these unsatisfied dependencies of the TVP is satisfied by the combination with the theme NP *sintaylywuk* and the second (i.e., *ha-ta*) by the combination of the resulting intransitive verb phrase (IVP) with the actor NP *Columbus*. After combinatorial operations, each of these NPs receives accusative case and nominative case, respectively, in accordance with the usual case conventions in his analysis.⁴⁰ Therefore, the result, say, (74), is a double accusative construction. Below are the combinatorial operations to get (74).



The Categorical Grammar Analysis outlined above seems to provide an accurate and plausible account for the different behavior between the two accusative constituents. In this analysis, the second accusative constituent is an N whereas the first one is an NP which is an object.⁴¹

A definite answer is, therefore, that the first accusative constituent can undergo all the processes tested in 2.2.2 but the second cannot, although O'Grady discusses only the cases of pronominalization, relativization, and scrambling in his work. Moreover, the assumption that the second accusative constituent is an N can provide a more plausible account regarding clefting phenomenon, as compared with B. Park's (and Y. Choi's, by implication) assumption that it is an NP. This is because clefting is a syntactic process sensitive to the constituency of NP. However, his analysis raises some doubt with respect to pronominalization, scrambling, and case marking of the second accusative constituent, especially regarding the categorial status of the second accusative constituent.

First, there are two different types of pronominalization for the third person singular neuter nouns in Korean. One is *Kukes* Pronominalization and the other *Kes* Pronominalization. In other words, lexical category nouns, say, N, are replaced by *kes* 'thing, one' whereas NPs are replaced by *kukes* 'it', as illustrated below:

- (76) a. Swuni-ka ppalkan moca-lul ssu-ko Chelswu-ka phalan
 -N red hat-A wear-and -N blue
 moca-lul sse-ss-ta.
 hat-A wear-PAST
 'Swuni wore a red hat and Chelswu wore a blue hat.
 b. Swuni-ka ppalkan moca-lul ssu-ko Chelswu-ka phalan
 -N red hat-A wear-and -N blue
 kes/(*kukes)-ul sse-ss-ta.
 thing/(it)-A wear-PAST
 'Swuni wore a red hat and Chelswu wore a blue one.'
- (77) a. Emeni-ka yeyppun kkochpyeng-ul sa-o-si-ess-ta.
 mother-N pretty flower base-A buy-bring-H-PAST
 'The mother bought a pretty flower base.'

- b. Chelswu-ka kukes/(*kes)-ul kkaythuli-ess-ta.
 -N it/(thing)-A break-PAST
 'Chelswu broke it (the pretty flower base which
 the mother bought).'

As shown above, two different types of pronominalization complementarily take place depending on the types of categories of target nominals. That is, *moca* 'hat' in (76a) is pronominalized by *kes* because it is an N which heads an NP whereas the NP *yeyppun kkochpyeng* 'pretty flower base' in (76b) is pronominalized by *kukes*, but not vice versa. If this is the case, the second accusative constituent in (74) is naturally expected to be replaced with *kes* rather than *kukes* as far as it is assumed to be a third person singular neuter N (see the structure depicted in (75)). But it is not pronominalized by neither of them, as can be seen in (78).

- (78) a. *Columbus-ka sintaylywuk-ul kukes-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N new continent-A it-A do-PAST
 'Columbus did it to a new continent.'
 b. *Columbus-ka sintaylywuk-ul kes-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N new continent-A thing-A do-PAST
 'Columbus did one to a new continent.'

Second, O'Grady, assuming that only maximal projections such as PPs, AdvPs, and NPs can scramble in Korean, provides the reason why the second accusative constituent cannot scramble. According to him, the nominal with which *ha-ta* must combine in (74) -i.e., *palkyen-* cannot scramble since it is not an NP but an N. It seems *prima facie* to work out well, because no noun within a noun phrase can scramble outside that NP in Korean. This follows from the fact that constituents can scramble only as a unit. However, as noted in 2.3.3, the second accusative constituent can scramble along with the first accusative constituent.

- (79) Sintaylywuk-ul palkyen-ul Columbus-ka ha-yess-ta.
 new continent-A discovery-A -N do-PAST
 'Columbus discovered a new continent.'

Then, the question is whether the two accusative constituents form a single constituent (i.e., maximal projection in his term). (79) is the sentence in which scrambling applies to the structure (75) proposed by O'Grady. However, the structure in (75) does not show any clue that the two accusative constituents form a maximal projection which can freely scramble. What (75) shows is that the second accusative constituent combines forming a TVP and the first accusative constituent in turn combines with the TVP to form a new IVP. Regarding this matter, he admits that *sintaylywuk* is not a part of the NP headed by *palkyen*, pointing out that *sintaylywuk* can scramble alone.

Third, the second constituent is marked by an accusative marker because it is combined with TV, say, *ha-ta* (cf. see (75) above) in O'Grady's analysis. As generally agreed, cases are assigned to the maximal projection of the constituents, not to the lexical projection itself.⁴² However, notice that the second accusative constituent is an N, not an NP, in his analysis. If this is the case, O'Grady must weaken his case conventions to accommodate the case marking of the given construction. Or, his case conventions predict that it should be an NP, not an N. But notice that O'Grady argues that the second accusative constituent is not an NP but an N.

So far, it has been shown that O'Grady's analysis also raises some problems with respect to the categorial status of the second accusative

constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern. These problems stem from his treating the second constituent as an N.

2.4 Justification of Biclausal Structure

In the previous sections, it has been argued that the second accusative constituent at issue is neither a nominal (whether or not it be independent) nor a main predicate, and the problems of the mono-clausal analyses have been discussed in terms of theoretical and empirical validity. This section justifies the proposed Biclausal Analysis in 2.2.3 by showing that the second accusative constituent is not a noun but a verb, which is the predicate of the embedded clause. Section 2.4.1 discusses the (embedded) verbal properties of the second accusative constituent in question. Section 2.4.2 deals with some facts about case marking and complementizers in Korean. Specifically, it is argued that *-um*, *-ki*, etc. are complementizers (traditionally, nominalizers) which nominalize clauses, not verbs *per se*, in Korean.

2.4.1 Verbal Properties of Second Accusative Constituent

This section provides three arguments to show that the second accusative constituents such as *kongpwu*, *phakoy*, *yencwu*, *palkyen*, etc. have the properties of verbal predicate of the embedded clause of the construction at issue rather than a noun or an NP.

2.4.1.1 Modifier Insertion

It is well known that, in Korean, modifiers such as adjectives occur in front of the noun that they restrict.

- (80) a. Chelswu-ka yukhwayhan nolay-lul pwul-less-ta.
 -N delightful song-A sing-PAST
 'Chelswu sang a delightful song.'
 b. Swuni-ka yeypun inhyeng-ul sa-ss-ta.
 -N pretty doll-A buy-PAST
 'Swuni bought a pretty doll.'
- (81) a. *Chelswu-ka nolay-lul yukhwayhan pwul-less-ta.
 -N song-A delightful sing-PAST
 'Chelswu sang a delightful song.'
 b. *Swuni-ka inhyeng-ul yeypun sa-ss-ta.
 -N doll-A pretty buy-PAST
 'Swuni bought a pretty doll.'

The adjectives *yukhwayhan* 'delightful' and *yeypun* 'pretty' can occur only in front of the nouns that they modify. For this reason, the sentences in (80) are grammatical but the ones in (81) are ungrammatical.

In regard to the modifiers in the *ha-ta* pattern, Y. Kim (1988) and K. Lee (1988, 1990a) observe that adjectives such as *elyewun* 'difficult' can occur in front of the nominal *yenge*, as in (82), but not in front of *kongpwu*, as in (83).

- (82) Swuni-ka elyewun yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N difficult English-A study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied difficult English.'
- (83) *Swuni-ka yenge-lul elyewun kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A difficult study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied difficult English.'

Y. Kim and K. Lee further observe that if, instead of adjectives, adverbs such as *elyepkey* 'with difficulty' occur in front of *kongpwu*, sentences are grammatical, as in (84).

- (84) Swuni-ka yenge-lul elyepkey kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A with difficulty study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English with difficulties.'

The fact that the adjective *elyewun* cannot be placed in front of *kongpwu* and that the adverb *elyepkey* occurs instead indicates that *kongpwu* has the property of a verbal predicate rather than a noun.⁴³

Concerning the occurrence of adverbs, however, B. Park (1976, 1981) contends that the original position of the adverb is in front of the main verb *ha* and moved later by Adverb Placement Rule. The Adverb Placement Rule, therefore, makes the sentences (86) possible from (85).

- (85) Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul elyepkey ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-A with difficulty do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English with difficulties.'
- (86) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul elyepkey kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 b. Swuni-ka elyepkey yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 c. Elyepkey Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.

What B. Park intends to claim through the Adverb Placement Rule is that *kongpwu* is still a noun although adverbs can occur in front of it. He further argues against the claim that the second accusative constituent is a verb, providing the following example:

- (87) Swuni-ka Brahms-lul yelttin yencwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N Brahms-A ardent play-A do-PAST
 'Swuni did the ardent playing of Brahms.'

Based on the sentence (87), he asserts that *yencwu* is not a verb but a noun because the adjective *yelttin* can occur in front of *yencwu*. This argument, however, does not seem convincing. Note the following sentence in which the adjective *yelttin* was replaced with the adverb *yelttikey*.

- (88) Swuni-ka Brahms-lul yelttikey yencwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N Brahms-A ardently play-A do-PAST
 'Swuni ardently played Brahms.'

(88) is much more natural than (87), which is very awkward at best. This difference in the degree of awkwardness can be found consistently in the construction under discussion.⁴⁴

- (89) a. ??Swuni-ka yenge-lul yelttin kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A ardent study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni did the ardent studies of English.'
 b. Swuni-ka yenge-lul yelttikey kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A ardently study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni ardently studied English.'
- (90) a. ?*Cekkwun-i tosi-lul wancenhan phakoy-lul ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-N city-A complete destroy-A do-PAST
 'The enemy did the complete destruction of the city.'
 b. Cekkwun-i tosi-lul wancenhi phakoy-lul ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-N city-A completely destroy-A do-PAST
 'The enemy completely destroyed the city.'

The discrepancy in naturalness is, at least, indirect evidence that those constituents in question are verbal predicates. Furthermore, the fact that (86a) sounds most natural can be direct evidence that those constituents are verbal predicates. This claim follows from the fact that sentences in Korean sound most natural when adverbs occur in front of the verbs they modify, and the distance between adverbs and verbs can even change the meaning of a sentence, as can be seen in (91).

- (91) a. Onul Swuni-ka pap-ul ppalli mek-ess-ta.
 today -N meal fast eat-PAST
 'Swuni ate her meal rapidly today.'
 b. Onul Swuni-ka ppalli pap-ul mek-ess-ta.
 'Swuni ate rice fast today.'
 (or, 'Today, Swuni ate her meal earlier than usually
 scheduled.')
- c. ?Onul ppalli Swuni-ka pap-ul mek-ess-ta.
 'Today, Swuni ate her meal earlier than usually scheduled.'
 (or, 'Swuni ate rice fast today.')
- d. ?*Ppalli onul Swuni-ka pap-ul mek-ess-ta.

The above shows that (91a) sounds most natural, and that the distance between an adverb and a verb makes it difficult to interpret the given sentence in the intended meaning, or even makes the sentence ungrammatical. The examples in (86), in fact, show the same situation. (86c) can be easily interpreted as '*Swuni studied English under bad circumstances.*' rather than as the intended meaning '*Swuni experienced difficulties in studying (or understanding) English.*'.

Moreover, it seems hard to concede that manner adverbs originate from the position in front of *ha*. This is because (86a) sounds most natural among the sentences (86) as well as (85). At this moment, it seems worthwhile considering B. Park's Adverb Placement Rule again. As noted, the manner adverb originates from the position in front of *ha* in (85) and then moved leftward later by the Adverb Movement Rule. According to him, if manner adverbs originate from the position in front of *kongpwu*, bidirectional movement rules are required but such bidirectional movement rules are dubious, compared with unidirectional ones. For this reason, he claims that manner adverbs should be placed in front of *ha* and then later be moved leftward. However, note that manner adverbs can be in front of main verbs, but not in front of

auxiliary verbs as discussed in 2.3.2, and note that two different manner adverbs can respectively have position in front of *kongpwu* and *ha*, as follows:

- (92) Swuni-ka yenge-lul ppali kongpwu-lul culkepkey ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A fast study-A pleasantly do-PAST
 'Pleasantly, Swuni studied English fast.'
 (= Swuni studied English fast in the pleasant manner.)

Though there is no distinct principle limiting one manner adverb per each verb, it may not be unreasonable to consider the sentence under discussion to be biclausal because (85) and (92) together indicate that the given construction contains two main verbs. If the given construction is biclausal, the Adverb Placement Rule becomes unnecessary since manner adverbs can freely cooccur with either of two main verbs. However, an explanation should be still provided for why (86a) is more natural than (85). The matrix verb *ha* has an abstract meaning of 'do' whereas the embedded verbs (*kongpwu*, *phakoy*, etc.) have a substantial meaning of a designated action. Therefore, manner adverbs seem to act as the proper modifier of the embedded verb rather than the matrix verb in the given sentence. Thus, the Biclausal Analysis removes the movement rule and provides a reasonable account for the varying degrees of naturalness of the given sentences.

As discussed above, the second accusative constituents should be treated as verbal predicates since manner adverbs rather than adjectives occur as their proper modifiers. Consequently, the construction under discussion should be considered biclausal because it includes two main verbs within the same sentence.

2.4.1.2 Restriction of Negation Words

In Korean, the proper place of negation words such as an 'not' or mos 'unable' is just before the predicate they restrict within the same simplex clause, as noted in 2.3.1. Consider the following examples:

- (93) a. Chelswu-ka pap-ul an/mos mek-ess-ta.
 -N rice-A not/unable eat-PAST
 'Chelswu did (could) not eat his meal.'
 b. *Chelswu-ka an/mos pap-ul mek-ess-ta.
 c. *An/mos Chelswu-ka pap-ul mek-ess-ta.
- (94) a. Swuni-ka cam-ul an/mos ca-ss-ta.
 -N sleep-A not/unable sleep-PAST
 'Swuni did (could) not take a sleep.'
 b. *Swuni-ka an/mos cam-ul ca-ss-ta.
 c. *An/mos Swuni-ka cam-ul ca-ss-ta.

The examples above show that the negation words cannot occur at any place except in front of the predicate of clauses. This is because negation words modify the predicates unless they serve as sentence negation words.⁴⁵ These negation words can occur before the second accusative constituent, but neither at the sentence initial position nor before the first accusative constituent, as can be seen below:⁴⁶

- (95) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul an/mos kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A not/unable study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni did (could) not study English.'
 b. *Swuni-ka an/mos yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 c. *An/mos Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
- (96) a. Cekkwun-i tosi-lul an/mos phakoy-lul ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-N city-A not/unable destroy-A do-PAST
 'The enemy did (could) not destroy the city.'
 b. *Cekkwun-i an/mos tosi-lul phakoy-lul ha-yess-ta.
 c. *An/mos cekkwun-i tosi-lul phakoy-lul ha-yess-ta.

The fact that negation words can occur in front of the second accusative constituent again reveals that the second accusative constituent is a main verb, not a nominal as claimed in many studies. This follows from the fact that, in Korean, negation words can occur only in front of the main verb. Otherwise, it is problematic to account for the occurrence of the negation words in front of the second accusative constituent.

Negation words can also take place between the second accusative constituent and the verb *ha*, as noted in 2.3.1.

- (97) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul an/mos ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-A not/unable do-PAST
 'Swuni did (could) not study English.'
 b. Cekkwan-i tosi-lul phakoy-lul an/mos ha-yess-ta.
 enemy-N city-A destroy-A not/unable do-PAST
 'The enemy did (could) not destroy the city.'

Given the assumption that negation words can occur only in front of the predicate within the same simplex clause, what examples in (97) indicate along with examples in (95a) and (96a) is that *ha* is the predicate of another clause, namely, the matrix clause. Otherwise, it would be problematic to account for all the sentences illustrated above with respect to the position of the negation words in a consistent manner.

Yet to be accounted for, however, is that (95a) and (97a) do not show any considerable meaning difference although the complex sentences vary their meanings in accordance with the scope of the negation words, as seen in (98).

- (98) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka Yenghuy-lul sok-yess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 -N -N -A cheat-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PST
 'Chelswu believed that Swuni cheated Yenghuy.'

- b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka Yenghuy-lul an/mos sok-yess-ta-ko
 -N -N -A not/unable cheat-PAST-SE-COMP
 mit-ess-ta.
 believe-PAST
 'Chelswu believed that Swuni did (could) not cheat Yenghuy.'
- c. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka Yenghuy-lul sok-yess-ta-ko an/mos
 -N -N -A cheat-PAST-SE-COMP not/unable
 mit-ess-ta.
 believe-PAST
 'Chelswu did (could) not believe that Swuni cheated Yenghuy.'

The examples above show that negation words vary their scope according to their cooccurrence with the predicate of the embedded clause or the matrix clause, and that the meaning of the complex clause depends on the scope of the negation words. However, the construction in question does not coincide with (98) in terms of meaning variations whereas it parallels (98) in terms of the positions of the negation words. This is probably due to the fact that the verb *ha* has not a substantial meaning but an abstract meaning of 'do' so that it requires 'Like Subject Condition' (B. Park 1972) between the embedded clause and the matrix clause in this construction.⁴⁷ If this is the case, it should be treated in terms of semantics, not syntactically. Rather, it should be considered a piece of evidence for the biclausal nature of the construction, at least from the syntactic perspective that negation words can cooccur with the verb *ha* as well as the accusative constituent preceding the verb *ha*.

2.4.1.3 Parallel Construction: Pure Korean Verbs

Pure Korean verbs can also occur in the very same position where the second accusative constituents occur, as noted in 2.3.4. The example is repeated in (99) below:

- (99) Nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ppwuli-ki-lul ha-n-ta.
 farmer-N seed-A scatter-NM-A do-PRES
 'Farmer does scattering seeds.'

If the so-called nominalizer *-ki* is ignored, it is probably not possible to consider *ppwuli* 'scatter' itself as a noun in (99).⁴⁸ Given that a complement is assumed at the position between the Sino-Korean words and the verb *ha* in the *ha-ta* pattern,⁴⁹ (99) suggests that the Sino-Korean words under discussion are verbal predicates (of the embedded clause) in the sense that the *ha-ta* pattern exactly parallels (99) in terms of its structure. Furthermore, other pure Korean verbs form the same structure with the structure (99) made by the verb *ha*, as illustrated below.

- (100) a. Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-ki-lul culki-n-ta.
 -N book-A read-NM-A enjoy-PRES
 'Swuni enjoys reading a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka cemsim-ul mek-ess-um-ul ic-ess-ta.
 -N lunch-A eat-PAST-NM-A forget-PAST
 'Chelswu forgot that he ate his lunch.'

What (100) shows is that pure Korean verbs such as *culki* 'enjoy' or *ic* 'forget' can take the nominals bearing 2-relation as its complement, which are clauses. Especially, the fact that the past tense morpheme can appear along with the verb *mek* 'eat' in (100b) strongly suggests that the complement of the verb *ic* is not a noun phrase but an embedded clause because noun phrases cannot contain tense or/and aspect

(cf. Chomsky (1970)).⁵⁰ Furthermore, it is easily observed that the two accusative marked constituents in (99) and (100), as the two assumed direct objects of the *ha-ta* pattern do, show the different behavior concerning pronominalization, clefting, scrambling, relativization, passivization, and topicalization.

Let us first consider the sentences in (101) and (102):

- (101) a. Nongpwu-ka kukes-tul-ul ppwuli-ki-lul ha-yess-ta.
 farmer-N it-PL-A scatter-NM-A do-PAST
 'The farmer did scattering them.'
 b. *Nongpwu-ka ssi-lul kukes-ul ha-yess-ta.
 farmer-A seed-A it-A do-PAST
 'The farmer did it to seeds.'
- (102) a. Nongpwu-ka ppwuli-ki-lul ha-n-kes-un ssi-i-ta.
 farmer-N scatter-NM-A do-PAST-thing-T seed-be
 'What the farmer did scattering is seeds.'
 b. *Nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ha-n-kes-un ppwuli-ki-i-ta.
 farmer-N seeds-A do-PAST-thing-T scatter-NM-be
 'What the farmer did to seeds is scattering them.'

As shown above, *ssi* which is a direct object of *ppwuli* in the embedded clause can be pronominalized and clefted, whereas *ppwuli-ki* cannot. This is because *ssi* is a noun, whereas *ppwuli-ki* is not, i.e. *-ki* is attached to the embedded clause, not to *ppwuli* per se. In other words, what (101) and (102) suggest is that (99) has the biclausal structure [Nongpwu-ka [nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ppwuli]-ki]-lul ha-yess-ta], just as the *ha-ta* pattern has.

Let us now take a look at sentences in (103) and (104) to see how the two accusative marked constituents behave differently concerning scrambling and relativization:

- (103) a. Ssi-lul nongpwu-ka ppwuli-ki-lul ha-yess-ta.
 seed-A farmer-N scatter-NM-A do-PAST
 'The farmer did scattering seeds.'
 b. *Ppwuli-ki-lul nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ha-yess-ta.
 c. Ssi-lul ppwuli-ki-lul nongpwu-ka ha-yess-ta.
 d. *Nongpwu-ka ppwuli-ki-lul ssi-lul ha-yess-ta.
 e. *Ppwuli-ki-lul ssi-lul nongpwu-ka ha-yess-ta.
- (104) a. Nongpwu-ka ppwuli-ki-lul ha-n ssi
 farmer-N scatter-NM-A do-PAST seed
 'the seeds which the farmer did scattering'
 b. *Nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ha-n ppwuli-ki
 farmer-N seed-a do-PAST scatter-NM
 'the scattering which the farmer did to seeds'

As expected, (103a,b) show that *ssi* can scramble but *ppwuli-ki* cannot. Furthermore, (103c,d,e) also reveal that the embedded clause, the direct object of *ha*, can scramble, and that *ppwuli*, predicate of an embedded clause, cannot scramble even within the embedded clauses. In (104), it is shown that *ssi* can be relativized but *ppwuli-ki* cannot. For the sentences in (103) and (104), it is possible to say that *ssi* can scramble and relativize since it is a direct object, but *ppwuli-ki* cannot because it is not a direct object. This is because any direct object in Korean can scramble and relativize.

Putting aside the passivization of the given construction for consideration in a later section, let us now see how the two accusative constituents in (99) behave regarding topicalization. It has been noted in previous sections that there are two types of topicalization in Korean. Constituents can be topicalized *in situ*, on the one hand, and can be shifted into the sentence initial position to be topicalized, on the other hand. It has been previously shown that the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern cannot undergo fronting topicalization, unlike the first accusative constituent, whereas both accusative

constituents can be topicalized *in situ*. As expected, the two accusative constituents in (99) show the same pattern, with respect to the two types of topicalization, as the two accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern, as can be seen below:

- (105) a. Nongpwu-ka ssi-nun ppwuli-ki-lul ha-yess-ta.
 farmer-N seed-T scatter-NM-A do-PAST
 'The farmer did scattering seeds.'
 b. Nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ppwuli-ki-nun ha-yess-ta.
 farmer-N seed-A scatter-NM-T do-PAST
 'The farmer did scattering seeds.'
- (106) a. Ssi-nun nongpwu-ka ppwuli-ki-lul ha-yess-ta.
 seed-T farmer-N scatter-NM-A do-PAST
 'As for seeds, the farmer did scattering them.'
 b. *Ppwuli-ki-nun nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ha-yess-ta.
 scatter-NM-T farmer-N seed-A do-PAST
 'As for scattering, the farmer did it to seeds.'

Along with scrambling and relativization, the above also show that the construction given in (99) has a biclausal structure which parallels the structure of the *ha-ta* pattern.

So far, it has been shown that pure Korean verbs make a complex clause structure which contains two consecutive accusative marked constituents, and that those two accusatively marked constituents show the identical syntactic behavior to the two accusatively marked constituents of the *ha-ta* pattern, with respect to the aforementioned syntactic processes. This being the case, it may not be unreasonable to treat the *ha-ta* pattern as having an identical structure to that of (99).

Therefore, if the line of reasoning above is correct, it is possible to get rid of the very unpalatable restrictions that B. Park (1981), Y. Choi (1988) and others put into their analyses. B. Park

(1981) and Y. Choi (1988) make an ad hoc restriction that only Sino-Korean action nouns make a DOC (B. Park) or a specifier ascension construction (Y. Choi).⁵¹ Given that the sentence in (99) parallels the construction in question, there is no need to restrict the given construction to the so-called Sino-Korean action nouns. Rather, it is possible to consider the consecutive occurrence of accusative markers just to be the natural result of clause embedding in Korean. The consecutive occurrence of accusative markers is due to the fact that Korean is an SOV language in which the verb is fixed at the final position of a clause. The linear order of the constituents naturally should be a sequence of embedded object, embedded verb, complementizer with accusative marker, and matrix verb when a clause embeds into another clause as a direct object. Furthermore, there is, consequently, no need to provide any constraint to account for the different syntactic behavior between the two accusative constituents as B. Park (1981) and Y. Choi (1988) do. Verbs cannot serve as a direct object and cannot undergo pronominalization, clefting, scrambling, relativization, passivization, and topicalization. Therefore, I will reject the assumption that the second accusative constituent of the given construction is a noun.

2.4.2 Null Complementizer in Korean

Stowell's (1981) Case Resistance Principle specifies that clauses, i.e., S', cannot be assigned Case in English. However, this does not seem to hold for Korean, as can be seen below:

- (107) a. [s,[s Salam-tul-i pep-ul cikhi]-ki]-ka elyep-ta.
 people-PL-N law-A observe-NM-N difficult
 'To observe the laws is difficult.'
 b. [s,[sSwuni-ka papo]-im]-i sasil-i-ess-ta.
 -N fool-NM-N truth-N-PAST
 'That Swuni was a fool was true.'
 c. Swuni-ka [s,[sChelswu-ka mikwuk-ey ka]-ki]-lul pala-n-ta.
 -N -N America-to go-NM-A want-PRES
 'Swuni wants Chelswu to go to America.'
 d. Swuni-ka [s,[sChelswu-ka mikwuk-ey ka-ss]-m]-ul al-ass-ta.
 -N -N America-to go-PAST-NM-A know-PAST
 'Swuni knew that Chelswu went to America.'

The so-called nominalizers such as *-um* and *-ki* in (107) have been traditionally assumed to nominalize verbs themselves. However, unlike the traditional treatment, these nominalizers have recently been treated as complementizers (S. Song 1971, 1981, C. Hong 1983, J. Kwon 1985, J. Kim 1986, among others). If those are complementizers, (107) shows that case markers are attached to the clauses (the outer bracketed clauses, i.e., S'). In this treatment, the so-called nominalizers are considered as a subclass of complementizers nominalizing embedded clauses.

Furthermore, one of the complementizers, *-ko*, sometimes deletes, as can be seen in (108). In addition to this, sentences are sometimes embedded into a matrix clause even without a complementizer, as in (109).

- (108) a. Chelswu-nun caki-ka mikwuk-ey ka-n-ta(-ko) mit-ess-ta.
 -T self-N America-to go-PRES-SE(-COMP) believe-PAST
 'Chelswu believed that he was supposed to go to America.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul ilk-nun-ta(-ko) mal-ul
 -N -DAT book-A read-PRES-SE(-COMP) tell-A
 ha-yess-ta.
 do-PAST.
 'Chelswu told Swuni that he was reading a book.'
- (109) a. Chelswu-ka totwuk-inya-ka uysimsule-wess-ta.
 -N thief-Q-N doubtful-PAST
 'It was doubtful whether Chelswu was a thief.'

- b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ss-ta mit-ci-an-ass-ta.
 -N -N school-to go-PAST-SE believe-NM-not-PAST
 'Chelswu did not believe that Swuni went to the school.'

This tells us that there is an independent need to postulate a Null Complementizer in Korean grammar. Thus, it may be reasonable to postulate the following structure for the *ha-ta* pattern.

(110) Swuni-ka [[Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu]- \emptyset]-lul ha-yess-ta.

(110) is a complex structure in which the clause [Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu] is embedded as a direct object of the matrix clause [Swuni-ka ha-yess-ta]. However, it is not always the case that case markers are attached to clauses with complementizers. Consider the following sentences:

- (111) a. Nay-ka [[pro sakwa-lul mek]-ko](-lul) siph-ta.
 I-N apple-A eat-COMP(-A) want-PRES
 'I want to eat an apple.'
 b. [[nolay-ka pwul]-le ci-ci](-ka/-lul) an-nun-ta.
 song-N sing-PASS-COMP(-N/-A) not-PRES
 'The song is not being sung.'

Therefore, it may be concluded from the above that, in Korean, clauses can be case-marked and case markers optionally delete depending on the kind of complementizer.⁵²

Thus, positing a null complementizer (\emptyset) makes it possible not only to account for the fact that accusative case markers can be attached to the embedded clause [Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu] in (110), but also to provide a consistent explanation for the optionality of the case markers in (112).⁵³

- (112) a. Swuni-ka yenge(-lul) kongpwu(-lul) ha-yess-ta.
 -N English(-A) study(-A) do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. Salam-tul-i hwankyeng(-ul) phakoy(-lul) ha-yess-ta.
 people-PL-N environments(-A) destroy(-A) do-PAST
 'People destroyed the environment.'

So far, this section has claimed that in Korean, unlike in English, clauses are assigned case markers, that case markers are optionally realized depending on the type of complementizers, that the so-called nominalizers such as *-ki* and *-um* are a subclass of complementizers, and that a Null Complementizer is independently needed in the description of Korean grammar.

Closing this section, I venture again to speculate why the so-called Sino-Korean action nouns took a null complementizer strategy. It has been discussed in 1.2 that the special verb *ha* was adopted as a carrier of functional affixes for the borrowed Chinese verbs and the combining of borrowed words with *ha* made the construction in question a complex structure. If this line of reasoning is on the right track, the resultant complex clause should require complementizers.⁵⁴ In Korean, complementizers such as *-um*, *-ki* are usually used in the verb phrase complementation. Of these, *-um* is generally for the abstract and conceptual use but *-ki* is for the objective and concrete use (see C. Hong (1983) and references cited therein). However, neither of these complementizers go with borrowed Chinese verbs, as can be seen below:

- (113) a. *Swuni-ka cwungkwuke-lul kongpwu-um-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N Chinese-A study-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied Chinese.'
 b. *Swuni-ka cwungkwuke-lul kongpwu-ki-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N Chinese-A study-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied Chinese.'

It may be conjectured that the requirement of a complementizer forced the borrowed Chinese verbs to take a null complementizer strategy as a kind of minimal effort principle because Korean optionally, though not frequently, allows a null complementizer as shown in (111).

2.5 Supporting Arguments for Biclausal Analysis

In this section, I provide answers based on the Biclausal Analysis to the issues raised in 2.2.2 and provide four arguments to support the proposed analysis. They are: overall accountability for the different syntactic behavior between the two accusative constituents of the *ha-ta* pattern, case marking in the corresponding passive clause, word order restriction, and the parallelism to pure Korean verb constructions.

2.5.1 Overall Accountability

It has been discussed in 2.2.2 how differently the two assumed direct objects in the *ha-ta* pattern behave regarding pronominalization, clefting, scrambling, relativization, passivization, and topicalization. Now, the Biclausal Analysis can provide a principled account for that behavior. The answer is that the second accusative constituent is a verb (predicate in RG terms) not a noun, and, consequently, not a direct object. Therefore, the second accusative constituent is naturally expected to behave differently from the first with respect to pronominalization and clefting which apply to NPs, but not to verbs. By the same reasoning, the second accusative constituent is expected to

show different behavior from the first regarding scrambling, relativization, and passivization all of which apply to (direct) objects, but not to verbs. It is also expected that the second accusative constituent inevitably shows different behavior from the first one regarding topicalization because clauses as well as NPs can be topicalized but verbs cannot be topicalized at all in Korean. Thus, the proposed analysis provides an explicit answer to the first issue, whereas B. Park (1981), Y. Choi (1988), and others experience some difficulties in providing an answer which covers all the different behavior, as discussed in the previous sections.

2.5.2 Case Marking in the Corresponding Passive Clause

Now let us turn to the second issue raised in 2.2.2. As shown there, none of the assumed direct objects in the *ha-ta* pattern can be passivized directly but the sentences in (114) are a possible active-passive pair.

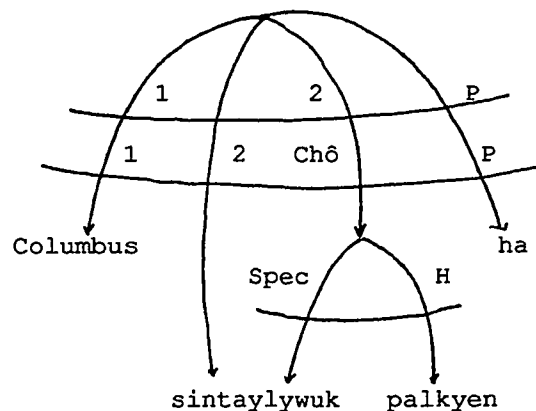
- (114) a. Columbus-ka sintaylywuk-ul palkyen-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N new continent-A discover-A do-PAST
 'Columbus discovered a new continent.'
 b. Sintaylywuk-i (Columbus-eyuyhay) palkyen-i toy-ess-ta.
 new continent-N -by discover-N PASS-PAST
 'A new continent was discovered (by Columbus).'

Then, why should the accusative marker of the second constituent be replaced by the nominative marker in the passive counterpart if the *ha-ta* pattern is indeed a DOC? Instead of giving a direct answer, B. Park (1981:106) states the following: "If there are double object

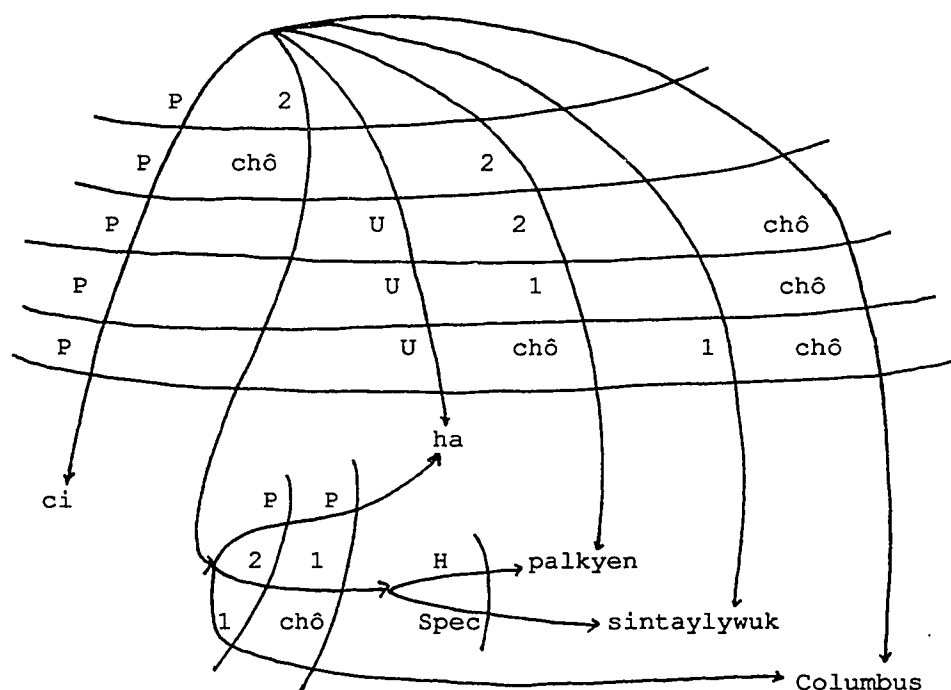
constructions, there should be also corresponding double subject constructions. I am not arguing that there is a syntactic rule relating the pair of sentences above to each other." As can be seen from the statement above, he gives no explanation for the case marking assignment in passive clause like (114b).

Regarding this case marking assignment, Y. Choi (1988) provides an explicit account. The stratal diagram of (114a) is (43) under his analysis, repeated here as (115). He gives the stratal diagram (116) for (114b).

(115)



(116)



According to him, in this structure, Passive occurs in the complement clause, followed by Subject-to-Subject Raising, Clause Reduction (Clause Union in other terms) and Specifier Ascension. As the result of the application of the mentioned rules, *sintaylywuk* and *palkyen* are assigned nominative case markers because they are the final 1 and the ascension 1-chômeur, respectively.

However, his analysis is not only complicated but also too abstract in accounting for the corresponding passive clause. Passivization, Subject-to-Subject Raising, Clause Union, and Specifier Ascension must apply in this order to get (114b). In addition, although he assumes that *ha-ye ci* is morphologically replaced by *toy* in (116), *ha-ye ci* does not productively alternate with *toy* and the replacement of *ha-ye ci* with *toy* even results in ungrammatical sentences, as can be

seen in (117) and (118). Thus, his analysis is ad hoc to the extent that he postulates the abstract morpheme *ha-ye ci* which normally cannot appear in the surface structure.

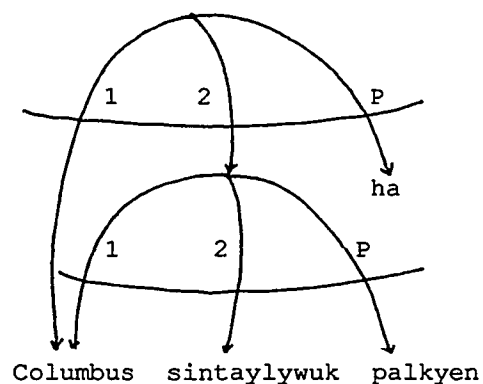
- (117) a. *Sintaylywuk-i (Columbus-eyuyhay) palkyen-i ha-ye ci-ess-ta.
 new continent-N -by discover-N do-PASS-PAST
 'A new continent was discovered by Columbus.'
 b. Sintaylywuk-i (Columbus-eyuyhay) palkyen-i toy-ess-ta.
 new continent-N -by discover-N PASS-PAST
 'A new continent was discovered by Columbus.'
- (118) a. Insaitong-i hayng-ha ye ci-ess-ta.
 personnel replacement-N carry-do PASS-PAST
 'Personnel replacement was done.'
 b. *Insaitong-i hayng-toy-ess-ta.
 personnel replacement-N carry-PASS-PAST
 'Personnel replacement was done.'

Besides the inadequacies pointed out above, Y. Choi treats passive clauses as a structure independent of the corresponding active clauses. He initially treats the passive clause as a complex clause which undergoes clause union without any given explicit reason, whereas he considers the active counterpart to be a simplex clause. In other words, the corresponding passive clause is a kind of composite of raising and clause union construction whereas the active clause is not, although raising constructions and clause union constructions (if allowed) cannot cooccur with each other due to their nature (cf. section 1.3.3, chapters 4 and 5 in Blake (1990)). However, in (116), *-(e) ci*, auxiliary verb in his terms, triggers raising and clause union at the same time. It seems dubious whether the same verb might trigger two different special types of rules at the same time. Furthermore, it seems unusual that the plain active verb should be converted into the verb triggering raising and clause union, even though it can be admitted

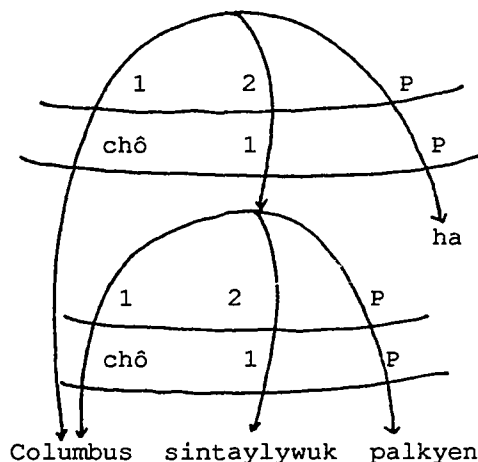
that passive clauses in Korean are independent of corresponding active clauses in terms of their structure in the sense of current Chomskyan grammar.

However, it is very simple to account for the case assignment under the proposed Biclausal Analysis. The stratal diagrams of (114a) and (114b) will be (119) and (120), respectively.

(119)



(120)



In the proposed analysis, the direct object *sintaylywuk* advances to the 1 in the embedded clause, and then, the embedded clause as a direct object of the matrix clause advances to 1.⁵⁵ As a consequence,

sintaylywuk and the embedded clause are assigned nominative markers because they are the final 1s. It should be noted here again that the second nominative marker is attached not to *palkyen* but to the whole embedded clause. Thus, the case marking of the corresponding passive clause is the natural result of the proposed analysis. Moreover, it should be noted that this could be another piece of evidence that the construction in question is biclausal. This follows from the fact that passive is a syntactic process which is sensitive to a clause boundary. This point will be again dealt with in Chapter 3.

One question may arise with respect to (120). Why does the first application of passive to the embedded clause entail the second application of passive to the matrix clause? I have little to say about this at this moment. However, it seems to be one of the typical characteristics of the Equi construction. The verb *ha* in the *ha-ta* pattern requires a like subject but the passivization in the embedded clause puts the embedded subject en chômage. Put differently, the application of passive to the embedded clause destroys the structural condition of like subjects required for the matrix verb *ha*. For this reason, the matrix clause calls for another passivization to escape from the Like Subject Condition. However, further studies about this issue would be needed.

2.5.3 Word Order Restriction

As shown at several places, there is a restriction on scrambling in the *ha-ta* pattern, as in (121).

- (121) a. Columbus-ka sintaylywuk-ul palkyen-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N new continent-A discover-A do-PAST
 'Columbus discovered a new continent.'
 b. Sintaylywuk-ul Columbus-ka palkyen-ul ha-yess-ta.
 c. *Columbus-ka palkyen-ul sintaylywuk-ul ha-yess-ta.
 d. *Palkyen-ul Columbus-ka sintaylywuk-ul ha-yess-ta.

The second accusative constituent cannot scramble except for the case of scrambling along with the first accusative constituent. The second accusative constituent also cannot precede the first accusative constituent. To account for this fact, B. Park (1981) proposes the Object-over-Object Constraint in (122) and Y. Choi (1988) provides the Precedence Condition on Ascension in (123).

- (122) **Object-over-Object Constraint** (B. Park 1981:110)

The second object (NP2) may not move over the first object (NP1) nor may it refer to any preceding noun over the first object.

- (123) **Precedence Condition on Ascension** (Choi 1988)

No part of an ascension chômeur can precede the host.

However, putting aside the explanatory power of these two constraints, the Biclausal Analysis does not have to provide any comparable constraint because this restriction on word order is the natural consequence of our analysis. That is, the second accusative constituent cannot precede the first one since Korean is a verb final language. This word order restriction applies to the corresponding passive clauses illustrated in (124):

- (124) a. [Sintaylywuk-i (Columbus-eyuyhay) palkyen]-i toy-ess-ta.
 b. *[Palkyen-i (Columbus-eyuyhay) sintaylywuk]-i toy-ess-ta.

The ungrammaticality of (124b) is due to the fact that the verb *palkyen* precedes other constituents within the clause. Therefore, there is no need to state any constraint related to the word order at all for either active or passive clauses.

Regarding the word order restriction, there are still two important phenomena to be noted. First, note that (121e) is also a possible scrambled sentence, in addition to (121b).

(121) e. Sintaylywuk-ul palkyen-ul Columbus-ka ha-yess-ta.

From (121e), the proposed Biclausal Analysis can make an additional generalization in accounting for scrambling. That is, final 2s can scramble in Korean whether or not they are clauses. The examples below confirm this generalization:

(125) a. Chelswu-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-ta.

-N apple-A eat-PAST

'Chelswu ate an apple.'

b. Sakwa-lul Chelswu-ka mek-ess-ta.

(126) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka nolay-lul pwul-less-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.

-N -N song-A sing-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST

'Chelswu believed that Swuni sang a song.'

b. Nolay-lul Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka pwul-less-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.

sing-A -N -N sing-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST

c. Swuni-ka nolay-lul pwul-less-ta-ko Chelswu-ka mit-ess-ta.

-N song-A sing-PAST-SE-COMP -N believe-PAST

(125b) shows that a direct object NP scrambles, and (126b) and (126c), respectively, show that an NP scrambles as a direct object of an embedded clause and that an embedded clause scrambles as a direct object. This is same as (121b) and (121e). Thus, the Biclausal Analysis can correctly account for them in a consistent way, but I know

of no alternative analyses which provide a consistent account for the scrambling phenomena illustrated above.⁵⁶ And this may serve as another piece of evidence that the construction under discussion is biclausal.

Second, note that Y. Choi's constraint in (123) prohibits the second accusative constituent from preceding the first constituent.⁵⁷ However, there seem to be counter-examples. Let us again consider the cases of clefting and relativization of the first accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern.

- (127) a. Columbus-ka palkyen-ul ha-n kes-un sintaylywuk-i-ta.
 -N discover-A do-PAST thing-T new continent-be
 'What Columbus discovered is a new continent.'
 b. Columbus-ka palkyen-ul ha-n sintaylywuk
 -N discover-A do-RC new continent
 'the new continent which Columbus discovered'

If Y. Choi's constraint 'Precedence Condition on Ascension' is correct, the second accusative constituent should not precede the first accusative constituent. However, (127) shows that the application of clefting and relativization to the first accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern produce the sentences in which the second accusative constituent precedes the first one. Therefore, Y. Choi's constraint predicts that the sentences in (127) should be ungrammatical although they are in fact grammatical. To manage this problematic phenomenon, Y. Choi proposes another constraint (128).

(128) **Restriction on Relativization**

No part of an ascension *chômeur* can be the target of relativization.

Even though an additional constraint is added, Y. Choi's constraints do not still provide any appropriate account for the clefting of the first constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern illustrated in (127a). Probably, he has to add another constraint to include an account for the sentence in (127a). However, the Biclausal Analysis does not have to propose any special constraint at all since the verbal constituent is never subject to relativization and clefting in Korean (as well as in other languages, to the best of my knowledge).

As discussed in this section, the Biclausal Analysis not only provides an overall account of the data related to the word order restrictions but also accounts for the data simply. However, none of the mono-clausal analyses proposed so far seem to achieve these two goals at the same time.

2.5.4 Parallelism in Pure Korean Verb Construction

As previously shown, there is a parallel construction containing pure Korean verbs, repeated as (129).

- (129) Nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ppwuli-ki-lul ha-yess-ta.
 farmer-N seed-A scatter-NM-A do-PAST
 'The farmer did scattering seeds.'

It has already been shown in 2.4.1.3 that the two accusatively marked constituents of this construction show different behavior with respect to pronominalization, clefting, scrambling, relativization, and topicalization. In addition to these syntactic phenomena, this

construction, like the *ha-ta* pattern, also shows the same pattern regarding passivization, as shown below:

- (130) a. *Ssi-ka (nongpwu-eyuyhay) ppwuli-ki-lul toy-ess-ta.
 seeds-N farmer-by scatter-NM-A PASS-PAST
 'Seeds were scattered by the farmer.'
 b. *ppwuli-ki-ka (nongpwu-eyuyhay) ssi-lul toy-ess-ta.
 scatter-NM-N farmer-by seeds-A PASS-PAST
 'Scattering was done to seeds by the farmer.'
- (131) a. Ssi-ka (nongpwu-eyuyhay) ppwuli-ki-ka toy-ess-ta.
 seeds-N farmer-by scatter-NM-N PASS-PAST
 'Seeds were scattered by the farmer.'
 b. *ppwuli-ki-ka (nongpwu-eyuyhay) ssi-ka toy-ess-ta.
 scatter-NM-N farmer-by seeds-N PASS-PAST
 'Scattering was done to seeds by the farmer.'

As shown in the *ha-ta* pattern, neither of the two accusative constituents can be passivized, as in (130). Furthermore, only the first accusative constituent can be passivized with the concomitant replacement of an accusative marker with a nominative marker, but not vice versa, as in (131). However, syntactic passives (i.e., *toy-* passives) are not usual in pure Korean verb constructions as noted in section 1.4.1. They are more commonly passivized by lexical passive morphemes such as *-i*, *-hi*, *-ki*, *-li*, or by adopting another passive form such as *-ci* passive, as shown in (132).

- (132) Ssi-ka (nongpwu-eyuyhay) ppwuli-e ci-ess-ta.
 seed-N farmer-by scatter-PASS-PAST
 'Seeds were scattered by the farmer.'

Putting aside the *-ci* passive form like (132), I treat (129) as the same construction as the *ha-ta* pattern.

Given the assumption that (129) is the same construction as the *ha-ta* pattern, other analyses seem unable to account for (129). At

best, they have to provide a totally different analysis to account for sentences like (129), ignoring lots of parallel phenomena between the two constructions. For instance, B. Park (1981) claims that only Sino-Korean action nouns allow the DOC, Y. Choi (1988) proposes his Specifier Ascension Rule only for Sino-Korean action nouns, and Gerdts (1986) and O'Grady (to appear) take the same line in this respect. Then, how can one account for the construction (129)? Is it a single object construction? Or, is it another different type of double object construction?

However, the Biclausal Analysis can provide an identical account for (129) as for the *ha-ta* pattern. The account is that both of them are biclausal. Therefore, the proposed analysis can capture linguistically significant generalizations across Sino-Korean verbs and pure Korean verbs, which other analyses do not capture.

2.6 Against Possible Monoclausal Analyses

There seem to be two recently proposed studies which may be applicable to the analysis of the *ha-ta* pattern. One is Davies and Rosen (1988) which proposes multipredicate uniclausal constructions across languages. The other is Dubinsky (1986) which intends to account for the Japanese verb *suru* 'do'. In this section, some relevant aspects from their basic ideas are extracted to apply to the *ha-ta* pattern with a consideration of the applicability of their analyses to the *ha-ta* pattern in question.⁵⁸

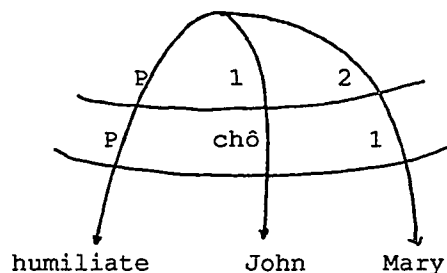
2.6.1 Davies and Rosen's Analysis

Claiming that RG's Stratal Uniqueness Law should refer not to the term relations {1 2 3}, but to the foundational relations {P 1 2 3}, Davies and Rosen (1988:52) propose that a single clause may contain distinct predicates in successive strata, though not in the same stratum. From this perspective, they provide a unified analysis of Unions such as Modal Union (cf. Blake (1990)) and Causative Union. This section discusses only the case of Modal Union postponing the discussion of Causative Union in depth until the next chapter.

In the traditional literature in RG, the concept of multiple strata has been underexploited in the treatment of predicate. For example, the example in (133) has been given simplified RNs like (134) suppressing AUXES entirely.

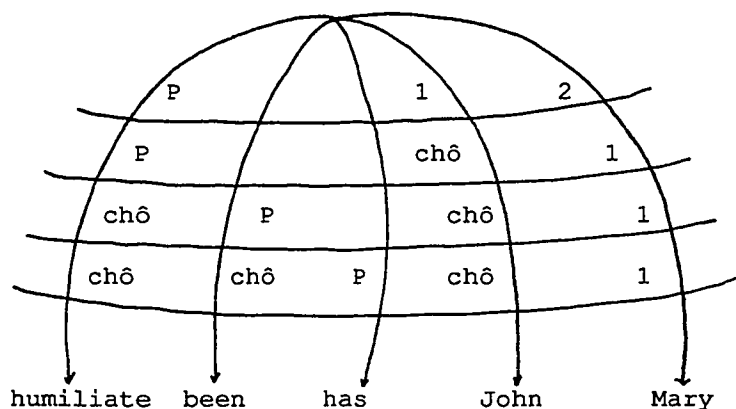
(133) Mary has been humiliated by John.

(134)



However, Davies and Rosen (1988) instead propose RNs like (135) pursuing the idea that one clause can have two or more successive predicates.

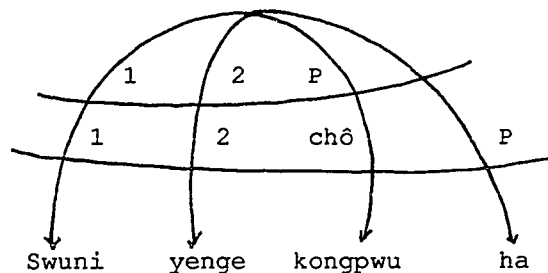
(135)



That is, in their analysis, the inner predicates, *humiliate* and *been*, are, respectively, *chômeurized* by the intermediate predicate *been* and outer predicate *has* at the second and third stratum by virtue of the Stratal Uniqueness Law.⁵⁹

Therefore, the stratal diagram of the *ha-ta* pattern will be (136) within Davies and Rosen's framework under the assumption that the given structure is a single structure containing two distinct predicates. In connection with positing structure, two options are possible in treating *ha* here. One of the options is to treat *ha* as an auxiliary verb. The other is to consider *ha* as a main verb. However, I will take the first option since the *ha-ta* pattern has only one overt subject, yielding the discussion of the other option to the next chapter.

(136)

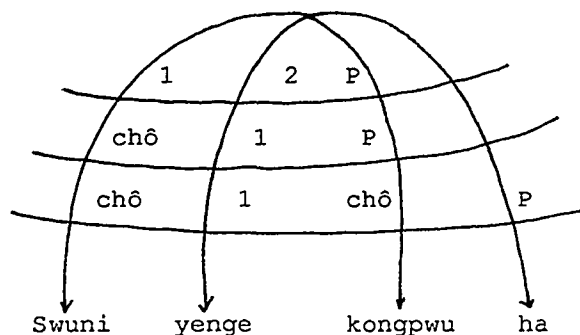


At first glance, the replaced stratal diagram above seems to provide a satisfactory account for the different behavior of the two accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern. What the stratal diagram (136) tells us is that *kongpwu* behaves differently from *yenge* because the former is a P-chômeur, whereas the latter is a final 2. Putting other potential problems aside, there is a serious difficulty in accounting for the case assignment of the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern, however. It is not possible for *kongpwu* to get an accusative case marker in (136) since it is not a nominal (consequently, not a final 2). In other words, (136) can produce the sentence (137a), but not (137b) which is the main concern of this thesis.

- (137) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'

The same situation may be expected in the corresponding passive counterpart. In the passive clause, as shown in (138), *kongpwu* cannot get a nominative case marker at all for the same reason.

(138)



As shown discussed for (136), (138) can produce (139a), but not (139b) which is the passive counterpart of the *ha-ta* pattern.

- (139) a. Yenge-ka (Swuni-eyuyhay) kongpwu-toy-ess-ta.
 English -by study-PASS-PAST
 'English was studied by Swuni.'
 b. Yenge-ka (Swuni-eyuyhay) kongpwu-ka toy-ess-ta.
 English -by study-N PASS-PAST
 'English was studied by Swuni.'

To recapitulate, Davies and Rosen's analysis predicts that the *ha-ta* pattern (137b) and its corresponding passive counterpart (139b) are ungrammatical but they are in fact grammatical. Thus, their idea has the problem of undergenerating (137b) and (139b). Therefore, their proposal is not applicable to account for the *ha-ta* pattern. The problem of undergeneration in turn seems to provide evidence that the *ha-ta* pattern is biclausal, in that their analysis assumes the given construction is monoclausal.

2.6.2 Dubinsky's Analysis of the Japanese Verb *Suru*

Japanese verb *suru* 'do' shows a similar pattern as the Korean verb *ha* does. The so-called *NP-suru* verbs are composed of the Sino-Japanese noun followed by the verb *suru*. Thus, for instance, the noun *benkyoo* 'study' combines with *suru* to form a seeming verb *benkyoo-suru* 'study'. The NP of certain *NP-suru* verbs may optionally appear with the accusative marker *o* if an *NP-suru* clause is not subcategorized for a direct object. The verb *benkyoo-suru* 'study' exhibits this phenomenon, as illustrated below:

- (140) a. Taroo wa benkyoo-site-iru.
 T study-PRG-IMP
 'Taroo is studying.'
 b. Taroo wa benkyoo o site-iru.
 T study A do-PRG-IMP
 'Taroo is studying.'

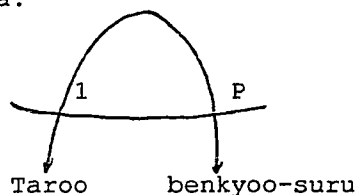
However, if a direct object is subcategorized, this alternation is no longer possible, as in (141).

- (141) a. Taroo wa suugaku o benkyoo-site-iru.
 T math A study-PRG-IMP
 'Taroo is studying math.'
 b. *Taroo wa suugaku o benkyoo o site-iru.
 T math A study A do-PRG-IMP
 'Ziro is studying math.'

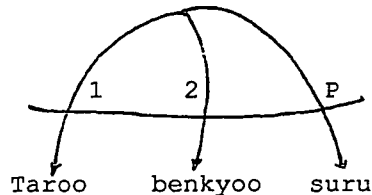
Assuming that Sino-Japanese nouns such as *benkyoo* 'study' combines with *suru* 'do' to form the verb *benkyoo-suru* 'study', and that the verb *benkyoo-suru* takes an obligatory subject and an optional direct object (as represented in (142) below), Dubinsky (1986) proposes within the RG theory that *NP o suru* forms are generated by a lexical restructuring rule. In his analysis, the lexical restructuring rule allows an *NP-suru* verb to select the verb-internal NP as its direct object. To take an example, the form [_v study-do] is restructured as [_{vp} [_{NP} study] do]. Consequently, the restructured NP heads an initial 2-arc. Thus, (143a) and (143b) are the stratal diagrams of (140a) and (140b), respectively.

- (142) *benkyoo-suru* [1 (2)]

- (143) a.

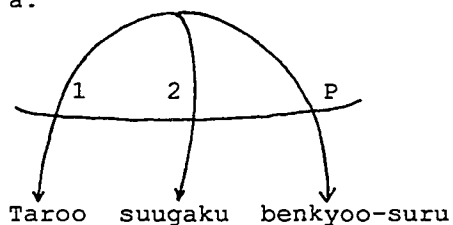


- b.

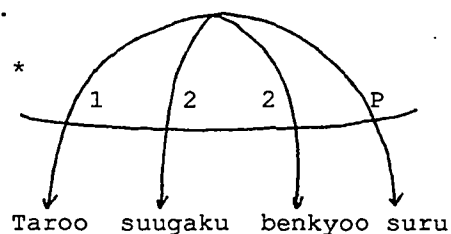


On the other hand, if *benkyoo-suru* selects the initial 2 *suugaku* 'math', the stratal diagram is (144a). However, the restructuring rule which creates *benkyoo o suru* produces a violation of the Stratal Uniqueness Law, as in (144b). Therefore, (141b) is ruled out.

(144) a.



b.



Let us now see how Dubinsky's idea can work for the account for the *ha-ta* pattern. First, the relational valence of *kongpwu-ha* will be (145) within his framework.

(145) *kongpwu-ha* [1 (2)]

Second, the lexical restructuring rule allows *kongpwu-ha* to select optionally the verb-internal NP as its direct object. As a consequence, the sentences (146a) and (146b), corresponding to Japanese sentences (140a) and (140b), are produced.

(146) a. *Swuni-ka kongpwu-ha-yess-ta.*

-N study-do-PAST

'Swuni studied.'

b. *Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.*

-N study-A do-PAST

'Swuni studied.'

On the other hand, if *kongpwu-ha* selects the initial 2 *yenge* and the lexical restructuring rule allows to select optionally the verb-internal

NP, the sentences (147a) and (147b), corresponding to Japanese sentences (141a) and (141b), would be expected.

- (147) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'
 b. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N English-A study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied English.'

Of the resulting sentences, (147b), which is under discussion, is expected to be ungrammatical because of the violation of the Stratal Uniqueness Law (cf. 144b). However, it is in fact grammatical. By the same reason, the corresponding passive counterpart of (147b) would be expected to be ungrammatical sentence, which is not.

As shown above, Dubinsky's idea also experiences the problem of undergenerating the *ha-ta* pattern sentences like Davies and Rosen's idea.

2.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has claimed that the so-called Sino-Korean action nouns form a seeming DOC, which structure is biclausal, in conjunction with the verb *ha*. The existing monoclausal studies have been argued against with special attention to B. Park's Restructured Verb Phrase Analysis, Y. Choi's Ascension Analysis, and O'Grady's Categorical Grammar Analysis. This chapter has instead proposed the Biclausal Analysis for the so-called DOC and has shown why the two accusatively marked constituents behave differently with respect to the syntactic processes

such as pronominalization, clefting, scrambling, relativization, passivization, and topicalization. As a result, this chapter has claimed that the two accusative markers in the so-called DOC are mere representations of the GR of direct object of the embedded clause and the matrix clause, that the Stratal Uniqueness Law is still valid as far as this construction is concerned, and that the proposed Biclausal Analysis does not need a constraint at all in accounting for all the related phenomena, whereas other monoclausal analyses inevitably need one or more special constraints. This chapter has further claimed that the so-called DOC is not restricted only to the so-called Sino-Korean action nouns (as widely assumed) but it is parallel to the pure Korean verb constructions in every respect. This chapter has further examined Dubinsky's (1985) and Davies & Rosen's (1988) analyses of the Japanese verb *suru*, and has shown that their ideas cannot be extended to the analysis of the verb *ha* due to the problem of undergenerating the sentence in question and its corresponding passive counterpart.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. In this regard, the phrase structure rule $NP \rightarrow S'$ is assumed for Korean although RG does not utilize phrase structure rules at all and this study does not rely on any phrase structure rule oriented argument.

2. Like any restrictive principle which limits the class of structures which can be defined as well-formed sentences in any language, the Stratal Uniqueness Law makes an empirical claim. Several attempts have been made to show that this claim is not correct since it was first proposed in Perlmutter and Postal (1974). See Gary and Keenan (1977), especially, for the discussion of the Two Direct Object Construction in Kinyarwanda and see Perlmutter and Postal (1983c) and Dryer (1983) for a counter-proposal to Gary and Keenan. See section 1.3.2.2 for details of the Stratal Uniqueness Law *per se*.

3. It is sometimes called a second NP, a second object or others in accordance with the nature of the given analysis. To avoid terminological confusion, the neutral term, second accusative constituent (first accusative constituent *mutatis mutandis*), is used in this thesis although it is somewhat lengthy and cumbersome to repeatedly use and write it.

4. Adjectives and nouns as well as verbs may bear the predicate relation of a clause, especially in RG. However, the term "predicate" is used only to designate a verbal predicate for expository purposes in this study to avoid confusion.

5. In this regard, *kongpwu-ha-ta*, *phakoy-ha-ta*, *yencwu-ha-ta*, etc. are often treated as complex verbs. (cf. Y. Kim 1988)

6. P(redicate) is usually drawn on the left side of stratal diagram in most RG literature but I will draw it on the right side to clearly represent the characteristics of Korean which is a strict V-final language unless the drawings get extremely complicated.

7. I will provide the sentence (1a) as a representative example to save spaces since the other examples behave exactly in the same way with respect to the syntactic processes to be tested in this section.

8. I assume that *toy* is the passive variant of the active verb *ha*.

9. See Riemsdijk and Williams (1986:34-5) for the discussion about the power and ad hocness of transformations in general.

10. The postulation of a null complementizer will be discussed and justified in 2.4.2.

11. H. Im (1979:57-60) adopts Kuno's (1973) notion of 'anaphoric NP'. His reasoning is based on the contrast between following sentences:

- (i) a. Maum-i ette-nya?
feeling-N how-Q
'How do you feel?'
 - b. *Maum-i tuntun-ul ha-ta.
feeling-N secure-A-Aff
'I feel secure.'
- (ii) a. Maum-i tuntun-ha-nya?
feeling-N secure-Aff-Q
'Do you feel secure?'
 - b. Kulem, maum-i tuntun-ul ha-ci.
sure feel-N secure-A Aff-DEC
'Sure, I feel secure.'

He claims that the anaphoric nature of *-ul/-lul* comes from the speaker's subconsciousness. According to him, (iib) is a sentence which expresses the linguistic process in which the speaker thinks of a possible series of notions about 'feeling' and then choose *tuntun* among others. In other words, the primary thought is an antecedent and *tuntun*, expressed by language, is the secondary confirmation, namely, the anaphoric NP. (ib) is unacceptable because an old information occupies the position that a new information should take place although (ia) is the question about a new information. His notion of an anaphora however seems ad hoc and groundless. This is because if this kind of extended notion of an anaphora is accepted, then any linguistic expression can be an anaphor. See B. Park (1981:95-7) and Y. Kim (1988:82ff) for further criticism of H. Im's *-ul/-lul* topicalization.

12. B. Park (1981:98-9) and Y. Choi (1988:242-3) point out that it is very dubious why only accusative markers should be topic markers. This question follows from the fact that *kongpwu-lul ha-ta* and *phakoy-lul ha-ta*, etc. show the contrast with *kongpwu-ka toy-ta*, *phakoy-ka toy-ta*, etc. in a passive form, respectively. If this is the case, nominative markers as well as accusative markers should be treated as topic markers with respect to stem split phenomenon in his analysis. This contrast is discussed in 2.5.2 from a different perspective.

13. Examples in (18) are drawn from Y. Kim (1988:85) being modified a little.

14. Though not clear, it seems that the topicalized constituents by the topic marker *-un/-nun* vary their meaning slightly depending on their positions in the sentences. For example, (24a) carries the meaning "It is not certain whether Swuni ate other things or not," whereas (25a) conveys the meaning of "As for rice, it is certain that Swuni ate it." Despite the slight difference, I will use the same glosses for topicalized sentences like (24) as for plain sentences like (23), just for convenience.

15. C. Suh's (1975) classification of *ha* relies on the properties of the constituents preceding *ha*. According to him, *ha* has no meaning or predicative function at all except completing the sentences below:

- (i) Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-n-ta.
 -N study-A do-PRES
 'Swuni is studying.'

His claim that *ha* is a dummy verb follows from the fact that *ha* does not play any role in conveying the meaning of the sentences, as in (ii).

- (ii) Swuni-ka kongpwu
 -N study
 'Swuni studies.'

He argues that it is always possible to relate (ii) to any phrase in (iii) because *kongpwu*, *phakoy*, *yencwu*, and others are nominals carrying an action in themselves.

- (iii) a. Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-n-ta.
 -N study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni is studying.'
 b. Swuni-ka ha-nun kongpwu
 -N do-RC study
 'the study which Swuni is doing'
 c. Swuni-uy kongpwu
 -G study
 'Swuni's study'
 (= the study which Swuni is doing')

However, when the preceding constituents are substantial nominals, there are no such related paraphrases. The phrase (v) which can be drawn from (iv) is not generally interpreted as any one in (vi). Rather, it is usually interpreted as one of in (vii).

- (iv) Emeni-ka pap-ul ha-n-ta.
 mother-N rice-A do-PRES
 'The mother is cooking rice.'
- (v) Emeni-ka pap
 mother-N rice
- (vi) a. Emeni-ka pap-ul ha-n-ta.
 mother-N rice-A do-PRES
 'The mother is cooking rice.'
 b. Emeni-ka ha-nun pap
 mother-N do-RC rice
 'the rice that the mother is cooking.'
 c. Emeni-uy pap
 mother-G rice
 'the mother's rice'
 (= the rice that the mother is cooking')

- (vii) a. Emeni-ka kac-un pap
 mother-N have-RC rice
 'the rice which the mother has'
- b. Emeni-ka mek-un pap
 mother-N eat-RC rice
 'the rice which the mother ate'
- c. Emeni-ka mek-ul pap
 mother-N eat-RC rice
 'the rice which the mother will eat'
- etc.

Arguing that this phenomenon is attributed to the presence or absence of the actions in the nominals preceding *ha*, C. Suh (1975:77) claims that *ha* in (iv) is a pro-verb unlike *ha* in (i).

16. Following H. Sohn (1973), I assume that *-(e/a) peli* is one of auxiliary verbs in Korean.

17. B. Park's claim that *ha* is a main verb is based on two arguments. One is the position of manner adverbs, and the other the process of relativization. See B. Park (1976, 1977) for detailed discussion.

18. It has been shown in 1.4.1 that in Korean direct objects undergo scrambling, relativization, passivization, and topicalization as well as pronominalization and clefting. *Kongpwu* in (31a) behaves consistently as a direct object regarding these properties. Because of such properties, *kongpwu* (other assumed Sino-Korean action nouns *mutatis mutandis*) is usually treated as a direct object especially when it occurs alone in the construction of *ha* or other verbs. This matter will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

19. B. Park's (1981) term "Double Object Construction" is not compatible to the stratal diagram (3) in the strict sense. However, the title of this chapter originates from B. Park's naming the *ha-ta* pattern as Double Object Construction.

20. B. Park's semantic arguments are not discussed here. See B. Park (1981) for those arguments.

21. Especially, Jackendoff (1977) claims that *V''* complements include only modifier, whereas *V'* complements are mostly NPs and sometimes PPs which are strictly subcategorized by verbs. Furthermore, I know of no X-bar Theory version allowing arguments to be a specifier of the *X''*-level.

22. B. Park (1981:100) himself also admits this point.

23. Though B. Park (1981:110) states that we can say essentially the same thing in case of relativization, the only difference being the direction of movement: a leftward movement in pronominalization and

rightward movement in relativization, it seems unclear how the proposed constraint (34) rules out (37b) as an ungrammatical sentence (as far as I can understand). Notice that though NP2 in (37b) moves out of V'', it neither moves over the NP1 nor refers to any preceding noun over NP1.

24. See chapters 1 and 5 of this thesis and the chapter 1 of Y. Choi (1988) for the details regarding ascension structures. For detailed discussion of ascension constructions such as possessor ascension, raising construction, quantifier floating, specifier ascension (at stake) and supporting arguments for the structures, refer to Y. Choi (1988).

25. Gerdts (1986) proposes a similar analysis to account for the contrast between the verb *ha* and *toy*. She calls it a modifier ascension. See Y. Choi (1988:269-72) about the difference between the two analyses. Gerdts's analysis will be briefly discussed in the later part of this section.

26. In this respect, Y. Choi's analysis, though from different perspectives, is similar to H. Im's analysis. The difference between the two analyses is that the second accusative constituent is underlyingly the stem of the verb in H. Im's analysis whereas it is initially the part of the compound noun as a direct object of the verb *ha* in Y. Choi's analysis.

27. See section 2.5.3 for Y. Choi's constraints.

28. Topicalization seems to be a little different case. It seems to concern the categoricity of the given constituent. That is, only verbal constituents (including adjectives) cannot be topicality in Korean. Furthermore, topicalization is closely related with scrambling because the fronting topicalization always accompany the scrambling of the constituents.

29. It should be noted here that the alternation of *kukes* and *keki* (by the same token, *kes/kos*) and the slight unnaturalness of *kukes/kes* in (48) are due to the fact that the words for body parts have a locative meaning. It is very natural if a locative pro-form *keki* (*kos* in 48b) is used. *Keki* usually conveys the meaning of sexual organs when it denotes a body part. Because of this pragmatic reason, the expression like (48a) seems to be avoided. Regardless of pragmatic factors, it could be, however, possible to consider (48a) and (48b) as an instance of pronominalization and clefting in the syntactic point of view.

30. Regarding the ungrammaticality of the pronominalization (as well as the clefting, I believe) of the second accusative constituent, Y. Choi (1988:265) gives an ad hoc answer: "It is not entirely clear to me at the moment what makes such pronominalization impossible. The only definite conclusion that can be drawn at this point thus seems to be that the ungrammaticality of the pronominalization in the above

sentences (i.e., the specifier ascension construction - paraphrase is mine) has nothing to do with the categorial status of the antecedent involved.

31. This question can be further confirmed by the fact that the so-called specifier ascension *chômeur* does not show the same behavior to other ascension *chômeurs* such as possessor or quantifier floating ascension *chômeur* with respect to other syntactic processes not discussed above. For instance, the possessor ascension *chômeur*, though not all of them, seems to scramble, topicalize, and relativize, whereas none of the so-called specifier ascension *chômeurs* does. The syntactic differences between the so-called specifier ascension *chômeur* and other ascension *chômeurs* will be discussed in Chapter 5.

32. Regarding this point, Y. Choi shares the same restriction about the construction with B. Park (1981).

33. According to Jackendoff (1977), it is much less possible to correlate semantic regularities of the specifiers to their heads, and their typical semantic roles (although they cannot be defined precisely) are demonstratives, quantifiers, and numerals, but not patients.

34. Y. Choi (1988:279ff) stipulates that the form *-ey kwanhayse* is derived from the verb phrase *-ey kwan-ha* 'Dat relate/concern-do' plus the complementizer *-(y)e*, which has been known as an infinitival suffix in Korean. But I will assume without justification that it is just a lexical postposition which carries a meaning of 'about'.

35. The example (65) is from Y. Choi (1988:272). But it is slightly modified.

36. I will not dwell on discussing the kinds of semantic roles which nouns can assign because it is not an immediate concern here.

37. It seems not clear whether *ha* is treated as a real auxiliary verb. O'Grady (to appear) just says, "*Ha-ta* in these constructions is often labeled as an 'auxiliary verb' - a term that I will retain for expository convenience." However, if *ha* is indeed an auxiliary verb, it seems again unclear whether he assumes a sentence containing no main verb.

38. Readers are referred to Oehrle, Bach and Wheeler (1988) for the details of the Categorial Grammar, and O'Grady (1985, 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1988 and others) and B. Kang (1988) are recommended for the application of Categorial Grammar to Korean.

39. In O'Grady's analysis, the arguments of a Sino-Korean action noun may be either simple Ns or complete NPs.

40. The case conventions for Korean in O'Grady's analysis is as follows:

Korean Case Conventions

- The genitive case marks an NP that combines with an N category.
- The accusative case marks a term NP that combines with a TV category.
- The nominative case marks a term NP that combines with an IV category.

41. In this regard, O'Grady's analysis is somewhat similar to H. Im's (1979), Gerdts's (1986), and Y. Choi's (1988) analyses in the sense that the second accusative constituent is not considered as an independent element. However, the difference lies in the fact that he treats it as an N in surface structure (this is because the Categorical Grammar is mono-structural) whereas others treat it as an independent constituent at the surface level although it is underlyingly (or initially) assumed as a dependent N. See previous discussions for the details of each analysis.

42. He also admits that only maximal projections are marked by case markers. See note (40) of this chapter regarding the case marking conventions in Korean.

43. Of course, these facts are also consistent with B. Park's view that there is a V' which these adverbs could modify. However, it seems difficult to account for the occurrence of the adverbs between *kongpwu-lul* and *ha-ta* if *kongpwu-lul ha-ta* makes a constituent (V'), i.e. *kongpwu* is tightly bound to *ha*, as he claims.

44. According to my survey, most native Korean speakers (15 out of 19) feel that (89a) and (90a) as well as (87) are odd, although B. Park provides (87) as a grammatical sentence.

45. There are two negation forms in Korean. They are illustrated in (ib) and (ic) as follows:

- (i) a. Swuni-ka hakkyo-e ka-ss-ta.
 -N school-to go-PAST
 'Swuni went to school.'
- b. Swuni-ka hakkyo-e an ka-ss-ta.
 -N school-to not go-PAST
 'Swuni did not go to school.'
- c. Swuni-ka hakkyo-e ka-ci an-ss-ta.
 -N school-to go-NM not-PAST
 'It is not the case that Swuni went to school.'

I assume that the latter is the sentence negation whereas the former is the predicate negation (cf. S. Song 1981).

46. (95a) seems marginal or even ungrammatical to some native Korean speakers. Furthermore, the negation word *mos* seems even inappropriate in the sentence (95a). However, it seems to me that the oddness of the sentence (95), if it is odd at all, may be due to

semantic reasons such as 'scope of negation' or others, but not to syntactic reasons. That is, the oddness of (95a) may be ascribed to the fact that the matrix predicate is more easily negated than the embedded predicate unless the given sentence is doubly negated, as in (i). On the other hand, the sentence (95a) becomes much better in its naturalness and acceptability even to the speakers who feel (95a) ungrammatical, if the second accusative marker deletes, as in (ii).

- (i) Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul an/mos ha-yess-ta.
- (ii) Swuni-ka yenge-lul an/mos kongpwu-ha-yess-ta.

Furthermore, it is frequently observed that the children in the stage of learning language usually place negation words such as *an* or *mos* in front of the second accusative constituent, not in front of the first accusative constituent, when they negate the *ha-ta* pattern sentences. In these regards, I will assume that (95a) is grammatical. I will discuss the position of negation words in the construction under consideration in connection with double negation below.

47. See B. Park (1972) for the 'Like Subject Condition'. Of course, this property of the special verb *ha* makes the double negation in the *ha* construction somewhat awkward or even seeming ungrammatical although it is the usual case that complex clauses allow double negation, which is ultimately an affirmation. Therefore, it should be also a matter of semantics, not a matter of syntax, due to the 'Like Subject Condition'. This is because it is unusual to doubly negate the same action performed by the same person.

48. The only difference between the *ha-ta* pattern and (99) is the presence or absence of the nominalizer such as *-ki* if we consider the former has an identical structure to the latter. The presence and absence of the nominalizer is discussed in the next section. Nominalizers such as *-um*, *-ki*, *-ci* have been traditionally assumed to nominalize verbs. However, those nominalizers recently began to be considered as a kind of complementizers which nominalize embedded clauses by some linguists (e.g., S. Song 1971, 1981, C. Hong 1983, J. Kwon 1985, J. Kim 1986, etc.). Consider the following sentences:

- (i) Swuni-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ss-ta.
 -N school-to go-PAST
 'Swuni went to school.'
- (ii) Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka hakkyo-ey ka(-ss)-ki-lul pala-ss-ta.
 -N -N school-to go(-PAST)-NM-A expect-PAST
 'Chelswu expected that Swuni (went)/would go school.'
- (iii) Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka hakkyo-ey ka(-ess)-ss-um-ul al-ass-ta.
 -N -N school-to go(-PAST)-PAST-NM-A know-PAST
 'Chelswu knew that Swuni (had gone)/went to school.'

As shown above, (ii) and (iii) are instances in which (i) is embedded as a direct object into matrix clauses [Chelswu-ka ... pala-ss-ta] and [Chelswu-ka al-ass-ta], respectively. I believe that the appearance of nominalizers immediately after verbs is the inevitable

result of clause embedding in Korean. That is, the word order (i.e., SOV) and the head final parameter in Korean compel complementizers to be attached to the right of the embedded verb, and complementizers are necessarily expected to be nominalizers because clauses are embedded as direct object (in the cases above). In this sense, *-ci* is another instance of clausal nominalizer since *-ci* is used to negate clauses as propositions (cf. note 45 above). Therefore, I assume that nominalizer *-ki* in (99) nominalizes the embedded clause [*Nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ppwuli*], not just the verb *ppwuli* alone.

49. The postulation of complementizer between the Sino-Korean word and the verb *ha* is discussed in 2.4.2.

50. The so-called nominalizer *-ki* does not usually cooccur with tense. However, the cooccurrence of tense or aspect with *-ki* seems to depend on the properties of the matrix verb, as can be seen below:

- (i) Swuni-ka Chelswu-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess(-ess)-ki-lul pala-n-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-PAST(-PAST)-NM-A expect-PAST
 'Swuni expects that Chelswu (had) read a book.'

In this regard, one may say that *-ki* and *-um* are gerundive nominalizers which form noun phrases that can contain tense or/and aspect. However, Chomsky (1970) claims that gerundive nominals, unlike derived nominals, have clause-like structures. In this sense, I will assume that *-ki* and *-um* are complementizers which nominalize not verbs *per se* but clauses.

51. In this regard, other analyses including O'Grady (to appear) and Gerdts (1986) are in the same array with B. Park's (1981) and Y. Choi's (1988) analyses.

52. Even the sentences in (107) sometimes lack a case marker. This phenomenon is frequently observed in rapid and casual speech.

53. I assume that the optionality of the accusative marker *-ul/-lul* is due to the object incorporation (in the sense that an object is attached into a verb) to the verb without discussion. By postulating a complex structure for the *ha-ta* pattern, there is another advantage in stating the object incorporation phenomenon in Korean. That is, the final 2 optionally incorporates into the verb. This generalization can consistently apply to the final 2 in an embedded clause. That is, *yenge* in (110) can also be incorporated into the predicate of the embedded clause *kongpwu*, as shown in (112). There seem to be some restrictions in the object incorporation. Generally speaking, when the direct object is not a generic noun, the object incorporation seems not distinct. However, I believe this restriction should be treated in terms of semantic restrictions, but not in terms of syntactic restrictions.

54. K. Sung (1977) postulates an abstract complementizer such as *-um*, *-ki* in this respect.

55. Regarding the proposed analysis, I assume that the passive morpheme *toy* in the embedded clause is not realized at the surface because of "V(P) Equi", although this is just a speculation.

56. For the same reason, the proposed analysis provides the identical explanation with respect to topicalization. This follows from the fact that topicalization shows the same word order restriction and embedded clause can be also topicalized in Korean.

57. See section 2.3.3 for the discussion about B. Park's Object-over-Object Constraint.

58. Actually, another available study is Grimshaw and Mester (1988) which deals with the Japanese verb *suru*. They distinguish between two types of *suru* 'do' in Japanese within the GB framework. One is the "light" verb which lacks a theta role assigning capability, and the other the "heavy" verb which has a theta role assigning capability. However, their analysis is not considered here because it is almost impossible to transfer the idea based on the totally different framework to another different framework. See H. Han (1988), H. Ahn (1989), and K. Park (1990) for the criticism of Grimshaw and Mester and the alternative analyses for Korean (and Japanese).

59. The Stratal Uniqueness Law extended by Davies and Rosen (1988:56) is as follows:

Stratal Uniqueness Law. No stratum can contain two distinct R-arcs, where R is a foundational relation: {P 1 2 3}

CHAPTER 3

SYNTACTIC CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, a biclausal structure has been proposed for the *ha-ta* pattern. The fundamental aims there were to show that the so-called DOC has a biclausal structure but its surface structure looks like a simplex clause due to complicated syntactic and morphological circumstances, and to claim that the *ha-ta* pattern does not, consequently, violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law. The motivation of the Biclausal Analysis for the *ha-ta* pattern was that the verb *ha* can take not only a noun phrase (i.e., nominal) but also a clause as its direct object and clauses can assume GRs such as subject or direct object just like noun phrases.

The purpose of this chapter is, accordingly, to support the Biclausal Analysis proposed for the *ha-ta* pattern. This chapter aims at showing that the syntactic causative pattern, exemplified as (65) in 1.4.2, is also a biclausal structure due to the clausal complementation to the verb *ha*. This chapter also shows that the sequence of the embedded verb, complementizer, and accusative marker in the syntactic causative construction works the same way with the second accusative constituent (more precisely, the sequence of the embedded verb, null

complementizer, and accusative marker) of the *ha-ta* pattern (cf. Chapter 2) with respect to syntactic processes tested in the previous chapter.

Section 3.2 briefly introduces the types and characteristics of causative constructions in Korean to delineate the scope of discussion in this chapter. Section 3.3 proposes a biclausal structure for the syntactic causative pattern to be considered in this chapter. Section 3.4 argues against the monoclausal analyses based on Clause Union Laws within the RG framework. Section 3.5 provides Biclausal Analysis for the syntactic causative constructions. Section 3.6 delivers supporting arguments for the Biclausal Analysis of the syntactic causative pattern. Section 3.7 confirms biclausality of the *ha-ta* pattern and the syntactic causative pattern by showing that the sequence of the embedded predicate, complementizer *key*, and accusative case marker of the syntactic causative pattern behaves identically to the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern, whereas other accusative constituents of the syntactic causative pattern behave differently from the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern. Section 3.8 discusses the simplicity of the proposed Biclausal Analysis with respect to the case marking device in Korean from the perspectives of 'markedness' and 'unmarkedness'.

3.2 Causative Constructions in Korean

This section briefly introduces different types of causatives in Korean and investigates some characteristics of each type of causative to delineate the scope of the discussion in this chapter.

3.2.1 Types of Causative Constructions

The intent of this study is not to deal with the general properties of Korean causative constructions in terms of semantic, pragmatic, phonological as well as syntactic point of view. It seems, however, worthwhile to introduce types of causatives and to investigate briefly some characteristics of each type of causative to specify the scope of the discussion in this chapter.

Patterson (1974), S. Bak (1982), S. Lee (1987), and many others suggest that Korean employs at least three major strategies to express causation. As is well-known, causative constructions in Korean vary the case form of a causee nominal. For example, the causee nominal of the syntactic causative construction can be marked nominative, accusative, or dative. For the sake of convenience, I will, however, deal with only accusative causative constructions, for the time being, since multiple accusative constructions in Korean are the major concerns of this thesis. Below are instances of each strategy of causation in Korean:

- (1) a. Swuni-ka cwuk-ess-ta.
 -N die-PAST
 'Swuni died.'
 b. Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 -N book-A read-PRES
 'Swuni read a book.'
- (2) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul cwuk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A die-CAUS¹-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni died.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
- (3) a. Swuni-ka cwuk-ess-ta.
 -N die-PAST
 'Swuni died.'

- b. Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 -N book-A read-PAST
 'Swuni read a book.'
- (4) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta.
 -N -A die-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni die.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
- (5) a. Swuni-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ss-ta.
 -N school-to go-PAST
 'Swuni went to school.'
 b. Emeni-ka Swuni-lul hakkyo-ey ponay-ess-ta.
 mother-N -A school-to send-PAST
 'The mother sent Swuni to school.'

(2a) and (2b) are explicit causative sentences in which *key ha* is attached to the verbs *cwuk* 'die' in (1a) and *ilk* 'read' in (1b), respectively. This is a very productive construction in that *key ha* can be used with any sentence to form a causative construction. In this sense, sentences like (2) have been called syntactic causatives. Syntactic causatives are sometimes called periphrastic causatives (Y. Kang (1984, 1986), Shibatani (1973a, 1973b), S. Song (1978)), phrasal causatives (Patterson (1974)), *ha/key ha* causatives (S. Lee (1987), H. Choe (1988)), or long form causatives (I. Yang (1972)). However, I will label them syntactic causatives in the sense that causation in (2) is just the result of syntactic structure directly.

(4a) and (4b) are also explicit causative sentences, which are formed by adding to verb stems a causative suffix such as *i* or *hi*.² The attachment of causative suffixes to verb stems is fairly productive but less productive than formation of syntactic causatives. Only pure Korean verb stems (with a few exceptions³) can be combined with one of

suffixes illustrated in note 2 to this chapter to be causativized in the manner like (4). In this regard, sentences like (4) have been called morphological causatives (S. Bak (1982), K. Park (1988), etc.) or suffixal causatives (Patterson (1974)). This kind of causative sentences are sometimes called *i/hi* causatives⁴, lexical causatives (Shibatani (1973a, 1973b)), S. Song (1978)), or short form causatives (I. Yang (1972)). However, I will just call them lexical causatives because there is no principled way, to the best of my knowledge, to predict what suffixes should be chosen for individual verbs.

(5b) is a sentence in which the verb itself carries an implicit meaning of causation (S. Bak (1982:322), Patterson (1974:8)). For instance, *kill* and *send* are corresponding causative words to *die* and *go*, respectively, in English (cf. Lakoff (1965), McCawley (1968)). Likewise, verbs such as *ponay* 'send' and *sikhi* 'cause somebody do something or let' are, respectively, corresponding causative words to *ka* 'go' and *ha* 'do' in Korean (S. Bak 1982:323). Sentences like (5b) have been called lexical causatives (Patterson (1974), S. Bak (1982)) because verbs are replaced with another lexical verb carrying the meaning of causation to be causativized. However, I will not consider sentences like (5b) to be a case of grammatical causation. This consideration follows from the fact that only a few verbs have corresponding causative verbs and the fact that the so-called causative verbs do not carry the exact causative meaning of their non-causative verbs.⁵ For these reasons, sentences like (5b) are not dealt with in this study. Furthermore, the discussion of such sentences is beyond the scope of this work.

3.2.2 Syntactic Causatives and Lexical Causatives

In the earlier generative works on Korean, much attention had been paid to clarifying whether the syntactic causative sentence and the lexical causative sentence are synonymous or not. Such effort was due to the fact that (2a) and (2b) seem *prima facie* to convey the cognitively synonymous meaning as (4a) and (4b), respectively. In this regard, two opposite hypotheses had been proposed. The first hypothesis, supported by I. Yang (1972) and C. Lee (1973), is that syntactic causatives and lexical causatives are paraphrases and a single underlying structure can be assumed for both constructions. The second hypothesis, held by B. Park (1972), Shibatani (1973a), Patterson (1974), S. Song (1978), and many others, is that the two causatives are not paraphrases, and, consequently, two different underlying structures should be assumed.

Roughly speaking, I. Yang (1972:202-4) takes the position that the lexical causative has an underlying higher verb *ha* [+cause] plus a lower verb and C. Lee (1973:129-47) takes the position that the two causatives are derived from an abstract HA 'CAUSE' whereas B. Park, Shibatani, Patterson, S. Song, and others propose two different underlying structures for the two types of causatives. I will not go into this issue deeply in this work because it is not currently an issue. Rather, I will follow the latter position but on different grounds. Furthermore, I will not repeat the proposed arguments against the position of a single underlying structure for the two types of causatives. Since most of the arguments are based on pragmatic or

semantic considerations,⁶ I will just present several syntactic facts which can serve to support the position that there are two different underlying structures.

First, Y. Kang (1986:55) observes that the syntactic causatives show differences with respect to reflexivization. That is, according to him, the presence of *caki* 'self' causes ambiguity in syntactic causative constructions, as in (6).

- (6) Chelswu_i-ka Swuni_j-lul caki_{i/j}-uy pang-eyse ca-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A self-G room-in sleep-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu_i made Swuni_j sleep in self's_{i/j} room.'

However, it does not cause ambiguity in lexical causative constructions, as in (7).

- (7) Chelswu_i-ka Swuni_j-lul caki_{i/*j}-uy pang-eyse cay-wu-ess-ta.
 -N -A self-G room-in sleep-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu_i made Swuni_j sleep in self's_{i/*j} room.'

Second, it has been noted in many studies (e.g., Y. Kang (1986:56), S. Song (1978:211)) that the honorific marker *si* can be attached in two ways (strictly speaking, three ways) in the syntactic causative constructions, as can be seen in (8).

- (8) a. Chelswu-ka sensayngnim-ul chayk-ul ilk-usi-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N teacher-A book-A read-H-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made the teacher read a book.'
 b. Sensayngnim-i Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-si-ess-ta.
 teacher-N -A book-A read-CAUS-H-PAST
 'The teacher made Swuni read a book.'
 c. Sensayngnim-i emeni-lul chayk-ul ilk-usi-key ha-si-ess-ta.
 teacher-N mother-A book-A read-H-CAUS-H-PAST
 'The teacher made the mother read a book.'

But the honorific marker can be attached only in one way in the lexical causative constructions, as in (9). This is because the honorific marker is directly added to a verb stem or an extended verb stem (which consists of a verb root plus a causative suffix or a passive suffix) and there is only one extended verb stem in the lexical causative constructions.

- (9) a. Sensayngnim-i Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-si-ess-ta.
 teacher-N -A book-A read-CAUS-H-PAST
 'The teacher made Swuni read a book.'
 b. *Chelswu-ka sensayngnim-ul chayk-ul ilk-si-hi-ess-ta.
 -N teacher-A book-A read-H-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made the teacher read a book.'
 c. *Sensayngnim-i emeni-lul chayk-ul ilk-si-hi-si-ess-ta.
 teacher-N mother-A book-A read-H-CAUS-H-PAST
 'The teacher made the mother read a book.'

Third, it has been also observed by S. Song (1978:210) and Patterson (1974:30-2) that negation words such as *an* 'not' or *mos* 'unable' can be inserted in two ways, as illustrated below:

- (10) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul an ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A not read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni not read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key-an-ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-not-PAST
 'Chelswu did not make Swuni read a book.'

Negation words can be, of course, inserted in two places in the syntactic causative constructions, as can the honorific marker, as shown below:

- (10) c. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul an ilk-key-an-ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A not read-CAUS-not-PAST
 'Chelswu did not make Swuni not read a book.'

However, in the lexical causative constructions, negation words can be inserted in only one way:

- (11) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul an ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A not read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu did not make Swuni read a book.'
 b. *Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-an-hi-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-not-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni not read a book.'
 c. *Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-an-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-not-PAST
 'Chelswu did not make Swuni read a book.'

Fourth, the same phenomenon has been observed by S. Song (1978:210-1) in connection with the process of verb compounding. Verb compounding works the same way as in honorification and negation in syntactic causative constructions, as can be seen below:

- (12) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-e po-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-try-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni try to read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ye po-ass-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-try-PAST
 'Chelswu tried to make Swuni read a book.'
 c. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-e po-key ha-ye po-ass-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-try-CAUS-try-PAST
 'Chelswu tried to make Swuni try to read a book.'

No such freedom exists in the case of the lexical causative constructions, however:

- (13) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-e po-ass-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-try-PAST
 'Chelswu tried to make Swuni read a book.'
 b. *Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-e po-hi-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-try-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu tried to make Swuni read a book.'
 c. *Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-e po-hi-e po-ass-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-try-CAUS-try-PAST
 'Chelswu tried to make Swuni try to read a book.'

The above illustrated syntactic differences between the syntactic causative construction and the lexical causative construction may suffice to warrant two different underlying structures for the two types of causative constructions. The differences with respect to reflexivization and honorification suggest that the causee nominal is a subject at some level in the syntactic causative constructions, but not in the lexical causative constructions. On the other hand, the differences in negation and verb compounding suggest that the syntactic causative construction contains two different main predicates (i.e., complex clause), but that the lexical causative construction contains a single predicate.

More crucially, the case alternations of the causee nominal seem to reveal that syntactic causative constructions are syntactically different from lexical causative constructions. Let us examine the following sentences:

- (14) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka cwuk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N die-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni die.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul cwuk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A die-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni die.'
 c. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey cwuk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -DAT die-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni die.'
- (15) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 c. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

As shown above, the causee nominal, whether clauses are intransitive or transitive, can be assigned a nominative marker, an accusative marker, or a dative marker in syntactic causative constructions. However, this is not the case with lexical causative constructions. It seems that the causee nominal can never be assigned a nominative marker in the intransitive and the transitive clauses, and that it cannot be assigned a dative case marker in intransitive clauses, as can be seen below:

- (16) a. *Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka cwuk-i-ess-ta.
 -N -N die-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni die.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta.
 -N -A die-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni die.'
 c. *Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey cwuk-i-ess-ta.
 -N -DAT die-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni die.'
- (17) a. *Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 c. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

If, as had been claimed, both types of causative constructions share the same underlying structure, it would be a problem to account for the syntactic differences illustrated above as well as the differences in the case alternations of the causee nominal. Even though it is possible to account for all the differences examined above, lots of ad hoc machinery would be called for. Therefore, I will follow the position that the syntactic causative constructions have different underlying structures from the lexical causative constructions.

3.2.3 Scope of Discussion

In the previous section, it has been shown that syntactic causative constructions have different underlying structures from the lexical causatives. Throughout this study, I take the position that syntactic causatives are complex clauses but lexical causatives are simplex clauses. I will argue in the next section that the biclausal structure of the syntactic causatives is attributable to the clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha*. And I will discuss lexical causative constructions in Chapter 5 from different perspectives.

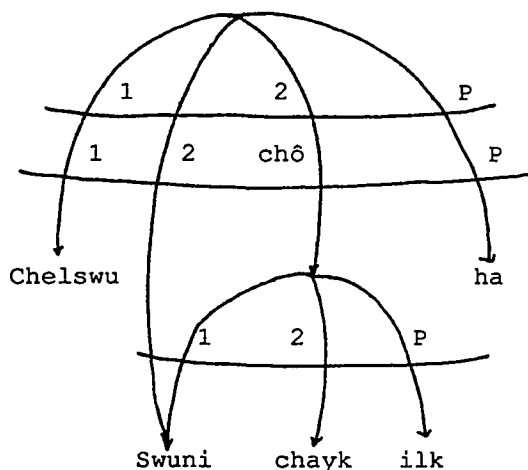
As noted in the previous section, syntactic causative constructions vary the case form of a causee nominal. Then, the subsequently arising question is whether or not the three different types of syntactic causative constructions are from the same underlying structure. In the next section, I will also address this issue from the perspectives of the clausal complementation and relational valences of the verb *ha*.

3.3 Biclausal Structure

K. Lee (1990b) proposes that the syntactic causative pattern, repeated in (18), has a structure in which the pivot nominal⁷ *Swuni* is raised to the direct object of the matrix clause from the subject of the embedded clause. Therefore, the stratal diagram of (18) is (19).

- (18) Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

(19)



As shown in (19), *Swuni* and *chayk* 'book' get accusative markers because *Swuni* assumes a final 2-relation in the matrix clause through Subject-to-Object Raising and *chayk* a final 2 in the embedded clause. That is, *Swuni* is the final 2 of the matrix clause and *chayk* is the final 2 of the embedded clause. Therefore, the syntactic causative pattern does not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law although it includes two accusative nominals within a seemingly simplex clause.

3.4 Against Monoclausal Analyses

It seems to have been generally agreed that syntactic causative sentences under consideration have a biclausal structure (e.g., B. Park (1972), Patterson (1974), Y. Kang (1984), K. Park (1986), E. Cho (1987, 1988), and others)⁸. However, there is some controversy in accounting for the alternations of the case markers of the pivot nominal and the final clausal status of some related sentences. Before justifying the proposed structure (19), I will briefly discuss the monoclausal analyses

proposed for the syntactic causative structures. Section 3.4.1 argues against Gerdt's (1986) Clause Union Analysis of the syntactic causative constructions in Korean. Section 3.4.2 examines Dubinsky's (1985) Clause Union Analysis dealing with the Japanese syntactic causative constructions and discusses some problems in applying his analysis to Korean causative constructions.

3.4.1 Gerdt's Clause Union Analysis

Claiming that syntactic causative sentences in Korean are initially biclausal but finally monoclausal at the surface level, and following Perlmutter & Postal (1974) and Gibson & Raposo (1986), Gerdt proposes a Clause Union Analysis to account for the syntactic causative sentences in Korean⁹. Let us first examine the following sentences:

- (20) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka ttena-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N leave-COMP do-PRES
 'Chelswu made Swuni leave.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul ttena-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A leave-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni leave.'
- (21) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

The above illustrated are the causative counterparts of an intransitive clause, (20), and a transitive clause, (21), respectively.

To briefly recapitulate the Clause Union theory, union constructions are biclausal at the initial stratum but every dependent

of the downstairs clause assumes a GR in the upstairs clause, and, consequently, such constructions are monoclausal at the final stratum. The first stratum in the upstairs clause where the downstairs dependents bear GRs is referred to as the Union Stratum. Regarding the GRs borne in the Union Stratum by the dependent nominals, Perlmutter & Postal (1974) claim that (i) the P(redicate) of the complement clause bears the Union Relation (UR) in the Union Stratum, (ii) the final 1 of an intransitive stratum is revalued as a 2 in the Union Stratum, and (iii) the final 1 of a transitive stratum is revalued as a 3 in the Union Stratum.

On the other hand, Gibson & Raposo (1986:303-4) have claimed that the downstairs subject is the only one argument of a union which may be revalued in the upstairs clause and that the downstairs subjects are constrained by universal grammar¹⁰ to only be able to revalue to one of the object relations (i.e., 2 or 3). Gibson & Raposo further proposed that the particular object relation borne by the downstairs subject in the upstairs clause must be specified by language-particular rules and other downstairs dependents are assigned URs in accordance with the Inheritance Principle. According to the Inheritance Principle (Gibson and Raposo 1986:328), nominals bearing final GRs in the downstairs clause bear the same GRs or the Chô GR at the Union Stratum of the clause union construction if the P(redicate) in a downstairs clause bears the Union GR in the main clause.

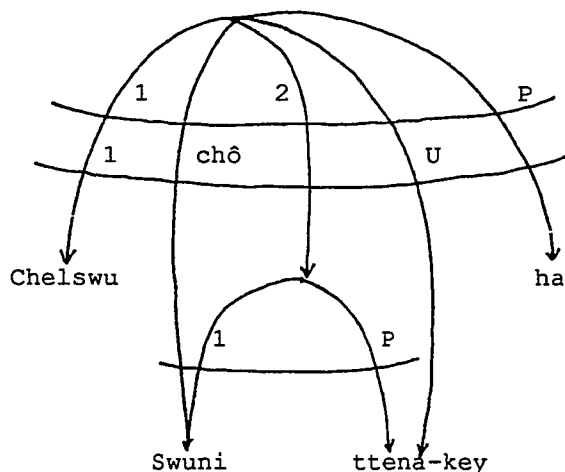
Following Perlmutter & Postal's Clause Union Law and Gibson & Raposo's Inheritance Principle, Gerdts provides an account for the sentences in (20) and (21). In her analysis, *Swuni* in (20b) is assigned

an accusative case because it is the final 2 of the matrix clause, *Swuni* in (21b) is assigned a dative case because it is the final 3 of the matrix clause, and *chayk* in (21b) is assigned an accusative case because it inherits a 2-relation from the complement clause by virtue of the Inheritance Principle. However, these Clause Union Laws cannot account for the sentences (20a) and (21a), at all. That is, *Swuni*, the pivot nominal, remains as nominative in both cases, contrary to what the Clause Union Laws predict.

To remedy this, following Rosen (1983a, 1984), Gerdts proposes that in Korean there is another type of Clause Union which does not allow the final 1 of the complement clause to undergo revaluation. Therefore, according to her, (20a) and (21a) are causative sentences formed by Clause Union Without Revaluation whereas (20b) and (21b) are ones formed by Clause Union With Revaluation.¹¹ Thus, her analysis admits two different types of Clause Unions. At first glance, with these two Clause Unions, her analysis seems to provide a correct and proper account for the syntactic causative sentences in (20) and (21).

However, Dubinsky (1985) points out several drawbacks of clause unions in general.¹² One of the theory internal problems pointed out by Dubinsky (1985:119) is that in a no-revaluation union in which the embedded 1 is not revalued to object, a stipulation is required to guarantee that the embedded 1 will be put en chômage by the matrix 1. Let us now take a close look at the following stratal diagram:

(22)



(22) is the stratal diagram of (20a) within the Gerdts's analysis.

According to her, the final 1 of the downstairs clause is put en chômage in the Union Stratum because of the upstairs final 1.

In Perlmutter & Postal's theory (1983:96, and elsewhere), if some nominal, N_a , bears a given term relation in a stratum, c_i , and some other nominal, N_b , bears the same (term) relation in the following stratum (c_{i+1}), then N_a bears the *chômeur* relation in c_{i+1} . In other words, N_a and N_b should be in the relation of a predecessor and a successor in the sense of Johnson and Postal (1980) so that N_a can be put en chômage by N_b . Successor is the arc assuming a new GR but predecessor is the arc losing its GR and being put en chômage. This is the *Chômeur Law*. However, the *Chômeur Law* does not seem to predict which nominal, the matrix 1 or the embedded 1, will be put en chômage. This follows from the fact that both nominals come into the Union Stratum together to get their URs. In other words, neither of them are predecessor nor successor in the strict sense. Nevertheless, the embedded subject is put en chômage simply by stipulation. Furthermore,

chômeurs exist only under the conditions described in the chômeur Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1983c:99 and other places). This is the Motivated Chômage Law. As examined above, even though one of the two nominals (the embedded 1 and the matrix 1) should be put en chômage, there is no *a priori* reason that only the embedded subject should be put en chômage. This follows from the fact that the chômage of the embedded subject is not motivated by the Motivated Chômage Law. If the embedded subject is indeed a chômeur in the Union Stratum, then it must be an unmotivated or a spontaneous chômeur which is not permissible in the RG framework. Furthermore, the final chômage of the embedded subject in her analysis can be easily falsified by the fact that the pivot nominal can trigger Subject Honorification and Reflexivization which chômeurized subjects cannot trigger. I will address this matter in 3.6.2.

In addition to the theory internal inadequacies, Gerdts's analysis seems not adequate in accounting for the empirical data, either.

Consider first the following sentences:

- (23) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey ttena-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -DAT leave-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni leave.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

If her analysis and other analogous analyses based on the Clause Union Hypothesis are correct, the sentences in (23) should be ungrammatical but they are in fact grammatical. Notice that the Clause Union Laws predict that the final 1 of the intransitive downstairs clause should be revalued as a 2 and the final 1 of the transitive downstairs clause

should be revalued as a 3. But this is not the case in (23). Therefore, sentences in (23) cannot be accounted for under the Gerdt's analysis. Second, it has been noted in the previous section that syntactic causatives seem to reveal the characteristic properties of the complex clauses in connection with Subject Honorification, Negation, and Verb Compounding. However, if the syntactic causative sentences are indeed monoclausal, as Gerdt's claims, it is problematic within Gerdt's analysis to account for the phenomena mentioned in 3.2.2. I will deal with those phenomena in 3.6.1. For the reasons mentioned so far, I will, therefore, reject Gerdt's analysis which claims that the syntactic causative sentences are initially biclausal but finally monoclausal.

Before leaving this section, it seems worthy of note that it has been claimed in Chapter 2 that clauses can be assigned case markers in Korean. If this is the case, the embedded clause in the syntactic causative sentences would be also assigned an accusative marker because it serves as the direct object of the verb *ha* within the proposed Biclausal Analysis. This prediction is borne out, as the sentences in (24) show.

- (24) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka ttena-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A leave-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni leave.'

Further, note that it has been proposed in 3.3 that the syntactic causative pattern results from the application of Subject-to-Object

Raising to the sentences like (24). Consequently, it would be expected that the accusative marker assigned to the embedded clause in (24) is maintained in the syntactic causative pattern. And it is so, as can be seen in (25).

- (25) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul ttena-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A leave-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni leave.'

As shown in (24) and (25), the accusative marker takes place between the embedded verb and the matrix verb. The proposed Biclausal Analysis is straightforward in accounting for this phenomenon. That is, the accusative marker appearing between the embedded verb and the matrix verb is the representation of the GR of direct object that the embedded clause bears. However, if the syntactic causative sentences in (24) and (25) are indeed monoclausal structures as Gerdts (1986) claims, then the question arising next is how to account for the appearance of the accusative marker in the sentences (24) and (25). I will discuss this matter in 3.7 in connection with the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern.

3.4.2 Dubinsky's Clause Union Analysis

There is another analysis based on Clause Unions but on different grounds. Following Postal's (1986) claim that the Stratal Uniqueness Law should refer not to the term relations {1 2 3}, but to the

foundational relations {P 1 2 3}, Davies and Rosen (1988:52) propose that a single clause may contain distinct predicates in successive strata, though not in the same stratum.

To put it differently, Davies and Rosen claim that union structures have only one clause node. Therefore, the inner clause of the causative construction is not a complement even at the initial level unlike the claim of the biclausal union analysis. Rather, it occupies the first n (n is 1 when union clause is not embedded into another union clause in the general sense) stratum. According to Davies and Rosen, a union clause (such as a causative clause) has two predicate arcs with the clause node whereas an ordinary clause has only one predicate arc. That is, an initial (inner) predicate arc ends in stratum n , and a successive (union) predicate arc starts in stratum $n+1$. Therefore, the inner P(predicate) is always chômeurized by virtue of the Stratal Uniqueness Law and other nominals within the inner P-sector are always guaranteed to be chômeurized if there is another nominal bearing the same relation in the outer P-sector (i.e., union stratum in Davies and Rosen's sense). Thus, the merit of their analysis is that, unlike Gibson and Raposo's Inheritance Principle, chômage of the downstairs dependents (in the general sense) is enforced not by stipulation (cf. Gerdt's analysis), but by principles (i.e., the Stratal Uniqueness Law) needed independently.

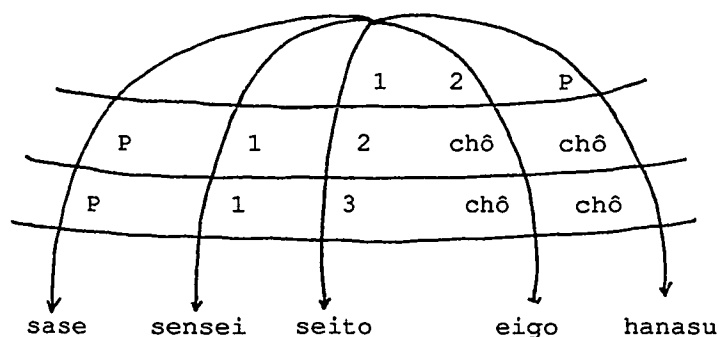
Dubinsky (1985:112-3)¹³ makes the criticism of the Clause Union theory as follows: (i) the formalization of clausal union introduces several very complicated but unmotivated definitions, (ii) the notion of U(nion) relation, acquired by the embedded predicate in the matrix

clause, is neither adequately explained nor independently motivated, (iii) for the GR supposedly borne by the embedded clause in the clausal union construction, there is nor direct evidence that the embedded clause actually bears a GR, nor evidence as to what that GR might be, and (iv) the GR borne by the embedded clause (whatever it may be) disappears in the Union Stratum.

Following Davies and Rosen, Dubinsky (1985) instead proposes a monoclausal analysis for Japanese causative sentences. As is well known, in Japanese active causative constructions, the pivot nominal is marked either with the accusative marker *o* or the dative marker *ni* and any additional arguments or adjuncts of the embedded verb carry their normal postpositions. To be specific, the pivot nominal obligatorily marked with *ni* and the direct object of the embedded verb with *o* when a transitive verb is causativized, and the pivot nominal is marked with *ni*, with *o*, or optionally with *ni* or *o* in accordance with verb classes when an intransitive verb is causativized. For the expository purposes, I will just discuss the case of a transitive verb. Below are instances of Japanese transitive causative sentences and the corresponding stratal diagram which Dubinsky (1986) proposes:¹⁴

- (26) a. Seito-ga eigo-o hanasita.
pupil-N English-A speak-PRF
'The pupils spoke English.'
- b. Sensei-ga seito-ni eigo-o hanasasetta.
teacher-N pupil-DAT English-A speak-CAUS-PRF
'The teacher made the pupils speak English.'
- c. *Sensei-ga seito-o eigo-o hanasasetta.
teacher-N pupil-A English-A speak-CAUS-PRF
'The teacher made the pupils speak English.'

(27)

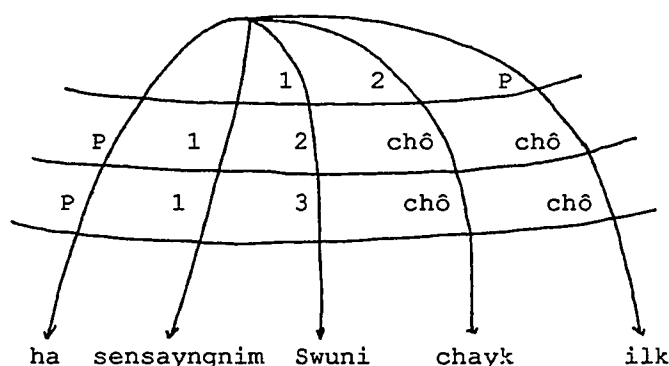


Under the assumption that all Japanese causatives are parametrized for 1-2 revaluation,¹⁵ Dubinsky gives an account of (26) with the stipulation that the 1-2 revaluee in transitive causative clauses obligatorily undergoes 2-3 demotion. The final 1 of the inner P-sector is revalued as a 2 (because of the parametrized Clause Union Law), putting the inner P-final 2 en chômage (by virtue of the Stratal Uniqueness Law). This 1-2 revaluee is then demoted to 3. According to Dubinsky (1985:129), this demotion of the revalued 2 to 3 is due to the Direct Object Constraint required as a relational constraint in Japanese.¹⁶ Therefore, sentences like (26c) are not possible because of the Direct Object Constraint in Japanese. Thus, the Direct Object Constraint makes the 1-2 revaluee of the causative clause of the transitive verb in Japanese obligatorily retreat to 3.

Ignoring some minor differences between Japanese causatives and Korean causatives, I will now discuss problems which are encountered when Dubinsky's analysis is applied to Korean. For the convenience of exposition, the dative causative (*ni*-causative in Japanese), the accusative causative (*o*-causative in Japanese), and the nominative causative are discussed in this order. First, consider (28)¹⁷ and (29).

- (28) a. Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 -N book-A read-PAST
 'Swuni read a book.'
- b. Sensayngnim-i Swuni-eykey chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'The teacher made Swuni read a book.'
- c. Sensayngnim-i Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'The teacher made Swuni read a book.'
- d. Sensayngnim-i Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'The teacher made Swuni read a book.'

(29)

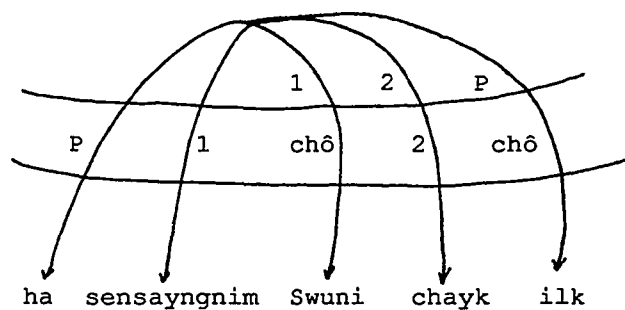


As had been already shown, (28b-d) are the syntactic causatives of the transitive verb and (29) is the stratal diagram of (28b) within Dubinsky's framework.¹⁸

As shown in (29), the final 1 of the inner P-sector (*Swuni*) is revalued as a 2, putting the inner P-final 2 (*chayk*) en chômage. In the next stratum, the 1-2 revaluee (*Swuni*) is retreated to 3. Consequently, we get (28b) as a desirable result. Since Korean does not require the Direct Object Constraint unlike Japanese, it may be assumed that the demotion of the revaluee to 3 should be optional in Korean. If this is the case, the non-application of demotion then may also result in (28c). That is, *Swuni* (the final 1 of the inner P-sector) is revalued as a 2 and *chayk* (the inner P-final 2) is made into a chômeur. Therefore,

Swuni and *chayk*, respectively, get an accusative marker under the assumption that acting 2s are assigned an accusative case in Korean (cf. S. Chun (1985, 1986), Gerdts (1985, 1986), Y. Choi (1988), etc.). As noted, Korean allows a causative in which the pivot nominal does not undergo revaluation. Therefore, the non-application of revaluation and demotion results in (28d) and the stratal diagram of (28d) will be (30).

(30)



As shown in (30), the final 1 of the inner P-sector (*Swuni*) is bumped into a 1-chômeur because of the final 1 of the outer P-sector but the inner P-final 2 (*chayk*) remains as a 2. Therefore, *sensayngnim* and *Swuni* are assigned a nominative marker under the assumption that acting 1s are assigned a nominative case in Korean (cf. Y. Choi (1988))¹⁹.

In the above, it has been shown how we can get the three different types of syntactic causatives of transitive verbs in Korean under Dubinsky's analysis. It seems that it is possible to get all the three types of causative clauses, though some unmotivated stipulations are needed. However, a careful examination reveals that there are several problems in the application of Dubinsky's idea to the Korean causative sentences. I will just point out the problems at this place and I will discuss and answer them in the next section.

First, Dubinsky stipulates the obligatory demotion of the 1-2 revaluee to 3 to account for the *ni*-causative in Japanese. The postulation of demotion is due to the Direct Object Constraint which is specific to Japanese. Therefore, such a demotion should not be appropriate in the description of Korean causatives since Korean never requires the Direct Object Constraint (roughly equivalent to Double o Constraint in Harada (1983) and others) as a relational requirement, unlike Japanese. Nonetheless, one must still stipulate the demotion of the 1-2 revaluee to 3 in Korean because Korean also allows dative causatives. Otherwise, dative causatives like (28b) will be ruled out as ungrammatical sentences since there is no way to get such sentences. However, it seems unmotivated and ad hoc to postulate such a constraint in Korean since there seem, to the best of my knowledge, to be no other instances of such a demotion in Korean. Furthermore, there seems to be no possible way in Dubinsky's framework to account for the following example:

- (31) Sensayngnim-i Swuni_i-eykey kunye_i-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -DAT she-N book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'The teacher made Swuni_i herself_i read a book.'

(31) shows that the 1-2 revaluee *Swuni* is demoted to 3 but another nominal bearing 1-relation (only third person pronouns occur at this place) occurs. If *Swuni* were revalued as a 2 and then demoted to a 3, what is the grammatical status of *kunye* 'her' in (31)? I know of no answer within Dubinsky's framework.

Second, the inner P-final 2 is put en chômage in the outer P-sector because of the revalued 2 in the accusative causative (cf. the

second stratum in (29)). According to Dubinsky as well as Davies and Rosen, the chômage of the inner P-final 2 nominal is duely motivated by the Stratal Uniqueness Law and sanctioned by the Motivated Chômage Law (compared with Gibson and Raposo's Inheritance Principle). Moreover, the fact that the inner P-final 2 does not passivize, as shown in (32), seems to corroborate that it is indeed a chômeur.

- (32) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. *Chayk-i Chelswu-eyuyhay Swuni-lul ilk-key-toy-ess-ta.
 book-N -by -A read-CAUS-PASS
 '*The book was read Swuni by Chelswu.'

However, the chômage of that nominal is in question, since an accusative causative like (32a) seems able to undergo passivization twice, as in (33).

- (33) Chelswu-eyuyhay chayk-i Swuni-eyuyhay ilk-e ci-key-toy-ess-ta.
 -by book-N -by read-PASS-CAUS-PASS
 'The book was made to read by Swuni by Chelswu.'
 (=The book was read by Swuni and it was made by Chelswu.)

If the nominal under discussion were indeed a 2-chômeur, Dubinsky's analysis requires that a 2 chômeur can advance to a 1 in some cases in Korean despite the Chômeur Advancement Ban (Perlmutter and Postal 1983:117).

Third, it has been shown in the stratal diagram (30) that the final 1 of the inner P-sector gets a chômeur relation in the outer P-sector because of the final 1 of the outer P-sector. The chômage is legitimately licensed by the Stratal Uniqueness Law and the Motivated Chômage Law under the Dubinsky's analysis. Nevertheless, Dubinsky has

the same problem that Gerdt's has with respect to the chômage of the final 1 of the inner P-sector. This is because the chômeurized nominal, *Swuni* in (28d), seems to behave as a final 1 with respect to Subject Honorification and Reflexivization, as mentioned in 3.4.1.

Fourth, it has been noted in the previous section that syntactic causative sentences allow an accusative marker to appear between the inner P and the outer P (in Davies terms). However, there seems to be no way to account for the presence of accusative marker between the two predicates since the inner P never assumes a 2-relation. In this regard, Davies may share same difficulty with Gerdt's.

For the reasons mentioned above, I will also reject to extend Dubinsky's (as well as Davies and Rosen's) idea to the analysis of Korean syntactic causative constructions.²⁰

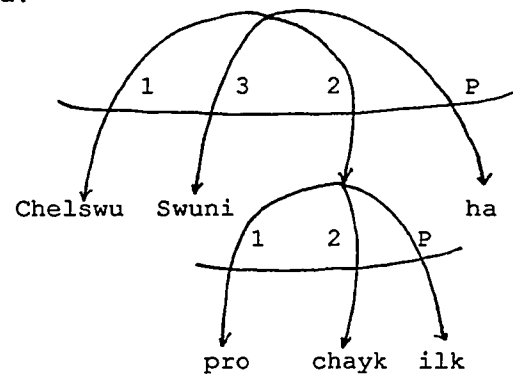
3.5 Biclausal Analysis

In the previous sections, monoclausal analyses based on Clause Union Laws within the RG framework have been examined and argued against. Instead, this section proposes the Biclausal Analysis based on the clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha* and provides an account for the alternations of the case markers of the pivot nominal in the three different syntactic causative constructions.

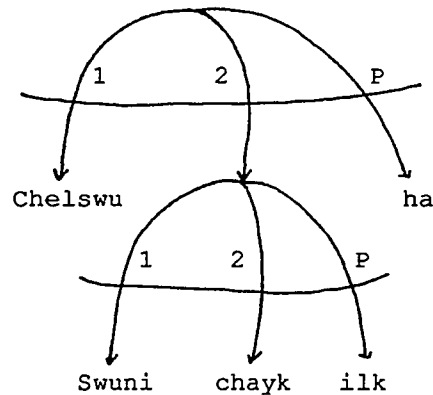
Assuming that the three different types of syntactic causative sentences in (34) are assigned the surface constituent structures (35), E. Cho (1987, 1988)²¹ proposes biclausal structures for those sentences and provides (36a-c) as the stratal diagrams of (35a-c), respectively.

- (34) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 c. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
- (35) a. [Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey [0 chayk-ul ilk-key] ha-yess-ta]
 b. [Chelswu-ka [Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key] ha-yess-ta]
 c. [Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul [chayk-ul ilk-key] ha-yess-ta]

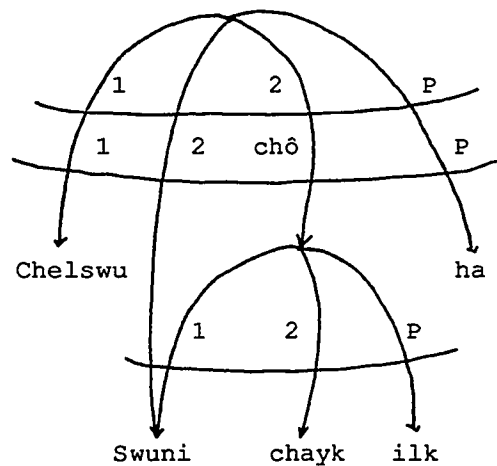
- (36) a.



- b.



c.



According to him, the pivot nominal *Swuni* in (34a) is assigned a dative case because it is the final 3 in the matrix clause, *Swuni* in (34b) is assigned a nominative case because it is the final 1 in the embedded clause, and *Swuni* in (34c) is assigned an accusative case because it is the final 2 in the matrix clause due to Subject-to-Object Raising. Thus, his analysis seems to provide an accurate account for the sentences at issue, although he does not treat intransitive causatives.

The motivations for his analysis are the fact that *ha-ta* has two types of subcategorizations (i.e., relational valences) and the fact that there are sentences in which the embedded clause has a lexical subject, as in (37) and (38), respectively.

- (37) a. *ha* : V, ((SUBJ), (DIR. OBJ))
 Nay-ka swukcey-lul ha-yess-ta.
 I-N homework-A do-PAST
 'I did a homework.'
 b. *ha* : V, ((SUBJ), (IND. OBJ), (DIR. OBJ))
 Nay-ka Swuni-eykey yok-ul ha-yess-ta.
 I-N -DAT abuse-A do-PAST
 'I slandered Mary.'

- (38) Nay-ka Swuni_i-eykey [kunye_i-ka chayk-ul ilk-key] ha-yess-ta.
 I-N -DAT her-N book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'I made Swuni herself read a book.'

(37) shows that the verb *ha* can take an NP as its direct object or two NPs as its indirect object and direct object. (38) further shows that *ha* can take a clause as its direct object. These lexical properties of the verb *ha* exactly coincide with the motivation which the Biclausal Analysis proposed for the *ha-ta* pattern in the preceding chapter relies on.

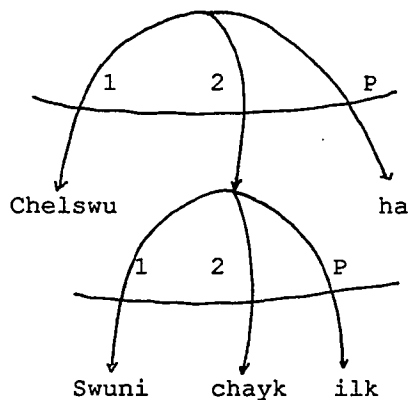
E. Cho (1987) provides several pieces of evidence as supporting arguments for his analysis. They are Passive argument, Object Honorific '*tuli-(ta)*' argument, and Time Adverb argument, all of which involve sensitivity to a clause boundary. These arguments serve to make clear that syntactic causative sentences contain a clause boundary. I will accept his arguments as well as his analysis.²² Especially, the fact that the nominative form of pronoun *kuney* 'she' can occur in (38) above strongly supports the position that the syntactic causatives are biclausal and that the dative nominal, say, the pivot nominal, is not a revaluee of the embedded 1 by the Clause Union Laws as claimed by Gerdtz (1986) and Dubinsky (1985).

Let us now turn to the current issue of this section. The Biclausal Analysis (and E. Cho's analysis) provides stratal diagrams for the nominative causative and the accusative causative, repeated in (39) and (40), as (41) and (42), respectively.

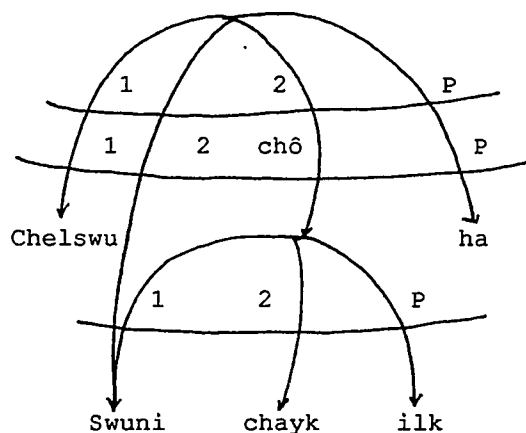
- (39) Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

- (40) Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

(41)



(42)



As mentioned in 3.3, the pivot nominal *Swuni* is the final 1 of the embedded clause (cf. 41) but the final 2 of the matrix clause due to the Subject-to-Object Raising (cf. 42) under the proposed analysis. In the next section, I will show that the syntactic causative pattern like (40) behaves identically to a raising construction (i.e., biclausal construction) in regard to several syntactic processes, which are especially sensitive to a clause boundary, to provide evidence for the biclausal structure of the sentence like (40).

3.6 Supporting Arguments for the Biclausal Analysis

This section provides supporting arguments to show that the syntactic causative pattern in question is biclausal. Section 3.6.1 clarifies the biclausality of the syntactic causative pattern. Section 3.6.2 addresses the subject-hood of the pivot nominal of the syntactic causative pattern.

3.6.1 Biclausality

This section argues the biclausality of the syntactic causative pattern by demonstrating that the given construction behaves identically to the raising construction with respect to passivization, time adverbs, negation, and verb compounding.²³

3.6.1.1 Passivization

The final 2 of the embedded clause cannot undergo passivization in the matrix clause. The same phenomenon can be observed in causative clauses. (cf. (43) and (44)).

- (43) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST
 'Chelswu believed that Swuni read a book.'
- b. *Chayk-i Chelswu-eyuyhay Swuni-ka ilk-ess-ta-ko
 book-N -by -N read-PAST-SE-COMP
 mit-e ci-ess-ta.
 believe-PASS-PAST
 '*The book was believed Swuni read by Chelswu.'
- (44) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

- b. *Chayk-i Chelswu-eyuyhay Swuni-ka ilk-key toy-ess-ta.
 book-N -by -N read-COMP PASS-PAST
 '*The book was made Swuni read by Chelswu.'

The final 2 of the embedded clause cannot be passivized even after raising takes place, either. The syntactic causative pattern displays the same behavior. (cf. (45) and (46)).

- (45) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-PAST-COMP believe-PAST
 'Chelswu believed Swuni read a book.'
 b. *Chayk-i Chelswu-eyuyhay Swuni-lul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 book-N -by -A read-PAST-SE-COMP
 mit-e ci-ess-ta.
 believe-PASS-PAST
 '*The book was believed Swuni read by Chelswu.'
- (46) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. *Chayk-i Chelswu-eyuyhay Swuni-lul ilk-key toy-ess-ta.
 book-N -by -A read-COMP PASS-PAST
 '*The book was made Swuni read a book.'

As is well known, Passive is a rule sensitive to clause boundary. Given the constraint that Passive applies only within the clause boundary, the Biclausal Analysis can provide a consistent account for the syntactic causative pattern as well as the raising construction. However, any monoclausal analysis of the syntactic causative pattern has to admit an ad hoc constraint prohibiting the revalued final 2 from being passivized (although 3-to-2 advancee and possessor ascende from 2 can be passivized),²⁴ provide two different Passive rules, or two different constraints to account for (43) through (46), at best. Regarding to this matter, notice that the downstairs final 2 of the syntactic causative pattern is put en chômeage in Dubinsky's analysis

(because of the revalued 2 of the outer P-sector) and in Gerdt's analysis (by virtue of the Inheritance Principle). Contrary to their claims, the above examples clearly show that the final 2 of the downstairs cannot be passivized because Passive is a rule which applies only within the same clause, but not because it is a 2-chômeur any way.

3.6.1.2 Time Adverbs Insertion

It is generally assumed that each clause, more precisely each verb, allows at most one independent time adverb such as *ecey* 'yesterday' and *nayil* 'tomorrow', as far as clause level constituents go (cf. Fodor (1970)). Therefore, in simplex sentences, only one time adverb can occur, as shown in (47).

- (47) a. Chelswu-ka *ecey* Swuni-lul manna-ss-ta.
 -N yesterday -A met-PAST
 'Chelswu met Swuni yesterday.'
 b. *Chelswu-ka *ecey* Swuni-lul *nayil* manna-ss-ta.
 -N yesterday -A tomorrow met-PAST
 '*Today, Chelswu met Swuni yesterday.'

However, the syntactic causative pattern as well as raising sentences can include two different time adverbs, just like complex sentences, as in (48) and (49).

- (48) a. Chelswu-ka *ecey* Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 -N yesterday -N book-A read-PAST-SE-COMP
 onul mit-ess-ta.
 today believe-PAST
 'Today Chelswu believed that Swuni read a book yesterday.'

- b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ecey ilk-ess-ta-ko
 -N -A book-A yesterday read-PAST-SE-COMP
 onul mit-ess-ta.
 today believe-PAST
 'Today Chelswu believed Swuni read a book yesterday.'
- (49) a. Chelswu-ka ecey Swuni-ka chayk-ul onul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N yesterday -N book-A today read-COMP do-PAST
 'Yesterday Chelswu made Swuni read a book today.'
- b. Chelswu-ka ecey Swuni-lul chayk-ul onul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N yesterday -A book-A today read-COMP do-PAST
 'Yesterday Chelswu made Swuni read a book today.'

3.6.1.3 Negation Words Insertion

Gerdts (1986), following Perlmutter's (1985) morphological condition,²⁵ argues that the fact that adverbials such as *ecey* 'yesterday' or *onul* 'today' cannot occur between the upstairs verb and the downstairs verb for almost half of Korean speakers (Gerdts 1986:134) (cf. (50 = Gerdts's 113c)) is evidence that the downstairs verb and upstairs verb form a single verb in the Union Stratum. However, her argument does not seem convincing. In the first place, the grammaticality judgement of the illustrated sentence is not determinate because over half of Korean speakers (including me) admit (50) as a grammatical sentence, as she indicates. Moreover, it has been shown in Chapter 2, negation words such as *an* 'not' or *mos* 'unable' can intervene between the two predicates of the *ha-ta* pattern. Similarly, E. Cho (1988:195), observes that those negation words can also occur between the two predicates of the syntactic causative pattern (as noted in 3.2), unlike other morphologically single words -e.g., *po-ta* 'to see' and

po-i-ta (see-CAUS-ind) 'to show', as can be seen in (51) and (52). The same phenomenon can be found in the raising construction, as in (53).

- (50) %Haksayng-i sensayngnim-ul ttena-key onul/ecey ha-yess-ta.
 student-N teacher-A leave-COMP today/yesterday do-PAST
 'The student made the teacher leave today/yesterday.'
- (51) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul an/mos po-i-ess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A not/unable see-CAUS
 'Chelswu did (could) not show Swuni a book.'
 b. *Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul po-an/mos-i-ess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A see-not/unable-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu did (could) not show Swuni a book.'
- (52) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul an/mos ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A not/unable read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni not (not be able to) read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key an/mos ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-COMP not/unable do-PAST
 'Chelswu did (could) not make Swuni read a book.'
- (53) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul an/mos ilk-ess-ta-ko
 -N -A book-A not/unable read-PAST-SE-COMP
 mit-ess-ta.
 believe-PAST
 'Chelswu believed Swuni did (could) not read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 -N -A book-A read-PAST-SE-COMP
 an/mos mit-ess-ta.
 not/unable believe-PAST
 'Chelswu did (could) not believe Swuni read a book.'

Given the assumption that negation words can occur in front of the predicate within the same simplex clause (Y. Kim 1988:97), the exemplified sentences in (51) and (52) tell us that the syntactic causative pattern has a biclausal structure. That is, the scope of negation in (52a) and (52b) is the embedded clause and the matrix clause, respectively. This biclausality of the construction under discussion can be further confirmed by the fact that the syntactic

causative pattern as well as the raising construction can be doubly negated, as shown in (54).

- (54) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul an/mos ilk-ess-ta-ko
 -N -A book-A not/unable read-PAST-SE-COMP
 an/mos mit-ess-ta.
 not/unable believe-PAST
 'Chelswu did (could) not believe Swuni did (could) not
 read a book.'
- b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul an/mos ilk-key
 -N -A book-A not/unable read-COMP
 an/mos ha-yess-ta.
 not/unable do-PAST
 'Chelswu did (could) not make Swuni not (not be able to)
 read a book.'

However, monoclausal analyses seem to have difficulties in accounting for the above facts, since they have the assumption that the downstairs verb and the upstairs verb form a single verb at the surface level.

3.6.1.4 Verb Compounding

As noted in 3.2.2, (e)-po 'try', (e)-peli 'finish', etc. form a compound verb by combining with main verb stems or extended stems. These items (whether auxiliaries or affixes) can occur at only one place in the sentences which contain a morphologically single verb but can appear at two places in the syntactic causative sentence, as seen below:

- (55) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A read-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
- b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-e po-ass-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A read-CAUS-try-PAST
 'Chelswu tried to make Swuni read a book.'
- c. *Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul ilk-e po-hi-ess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A read-try-CAUS-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni try to read a book.'

- (56) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ye po-ass-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP do-try-PAST
 'Chelswu tried to make Swuni read a book.'
 c. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-e po-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-try-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni try to read a book.'

With respect to the process of verb compounding, the syntactic causative pattern and the raising construction work the same way, as shown in (57) through (59).

- (57) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-e po-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-try-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni try to read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ye po-ass-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-COMP do-try-PAST
 'Chelswu tried to make Swuni read a book.'
- (58) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-e po-ass-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-try-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST
 'Chelswu believed that Swuni tried to read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-e po-ass-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-PAST-SE-COMP believe-try-PAST
 'Chelswu tried to believe that Swuni read a book.'
- (59) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-e po-ass-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-try-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST
 'Chelswu believed Swuni tried to read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-e po-ass-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-PAST-SE-COMP believe-try-PAST
 'Chelswu tried to believe Swuni read a book.'

By the same token suggested in connection with Negation Words Insertion discussed in the previous section, monoclausal analyses have difficulties in accounting for the above facts. However, the proposed Biclausal Analysis can provide a consistent account for the process of verb compounding. Namely, any main verb, whether embedded or matrix, can be combined with (e)-*po* or (e)-*pel*i to form a compounding verb.

3.6.2 Subject-hood of Pivot Nominal

Previous sections have argued that the syntactic causative pattern is biclausal. What the facts discussed above suggest is that the syntactic causative sentences contain two distinct predicates whereas Gerdts (1986) claim that the predicate in the syntactic causative sentences forms a single predicate. Regarding to those phenomena, the proposed Biclausal Analysis can provide a consistent answer as discussed while any monoclausal analysis claiming that syntactic causative sentences contain a single predicate inevitably experience some serious difficulties. Unlike Gerdts, Dubinsky (1986) (as well as Davies and Rosen (1988)) may be able to provide an answer about why the syntactic causative sentences display the characteristics of the complex clauses with respect to time adverbs, negation words, and verb compounding. Their answer will probably be that those sentences contain 2 distinct P-sectors although they have a single clause node. That is, each P (inner P and outer P) can include one time adverb, one negation word, and one verb compounding within its own P-sector. This answer seems quite possible. However, it is still unclear whether the verb compounding and the insertion of time adverbs and negation words are phenomena belonging to the stratum before the inner P is put en chômage in Korean. It may be extremely difficult to tell whether such processes take place before P is chômeurized unless we can prove that those mentioned processes are entirely the very final stratum processes. Thus, it is not clear what the grammatical status of the P-chômeur in Korean is.

In addition to the difficulties discussed in the previous sections, Gerdts and Dubinsky reveals another problem in connection with the grammatical status of the pivot nominal of the given construction. It has been noted that the pivot nominal of the nominative causative sentences is a 1-chômeur in Gerdts's analysis (and Dubinsky's analysis). This section demonstrates that the pivot nominal of the nominative causative is not a final 1-chômeur but behaves as a subject of the embedded clause, contrary to what Gerdts claims, in connection with Subject Honorification and Reflexivization to show that the syntactic causative pattern consequently is biclausal.

3.6.2.1 Subject Honorification

As noted earlier, the pivot nominal of nominative causatives is the final 1-chômeur, not the final 1 of the embedded clause, in Gerdts's and Dubinsky's Clause Union Analyses. However, this seems not to be the case at all. It will shown, in what follows, that a final 1 chômeur (in passive clauses) cannot trigger Subject Honorification in Korean, and that the pivot nominal of the nominative causative sentence and the syntactic causative pattern behaves identically to the final 1 of embedded clauses with respect to Subject Honorification.

First, passive clauses clearly reveal that 1-chômeur cannot trigger Subject Honorification, as shown below:

- (60) a. Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-ul kaluchi-si-n-ta.
 teacher-N student-PL-A teach-H-PRES
 'The teacher teaches students.'

- b. Haksayng-tul-i sensayngnim-eyuyhay kaluchi-e ci-n-ta
 student-PL-N teacher-by teach-PASS-PRES
 'Students are taught by the teacher.'
- c. *Haksayng-tul-i sensayngnim-eyuyhay kaluchi-e ci-si-n-ta.
 student-PL-N teacher-by teach-PASS-H-PRES
 'Students are taught by the teacher.'

(60b) is the passive clause of (60a). In (60a), *sensayngnim* can trigger Subject Honorification because it is the final subject. But, (60b) and (60c) show that *sensayngnim* cannot trigger Subject Honorification since it is a final 1 no longer. Rather, *sensayngnim* is the final 1-chômeur.

Second, the pivot nominal of nominative causatives behaves in the exactly identical manner to the final subject of embedded clauses with respect to Subject Honorification, as seen in (61) and (62).

- (61) a. Swuni-ka emeni-ka chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 -N mother-N book-A read-H-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST
 'Swuni believed that the mother read a book.'
- b. *Swuni-ka emeni-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST
 'Swuni believed that the mother read a book.'
- c. *Swuni-ka emeni-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-usi-ess-ta.
 -N mother-N book-A read-H-PAST-SE-COMP believe-H-PAST
 'Swuni believed that the mother read a book.'
- (62) a. Swuni-ka emeni-ka chayk-ul ilk-usi-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N mother-N book-A read-H-COMP do-PAST
 'Swuni made the mother read a book.'
- b. *Swuni-ka emeni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N mother-N book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Swuni made the mother read a book.'
- c. *Swuni-ka emeni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-si-ess-ta.
 -N mother-N book-A read-COMP do-H-PAST
 'Swuni made the mother read a book.'

In (61), *Swuni* is the final 1 of the matrix clause and *emeni* 'mother' is the final subject of the matrix clause. Accordingly, *emeni* can trigger Subject Honorification only at the embedded clause level, as shown above. The unacceptability of (61b) and (61c) is due to the fact that

the embedded final subject does not trigger Subject Honorification or trigger Subject Honorification at the matrix clause level. The examples in (62) show that the nominative causative sentence displays the identical phenomenon to (61) in connection with Subject Honorification. If this is the case, Gerdts's analysis (and Dubinsky's analysis by implication) is inconsistent to the extent that she has to provide an ad hoc condition stating that the 1-chômeur in passives cannot trigger Subject Honorification but the 1-chômeur in nominative causatives can.

Further, the same phenomenon can be found in the syntactic causative pattern as well as in the raising construction, as in (63) and (64).

- (63) a. Swuni-ka emeni-lul chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 -N mother-A book-A read-H-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST
 'Swuni believed the mother to read a book.'
- b. *Swuni-ka emeni-lul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 -N mother-A book-A read-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST
 'Swuni believed the mother to read a book.'
- c. *Swuni-ka emeni-lul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-usi-ess-ta.
 -N mother-A book-A read-PAST-SE-COMP believe-H-PAST
 'Swuni believed the mother to read a book.'
- (64) a. Swuni-ka emeni-lul chayk-ul ilk-usi-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N mother-A book-A read-H-COMP do-PAST
 'Swuni made the mother read a book.'
- b. *Swuni-ka emeni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N mother-A book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Swuni made the mother read a book.'
- c. *Swuni-ka emeni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-si-ess-ta.
 -N mother-A book-A read-COMP do-H-PAST
 'Swuni made the mother read a book.'

Regarding the Subject Honorification in the examples illustrated above, the proposed analysis can provide a consistent analysis. That is, the pivot nominal *emeni* in (62) is the final 1 of the embedded clause and (64) is the sentence resulting from Subject Honorification

followed by Subject-to-Object Raising. An identical account applies to (61) and (63). Thus, the Biclausal Analysis can maintain a single account of the Subject Honorification in the sentences (60) through (64). However, Gerdts's and Dubinsky's analyses are not only inconsistent in accounting of Subject Honorification but also have to provide different accounts for Subject Honorification in nominative causatives and accusative causatives. Moreover, the monoclausal analysis may not be able to account for sentences like (65) in which the embedded subject and the matrix subject trigger Subject Honorification at the same time.

- (65) a. Apeci-ka emeni-ka/-lul chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta-ko
 father-N mother-N/-A book-A read-H-PAST-SE-COMP
 mit-usi-ess-ta.
 believe-H-PAST
 'The father believed (that) the mother read a book.'
 b. Apeci-ka emeni-ka/-lul chayk-ul ilk-usi-key ha-si-ess-ta
 father-N mother-N/-A book-A read-H-COMP do-H-PAST
 'The father made the mother read a book.'

Furthermore, only final 1s can be marked by the nominative honorific marker *-kkeyse* (Y. Choi 1988:55) but the pivot nominal in both constructions above can be marked by *-kkeyse*, as shown below:

- (66) a. Chelswu-ka emeni-kkeyse chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta-ko
 -N mother-N book-A read-H-PAST-SE-COMP
 mit-ess-ta.
 believe-PAST
 'Chelswu believed that the mother read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka emeni-kkeyse chayk-ul ilk-usi-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N mother-N book-A read-H-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made the mother read a book.'

The fact that the pivot nominal of the syntactic causatives can be marked by the nominative honorific marker *kkeyse* seems crucially

confirms that the pivot nominal in the nominative causative sentence is not a 1-chômeur but a final 1 (contrary to what is claimed by Gerdts and Dubinsky), and, consequently, the syntactic causative pattern is biclausal.

3.6.2.2 Reflexivization

It has been generally agreed that in Korean a final subject can be an antecedent of the reflexive pronoun *caki* or *casin*²⁶ although being anteceded by reflexive pronouns does not necessarily mean being a subject. The pivot nominal in (67) should not serve as an antecedent of reflexive pronouns at all if it is the final 1-chômeur as in Gerdts's (1986) and Dubinsky's (1986) analyses. However, this seems wrong, as can be seen in (67).

- (67) a. Chelswu_i-ka Swuni_j-ka caki_{j/i}-uy pang-eyse chayk-ul
 -N -N self-G room-at book-A
 ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu_i made Swuni_j read a book in self's_{j/i} room.'
 b. Chelswu_i-ka Swuni_j-ka casin_{j/*i}-uy pang-eyse chayk-ul
 -N -N self-G room-at book-A
 ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu_i made Swuni_j read a book in self's_{j/*i} room.'

Swuni, the 1-chômeur in Gerdts's and Dubinsky's analyses, serves as an antecedent to reflexive pronouns, contrary to what would be expected. Further, the fact that the first reading of *caki* in (67a) is not *Chelswu* but *Swuni*, and that *casin* in (67b) can refer only to *Swuni* clearly

reveals that *Swuni* is the final 1, not a final 1-chômeur. The same phenomenon is found in complex clauses, as in (68).

- (68) a. Chelswui-ka Swunij-ka cakij/i-uy pang-eyse chayk-ul
 -N -N self-G room-at book-A
 ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 read-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST
 'Chelswui believed that Swunij read a book at self'sj/i room.'
 b. Chelswui-ka Swunij-ka casinj/*i-uy pang-eyse chayk-ul
 -N -N self-G room-at book-A
 ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 read-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST
 'Chelswui believed that Swunij read a book at
 self'sj/*i room.'

Moreover, the syntactic causative pattern and the raising construction work the same way, as can be seen below:

- (69) a. Chelswui-ka Swunij-lul cakij/i-uy pang-eyse chayk-ul
 -N -A self-G room-at book-A
 ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswui made Swunij read a book at self'sj/i room.'
 b. Chelswui-ka Swunij-lul casinj/*i-uy pang-eyse chayk-ul
 -N -A self-G room-at book-A
 ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswui made Swunij read a book at self'sj/*i room.'
- (70) a. Chelswui-ka Swunij-lul cakij/i-uy pang-eyse chayk-ul
 -N -N self-G room-at book-A
 ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 read-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST
 'Chelswui believed that Swunij read a book at self'sj/i room.'
 b. Chelswui-ka Swunij-lul casinj/*i-uy pang-eyse chayk-ul
 -N -N self-G room-at book-A
 ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 read-PAST-SE-COMP believe-PAST
 'Chelswui believed that Swunij read a book at
 self'sj/*i room.'

From the above examples, it can be concluded that the pivot nominal is the final 1 of the embedded clause and that it is raised into

the final 2 of the matrix clause in both constructions. However, Clause Union Analyses or other monoclausal analyses of causative structures have to provide two different accounts for the above phenomena. Moreover, Gerdts and Dubinsky would have to provide an otherwise unmotivated condition stating that the final 1-chômeur can be an antecedent of the reflexive pronoun in some cases like (67).

3.7 Comparison to the *Ha-ta* Pattern

In this section, I will compare the syntactic causative pattern to the *ha-ta* pattern and conclude that the sequence of embedded verb, complementizer, and accusative marker in both constructions behave identically. Let us first look at the two patterns again.

- (71) Columbus-ka mikwuk-ul palkyen-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N America-A discover-A do-PAST
 'Columbus discovered America.'

- (72) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

In Chapter 2, a collection of tests has been provided to show that the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern like (71) is a verbal predicate, not an NP (consequently, not a direct object). Those tests are clefting, pronominalization, scrambling, relativization, passivization, and topicalization. The purpose of applying the given tests was to determine that the second accusatively marked constituent

of the *ha-ta* pattern is the string combined with an embedded verb, a complementizer (Null), and a case marker, not the string combined with a noun and a case marker. What is relevant here is therefore to compare *palkyen-ul* in (71) to *ilk-key-lul* in (72b), not to compare the two accusatively marked constituents in (72a) to the two accusative constituents in (71).²⁷ Moreover, some of those tests are irrelevant here because *ilk-key-lul* is evidently not the combination of a noun and a case marker. For this reason, I will confine myself to showing that the two strings under consideration behave identically to each other with respect to scrambling,²⁸ by looking at word order restrictions in active sentences and their corresponding passive counterparts.

The claim in the preceding chapter was that *palkyen* cannot be scrambled at all, even within the embedded clause, because it is a verb of the embedded clause. This is because Korean is an SOV language in which the order of V is fixed at the end of clauses. For this reason, the following are not possible sentences.²⁹

- (73) a. **Palkyen-ul Columbus-ka mikwuk-ul ha-yess-ta.*
 discover-A -N book-A do-PAST
 'Columbus discovered America.'
 b. **Columbus-ka palkyen-ul mikwuk-ul ha-yess-ta.*
 -N discover-A book-A do-PAST
 'Columbus discovered America.'

However, direct objects can scramble even if clauses. For this reason, the following sentences are possible.

- (74) a. *Mikwuk-ul Columbus-ka palkyen-ul ha-yess-ta.*
 America-A -N discover-A do-PAST
 'Columbus discovered America.'

- b. [\emptyset Mikwuk-ul palkyen-ul] Columbus-ka ha-yess-ta.
 America-A discover-A -N do-PAST
 'Columbus discovered America.'

(74a) results from scrambling the direct object in the embedded clause, and (74b) has the whole embedded clause, [\emptyset Mikwuk-ul palkyen], scrambled as the direct object of the matrix clause.

The same phenomenon can be observed in the syntactic causative pattern, regarding the string *ilk-key-lul*. Let us consider (75).

- (75) a. *Ilk-key-lul Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ha-yess-ta.
 read-COMP-A -N -A book-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. *Chelswu-ka ilk-key-lul Swuni-lul chayk-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N read-COMP-A -A book-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 c. *Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul ilk-key-lul chayk-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A read-COMP-A book-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

All the sentences above are ungrammatical because the verb of the embedded clause (precisely speaking, verb + complementizer + case marker) scrambles. However, scrambling of an NP marked accusative does not affect grammaticality, as can be seen in (76).

- (76) a. Swuni-lul Chelswu-ka chayk-ul ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -A -N book-A read-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. Chayk-ul Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 book-A -N -A read-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 c. Swuni-lul chayk-ul Chelswu-ka ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -A book-A -N read-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 d. Chayk-ul Swuni-lul Chelswu-ka ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 book-A -A -N read-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

Of course, the embedded clause [Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key] in the nominative causative sentence can also scramble, as in (77).

- (77) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key-lul Chelswu-ka ha-yess-ta.
 -N book-A read-COMP-A -N do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

By the same token, the affected embedded clause [\emptyset chayk-ul ilk-key] in the syntactic causative pattern would be then also expected to scramble because it is still an embedded clause, though it bears a *chômeur* relation. However, this seems not to be the case, as illustrated in (78).

- (78) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'
 b. *Chayk-ul ilk-key-lul Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul ha-yess-ta.
 book-A read-COMP-A -N -A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

With regard to this matter, I have at present little to say. A possible speculation is that it seems to be the matter of nature of rules: raising may block the application of scrambling. This kind of speculation may not be unreasonable if raising is assumed as a rule in syntax but scrambling in PF in the sense of Chomsky (1981). This speculation may be confirmed by the fact that the raising construction works the same way anyway, as in (79).

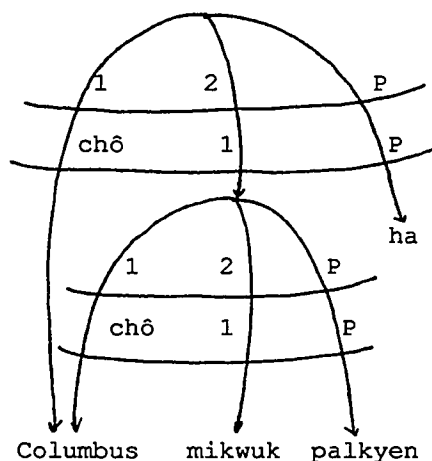
- (79) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko(-lul) mit-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-PAST-SE-COMP-A believe-PAST
 'Chelswu believed Swuni read a book.'

- b. *Chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko(-lul) Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul mit-ess-ta.
 book-A read-PAST-SE-COMP(-A) -N -A believe-PAST
 'Chelswu believed Swuni read a book.'

Now let us briefly talk about word order restrictions in corresponding passive clauses. (80) is the passive counterpart of (71), and (81) is the stratal diagram of (80).

- (80) Mikwuk-i (Columbus-eyuyhay) palkyen-i toy-ess-ta.
 America-N -by discover-N PASS-PAST
 'America was discovered by Columbus.'

(81)



The claim in the preceding chapter was that *palkyen* cannot scramble (within the embedded clause) in (80) because it is the verb of the passivized embedded clause. Therefore, (82) is ungrammatical.³⁰

- (82) *Palkyen-i mikwuk-i (Columbus-eyuyhay) toy-ess-ta.
 discover-N America-N -by PASS-PAST
 'America was discovered by Columbus.'

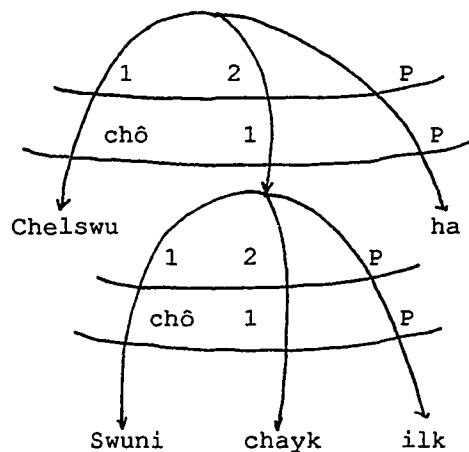
The syntactic causative pattern shows the same behavior in this regard. However, as previously discussed, the raised object does not passivize. Therefore, I will treat the nominative syntactic causative

sentences, such as (81), as parallel to the syntactic causative pattern with respect to passivization.³¹

- (83) Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP-A do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

- (84) Chelswu-eyuyhay chayk-i Swuni-eyuyhay ilk-e ci-key(-ka)
 -by book-N -by read-PASS-COMP (-N)
 toy-ess-ta.
 PASS-PAST
 'The book was made to read by Swuni by Chelswu.'

(85)



(84) is the passive counterpart of (83), and (85) is the stratal diagram of (84). As the case of the passivization of the *ha-ta* pattern, (85) shows that *chayk*, the final 2 of the embedded clause, is first passivized, and the embedded clause itself is passivized again. Then, we can get a sentence in which the verb of the embedded clause is scrambled within the embedded clause.³² The proposed Biclausal Analysis predicts that it should be ungrammatical, and it is in fact so, as can be seen in (86).

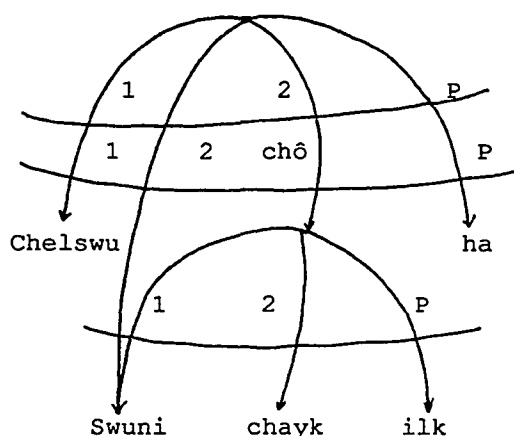
- (86) *Chelswu-eyuyhay ilk-e ci-key(-ka) chayk-i Swuni-eyuyhay
 -by read-PASS-COMP(-N) book-N -by
 toy-ess-ta.
 PASS-PAST
 'The book was made to be read by Swuni by Chelswu.'

Before concluding this section, it seems worthwhile noting two facts with respect to case marking. One is that the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern (e.g., *palkyen* in (71)) is marked by a nominative marker in the corresponding passive sentence. It was claimed in the previous chapter that this was a piece of evidence that the embedded clause *per se* was passivized. The same thing can be observed in the passive counter-part of the raising construction. In (84), *ilk-e ci-key* can be also attached with a nominative marker (though not quite natural for other reasons³³).

The other is that we do not need any other case marking system as far as the two accusative NPs in the syntactic causative pattern is concerned. This is because both of the two accusatively marked NPs are assigned case markers by their final GRs as we have seen through the preceding discussion. However, let us turn to the sentences (24a) and the stratal diagram (42) again, which are repeated here as (87) and (88).

- (87) Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP do-PAST
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

(88)



As shown clearly in (88), the embedded clause *per se* is put en chômage because of Subject-to-Object Raising in the syntactic causative pattern. This fact requires us to add another case marking system which states that the Acting 2s are assigned accusative case in Korean.³⁴ In this regard, I will also admit the Acting Term Case Marking rule. This rule is also required to account for the case marking phenomena of other patterns illustrated in 1.4.2. The Acting Term Case Marking rule will be discussed below in 3.8.

3.8 Case Marking Rule: Markedness vs. Unmarkedness

It has been claimed that the two accusatively marked constituents of the *ha-ta* pattern are assigned accusative case because they are final 2s, although the aim in Chapter 2 was not to propose a case marking rule which can apply across various multiple accusative patterns. From the discussion in this chapter, we have seen that what is needed is another case marking rule. This is because the final 2-chômeurs (i.e., the

embedded clause is a final 2-chômeur in the syntactic causative pattern) can take an accusative case marker. Therefore, I will admit another case marking rule saying that the final 2s can be also assigned an accusative marker. Then, the combined case marking rule will be expanded something like "Acting 2s are assigned accusative case in Korean" (cf. S. Chun (1986, 1986), Gerdts (1985, 1986), Y. Choi (1988), etc.).

However, this new case marking rule does not weaken the Biclausal Analysis given for the *ha-ta* pattern and the syntactic causative pattern. It is worthwhile noting that the term "Acting 2s" is a composite of a final 2 and a final 2-chômeur. In other words, the acting term case marking system is a set of two rules. Furthermore, final terms are an unmarked option in terms of case marking rules compared with final chômeurs. That is, the case marking rules by the final terms are default rules. If this is the case, the Biclausal Analysis will turn out to be better than any other analysis based on the acting term case marking rules since the proposed Biclausal Analysis relies much more on the case marking rule by the final terms, which is an unmarked default rule.

3.9 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has argued against the monoclausal analyses of the syntactic causative constructions, especially based on the Clause Union theory, and has shown that syntactic causative constructions are another instance of biclausal structures motivated by the clausal

complementation feature of the verb *ha*, as the *ha-ta* pattern is. Further, it has been shown that the syntactic causative pattern is the result of the application of Subject-to-Object Raising to the nominative syntactic causative construction so that the Stratal Uniqueness Law is still valid as far as the syntactic causative pattern is concerned. On the other hand, this chapter has confirmed the claim that the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern is the sequence of an embedded verb, complementizer (Null), and an accusative marker by showing that the embedded clause of the syntactic causative sentences contain a same sequence and both of the two sequences behave identically with each other with respect to several syntactic processes, especially word order restrictions in Korean.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. For expository purposes, *key ha* is glossed as CAUS(ATIVE) in this section, in a non-technical sense.

2. Martin (1954:58-59) lists the following items as causative suffixes: *i, hi, ki, li, chi, u, iu, hu, liu, ukhi, and ikhi*. S. Bak (1982:324) adds the followings as causative suffixes: *ku, chu, kiu, oy, uy, ey*.

3. For examples, *cwu(-ta)* 'give', *wumciki(-ta)* 'move', *nayli(-ta)* 'come down or get off', etc. have no corresponding suffixal form but they still have a corresponding *key ha* form.

4. Sentences like (4) have been called *i* causatives or *hi* causatives in accordance with the underlying form which had been adopted. It seems that *i* (or *I*) causatives have been a cover term for causative sentences like (4), but S. Bak (1982) proposes that *hi* should be the underlying form of causative morphemes. To the best of my knowledge, causative suffixes seem neither phonologically conditioned nor morphologically conditioned. However, I will not pursue this matter because it is not an immediate concern in this work.

5. See Fodor (1970) for the detailed discussion for English and see Shibatani (1972) for Japanese.

6. This is because much effort was made to find out the meaning differences between the two types of causatives. See B. Park (1972), Patterson (1974), S. Song (1978) and others about the arguments against the synonymy relation between the two types of causatives.

7. I will adopt the neutral term 'pivot nominal' rather than 'causee nominal' in what follows.

8. See Kuroda (1965), Kuno (1973), Harada (1973), Shibatani (1972, 1973a, 1973b), Tonoike (1978), Dubinsky (1985), and many others for the various analyses and discussion of the causative sentences in Japanese.

9. Dubinsky (1985) proposes a Clause Union Analysis for Japanese causative constructions. Unlike Gerdts (1986), Dubinsky follows the model from Davies and Rosen (1988). Davies and Rosen's point is that the predicate can also be put en chômage so that the dependents of the embedded clause belong to the inner P-sector whereas the matrix predicate becomes a chômeur. Dubinsky's analysis will be discussed in the next section.

10. This is the Union Parameter which limits the extent of possible variation of the revaluation of the downstairs subject in the upstairs clause. Below is the Union Parameter proposed by Gibson & Raposo (1986:303):

The Union Parameter

Language-particular union rules, where they exist, are of the following form:

If the Predicate in a complement clause *b* bears the Union GR in the main clause, then the nominal bearing a final 1 GR in *b* bears an Object GR at the union stratum of the clause union construction.

11. See Gerdts (1986) for detailed discussion and several pieces of evidence for two different Clause Unions in Korean.

12. See the next section for the theoretical drawbacks of clause unions in general pointed out by Dubinsky (1985).

13. Dubinsky (1985) follows Davies and Rosen (ms.) which had been circulated before Davies and Rosen (1988) was published.

14. (26a) and (26b) are from Dubinsky (1985:122 (19)) but (26c) is mine. Minor differences in glosses between his examples and mine are ignored.

15. See the Union Parameter in note 10 above.

16. This relational constraint is Dubinsky's alternative to the Double *o* Constraint (Harada (1973), Shibatani (1973), Kuroda (1978), Saito (1985)). The Direct Object Constraint is as follows:

Direct Object Constraint (Dubinsky 1985:129)

If nominal X and nominal Y head P-initial 2-arcs in clause *b*,
AND

If X and Y are acting 2s of clause *b*,
then the RN containing X and Y is ill-formed.

See Dubinsky (1985) for the difference between Direct Object Constraint and the Double *o* Constraint.

17. Key *ha* is again glossed as CAUS(ATIVE) in this part, in a non-technical sense, because syntactic causatives are monoclausal in Dubinsky's analysis.

18. Following Dubinsky (1986), I assume here that all Korean causatives are parametrized for 1-2 revaluation.

19. Acting 1s are a final 1 or a final 1 *chômeur*. Y. Choi (1988:39) proposes that acting 1s except a passive 1 *chômeur* are assigned a nominative case marker in Korean.

20. Or, alternatively, it may be assumed that all Korean causatives, unlike Japanese causatives, are parametrized for 1-3 revaluation. In this option, the stipulation of demotion is not necessary. Rather, it may be stipulated that the 1-3 revaluee should optionally advance to 2. Though 3-2 Advancement is independently needed in the description of Korean grammar, this option does still not account for the sentence (31) and has also other problems mentioned above. Consequently, I will also reject this possibility without detailed discussion.

21. Following Patterson (1974), E. Cho (1988), unlike E. Cho (1987), proposes a different underlying structure for (34c). Specifically, he assumes that the subject of the complement clause of (34c) is a phonologically null pronoun while the subject of the complement clause of (34a) is a phonologically overt pronoun. However, E. Cho's (1988) structure for (34c) violates the Stratal Uniqueness Law because the pivot nominal and the complement clause take the same GR, i.e., 2-relation, at the same stratum.

22. However, I will amend slightly one of his structures, though it is not relevant to the current issue. He posits *pro* as a subject of the embedded clause to account for (35a), "Dative Causative" in his terms. (cf. 34a. 36a) But I will posit a full NP, namely, *Swuni*, assuming that *Swuni* in (36a) is multi-attached across stairs, and that *Equi* interacts with pronominalization. Therefore, (38) is the result of the application of Pronominalization to emphasize the pivot. Note that (38) conveys only an emphatic meaning compared with (34a), and that (38) is ungrammatical if the pronoun *kunye* has a reference disjoint to the pivot nominal.

23. The Passive argument and the Time Adverb argument are from E. Cho (1987, 1988). However, unlike E. Cho, I will discuss only the double accusative causative sentence. See E. Cho (1987, 1988) for discussion of the above arguments for the full range of the transitive causative constructions.

24. See Chapter 5 for the detailed discussion of this matter.

25. Perlmutter's morphological condition, taken from Gerdts (1986:134), is as follows:

If two elements are word-mates in morphological structure,
then, the elements that determine them are clausemates
in the syntactic structure.

26. See D. Yang (1983, 1990) and Y. Kang (1986) for the Subject Antecedent Condition of the reflexive pronoun in Korean.

27. Needless to say, the two accusative constituents in the syntactic causative pattern are subject to the given syntactic processes. However, passivization and relativization seem to be

problematic as applied to the two accusative constituents of the syntactic causative pattern. The inapplicability of passivization to the two accusative nominals of the syntactic causative pattern is due to the fact that passivization is confined within the same clause level, as discussed in 3.6.1. The problem in relativizing the first accusative nominal is due to the switching of agent. Therefore, these matters may be ignored.

28. Topicalization is parallel to scrambling. In other words, any nominals can be topicalized *in situ* as well as to the initial position, if they can scramble at all. For this reason, I will not discuss the matter of topicalization.

29. See Section 2.5.3 for the discussion of the word order restriction on the *ha-ta* pattern.

30. I will ignore the position of the postpositional phrase *Columbus-eyuyhay*. Ignoring the postposition is due to two reasons. The first reason is that the concern of the discussion at this moment is the word restriction on the verbs of clauses. The second reason is that the postpositional phrase can scramble out of the embedded clause so that the following sentence is possible.

- (i) *Mikwuk-i palkyen-i (Columbus-eyuyhay) toy-ess-ta.
 America-N discover-N -by PASS-PAST
 'America was discovered by Columbus.'

31. It has been discussed in 2.5.3 that the *ha-ta* pattern should undergo double passivization because the *ha-ta* pattern is an Equi construction. That is, if the embedded clause undergoes passivization, the matrix verb *ha* can stand no longer, because the like subject in the embedded clause disappears. Unlike the case of the *ha-ta* pattern, the embedded clause in the syntactic causative pattern can passivize alone. This is due to the fact that the syntactic causatives are Raising constructions. However, I will not discuss this possibility because the purpose of the discussion here is to compare the syntactic causative pattern to the *ha-ta* pattern in terms of the inapplicability of the scrambling to the verb in the passivized embedded clause.

32. The postpositional phrase of the embedded clause *Swuni-eyuyhay* is also ignored here because of the same reasons mentioned in note 30.

33. I will not discuss this matter here since it is beyond the scope of the current issue.

34. Y. Choi (1988), S. Chun (1985, 1986), and Gerdts (1986) adopt Acting Term Case Marking system. As mentioned, acting 2 includes a final 2 and a final 2 *chômeur*. See these studies for discussion.

CHAPTER 4

PSYCHOLOGICAL PREDICATE CONSTRUCTION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with another construction, the psychological predicate construction, though it is not an overt multiple accusative construction. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the biclausal structure of the psychological predicate construction, which structure is also motivated by the clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha*, in support of the Biclausal Analysis proposed for the *ha-ta* pattern. More concretely, this chapter aims at showing that the psychological predicate construction results from the interaction of the clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha* with Unaccusative Advancement and, consequently, at proposing a biclausal structure for the psychological predicate construction in Korean.

Section 4.2 examines phenomena related to psychological predicates to delineate the scope of discussion relevant to this chapter. Section 4.3 briefly reviews a handful of previous treatments. Section 4.4 proposes a Biclausal Analysis for the construction to be considered, explores advantages of the Biclausal Analysis, and discusses potential problems. Section 4.5 compares the psychological predicate construction to the *ha-ta* pattern in the same way that the syntactic causative pattern was compared to the *ha-ta* pattern in the previous chapter.

4.2 Some Relevant Phenomena

Psychological predicate constructions have rarely been touched upon in descriptions of Korean grammar, as compared with the other constructions discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Even though some studies have been made, they are inconsistent in delineating the psychological predicates and/or in dealing with the phenomena related to psychological predicates. For these reasons, I undertake to deliver a brief description of some interesting but somewhat challenging phenomena with respect to psychological predicates to make clear the issues to be addressed in this chapter.

Psychological predicates in Korean take as a seeming subject (or, seeming complement in other respects) a nominal bearing a theme role, as exemplified below:

- (1) a. Swuni-ka coh-ta.
 -N fond
 '(I) am fond of Swuni.'
 b. Kay-ka mwusep-ta.
 dog-N fearful
 '(I) am afraid of a dog.'

These predicates are subjective in that they involve an emotion or the psychological reaction of a speaker to things or people. That is, these predicates express the speaker's purely subjective opinion about things or people (B. Park 1972:10). In this regard, these predicates belong to the category of stative verbs (i.e., adjectives) and require that the subject be first person (or second person in questions). Such characteristics of psychological predicates, consequently, render the sentences in (2) acceptable but preclude the sentences in (3).

- (2) a. Nay-ka Swuni-ka coh-ta.
 I-N -N fond
 'I am fond of Swuni.'
 b. Nay-ka kay-ka mwusep-ta.
 I-N dog-N fearful
 'I am afraid of a dog.'
- (3) a. *Ney/*Ku/*Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka coh-ta.
 You/He/Chelswu-N -N fond
 'You/He/Chelswu are/is fond of Swuni.'
 b. *Ney/*Ku/*Chelswu-ka kay-ka mwusep-ta.
 You/He/Chelswu-N dog-N fearful
 'You/He/Chelswu are/is afraid of a dog.'

The reason why only the first person should be a subject of psychological predicates, as shown above, is that it would be inconceivable for an other person to express my own feelings in the present tense unless he and I were the same person (which might be possible in a mysterious or mystical world). That is, it is only I, the speaker, who can say how I feel about things and people at the present moment (B. Park 1972:11).¹ Accordingly, sentences with psychological predicates necessarily carry the meaning of speaker's subjectiveness. For this reason, sentences like (3) are considered as ungrammatical (more precisely, unsemantic) in this study although quite a few studies treat them as grammatical sentences (e.g., Yang (1972), E. Cho (1988)). These lexical items are here termed 'intransitive subjective psychological predicates' for expository purposes.

On the other hand, psychological predicates form sentences which appear to be typical transitive clauses by combining with -e/a *ha*, which has been assumed to be a verbalizer (cf. H. Lee (1970)).²:

- (4) a. Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a ha-n-ta.
 I-N -A fond-VLZ-PRES
 'I like Swuni.'

- b. Nay-ka kay-lul mwuse-we ha-n-ta.
 I-N dog-A fearful-VLZ-PRES
 'I am afraid of a dog.'

Unlike the cases in (2), constructions like (4) convey the meaning of the speaker's objectiveness. Accordingly, a second person or a third person subject as well as a first person subject is possible in the sentences like (4), as can be seen below:

- (5) a. Nay/Ney/Ku/Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul coh-a ha-n-ta.
 I/You/He/Chelswu-N -A fond-VLZ-PRES
 'I/You/He/Chelswu like(s) Swuni.'
 b. Nay/Ney/Ku/Swuni-ka kay-lul mwuse-we ha-n-ta.
 I/You/He/Swuni-N dog-A afraid-VLZ-PRES
 'I/You/He/Chelswu are/is fearful of a dog.'

Another relevant phenomenon is that the predicates in (2), like other stative verbs, cannot be replaced by a progressive form (or other forms such as imperative) but the extended predicates in (5), like other non-stative verbs, can be, as in (6). These extended forms are tentatively called 'transitive objective psychological predicates'.

- (6) a. *Nay-ka Swuni-ka coh-ko-iss-ta.
 I-N -N fond-PROG
 'I am being fond of Swuni.'
 b. Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a ha-ko-iss-ta.
 I-N -A fond-VLZ-PROG
 'I am liking Swuni.'

As shown above, psychological predicates in Korean exhibit some peculiar phenomena. First, intransitive subjective psychological predicates are converted into corresponding transitive objective psychological predicates by being combined with the so-called verbalizer -e/-a ha. Second, nominals bearing a theme role look like complements

of intransitive subjective psychological predicates but take a nominative marker. Third, unlike intransitive subjective psychological predicates, nominals bearing a theme role take an accusative marker in the clauses which transitive objective psychological predicates head.

Then, the issues to be considered are (i) whether or not sentences like (2) share an underlying structure with sentences like (4), (ii) what the properties of the so-called verbalizer is, (iii) why the seeming complement nominals in (4) alternate with a nominative marker in (2), and (iv) what makes the second or the third person subject possible in sentences like (4), but not in sentences like (2). These issues are addressed in sections 4.3 and 4.4 below.

Below is a list of psychological predicates displaying the pattern described above, though it is not exhaustive:

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| (7) coh-ta 'be fond of' | silh-ta 'not fond of' |
| mwusep-ta 'fearful' | twulyep-ta 'be afraid of' |
| akkap-ta 'regrettable' | cikyep-ta 'wearisome' |
| kulip-ta 'longing for' | kwiyept-ta 'cute' |
| yeypu-ta 'pretty' | mip-ta 'unpleasant' |
| pwulep-ta 'jealous' | culkep-ta 'joyful' |
| kepna-ta 'be frightened' | meysukkep-ta 'feel nausea' |
| cingulep-ta 'crawly' | pwukkulep-ta 'shameful' |
| sulpu-ta 'sad' | kippu-ta 'joyful' |
| etc. | |

Before discussing the issues raised in this section, the list suggested above needs further discussion. I. Yang (1972:159, 172), C. Youn (1986:26), Gerdtz & Youn (1987:58), and others give a partial list of such lexical items which largely overlaps with the one provided in (7). The above are the predicates which describe purely the speaker's (i.e., I) psychological state about things or people. However, I. Yang,

C. Youn, and Gerdts and Youn also include predicates which seem to belong to somewhat different categories. These other lexical items are (i) *philyo-ha-ta* 'need', *cwungyo-ha-ta* 'important', etc. and (ii) *manh-ta* 'many', *swuip-ta* 'easy', etc.³

However, unlike the predicates provided in (7), the exemplified predicates (i) and (ii) are not purely subjective inasmuch the second person or the third person can be the subject of these predicates, as can be seen below:

- (8) a. *Nay/Ney/Swuni-ka ton-i philyo-ha-ta.*
 I/You/Swuni-N money-N need
 'I/You/Swuni need(s) money.'
 b. *Nay/Ney/Chelswu-ka chinkwu-ka manh-ta.*
 I/You/Chelswu-N friend-N many
 'I/You/Chelswu have/has a lot of friends.'

Moreover, even though the absence of the so-called verbalizer in (9) is ignored, these predicates do not show the same alternation as predicates in (7) do. More precisely, the nominal bearing a theme role alternates its case between a nominative form and an accusative form in the case of the predicates illustrated in (7) but this is not so for the predicates above, as seen below:

- (9) a. **Nay-ka ton-ul philyo-ha-ta.*
 I-N money-A need
 'I need money.'
 b. **Nay-ka chinkwu-lul manh-ta.*
 I-N friend-A many
 'I have a lot of friend.'

For the reasons mentioned above, I will confine myself to discussing the predicates exemplified in (7) and to clarifying the relation between the sentences in (2) and (4).

4.3 Previous Treatments

In the previous section, the characteristics of psychological predicates have been examined. One of the issues raised in the previous section was whether or not the sentences in (2) are synonymous to the sentences in (4). This issue amounts roughly to the question of whether or not the sentences in (2) and (4) share the same underlying structure. This section briefly addresses this issue before discussing other issues raised in the previous section.

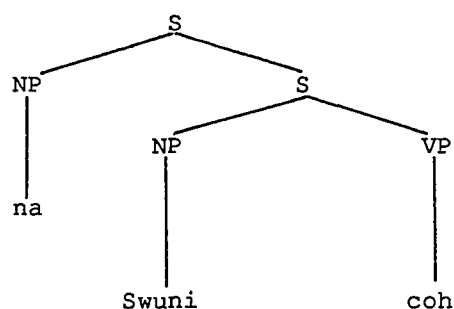
In the earliest era of Transformational Grammar on Korean linguistics, some linguists such as E. Cook (1968:163), J. Ree (1969:102), H. Lee (1970:28), and, recently, Y. Kang (1986) claimed that the two types of constructions illustrated in 4.2 are synonymous. For instance, H. Lee (1970) claims that (2a) and (2b) must be derived from (4a) and (4b), respectively. However, there seem to be fundamental problems with such a position.⁴

First, the two different types of sentence do not seem to carry a cognitively identical meaning. That is, the sentences in (2) describe the stative state of a speaker's emotion but the sentences in (4), on the contrary, describe the action of a speaker reacting to things or people.⁵ In other words, the sentences in (4) concern the action of a speaker whereas the sentences in (2) concern the psychological state of a speaker. For this reason, a progressive form is allowed for the sentences in (4) but not for the sentences in (2), as illustrated in the previous section. Consequently, the two types of construction presuppose different propositions.

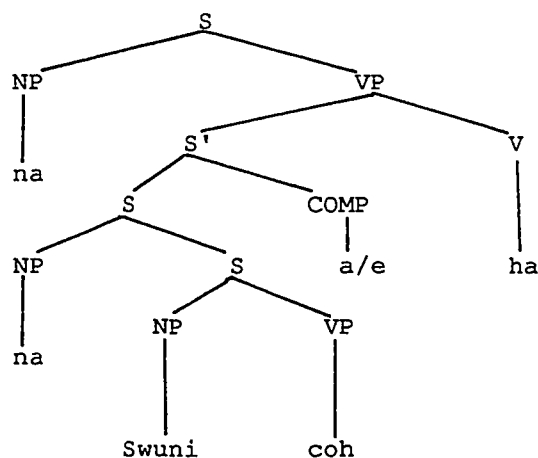
Second, even though the same underlying structure could be postulated for the two constructions, there would then be required very unreasonable transformations, which would have to somehow delete the so-called verbalizer or replace the case marker of the nominal bearing a theme role to derive (2a) from (4a), for instance. For these reasons, an analysis assuming a synonymy relation between the sentences in (2) and (4) is rejected.

On the other side, in other transformational grammar descriptions, B. Park (1972) and I. Yang (1972) claim that the two types of construction are not in a paraphrase relation. B. Park contends that the sentences in (2) are complex clauses in which clauses like (1) serve as a predicate (i.e., sentential predicate) and the sentences in (4) are complex clauses in which the clauses like (2) are the complement of the matrix verb *ha*. Ignoring some details, the underlying structures of the two types of psychological predicate constructions are (10) and (11), respectively, within his analysis.⁶

(10)

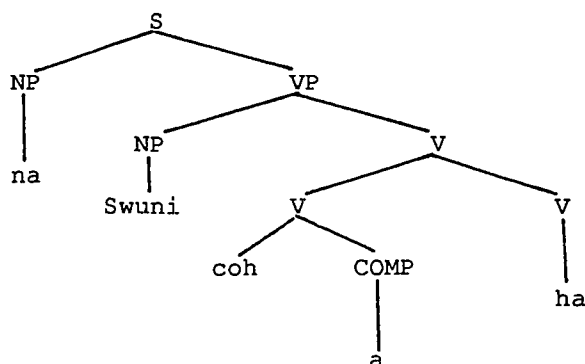


(11)



As the structure (10) above shows, *Swuni*, the nominal bearing a theme role, gets a nominative marker in (2) because it is a subject of the embedded clause. On the other hand, according to B. Park, four obligatory transformations, COMP Placement, Equi-NP Deletion, NP Raising, and V Raising, derive the surface structure (12) below, yielding eventually the sentences in (4) by assigning appropriate markers to NP's by the transformations which insert case markers.⁷

(12)



In B. Park's analysis, the sentences in (4), unlike the sentences in (2), are underlyingly complex clauses but simplex clauses at the surface level. Put differently, *Swuni* gets an accusative marker in (12=4) since

it is a direct object of the restructured verb *coh-a-ha* resulting from by Verb Raising.

Thus, B. Park provides an account of case alternation in psychological predicate constructions. However, even putting aside the validity of the transformations he postulated, his analysis seems not to tell why the nominal bearing a theme role in (2=10) looks like a complement, not a subject, of the intransitive subjective psychological predicates in some semantic sense. Notice that the nominal of a theme role is just a subject of the embedded clause in his analysis (cf. (10)).

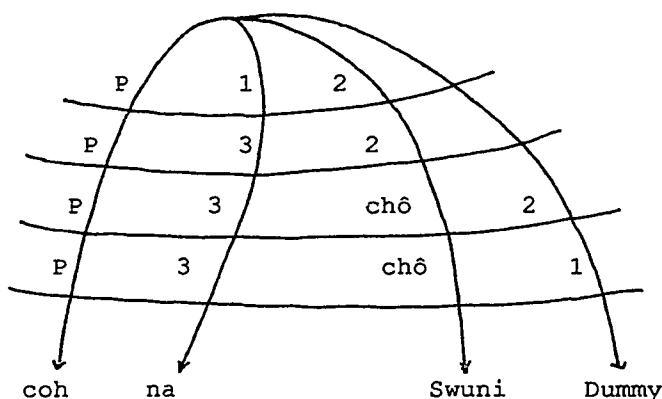
On the other hand, from different perspectives, C. Youn (1986) and Gerdts & Youn (1987) propose an Inversion Analysis within the RG framework to account for a dual characteristic that the nominal assuming a theme role in the intransitive subjective psychological predicate construction reveals. A claim underlying the Inversion Analysis is that the twofold characteristic of the nominal bearing a theme role is attributable to the fact that the nominal of a theme role initially assumes an object relation though it takes a nominative marker.

The Inversion Analysis, unlike other approaches above, is grounded on the observation of the following sentences.

- (13) a. Swuni-ka na-eykey coh-ta.
 -N I-to fond
 'I am fond of Swuni.'
 b. Kay-ka na-eykey mwusep-ta.
 dog-N I-to fearful
 'I am afraid of a dog.'

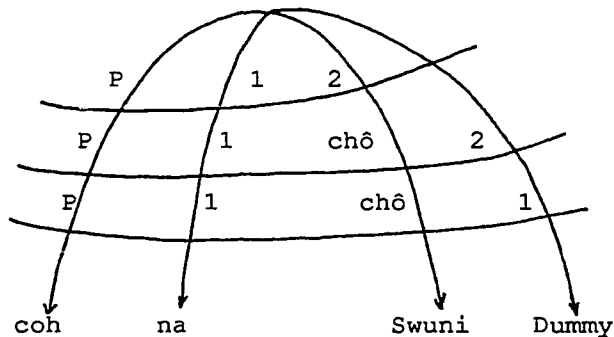
In (13a), the Inversion Analysis asserts, *Swuni*, the initial 2, is put en chômage because of the appearance of Dummy (silent),⁸ which is to advance to a 1 in accordance with the requirement of the Final 1 Law, and the chômeurized 2 (i.e., *Swuni*) gets a nominative marker with help of the Brother-in-Law Case Marking, as shown in (14).⁹ On the other hand, *na*, the initial 1, gets a dative marker due to the demotion to a 3 from a 1. Thus, the sentences like (13) result. Below is the stratal diagram of the sentence (13a):

(14)



The Inversion Analysis seems problematic in many respects although it provides a fairly good account for why the seeming complement nominal of intransitive subjective psychological predicates takes a nominative marker *in lieu of* an accusative marker. First of all, the Inversion Analysis cannot account for the sentences in (2). Notice that there is no *a priori* reason why the demotion of the initial 1 should be obligatory, in view of the fact that corresponding non-inversion counterparts like (2) exist. If the demotion to 3 from 1 is optional, the stratal diagram of sentences like (2) will be something like (15):

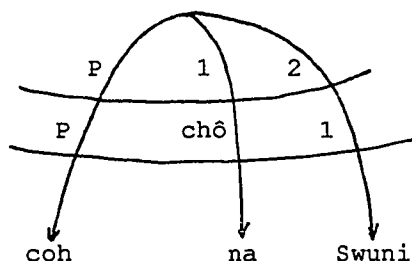
(15)



In (15), the initial 2, *Swuni*, is bumped into chômage due to the appearance of Dummy and gets a nominative marker by virtue of the Brother-in-Law triggered by the Dummy which advanced to the final 1. On the other hand, *na*, the nominal of experience role, gets a nominative marker because it is the final 1. Thus, the stratal diagram (15) seems, at first glance, to provide a fairly plausible account for the case marker assignment to the nominals in the sentences (2). However, (15) is not valid in that the final stratum contains two distinct 1-arcs at the final stratum, which is an apparent violation of the Stratal Uniqueness Law. Furthermore, (15) is very ad hoc in that Dummy should advance to 1 due to purely case-marker assigning purposes. That is, the nominal bearing a theme role *Swuni* cannot be assigned a nominative marker in (15) unless Dummy advances to 1 (cf. Brother-in-Law Case Marking). For these reasons, the stratal diagram (15) is discarded.

As another possibility, it may be assumed that the initial 2 can advance to 1 with the suppression of the demotion to 3 from 1. Then, the stratal diagram will be (16) below:

(16)



As shown above, *Swuni*, the initial 2, gets a nominative marker through an advancement to 1 whereas *na*, the initial 1 put en chômage due to the advancement of the initial 2 to 1, gets a nominative marker because it is an acting 1 (cf. Chapter 3). Thus, this second possibility seems able to give an account not only for case marking in the sentences like (2) but also for the idiosyncratic character of the nominal of a theme role.

However, the analysis suggested as an alternative also exposes theoretical inadequacies. Notice that *na*, the nominal of an experience role, seems to serve as a subject of the sentence (if the given sentence is monoclausal as assumed in the Inversion Analysis) but assumes a *chômeur* relation at the final stratum. Although the stratal diagram (16) does not actually violates any well-formedness condition in RG, the chômage of the seeming subject nominal seems not solid at all. Under the assumptions of this chapter, it seems difficult to test the subjecthood or chômage of the seeming subject nominal because the first person subject usually does not trigger Subject Honorification or Reflexivization (cf. Section 3.6.2). Nonetheless, it does not seem quite convincing that the final subject should be a *chômeur*.

Another unclarity in connection with this alternative analysis comes from the fact that it is not certain why the 2-to-1 advancement should be obligatory. Put differently, the nature of the 2-to-1 advancement is not clear. Is it an unaccusative advancement? Or, is it a passive advancement? If it is an unaccusative advancement, it should be obligatory due to the Final 1 Law. But it cannot be an unaccusative advancement, in fact, because the first stratum in (16) is transitive, not unaccusative. If it is a passive advancement, it could be optional. However, the fact that the sentences in (2) do not allow corresponding passive clauses, as shown in (17), strongly suggests that the 2-to-1 advancement in (16) is not a passive advancement. Moreover, the optional application of the 2-to-1 advancement in (16) results in ungrammatical sentence like (18).

- (17) a. *Swuni-ka na-eyuyhay coh-a ci-ess-ta.
 -N I-by fond-PASS-PAST
 'Swuni was liked by me.'
 b. *Kay-ka na-eyuyhay mwuse-we ci-ess-ta.
 dog-N I-by fearful-PASS-PAST
 'A dog was frightened by me.'
- (18) a. *Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-ta.
 I-N -A fond
 'I am fond of Swuni.'
 b. *Nay-ka kay-lul mwusep-ta.
 I-N dog-A fearful
 'I am afraid of a dog.'

Second, it may be noted that the sentences in (4) seem somehow related to the sentences in (2), though they are not in a synonymous relation, as discussed in the previous section. However, the Inversion Analysis must consider the sentences in (2) and (4) as independent ones from each other. In other words, the proponents of the Inversion

Analysis should provide an independent analysis for sentences like (4). To be specific, the Inversion Analysis must treat transitive objective psychological predicates such as *coh-a ha-ta*, *silh-e ha-ta*, *mwuse-we ha-ta*, etc. as lexical items that are independent of intransitive subjective psychological predicates like *coh-ta*, *silh-ta*, *mwusep-ta*, etc. In this sense, the Inversion Analysis will lose simplicity if the two types of predicates could be syntactically related with each other.

Third, the Inversion Analysis actually relies on the existence of sentences like (19) (cf. C. Youn (1986)).

- (19) a. Swuni/Ne/Na-eykey ton-i philyo-ha-ta.
 you/I-DAT money-N need
 'Swuni/You/I need(s) a money.'
 b. Chelswu/Ne/Na-eykey chinkwu-ka manh-ta
 you/I-DAT friend-N many
 'Chelswu/You/I has/have a lot of friends.'

The sentences above alternate with the sentences in (20). However, the predicates listed in (7) do not show the exactly parallel alternation to the predicates in (19), as can be seen in (21):¹⁰

- (20) a. Swuni/Ney/Nay-ka ton-i philyo-ha-ta.
 you/I-N money-N need
 'Swuni/You/I need(s) money.'
 b. Chelswu/Ney/Nay-ka chinkwu-ka manh-ta.
 you/I-N friend-N many
 'Chelswu/You/I has/have lots of friends.'
- (21) a. *Chelswu/*Ney/Nay-ka Swuni-ka coh-ta.
 you/I-N -N fond
 'Chelswu/You/I is/are/am fond of Swuni.'
 b. *Swuni/*Ney/Nay-ka kay-ka mwusep-ta.
 you/I-N dog-N fearful
 'Swuni/You/I is/are/am afraid of a dog.'

The subject should be the first person in (21) due to the semantic constraint mentioned earlier whereas any person can be a subject in (20).

In addition to the above discrepancy, the grammaticality of corresponding inversion sentences of the predicates in (7) is very dubious though the Inversion Analysis assumes the sentences in (22) to be grammatical.

- (22) a. ??Na-eykey Swuni-ka coh-ta.
 I-DAT -N fond
 'I am fond of Swuni.'
 b. ??Na-eykey kay-ka mwusep-ta.
 I-DAT dog-N fearful
 'I am afraid of a dog.'

As noted earlier, the psychological predicates in (7) are subjective in that they describe the emotional state of a speaker. But the sentences in (22) are not acceptable in that sense at all. Rather, (22a), for example, seems to be interpreted in the meaning of '*Swuni is doing something good to me.*' if it is interpreted as a possible sentence. More precisely, it seems that the nominal of an experience role in (22) is not subjective but objective, contrary to the intended meaning of the sentences.

For the reasons discussed above, the Inversion Analysis is not considered in the discussion of the psychological predicate constructions in this study and this study deals with only the constructions with the predicates illustrated in (7). In addition, this study is concerned with only the syntactic relationships between the sentences in (2) and (4).

4.4 Biclausal Analysis

In the last section, previous studies of psychological predicate constructions have been briefly reviewed and commented on. This section proposes a biclausal structure for the constructions at issue to support the Biclausal Analysis proposed for the *ha-ta* pattern and address the questions raised in 4.2.

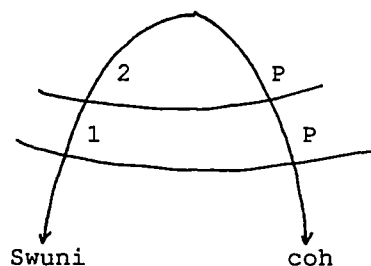
4.4.1 Biclausal Structure

It has been noted in 4.2 that intransitive subjective psychological predicates in Korean take as a seeming subject a nominal bearing a theme role, which is not a typical semantic role of subject. Regarding this matter, following Perlmutter (1978) and Perlmutter & Postal (1984), I propose that the psychological predicates under consideration are unaccusative verbs.

Perlmutter and Perlmutter & Postal propose that predicates describing states of mind, which would include intransitive subjective psychological predicates, are initially unaccusative verbs. Perlmutter and Postal (1984) further propose the Universal Alignment Hypothesis which, informally, says that there exist principles of universal grammar which predict the initial relation borne by each nominal in a given clause from the meaning of the clause. Although the universal Alignment Hypothesis had been argued against and amended as the Little Alignment Hypothesis by Rosen (1984), Perlmutter and Postal's Universal Alignment Hypothesis is followed in this study.¹¹ Therefore, the stratal diagram of the sentence (1a), for example, will be (23).¹²

- (1) a. Swuni-ka coh-ta.
 -N fond
 '(I) am fond of Swuni.'

(23)

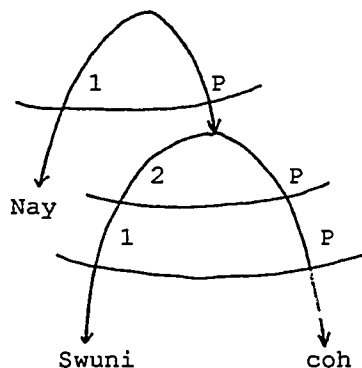


As shown in (23), the initial 2, *Swuni*, advances to the final 1 in accordance with the requirement of a final subject within a clause (i.e., the Final 1 Law). As a result of Unaccusative Advancement, the initial complement of psychological predicates is assigned a nominative marker in sentences like (1). Thus, the structure proposed above clearly shows why the nominal bearing a theme role gets a nominative marker although it seems to be a complement in some semantic sense.

Recall that the above clause, on the other hand, requires a first person subject, as discussed in 4.2. B. Park (1972) contends that the above clause plays the role of predicate in sentences like (2).¹³ I will follow his idea of sentential predicate with respect to the structure of the sentences like (2). But the difference between his analysis and mine is that he considers the nominal of a theme role is an initial subject as well as a final subject (interpreted in RG terms). Rather, I propose that the stratal diagram of (2a) is (24), retaining the assumption that intransitive subjective psychological predicates in Korean are initially unaccusative.

- (2) a. *Nay-ka Swuni-ka coh-ta*
 I-N -N fond
 'I am fond of Swuni.'

(24)



What the above shows is that the nominal of an experience role (i.e., *Nay* in (2a)) gets a nominative marker because it is the final 1 of the matrix clause, and that the nominal of a theme role (i.e., *Swuni* in (2a)) also gets a nominative marker because it assumes the final 1 relation of the embedded clause owing to the Final 1 Law. Thus, the proposed structure provides a sufficient account not only for the case marking phenomena but also for the dual character of the nominal of a theme role in the sentences under discussion, to which B. Park's analysis (and others') does not give a satisfactory answer.

Before discussing the structure of sentences like (4), it seems appropriate to take note of Kuno's (1973) and Tonoike's (1979, 1980) analyses of an analogous Japanese sentence to (2a). Consider the following Japanese sentence:

- (25) *John-ga sakana-ga sukida.*
 -N fish-N like
 'John likes fish.'

Kuno (1973:79ff) contends that the NP *sakana* 'fish' is an object marked with nominative by his Object Ga Marking, assuming that Object Ga Marking does not involve any structural change. On the other hand, Tonoike (1979,1980) claims that *sakana* in (25) is a D-structure object subjectivized by Intra-Subjectivization, which creates a new S-node.

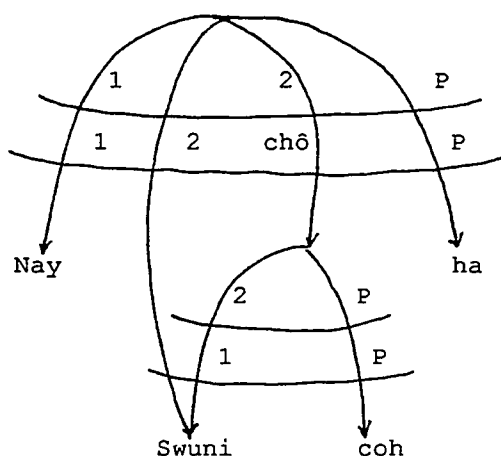
Although Kuno and Tonoike can account for the nominative marker of the second NP in (25), their analyses seem ad hoc. In Kuno's analysis, case marking is inconsistent to the extent that the same nominative marker has to encode the GR of subject or object in accordance with the nature of the verbs involved. Tonoike's analysis is not plausible either in that his Intra-Subjectivization is so strong that it converts a simplex clause into a complex clause although transformations are expected not to change structures (cf. Emond's Structure Preserving Hypothesis). Moreover, the adoption of their ideas to Korean leads to treating the sentences in (2) and (4) independently. For these reasons, Kuno's and Tonoike's ideas are not taken into further consideration in this study.

Let us now turn to the sentences in (4). Note that it has been shown in chapters 2 and 3 that the verb *ha* can take a clause as its direct object, and it has been discussed in 1.2 that *ha* has a somewhat special function of realizing an abstract meaning (subjective, here) of its object concretely (objective, here). In this regard, assuming that *-a/-e* is a complementizer in Korean,¹⁴ I propose here that the sentences like (4) are the result of clausal embedding (i.e., clausal complementation) to the verb *ha* just as the *ha-ta* pattern and the syntactic causative constructions are. The sentences like (4) are

complex clauses in which the sentences in (1) are taken as a direct object of the verb *ha* in the matrix clause *Nay-ka ha-n-ta* 'I do'. In this light, the stratal diagram of (4a), therefore, is (26).

- (4) a. *Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a ha-n-ta.*
 I-N -A fond-COMP do-PRES
 'I like Swuni.'

(26)



In the above, *Swuni*, the initial 2 of the embedded clause, advances to become the final 1 within the embedded clause in accordance with the Final 1 Law and then assumes the final 2-relation of the matrix clause by virtue of the Relational Succession Law. On the other hand, the initial 2 of the matrix clause (i.e., the GR that the embedded clause assumes in the matrix clause) is put en chômage by virtue of the Stratal Uniqueness Law. As a consequence, the initial complement of an intransitive subjective psychological predicate is assigned an accusative marker as the final direct object of the matrix clause.¹⁵

In the above, the Biclausal Analysis has been proposed for the psychological predicate constructions in Korean. The proposed analysis

relies on the assumption of a sentential predicate, on the one hand, and a clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha*, on the other hand. That is, the claim is that the sentences in (2) are instances in which the sentences in (1) are embedded as sentential predicates, but the sentences in (4) are instances in which the sentences in (1) are embedded as direct objects of the verb *ha*. However, since the main concern of this chapter is to show that there is another construction formed in accordance with a clausal complementation characteristic of the verb *ha*, the following discussion is accordingly focused on the sentences in (4). Nevertheless, it may be worthwhile briefly comparing the proposed Biclausal Analysis to other analyses discussed in the previous section before providing supporting arguments.

First, the proposed Biclausal Analysis provides an adequate account for the dual character of the nominal of a theme role as well as the case marking phenomena, especially for the case alternation of a nominal bearing a theme role in sentences like (2) and (4).

Second, the Biclausal Analysis gives an explicit syntactic account for the relation between the sentences in (2) and the ones in (4).

Third, more crucially, the Biclausal Analysis can explicate why the second person or the third person subject is not allowed in the sentences in (2) but is possible in sentences like (4) and why a progressive form or an imperative form is possible for the sentences in (4) but impossible for the sentences in (2). Note that it has been discussed in 1.2 that the verb *ha* has a somewhat special function of adding a concrete meaning to an abstract meaning of its complement. As noted, intransitive subjective psychological predicates are subjective

so that the sentences in (1) allow only the first person subject. However, the sentences in (1) do not permit the first person subject any more when they are taken as direct objects of the verb *ha*. This follows from the fact that the sentences like (1) do not serve as predicates any longer in sentences like (4). I will discuss this matter in 4.3.3 again. Further, the matrix verb *ha* not only adds objectiveness to sentences like (1) but also allows a progressive form for the sentences in (4). This may be due to the fact that *ha* is a non-stative verb.

Fourth, the Biclausal Analysis can account for the appearance of an accusative marker between the embedded predicate and the matrix predicate, as shown in (27), where monoclausal analyses might experience some serious difficulties.

- (27) a. *Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a-lul ha-n-ta.*
 I-N -A fond-COMP-A do-PRES
 'I like Swuni.'
 b. *Swuni-ka kay-lul mwuse-we-lul ha-n-ta.*
 -N dog-A fearful-COMP-A do-PRES
 'Swuni is afraid of a dog.'

If *coh-a-ha* and *mwuse-we-ha* in (27) are independent lexical predicates under the assumption that *-a/-e ha* is a kind of verbalizer (H. Lee 1970) or verbal stem (Y. Kang 1986), it might be problematic to account for the appearance of an accusative marker in a straightforward way. Moreover, if the above sentences are monoclausal, a subsequently arising question is what the sequence of the psychological predicate and the accusative marker is. Is it another instance of an object which makes the sentences above double object constructions? However, the Biclausal Analysis is straightforward in accounting for the presence of an

accusative marker between the two predicates, just as for the cases of the *ha-ta* pattern and the syntactic causative pattern. That is, the accusative marker between the two predicates is due to the final 2 chômeur relation of the embedded clause taking initially a GR of a direct object of the matrix clause (cf. stratal diagram (26)). Therefore, the Biclausal Analysis ultimately gives an explicit answer that the sentences in (27) do not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law although they include two accusative markers within a seeming simplex clause.

In this section, biclausal structure has been proposed for psychological predicate constructions in Korean under the assumption that intransitive subjective psychological predicates are initially unaccusative. In particular, the Biclausal Analysis based on the clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha* has been proposed for the construction of transitive objective psychological predicates. Advantages of the Biclausal Analysis have been discussed, and it has been also shown that the so-called transitive objective psychological predicates are just the results of general facts about syntactic structure in Korean. Transitive objective psychological predicates are sequences of an intransitive subjective psychological predicate as an embedded predicate, a complementizer, and the matrix verb *ha*, just as the so-called syntactic causative verbs are the sequence of the embedded predicate, complementizer, and the matrix verb *ha*.¹⁶ In this sense, I assume that the term 'psychological predicate' refers only to intransitive subjective psychological predicates. But I will use the

term 'psychological predicate' to refer both of two types psychological predicates in the remainder of this chapter for expository purposes.

4.4.2 Supporting Arguments

In the previous section, the Biclausal Analysis based on the clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha* has been proposed for the sentences like (4). It seems to be the case that attentions in previous studies have been paid only to the explication of the case assignment to the nominals in the psychological predicate constructions or of the structures of the sentences discussed in the previous sections. Therefore, this section seeks for the advantages that the proposed analysis exhibits in connection with the sentences like (4) to show that the proposed Biclausal Analysis is also superior to the monoclausal analyses in other respects.

4.4.2.1 Negation Word Insertion

It has been noted at several places that the occurrence of negation words in Korean is restricted to the position immediately preceding the main verb within a clause. In this regard, it has been suggested that the appearance of negation words at the two different places within a same sentence is an indication that the given sentence is not a simplex clause but a complex clause. As shown in the discussions of the *ha-ta* pattern and the syntactic causative sentences,

a negation word *an* 'not' can occur in two places in the sentences at issue, as in (28) and (29).¹⁷

- (28) a. *Nay-ka Swuni-lul an coh-a ha-n-ta.*
 I-N -A not fond-COMP do-PRES
 'I do not like Swuni.'
 b. *Swuni-ka kay-lul an mwuse-we ha-n-ta.*
 -N dog-A not fearful-COMP do-PAST
 'Swuni is not afraid of a dog.'
- (29) a. *Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a an ha-n-ta.*
 I-N -A fond-COMP not do-PRES
 'It is not the case that I like Swuni.'
 b. *Swuni-ka kay-lul mwuse-we an ha-n-ta.*
 -N dog-A fearful-COMP not do-PAST
 'It is not the case that Swuni is afraid of a dog.'

Therefore, the fact that the negation word *an* can occur in front of *coh/mwuse* and *ha* strongly suggests that the sentences under consideration contain two different main verbs. This is exactly what the Biclausal Analysis predicts with respect to the occurrence of negation words in Korean because the negation word *an* can occur only in front of the main verb. However, monoclausal analysis might experience some difficulty in accounting for the occurrences of the negation word *an* in (28) and (29) in a consistent manner, inasmuch as *coh-a-ha* and *mwuse-we-ha* are claimed as independent lexical verbs. Inadequacies in monoclausal analyses become more serious for the following examples:

- (30) a. *?Nay-ka Swuni-lul an coh-a an ha-n-ta.*
 I-N -A not fond-COMP not do-PRES
 'It is not the case that I do not like Swuni.'
 (i.e., 'I like Swuni.')
- b. *?Swuni-ka kay-lul an mwuse-we an ha-n-ta.*
 -N dog-A not fearful-COMP not do-PAST
 'It is not the case that Swuni is not afraid of a dog.'
 (i.e., 'Swuni is afraid of a dog.')

The above are double negations of sentences like (4). The examples are basically acceptable though not entirely natural.¹⁸ The Biclausal Analysis can provide an accurate and consistent account for the above examples. That is, the negation word *an* occurs in front of the main verbs of the embedded clause and the matrix clause. However, monoclausal analyses do not account for the double negation phenomenon as well as the appearance of the negation word between intransitive subjective psychological predicate and the verb *ha* unless they admit that negation word *an* can unusually occur with the non-main verb *ha* (verbalizer, infix, or auxiliary, whatsoever).

4.4.2.2 Passivization

In Korean, psychological predicates do not allow passivization, as can be seen below:^{19,20}

- (31) a. *Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a-ha-yess-ta.*
 I-N -A like-VLZ-PAST
 'I liked Swuni.'
 b. **Swuni-ka na-eyuyhay coh-a ci-ess-ta.*
 -N I-by like-PASS-PAST
 'Swuni was liked by me.'
- (32) a. *Swuni-ka kay-lul mwuse-we-ha-yess-ta.*
 -N dog-A fearful-VLZ-PAST
 'Swuni is afraid of a dog.'
 b. **Kay-ka Swuni-eyuyhay mwuse-we ci-ess-ta.*
 dog-N -by fearful-PASS-PAST
 'A dog was frightened by Swuni.'

If (31a) and (32a) are monoclausal, *Swuni* in (31a) and *kay* 'dog' in (32a) are naturally assumed to be direct objects. Then, there seems no *a priori* syntactic reason why *Swuni* and *kay* cannot undergo

passivization, since passivization is an advancement to the 1 from the 2 in a transitive stratum. A possible answer may be that psychological predicates cannot be passivized since stative verbs seldom allow passivization. However, note that the above psychological predicates (i.e., transitive objective psychological predicates in this study) are obviously not statives but action verbs carrying an action. If this is the case, monoclausal analyses must add a constraint saying that psychological predicates cannot be subject to passivization instead.

However, the proposed analysis needs no constraint at all. Rather, the Biclausal Analysis can provide a principled syntactic reason. Recall the stratal diagram (26). In (26), the seeming direct object (i.e., *Swuni* and *kay* in the above sentences) is not in a transitive stratum but in an unaccusative stratum. Therefore, the apparent direct object cannot be passivized within the embedded clause since it does not satisfy the condition for passivization. Further, as discussed in 3.6.1.1, the final 2 raised from the embedded clause cannot be passivized because passivization is allowed only within the same clause.²¹ This is the reason why the embedded clause as a whole in sentences like (4) cannot passivize either, unlike an embedded clause in the *ha-ta* pattern and in syntactic causative sentences, as shown below.²²

- (33) a. *Na-eyuyhay Swuni-ka coh-a(-ka) toy-ess-ta.
 I-by -N fond-COMP(-N) PASS-PAST
 'Swuni was liked by me.'
 b. *Swuni-eyuyhay kay-ka mwuse-we(-ka) toy-ess-ta.
 -by dog-N fearful-COMP(-N) PASS-PAST
 'A dog was frightened by Swuni.'

Thus, the Biclausal Analysis can provide not only a principled account but also make a correct prediction with respect to passivization of psychological predicates, whereas monoclausal analyses require another constraint in Korean grammar.

4.4.3 Potential Problems

Section 4.3 has shown that the Biclausal Analysis can provide not only a neat account of case marking phenomena in psychological predicate constructions but also a reasonable account for the idiosyncratic character of a nominal bearing a theme role. Further advantages of the Biclausal Analysis have been discussed in the previous section in connection with the insertion of a negation word and passivization. This section discusses some potential problems for the Biclausal Analysis, which may be due to the peculiar nature of the psychological predicates in Korean.

First, it has been shown in chapters 2 and 3 that the *ha-ta* pattern and the syntactic causative pattern allow adverbials such as manner adverbs to occur in two ways. It was mentioned that it follows that adverbials can cooccur with the embedded predicate as well as the matrix predicate. By the same token, it would therefore be expected that adverbials also occur in two places in sentences like (4) under the current analysis. However, this does not seem to be the case. For example, intensifying adverbs such as *mopssi* 'extremely', *mwuchek* 'very much', *manhi* 'much', *acwu* 'very much', etc. can occur only in one way in the sentences like (4), as can be seen below:²³

- (34) a. Nay-ka Swuni-lul mopssi/mwuchek coh-a ha-n-ta.
 I-N -A extremely/very much fond-COMP do-PRES
 'I like Swuni extremely/very much.'
 b. *Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a mopssi/mwuchek ha-n-ta.
 I-N -A fond-COMP extremely/very much do-PRES
 'I like Swuni extremely/very much.'

Since this is the case, the above facts weaken the claim of the Biclausal Analysis and strengthen the claim that *coh-a-ha* above is a single lexical verb. At this moment, I have little to say about this problematic facts. In my opinion, the above facts are due to the idiosyncratic properties of psychological predicates. That is, unlike the cases of the *ha-ta* pattern and the syntactic causative pattern, the sequence of the embedded predicate, the complementizer, and the matrix predicate of the construction under discussion seems to show rather stronger cohesion to the extent that the sequence in question can be perceived as a single constituent at the postsyntactic level.²⁴

It seems to me that the stronger cohesion may be due to the fact that the embedded psychological predicate is stative but the matrix predicate is a non-stative verb. More concretely, the sequence of embedded predicate, complementizer, and matrix predicate in the psychological construction conveys only one activity, whereas the same sequence in the syntactic causatives refers to two different activities, so that the psychological predicate construction may be easily perceived as a single verb. However, any intervening elements, such as case marker or topic marker, make the two predicates perceptually separate constituents. This speculation is supported by the following phenomenon:

- (35) a. ??Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a-lul acwu/mwuchek ha-n-ta.
 I-N -A fond-COMP very much do-PRES
 'I like Swuni very much.'
 b. ?Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a-nun acwu/mwuchek ha-n-ta.
 I-N -A fond-COMP-T very much do-PRES
 'I like Swuni very much.'

The examples in (35) show that if a case marker or a topic marker intervene between the embedded predicate and the matrix predicate, the acceptability of the sentences in question increases. This may indicate that the intervening of a case marker or a topic marker weaken the cohesion between the two predicates, so that intensifying adverbs can be inserted between the two predicates, though the result is not entirely natural. The analogous phenomenon is observed in connection with the insertion of a negation word. As noted in 4.4.2, the double negations of the sentences at issue are somewhat unnatural (see (30)). However, if a case marker or a topic marker is intervened, the sentences become much more natural, as shown below:

- (36) a. Nay-ka Swuni-lul an coh-a-lul/-nun an ha-n-ta.
 I-N -A not fond-COMP-A/-T not do-PRES
 'It is not the case that I do not like Swuni.'
 (i.e., 'I like Swuni.')
- b. Swuni-ka kay-lul an mwuse-we-lul/-nun an ha-n-ta.
 -N dog-A not fearful-COMP-A/-T not do-PAST
 'It is not the case that Swuni is not afraid of a dog.'
 (i.e., 'Swuni is afraid of a dog.')

For these reasons, the phenomena regarding adverb insertion (and double negation) should be understood due to idiosyncratic characteristics of this construction. Therefore, adverbial insertion is perhaps not a genuine counter example.

Second, as noted in Chapter 3, the final subject in Korean generally triggers Subject Honorification. However, the proposed analysis seems a little bit problematic with respect to Subject Honorification. As discussed, the Biclausal Analysis assumes that the initial complement of psychological predicates advances to the final 1 in the embedded clause. Let us turn to the sentences in (1) and (2). If the final subject is a trigger of Subject Honorification, the initial complement (i.e., the nominal bearing a theme role) would be then expected to trigger Subject Honorification. In connection with sentences like (1) and (4), the prediction seems to be borne out, as can be seen in (37) and (38).

- (37) a. Apeci-ka coh-usi-ta.
 father-N fond-H
 '(I) am fond of the father.'
 b. Sensayngnim-i mwuse-wusi-ta.
 teacher-N fearful-H
 '(I) am afraid of the teacher.'
- (38) a. Chelswu-ka apeci-lul coh(-*usi)-a ha-n-ta.
 -N father-A fond(-H)-COMP do-PRES
 'Chelswu likes the father.'
 b. Swuni-ka sensayngnim-ul mwuse(-*wusi)-we ha-n-ta.
 -N teacher-A fearful(-H)-COMP do-PRES
 'Swuni is afraid of the teacher.'

The initial complement of psychological predicates triggers Subject Honorification in (37) because it assumes the final 1 relation of the clause due to the Final 1 Law (cf. stratal diagram (23)) whereas it does not in (38) because it takes the final 2-relation of the matrix clause, but not the final 1-relation of the embedded clause (cf. stratal diagram (26)). Thus, the proposed analysis predicts honorification in

the above sentences correctly. However, this is not the case in sentences like (2), as can be seen below:

- (39) a. *Nay-ka apeci-ka coh(-*usi)-ta.*
 I-N father-N fond(-H)
 'I am fond of the father.'
 b. *Nay-ka sensayngnim-i mwusep(-*wusi)-ta.*
 I-N teacher-N fearful(-H)
 'I am afraid of teacher.'

What the Biclausal Analysis predicts with respect to sentences like (2) is that the initial complement nominal (i.e., *apeci* in (39a) or *sensayngnim* in (39b)) should trigger Subject Honorification since it is the final 1 of the embedded clause and psychological predicates are predicates of the embedded clause (cf. stratal diagram (24)). However, the examples in (39) show that this is not at all the case. Then, does Subject Honorification provide counter-evidence to the proposed Biclausal Analysis? Or, is it necessary to propose an ad hoc constraint to maintain the claim of the Biclausal Analysis?

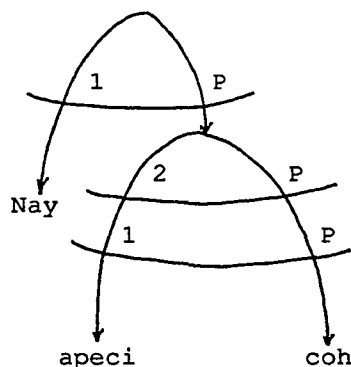
In this regard, it seems worthwhile noting that the structure of sentences like (39=2) is somewhat peculiar, in the sense that psychological predicates in (39) serve as a predicate of the embedded clause and the embedded clause in turn serves as a predicate of the matrix clause. This structural peculiarity seems to make the final 1 of the matrix clause in this construction easily accessible to triggering Subject Honorification under circumstances like (39).

For this, Y. Yim (1984:203, 1985:103) proposes X-bar Transparency, claiming that a syntactic relation (with an external element) holds through any number of branching nodes of the same category type with

immediate dominance between them or with the same head. Though Y. Yim's X-bar Transparency is a claim relying on X-bar structure within the framework of GB, it amounts to saying that the subject of the matrix clause has a syntactic relation of subject to the predicate of the embedded clause in the stratal diagram like (40=24).²⁵

(39) a. Nay-ka apeci-ka coh(-*usi)-ta.

(40)



If the above is the case, it is obvious why Subject Honorification in the sentences like (39) is controlled by the matrix final 1 *in lieu of* the embedded final 1. That is, the structural property of the sentence makes it possible for the matrix final 1 to behave as a subject of the embedded predicate with respect to Subject Honorification. This line of reasoning regarding Subject Honorification in the construction like (39) is further supported by the fact that the final 1 of the embedded clause (in the psychological predicate construction) is not an initial 1 but an initial 2. Put differently, the final 1 of the embedded clause is not a proper subject but a complement to the embedded predicate in some sense. Therefore, it may easily yield up some properties of subject such as property of triggering subject

honorification to the matrix subject in this peculiar construction. If the reasoning here is on the right track, the problematic phenomenon in connection with Subject Honorification in the above construction is perhaps not a genuine counter-evidence for the proposed analysis.

Before closing this section, Kuroda's (1988) analysis of an analogous construction in Japanese seems to deserve a brief discussion in connection with Subject Honorification. Claiming that some verbals such as *hosi* 'want' (which is roughly equivalent to psychological predicates under discussion) subcategorizes for two subjects (Kuroda 1988:34), Kuroda (1988:34-5) proposes that a Japanese sentence may have multiple subjects and that a verb may theta-mark more than one subject in Japanese. Ignoring details, Kuroda's claim is that the sentences in (39) are a double subject construction (i.e., monoclausal). However, if, as Kuroda claims, the sentences like (39) are indeed a double subject construction and psychological predicates subcategorize two subjects whose semantic roles are an experiencer role and a patient role, both of the two subcategorized subjects must trigger Subject Honorification in the construction of (39). However, the sentences in (39) become ungrammatical if the honorific marker *si* is attached to the predicate, as shown above. This may indicate that one of the subjects (precisely, the nominal bearing a patient role in (39)) is not in the relation of subject to the predicate. This may in turn suggest that the sentences like (39) are not a double subject construction (i.e., monoclausal).

4.5 Comparison to the *Ha-ta* Pattern

It has been shown in previous sections that psychological predicate constructions such as (41=4) are other instances of biclausal structures due to the clausal complementation to the verb *ha*. It has been further shown that the sentences like (27), repeated here as (42), are predicted, since an embedded clause can be also assigned a case marker in Korean.

- (41) Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a ha-yess-ta.
 I-N -A fond-COMP do-PAST
 'I liked Swuni.'
- (42) Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a-lul ha-yess-ta-ta.
 I-N -A fond-COMP-A do-PAST
 'I liked Swuni.'

On the other hand, it was argued in Chapter 2 that the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern is not subject to syntactic processes such as clefting, pronominalization, scrambling, relativization, passivization, and topicalization, since it is a sequence of the embedded predicate, the complementizer, and the case marker. Therefore, this section further confirms the biclausal structure of the sentence (42) by showing that the second accusative constituent in (42) is equally reluctant to undergo these syntactic processes, because it is also a sequence of embedded predicate, complementizer, and the case marker, just as in the *ha-ta* pattern.

The first accusative constituent in the sentence (42) does not passivize for the reason discussed in 4.4.2.2. However, it undergoes other syntactic processes, as can be seen below:

Clefting

- (43) Nay-ka coh-a-lul ha-n salam-un Swuni-i-ta.
 I-N fond-COMP-A do-PAST person-T -be
 'Who I liked is Swuni.'

Pronominalization

- (44) Nay-ka kunye-lul coh-a-lul ha-yess-ta.
 I-N her-A fond-COMP-A do-PAST
 'I liked her.'

Scrambling

- (45) Swuni-lul nay-ka coh-a-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -A I-N fond-COMP-A do-PAST
 'I liked Swuni.'

Relativization

- (46) Nay-ka coh-a ha-n Swuni
 I-N fond-COMP do-PAST-RC
 'Swuni who I liked'

As shown above, the first accusative constituent in sentence (42) clefts, pronominalizes, scrambles, relativizes just as the first accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern does. Further, the first accusative constituent in (42) topicalizes *in situ* as well as at the sentence initial position, just as the first accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern does.

Topicalization

- (47) a. Swuni-nun Nay-ka coh-a-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -T I-N fond-COMP-A do-PAST
 'I liked Swuni.'
 b. Nay-ka Swuni-nun coh-a-lul ha-yess-ta.
 I-N -T fond-COMP-A do-PAST
 'I liked Swuni.'

However, the second accusative constituent in sentence (42) does not undergo the above syntactic processes. This is attributed to the fact that the second accusative constituent is the sequence of embedded predicate, complementizer, and the case marker, not a sequence of the nominal and case marker. Since predicates are evidently not subject to clefting, pronominalization, scrambling, and relativization in Korean, I will not give examples for those processes here.

However, topicalization needs discussion. It was noted in 2.2.3 that the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern can be topicalized *in situ*, although it cannot be topicalized in sentence initial position. The claim in Chapter 2 was that this is due to the fact that embedded clauses can be also topicalized in Korean. The very same thing can be observed with respect to the second accusative constituent in the sentence (42), as can be seen below:

- (48) a. *Coh-a-nun nay-ka Swuni-lul ha-yess-ta.
 fond-COMP-T I-N -A do-PAST
 'I liked Swuni.'
 b. Nay-ka Swuni-lul coh-a-nun ha-yess-ta.
 I-N -A fond-COMP-T do-PAST
 'I liked Swuni.'

The second accusative constituent, here, *coh-a-nun*, can topicalize *in situ*, but not at the sentence initial position, just as in the *ha-ta* pattern. This is again attributable to the fact that the second accusative constituent in (42) is the sequence of embedded predicate, complementizer, and case marker.

So far, it has been shown that, in sentence (42), the first accusative constituent shows different syntactic behavior from the

second one. As sentences like (42) show, the sole cause of the different behavior is that the first constituent is a nominal whereas the second one is a verbal predicate (i.e., the embedded predicate). From the above discussion and the discussions in the previous sections, I, therefore, conclude that sentences like (42) as well as the *ha-ta* pattern are biclausal.

4.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has argued against the monoclausal analyses of psychological predicate constructions in Korean. Instead, under the assumption that psychological predicates (i.e., intransitive subjective psychological predicates in previous terms) are initially unaccusative, this chapter has proposed the Biclausal Analysis based on the notion of sentential predicate, on the one hand, and the clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha*, on the other hand, for psychological predicate constructions. It has been further shown that the Biclausal Analysis can provide proper accounts not only for the assignment to the nominals in the constructions but also for related syntactic phenomena such as negation, passivization, adverbial insertion, and Subject Honorification. In addition to the above, this chapter has shown that sentences like (27=42) are possible because embedded clauses can be assigned case markers, and has demonstrated that the first and the second accusative constituent of sentences like (27=42) work the same way as the first and the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern do. Therefore, I conclude that the sentence (42) as well as the

ha-ta pattern are equally instances of the biclausal structure, based on the clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha*, and that other related syntactic phenomena can be described best only when biclausal structures are posited for psychological predicate constructions in Korean.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. The second person or the third person can sometimes be a subject of these psychological predicates in some restricted contexts. For example, in the case of questioning hearer's feeling, the second person can be a subject, as can be seen below:

- (i) a. Ney-ka Swuni-ka coh-unya?
 You-N -N fond-Q
 'Are you fond of Swuni?'
 b. Ney-ka kay-ka mwusep-ci?
 You-N dog-N fearful-Q
 'Are you afraid of a dog?'

The reason why the sentences in (i) are possible may be due to the fact that questioning the hearer's feeling inevitably presupposes sentences like (2) as an answer. I will not dwell on this aspect in depth since the unacceptability of sentences like (3) relies quite a lot on semantic and/or pragmatic factors, not on syntactic factors. See B. Park (1972) and I. Yang (1972) for further discussion of semantic and pragmatic factors. Further, see E. Cho (1988) for an analysis of psychological predicate constructions in Korean which is articulated on the bases of syntactic and pragmatic considerations.

2. Y. Kang (1986:71ff) considers *ha* as a verbal stem which converts transitive adjectives (in his terms) *coh-a-ha-ta*, *mwuse-we-ha-ta*, etc. into corresponding transitive verbs.

3. See I. Yang (1972), C. Youn (1986), and Gerdts and Youn (1987) for the details of the lists provided by them.

4. See H. Lee (1970) for detailed arguments for his position. See I. Yang (1972) for arguments against the hypothesis of the same underlying structure. I will not repeat their discussions here, because it is digressive from the main concern of this thesis.

5. See B. Park (1972:13-5) for the discussion of details about the semantic differences between the two types of psychological predicates.

6. I. Yang (1972) proposes analogous underlying structures to B. Park's, but within a different framework, Fillmorean Case Grammar. I will not discuss I. Yang's analysis here. See I. Yang (1972) for details.

7. See B. Park (1972:17-9) for details.

8. The Inversion Analysis may be traced back to the Psych Movement suggested by Postal (1971). See C. Youn (1986) and Gerdts & Youn (1987) for the details of the Inversion Analysis in Korean. See Harris (1984a), Harris (1984b), Perlmutter (1984) for the discussion of

Inversion Constructions in various languages. Especially, see C. Youn (1986) for discussion of the need to admit a silent dummy in the analysis of the psychological predicate construction in Korean, though I do not admit the existence of a silent dummy for the given construction.

9. The Brother-in-Law Case Marking is as follows:

Brother-in-Law Case Marking (Perlmutter 1983)

The dummy's brother-in-law agrees with the dummy in case.

10. See the discussion in the previous section.

11. The Universal Alignment Hypothesis is a claim about the linkage between initial relations and semantic roles. Rosen (1984:53) proposes the Little Alignment Hypothesis instead of the Universal Alignment Hypothesis. The claim of the Little Alignment Hypothesis is that for any one predicate in any one language, there is a fixed mapping which aligns each semantic role with an initial GR and the alignment remains invariant for all clauses with that predicate. See Perlmutter and Postal (1984) and Rosen (1984) for the details of each hypothesis.

12. *Coh-ta* has different meanings from the psychological meaning taken in the sentence (1a), as shown below:

(i) Swuni-ka *coh-ta*.

-N good/adequate/has a good personality

'Swuni is good.'

'Swuni is a proper person (to do something).'

'Swuni has a good personality. = Swuni is a good person.'

Furthermore, *coh-ta* in (i) cannot take a first person subject unlike *coh-ta* in (1a), as can be seen below:

(ii) *Nay-ka Swuni-ka *coh-ta*.

I-N -N good

'Swuni is good to me.'

Therefore, it may be reasonable to admit *coh-ta* in (i) as another lexical item which is purely a descriptive adjective (cf. Y. Kang (1986). However, I will not discuss this descriptive adjective because it is not an immediate concern of this chapter.

13. Y. Yim (1985) and H. Han (1987) propose analogous structure to B. Park's, but within a different framework, GB theory. The difference is that Y. Yim and H. Han use the notion 'predication' whereas B. Park uses the term 'predicate'. However, their ideas are identical in that the embedded clause serves as a predicate of the matrix clause. See Y. Yim (1985) and H. Han (1987) for the discussion of details. See Williams (1980, 1983) for the theory of predication which Y. Yim and H. Han rely on.

14. In fact, -e/-a has recently been treated as a complementizer along with -key in syntactic causative constructions in many studies. See I. Yang (1972) and D. Yang (1976) for the discussion of the various complementizers in Korean.

15. A question may arise with respect to the raising of the initial complement of the embedded clause. It has been shown in Chapter 2 that the raising of the pivot nominal in the syntactic causative sentences are optional. However, the initial complement should be obligatorily raised to the matrix clause in the case of the psychological predicate construction. At present, I have little to say about this problematic difference. It seems however to me that the difference can be traced to the kind of complementizer. Notice that the complementizer in the causative sentence is *key* but the one in psychological predicate construction is -a/-e. In this regard, I will assume that the optionality of raising in Korean is determined in accordance with the kind of complementizer. However, I put this aside for future study.

16. Notice that *Kongpwu-ha-ta* in the *ha-ta* pattern is also the sequence of embedded predicate, complementizer, and matrix verb *ha*, as claimed in Chapter 2.

17. It seems to be the case that another negation word *mos* 'unable' does not cooccur with psychological predicates in Korean. This may be due to the fact that *mos* presupposes the speaker's action but psychological predicates do not include an action.

18. The unnaturalness of the examples in (30) seems due to the fact that the sequence of the embedded predicate and the matrix predicate eventually denotes only one action whereas the sequence of embedded predicate and the matrix predicate in syntactic causative constructions denotes two distinct actions. This fact in turn may follow from that the embedded predicate is a stative verb which does not convey an action, and the two predicates, consequently, make a constituent at the perception level. The postulation of perception level is discussed again in the next section from a different perspective.

19. At this moment, I am assuming that the sentences in question are monoclausal for the expository purpose of discussing the problem of monoclausal analyses.

20. Here, I ignore the inchoative meaning of -e/-a *ci* and I do not, accordingly, consider the following sentences as passive clauses:

- (i) Swuni-ka na-eykey co-a ci-ess-ta.
 -N I-DAT good-become-PAST
 'Swuni became good to me.'

- (ii) Kay-ka Swuni-eykey mwuse-we ci-ess-ta.
 dog-N -DAT scary-become-PAST
 'The dog became scary to Swuni.'

21. As noted in 3.6.1.1, E. Cho (1987:9) formulates the rule of Passive in Korean as follows:

Passive in Korean:

Passive applies to the nominal bearing a final 2-relation if there is no nominal bearing a final 2-chômeur under the same clause node.

The Biclausal Analysis is also consistent to E. Cho's rule of Passive. Notice that the embedded clause assumes a final 2-chômeur relation if the initial 2 of the downstairs clause is raised to the matrix clause. Therefore, the final 2 raised from the complement clause cannot be passivized.

22. I know of no appropriate passive morphology for this case. Therefore, I assume that *toy* is a passive form of *ha*. See section 1.2 for this assumption.

23. It seems that the occurrence of adverbs such as manner adverbs, place adverbs, and other adverbs with psychological predicates is highly restricted. This may be due to the fact that psychological predicates lack activities unlike non-stative predicates. However, I will not deal with this matter here.

24. I assume a postsyntactic level which is a level of perception. I will discuss the level of perception in chapter 6.

25. Y. Yim (1985) proposes X-bar Transparency to account for the case assignment of the so-called double subject constructions in Korean. However, I extend his idea to account for Subject Honorification in the construction of psychological predicate. See Y. Yim (1984) for the discussion of Korean and see Y. Yim (1984) for the discussion of English.

26. Kuroda's (1988) claim that the sentences in (39) are double subject constructions also raises other questions:

The first question is why the psychological predicates must take only a first person as its subject bearing an experiencer role.

The second question is why the psychological predicates should take two subjects in the order of experiencer role and patient role. This question follows from the fact that the sentences are ungrammatical if the two subjects change their positions, as seen in (i).

- (i) a. *Apeci-ka nay-ka coh-ta.
 father-N I-N fond
 '(I) am fond of the father.'

- b. *Sensayngnim-i nay-ka mwusep-ta.
 teacher-N I-N fearful
 '(I) am afraid of the teacher.'

A possible reason for the ungrammaticality of (i) would be that verbs should always take their subcategorized subjects in a fixed order. However, this does not seem to hold for other cases. Let us examine the case of ditransitive verbs.

- (ii) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey ton-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -DAT money-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave money to Swuni.'
 b. Chelswu-ka ton-ul Swuni-eykey cwu-ess-ta.
 -N money-A -DAT give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave money to Swuni.'

As is well known, ditransitive verbs such as *cwu* 'give' subcategorize for two objects of semantic roles goal and patient. But the two subcategorized objects can change their order, as shown above.

The third question is whether sentences like (39) indeed violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law (the Extended Projection Principle in the sense of the GB theory).

For these reasons, I will not follow Kuroda's claim that corresponding Japanese sentences to the ones in (39) are double subject constructions.

CHAPTER 5

OTHER MULTIPLE ACCUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

5.1 Introduction

It has been asserted in Chapter 2 that the *ha-ta* pattern is the mere representation of a biclausal structure based on the clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha*. Another claim in Chapter 2 was that the second accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern, unlike the first ones, are not subject to syntactic processes that are sensitive to the constituency of an NP or/and the (direct) object-hood due to their categoricity as a verb. Chapters 3 and 4 have supported the Biclausal Analysis of the *ha-ta* pattern by showing that the syntactic causative pattern (broadly speaking, syntactic causative constructions) and the psychological predicate construction¹ are also biclausal structures formed by the clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha*, just as the *ha-ta* pattern is. Chapters 3 and 4 have further shown that the sequences of the embedded verb, complementizer, and accusative marker in syntactic causative constructions and the psychological predicate construction behave in the same way as the second accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern with respect to the syntactic processes tested with in Chapter 2 since those sequences are in fact identical in their nature.

As briefly summarized above, the preceding two chapters have been devoted to demonstrating positively that syntactic causative constructions and the psychological predicate construction are parallel to the *ha-ta* pattern in that all the three constructions result from clausal complementation to the verb *ha* in Korean. On the other hand, this chapter shows that other multiple accusative patterns such as the ditransitive pattern, the lexical causative pattern, and the possessor ascension pattern, all of which are monoclausal, exhibit different behavior from the *ha-ta* pattern with respect to the syntactic processes tested with in Chapter 2. Put differently, this chapter supports the Biclausal Analysis proposed for the *ha-ta* pattern by providing negative evidence. This chapter intends to show that the two accusative constituents in the aforementioned monoclausal multiple accusative constructions behave differently from the second accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern because the former are nouns but the latter are verbs.

Section 5.2 discusses the ditransitive pattern and the lexical causative pattern, and compares those patterns to the *ha-ta* pattern. Section 5.3 deals with the possessor ascension pattern and compares the possessor ascension pattern to the *ha-ta* pattern.

5.2 3-to-2 Advancement Constructions

This section deals with two 3-to-2 advancement constructions: the ditransitive pattern and the lexical causative pattern exemplified in 1.4.2. Specifically, this section argues that the two accusative

constituents in these two patterns behave differently from the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern with respect to the relevant syntactic processes due to the categoricity of those constituents as nouns. Sections 5.2.1 discuss the ditransitive pattern and Section 5.2.2 examines the lexical causative pattern, respectively. Section 5.2.3 compares these two patterns to the *ha-ta* pattern.

5.2.1 Dative Construction

This section deals with the ditransitive pattern exemplified in 1.4.2. Let us consider the following sentences:

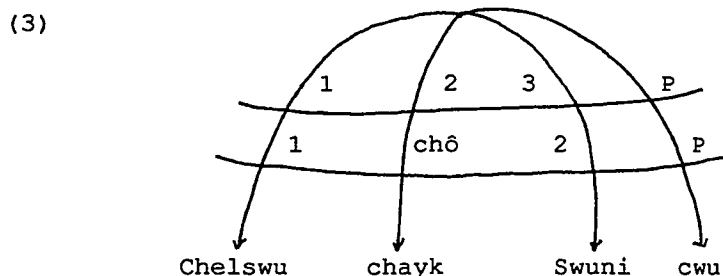
- (1) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave Swuni a book.'
 b. Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-ul yenge-lul kaluchi-si-n-ta.
 teacher-N student-PL-A English-A teach-H-PRES
 'The teacher teaches students English.'

As shown above, the sentences in (1) contain two accusatively marked nominals within a simplex clause. If this is the case, a subsequent question is whether or not the above sentences are instances of the violation of the Stratal Uniqueness Law.

In Korean linguistic literature within the RG framework, the above sentences have been treated without question as consequences of 3-to-2 Advancement (cf. I. Kim (1985), Gerdts (1986), Y. Choi (1988), and others). This advancement analysis is grounded on the fact that the above sentences exhibit an alternation with the sentences in (2).

- (2) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave a book to Swuni.'
 b. Sensayngnim-i haksayng-tul-eykey yenge-lul kaluchi-si-n-ta.
 teacher-N student-PL-DAT English-A teacher-H-PRES
 'The teacher teaches English to students.'

As can be seen above, the nominal bearing a goal role alternates between a dative form and an accusative form. In the Advancement Analysis, this sort of alternation is attributable to the fact that *Swuni* in (1), for example, assumes initially a 3-relation but finally a 2-relation, as illustrated in the stratal diagram (3).



Put differently, *Swuni* and *chayk* 'book' in (2a) are, respectively, assigned a dative marker and an accusative marker in accordance with their final GRs, but *Swuni* and *chayk* in (1a) are both assigned an accusative marker because *Swuni* takes a final 2-relation through 3-to-2 Advancement and *chayk* bears a 2-chômeur relation due to the advancee to 2 from 3. Thus, the 3-to-2 Advancement Analysis provides an account for the alternation of the sentences in (1) and (2), and further claims that the sentences in (1) do not consequently violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law though they include two accusative constituents within a simplex clause. I will follow the 3-to-2 Advancement Analysis of the ditransitive pattern illustrated in (1) without further argument.²

5.2.2 Lexical Causative Construction

This section deals with the lexical causative pattern which I will treat as another instance of 3-to-2 Advancement in Korean because of the reasons to be provided in the later part of this section and the next section. Before discussing the lexical causative pattern illustrated in 1.4.2, it seems to be in order to consider lexical causative sentences like (4).

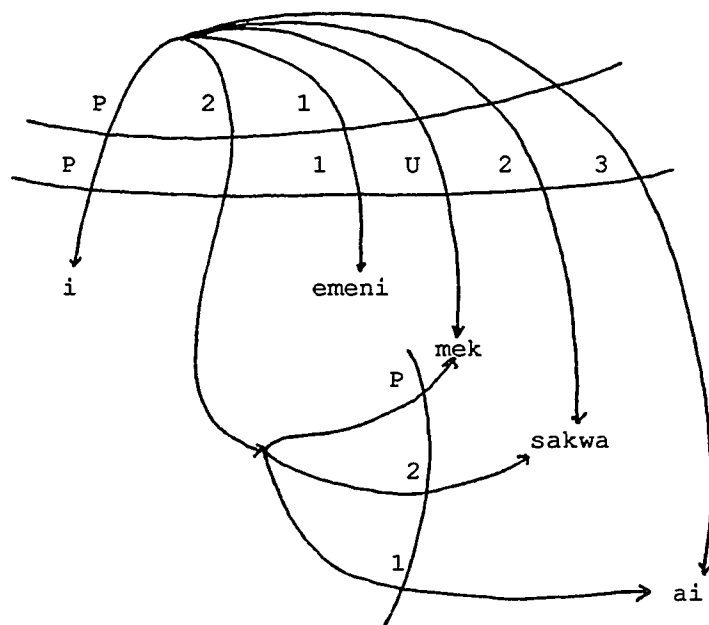
- (4) a. Emeni-ka ai-eykey sakwa-lul mek-i-si-n-ta.
 mother-N child-DAT apple-A eat-CAUS-H-PRES
 'The mother feeds an apple to the child.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A read-CAUS-PRES
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

It has been discussed in 3.2.2 that the lexical causative construction exhibits different behavior from the syntactic causative construction with respect to reflexivization, honorification, negation, verb compounding, and the case alternations of the pivot nominal, and it has been concluded that those differences are attributable to the fact that the lexical causative construction is monoclausal whereas the syntactic causative construction is biclausal. As concluded, lexical causative sentences like (4) have been generally treated as monoclausal structures in Korean linguistic literature (cf. K. Lee (1975), J. Han (1985), K. Park (1986, 1988), H. Jeong (1988), and others).

However, as noted in 3.2.2, among earlier transformational grammar approaches, I. Yang (1972) and C. Lee (1973) have proposed a biclausal structure for lexical causative sentences under the assumption that lexical causatives are synonymous to the corresponding syntactic

causative sentences.³ Similarly, Comrie (1976) argues that lexical causatives (morphological/synthetic causatives in his terms) are universally a causative construction where the causative and the embedded verb are fused into one in derived structure. That is, according to Comrie's claim, lexical causative sentences like (4) are initially biclausal but finally monoclausal. If this is the case, Comrie's claim is parallel to the claim of the Clause Union theory in RG. Then, the illustrative stratal diagram for (4a), for instance, would be something like (5).

(5)



In the theory of Clause Unions (Perlmutter and Postal (1974)), as mentioned in 3.4.1, the final 1 of a transitive complement clause is revalued as a 3 at the Union Stratum and other downstairs nominal (i.e., the final 2, *sakwa*, of the complement clause, here) bears the final 2-relation at the Union Stratum in accordance with the Inheritance

Principle (Gibson and Raposo (1986)).⁴ Owing to the Clause Union Law and the Inheritance Principle, lexical causative sentences like (4), which are monoclausal at the surface level, result.

At first glance, it seems plausible in some sense to hypothesize that the lexical causative sentences under consideration are underlyingly biclausal though they are monoclausal at the surface level. This line of reasoning may derive from the fact that the given lexical causative construction seems to include another clause structure in terms of thematic structure within a sentence. That is, the sentence (4a), for example, seems to contain a clause structure in which *ai* 'child' is an Agent, *sakwa* 'apple' is a Patient, and *mek* 'eat' is a Predicate.

However, this seems not always the case for the lexical causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs (including adjectives). In this regard, K. Park (1986:7-8) observes that the attachment of causative affixes⁵ to a verb stem does not always result in two logical clauses with the predictable semantics of 'cause to V', as can be seen from the examples below:⁶

- (6) a. *Kil-i nelp-ta.*
 street-N wide
 'The street is wide.'
 b. *Apeci-ka kil-ul nelp-hi-si-ess-ta.*
 father-N street-A wide-CAUS-H-PAST
 'The father widened the street.'
- (7) a. *Kilumkaps-i ol-lass-ta.*
 price of oil-N rise-PAST
 'The price of oil rose.'
 b. *Cengpwu-ka kilumkaps-ul ol-li-ess-ta.*
 government-N price of oil-A rise-CAUS-PAST
 'The government raised the price of oil.'

- (8) a. Kong-i kwul-lun-ta.
 ball-N roll-PRES
 'A ball rolls.'
 b. Chelswu-ka kong-ul kwul-li-n-ta.
 -N ball-A roll-CAUS-PRES
 'Chelswu rolls a ball.'

As shown above, if causative affixes attach to certain intransitive verbs, derived verbs rather look like basic transitive verbs. Put differently, the sentences in (b) above do not carry even a causative situation in the sense of Shibatani (1976) and McCawley (1976). If the sentences in (b) above are corresponding causatives to the sentences in (a), it would be then expected that the sentences in (b) might make reference two events, say, "causing event" and "caused event", as is the usual case for causative sentences. However, this is not at all the case for the above sentences. Rather, the pivot nominal in the above cases is just affected by the action of the subject as the usual direct object of basic transitive verbs.

Further, the hypothesis relying on Clause Union (Perlmutter and Postal (1974)) has serious difficulties in accounting for the following sentences.

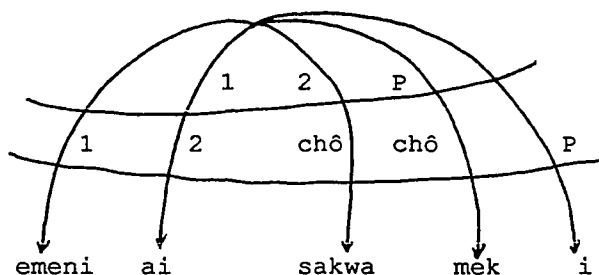
- (9) a. Emeni-ka ai-lul sakwa-lul mek-i-si-n-ta.
 mother-N child-A apple-A eat-CAUS-H-PRES
 'The mother feeds an apple to the child.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CAUS-PRES
 'Chelswu made Swuni read a book.'

As shown above, the lexical causative sentences like (4) show an alternation of the pivot nominal between a dative form and an accusative form. Clause Union Laws predict that the sentences above be

ungrammatical because Clause Union Laws require the final 1 of the transitive complement clause to revalue as a final 3 at the Union Stratum. However, the sentences in (9) are in fact grammatical. Thus, the extension of Comrie's claim to Korean lexical causative construction encounters a problem of undergeneration for sentences like (9).⁷ For this reason and the reasons discussed earlier, I will, therefore, not extend Comrie's (1976) claim (as well as biclausal analysis, by implication, if any) to Korean. Rather, I will maintain the position that the lexical causative construction in Korean is monoclausal.

Before turning to the lexical causative pattern, it seems worthwhile briefly discussing another idea based on the theory of Clause Union. As introduced in 2.6.1 and 3.4.2, Davies and Rosen (1988) propose that a single clause may contain distinct predicates in successive strata, though not in the same stratum. Following Davies and Rosen, assuming that causative affixes are outer predicate and the subject of the embedded predicate is uniformly revalued as a direct object (cf. The Union Parameter),⁸ Dubinsky, Lloret, and Newman (1988) present an analysis of lexical causative constructions (as well as syntactic causative constructions) in Oromo which is a Cushitic language of Ethiopia and Kenya. The reconstructed version of their analysis for the Korean lexical causative construction is (10).

(10)



In their analysis, the inner predicate (*mek* 'eat', here) is put en chômeage because of the outer predicate (*i* 'CAUS', here), the final 1 of the inner P-sector (*ai* 'child', here) is revalued as the final 2 of the outer P-sector due to the Clause Union Laws (parametrized Clause Union Laws),⁹ and the final 2 of the inner P-sector (*sakwa* 'apple', here) assumes the final 2-relation of the outer P-sector owing to the Inheritance Principle. Thus, the above reconstructed analysis correctly accounts for the sentences in (9).

However, though other problems are ignored,¹⁰ this kind of analysis cannot account for the sentences in (4). This is because the pivot nominal in Korean lexical causatives alternates between a dative form and an accusative form, as noted earlier. In other words, the sentences in (4) are predicted to be ungrammatical within the Dubinsky, Lloret, and Newman's idea but they are in reality grammatical. It is, of course, possible to postulate a demotion of 2 to 3 to save sentences like (4). However, this kind of treatment may be costly since there seem, to the best of my knowledge, no other instances of such a demotion in Korean.¹¹ Furthermore, the sentences in (9) as well as (4) can be accounted for by the 3-to-2 Advancement alone without help of Clause Union Laws with the stipulation of 2-to-3 Demotion, as will be shown

below. Therefore, I will not extend Davies & Rosen's idea as well as Dubinsky, Lloret, and Newman's analysis to Korean lexical causative construction.

Let us now turn to the sentences in (9). Those sentences are the instances of the lexical causative pattern, exemplified in 1.4.2, which is the main concern of this section. As shown above, the lexical causative pattern encloses two accusatively marked nominals within a simplex clause. This raises the question of whether or not there is a violation of the Stratal Uniqueness Law.

Regarding this question, I suggest that the lexical causative pattern is the consequence of the 3-to-2 Advancement in Korean just like the ditransitive pattern examined in the previous section, assuming that the verbs forming the lexical causative pattern illustrated in (9) are independent lexical ditransitive verbs. The suggested proposal is based on the reasons that follow. The first two reasons are for the lexical causative verbs in general and the rest are specifically for the verbs forming the lexical causative pattern.

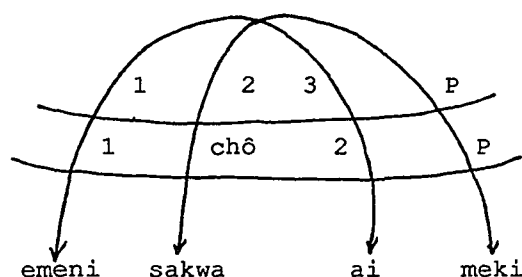
First, although it has been a general concensus among Korean linguists that the attachment of a causative affix to the verb stem makes the given verb a causative verb, causative affixes may attach to only a limited set of verbs which do not seem to form a natural class in any respect. That is, there seem to be no phonological, syntactic, or semantic restrictions on the possible affixation of the causative affixes (K. Park 1986:7). Second, the derivation of lexical causative verbs is not productive at all since verbs such as *cwu* 'give', *wumciki* 'move', *ayli* 'come down, get off', *kaluchi* 'teach' etc. have no

corresponding suffixal form, as noted in 3.2.1 whereas lexical causative verbs such as *khi-u* 'bring up, foster', *nac-chu* 'low down', *nay-li* 'unload', etc. have no corresponding noncausative form. For these reasons, I treat the lexical causative verbs as independent lexical verbs.

Third, as shown above, the lexical causative pattern displays the same alternation in terms of case marking as the ditransitive pattern. Fourth, the lexical causative pattern works the same way with the ditransitive pattern with respect to syntactic processes, as will be shown in the next section. For these reasons, I consider the verbs forming the lexical causative pattern like (9) as ditransitive verbs.

Assuming that lexical causative verbs are in the lexicon,¹² and that a lexical causative pattern like (9a) is a result of 3-to-2 Advancement in sentences like (4a), I, therefore, provide the stratal diagram (11a) for the sentence (9a).

(11)



As the stratal diagram above shows, the nominal *ai* alternates between a dative form and an accusative form because it initially takes a 3-relation but finally assumes a 2-relation due to 3-to-2 Advancement. Further, the initial 2, *sakwa*, assumes a final 2-chômeur relation by

virtue of 3-to-2 Advancement (cf. the Chômeur Law) and is assigned an accusative marker through acting term case marking. Thus, the 3-to-2 Advancement Analysis of the lexical causative pattern not only provides an account for the alternation of case marking but also vividly shows that the lexical causative pattern does not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law since the first accusative nominal is a final 2 but the second accusative nominal is a 2-chômeur.

5.2.3 Comparison to the *Ha-ta* Pattern

In the previous sections, the 3-to-2 Advancement Analysis has been provided for the ditransitive pattern and the lexical causative pattern. Explicit assumptions underlying the Advancement Analysis are that the two patterns are monoclausal and that the two accusative constituents in those patterns are nominals (in fact, nouns). This section compares these two patterns to the *ha-ta* pattern to show that accusatively marked nominals predicably behave differently from the second accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern, which are verbal constituents.

Let us now examine how differently the ditransitive pattern and the lexical causative pattern behave from the *ha-ta* pattern. It has been shown in 2.2.2 that, in the *ha-ta* pattern, the second accusative constituents exhibit different behavior from the first accusative constituent with respect to pronominalization, clefting, relativization, scrambling, and topicalization.¹³ That is, the first accusative constituent undergoes these processes whereas the second accusative constituent does not. However, this is not the case for the two

patterns in question. As can be seen below, both of the two accusative nominals in these two patterns undergo all the aforementioned processes.

Pronominalization

- (12) a. Chelswu-ka kunye-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N her-A book-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave her a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul kukes-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -A it-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave it to Swuni.'
- (13) a. Emeni-ka ku-lul sakwa-lul meki-si-n-ta.
 mother-N him-A apple-A fed-H-PRES
 'The mother feeds him an apple.'
 b. Emeni-ka ai-lul kukes-ul meki-si-n-ta.
 mother-N child-A it-A fed-H-PRES
 'The mother feeds it to the child.'

Clefting

- (14) a. Chelswu-ka chayk-ul cwu-n kes(salam)-un Swuni-i-ta.
 -N book-A give-PAST-thing(person)-T -be
 'Who Chelswu gave a book is Chelswu.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul cwu-n kes-un chayk-i-ta.
 -N -A give-PAST-thing-T book-be
 'What Chelswu gave Swuni is a book.'
- (15) a. Emeni-ka sakwa-lul meki-si-n-kes(salam)-un ai-i-ta.
 mother-N apple-A feed-H-PAST-thing(person)-T child-be
 'Who the mother fed an apple is the child.'
 b. Emeni-ka ai-lul meki-si-n-kes-un sakwa-i-ta.
 mother-N child-A feed-H-PAST-thing-T apple-be
 'What the mother fed the child is an apple.'

Scrambling

- (16) a. Swuni-lul Chelswu-ka chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -N book-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave Swuni a book.'
 b. Chayk-ul Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul cwu-ess-ta.
 book-A -N -A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave Swuni a book.'
- (17) a. Ai-lul emeni-ka sakwa-lul meki-si-ess-ta.
 child-A mother-N apple-A feed-H-PAST
 'The mother fed the child an apple.'

- b. Sakwa-lul emeni-ka ai-lul meki-si-ess-ta.
 apple-A mother-N child-A feed-H-PAST
 'The mother fed the child an apple.'

Relativization

- (18) a. Chelswu-ka chayk-ul cwu-n Swuni
 -N book-A give-RC
 'Swuni whom Chelswu gave a book'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul cwu-n chayk
 -N -A give-RC book
 'the book which Chelswu gave Swuni'
- (19) a. Emeni-ka sakwa-lul meki-si-n ai
 mother-N apple-A feed-H-RC child
 'the child whom the mother fed an apple'
 b. Emeni-ka ai-lul meki-si-n sakwa
 mother-N child-A feed-H-RC apple
 'the apple which the mother fed the child'

As shown above, the two accusatively marked nominals of the ditransitive pattern and the lexical causative pattern equally pronominalize, cleft, scramble, and relativize. However, as discussed in 2.2.2, it is only the first accusative constituent that allows the above processes in the *ha-ta* pattern. Further, both of the two accusative nominals in the ditransitive pattern and the lexical causative pattern topicalize *in situ* as well as sentence-initially in the same way as the first accusative constituent, but not the second accusative constituent, in the *ha-ta* pattern does, as can be seen below:

Topicalization (I)

- (20) a. Swuni-nun Chelswu-ka chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -T -N book-A give-PAST
 'As for Swuni, Chelswu gave her a book.'
 b. Chayk-un Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul cwu-ess-ta.
 book-T -N -A give-PAST
 'As for the book, Chelswu gave it to Swuni.'

- (21) a. Ai-nun emeni-ka sakwa-lul meki-si-ess-ta.
 child-T mother-N apple-A feed-H-PAST
 'As for the child, the mother fed him an apple.'
 b. Sakwa-nun emeni-ka ai-lul meki-si-ess-ta.
 apple-T mother-N child-A feed-H-PAST
 'As for the apple, the mother fed it to the child.'

Topicalization (II)

- (22) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-nun chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -T book-A give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave Swuni a book.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul chayk-un cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-T give-PAST
 'Chelswu gave Swuni a book.'
- (23) a. Emeni-ka ai-nun sakwa-lul meki-si-ess-ta.
 mother-N child-T apple-A feed-H-PAST
 'The mother fed Swuni an apple.'
 b. Emeni-ka ai-lul sakwa-nun meki-si-ess-ta.
 mother-N child-A apple-T feed-H-PAST
 'The mother fed Swuni an apple.'

In the above, it has been shown that both of the two accusative nominals in the ditransitive pattern and the lexical causative pattern work the same way with the first accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern but the opposite way with the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern in connection with the syntactic processes such as pronominalization, clefting, scrambling, relativization, and topicalization. This suggests that the inapplicability of those syntactic processes only to the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern is attributable to the fact that the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern is a verb whereas others are nouns.

However, passivization does not seem to be consistent with the above. Contrary to expectation, neither of the two accusative constituents of the ditransitive pattern nor the lexical causative

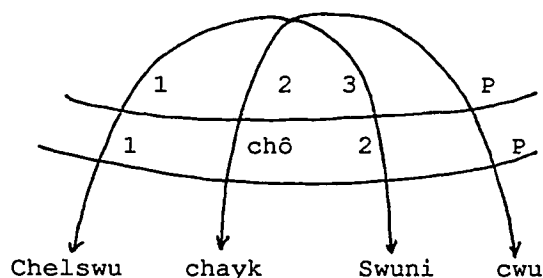
pattern can passivize, just as the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern cannot. I will first talk about the passivization of the ditransitive pattern for expository purposes. Consider the following sentences:

- (24) a. *Swuni-ka Chelswu-eyuyhay chayk-ul cwu-e ci-ess-ta.
 -N -by book-A give-PASS-PAST
 'Swuni was given a book by Chelswu.'
 b. *Chayk-i Chelswu-eyuyhay Swuni-lul cwu-e ci-ess-ta.
 book-N -by -A give-PASS-PAST
 'The book was given Mary by Swuni.'
 c. Swuni-ka Chelswu-eyuyhay chayk-i cwu-e ci-ess-ta.
 -N -by book-N give-PASS-PAST
 'Swuni was given a book by Chelswu.'
 d. Chayk-i Chelswu-eyuyhay Swuni-eykey cwu-e ci-ess-ta.
 book-N -by -DAT give-PASS-PAST
 'A book was given to Swuni by Chelswu.'

Examples (24a) and (24b) show that neither of the two accusative nominals in the ditransitive pattern can be passivized, as is the case with the two accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern. Moreover, (24c) shows that (24a) can even be a well-formed passive sentence if the accusative marker is replaced by the nominative marker, as for the *ha-ta* pattern. If this is so, does the passivization of the ditransitive pattern give evidence that the ditransitive pattern parallels the *ha-ta* pattern?

The above facts regarding passivization seem due to other reasons. Let us again consider the stratal diagram (25=3), posited for the ditransitive pattern in 5.2.1.

(25)



The stratal diagram (25) shows that *chayk* 'book' assumes a final GR of 2-chômeur which is no longer a final 2. Therefore, the reason for the ungrammaticality of (24b) is obvious; it is because the nominal bearing a GR of chômeur, *chayk* 'book' here, cannot be passivized at all due to the Chômeur Advancement Ban, which prohibits chômeurized nominals from acquiring a new term relation.¹⁴ And the ungrammaticality of (24a) is due to the constraint that Korean allows final 2s to passivize only when there is no nominal bearing a 2 chômeur under the same node (cf. E. Cho 1987:9), as discussed in chapters 3 and 4.¹⁵ Instead, the final 2, *chayk* can, however, passivize if the 3, *Swuni*, does not advance to the final 2. The non-application of 3-to-2 Advancement in (25=3) can, therefore, result in (24d), which is grammatical. However, (24c) seems a little bit strange. Though speculative and a little bit digressive, I will remark that this seems to provide evidence for 3-to-1 Advancement in Korean.¹⁶

In the above, it has been noted that the two accusative nominals in the ditransitive pattern seem to exhibit the same behavior as the two accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern with respect to the process of passivization, but that this is attributable to a constraint which is independently needed, and some other phenomenon, such as 3-to-1

Advancement. In this regard, the lexical causative pattern works the same way, as can be seen below:

- (26) a. *Ai-ka emeni-eyuyhay sakwa-lul meki-e ci-ess-ta.
 child-N mother-by apple-A feed-PASS-PAST
 'The child was fed an apple by the mother.'
 b. *Sakwa-ka emeni-eyuyhay ai-lul meki-e ci-ess-ta.
 apple-N mother-by child-A feed-PASS-PAST
 'An apple was fed to the child by the mother.'
 c. Ai-ka emeni-eyuyhay sakwa-ka meki-e ci-ess-ta.
 child-N mother-by apple-N feed-PASS-PAST
 'The child was fed an apple by the mother.'
 d. Sakwa-ka emeni-eyuyhay ai-eykey meki-e ci-ess-ta.
 apple-N mother-by child-DAT feed-PASS-PAST
 'An apple was fed to the child by the mother.'

In the lexical causative, neither of the accusatively marked nominals can be passivized, as in (26a) and (26b), just as for the ditransitive pattern. (26c) shows that (26a) can be a well-formed passive sentence if an accusative marker is replaced by a nominative marker, again, just as for the ditransitive pattern. Moreover, the acceptability of (26d) suggests that (26a) and (26b) are ungrammatical due to the above-mentioned constraint on passivization in Korean.

In this section, it has been demonstrated that the ditransitive pattern and the lexical causative pattern work the same way in every respect. It has been also demonstrated that both of the two accusatively marked nominals in these two patterns work the same way in every respect to the first accusative constituent, but not the second one, of the *ha-ta* pattern in connection with the syntactic processes such as pronominalization, clefting, scrambling, relativization, and topicalization. Further, it has been discussed that the inapplicability of passivization to the two accusative nominals in the two patterns

under discussion is attributable to other syntactic reasons which are not responsible for the inapplicability of passivization to the two accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern. Therefore, from the above discussion, I again conclude that the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern is not a noun but a verb. That is, the second accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern are not at all subject to syntactic processes which are sensitive to the category NP or (direct) object-hood, since those constituents are verbs (of embedded clauses).

5.3 Ascension Construction

This section deals with the ascension construction in Korean. As briefly noted in 1.3.3.2, ascension is a rule of promoting (ascending) a subconstituent of an NP bearing a GR of a clause to the dependent of the clause. It has been generally agreed among Korean linguists working in the RG theory that the ascension construction in Korean includes possessor ascension and quantifier ascension ("quantifier floating" in other theories), though Y. Choi (1988) and Gerdtz (1986), respectively, propose specifier ascension and modifier ascension also for the *ha-ta* pattern.¹⁷ However, since quantifier ascension concerns the numeral nominal, this section discusses only possessor ascension, in order to compare the syntactic behavior of the accusative nominals of the ascension pattern, which is monoclausal, to the behavior of the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern, which is the verb of embedded clause.

5.3.1 Possessor Ascension Construction

This section deals with the possessor ascension pattern exemplified in 1.4.2. Let us first consider the following sentences.

- (27) a. Kay-ka Chelswu-lul tali-lul mwul-ess-ta.
 dog-N -A leg-A bite-PAST
 'The dog bit Chelswu on the leg.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul elkwul-ul kuli-ess-ta.
 -N -A face-A draw-PAST
 'Chelswu drew Swuni's face.'

As illustrated above, the sentences in (27) contain two accusatively marked nominals within the same simplex clause. This being the case, the question subsequently arising is again whether the sentences in (27) violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law or not.

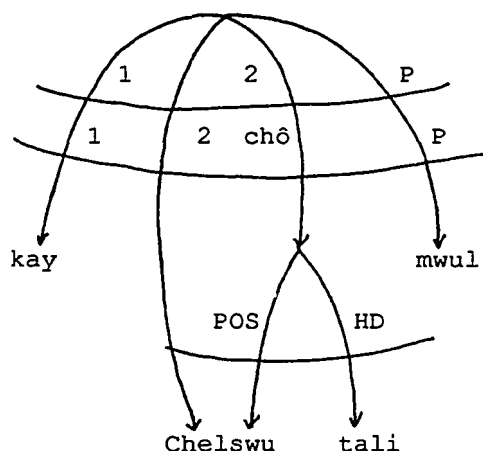
To answer the above question, S. Park (1985), S. Chun (1985, 1986), and Y. Choi (1988) propose the Possessor Ascension Analysis for the given sentences in (27). The Possessor Ascension Analysis is based on the fact that the sentences in (27) show a case alternation with possessor nominals, as can be seen below:

- (28) a. Kay-ka Chelswu-uy tali-lul mwul-ess-ta.
 dog-N -G leg-A bite-PAST
 'The dog bit Chelswu's leg.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-uy elkwul-ul kuli-ess-ta.
 -N -G face-A draw-PAST
 'Chelswu drew Swuni's face.'

Roughly speaking, the claim of the Possessor Ascension Analysis is that the possessor bearing a relation of possessor to the possessive noun phrase at the initial stratum ascends to bear the GR of the head nominal which is 2, putting the head nominal en chômage (S. Chun

1986:72-3). Therefore, according to the Possessor Ascension Analysis, the stratal diagram of (27a), for example, is (29).

(29)



As the stratal diagram above shows, the possessor nominal *Swuni* ascends to the clause level. As a result, *Swuni* assumes a final 2-relation by virtue of the Relational Succession Law and the head nominal *tali* 'leg' takes a 2-chômeur relation because of the ascende to 2. Thus, the Possessor Ascension Analysis provides an account for the case alternation of a possessor nominal and claims that the sentences in (27), namely, the possessor ascension pattern, do not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law.

However, there is a semantic constraint in the Possessor Ascension Analysis. It is generally agreed among the literature on the possessor ascension construction in Korean that only inalienable possession such as name or body part and the part-whole relation allows possessor ascension, as in (27). However, this proposed semantic constraint does not seem to suffice. Consider the following sentences, for example:

- (30) a. *Nay-ka ku ai-lul ilum-ul pwul-less-ta.*
 I-N the child-A name-A call-PAST
 'I called the child by name.'
- b. **Nay-ka ku ai-lul ilum-ul sse-ss-ta.*
 I-N the child-A name-A write-PAST
 'I wrote the child's name.'
- (31) *Ku ai-ka na-lul somay-lul cap-ass-ta.*
 the child-N I-A sleeve-A hold-PAST
 'The child held me by the sleeve.'

The same 'inalienable' possessor results sometimes in an acceptable sentence, as in (30a), but may sometimes result in an unacceptable sentence, as in (30b). In (31), on the other hand, the nominal 'sleeve' which seems not in the inalienable relation gives an acceptable ascended sentence. Pointing out that "inalienability" is not sufficient to constrain the above ill-formed sentences, Y. Choi (1988:92-3) suggests the semantic constraint of an affectedness relationship between the ascende and the rest of the sentence.¹⁸

However, I will not pursue this matter here because it is beyond the scope of this work. Rather, I will accept the Possessor Ascension Analysis of the sentences in (27) and compare this pattern to the *ha-ta* pattern to demonstrate that both of the two accusative nominals in the possessor ascension pattern, which is monoclausal, exhibit different syntactic behavior from that of the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern, which is the verb of an embedded clause.

5.3.2 Comparison to the *Ha-ta* Pattern

This section compares the possessor ascension pattern to the *ha-ta* pattern. The possessor ascension pattern deserves being carefully

compared to the *ha-ta* pattern. This is so because Y. Choi (1988) (and Gerdts (1986)) argues that the *ha-ta* pattern is an instance of the ascension construction in Korean. It would be naturally expected that both of the two patterns work the same way with respect to the syntactic processes being tested in this study if the *ha-ta* pattern indeed structurally parallels the possessor ascension pattern, as Y. Choi and Gerdts advocate.

However, the possessor ascension pattern does not seem to work the same way as the *ha-ta* pattern, as partly illustrated in 2.3.4. Let us first consider the following sentences:

Pronominalization

- (32) a. Kay-ka ku-lul tali-lul mwul-ess-ta.
 dog-N him-A leg-A bite-PAST
 'The dog bit him on the leg.'
 b. Kay-ka Chelswu-lul kukes-ul mwul-ess-ta.
 dog-N -A it-A bite-PAST
 'The dog bit Chelswu on it (the leg).'

Clefting

- (33) a. Kay-ka tali-lul mwu-n-kes(salam)-un Chelswu-i-ta.
 dog-N leg-A bite-PAST-thing(person)-T -be
 'Who the dog bit the leg is Chelswu.'
 b. Kay-ka Chelswu-lul mwu-n-kes-un tali-i-ta.
 dog-N -A bit-PAST-thing-T leg-be
 'What the dog bit Chelswu is the leg.'

As shown above, both of the two accusative nominals in the possessor ascension pattern pronominalize and cleft whereas only the first accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern undergoes these two processes, as shown in 2.2.2.¹⁹ This seems to suggest that the second accusative nominals, namely, the ascension *chômeur*, differs from the

second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern in its categoricity. That is, the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern is a verb, but the others are nouns.

However, the possessor ascension pattern, at first glance, seems to parallel the *ha-ta* pattern in scrambling, topicalization, and relativization. Let us first consider the following sentences:

Scrambling

- (34) a. Chelswu-lul kay-ka tali-lul mwul-ess-ta.
 -A dog-N leg-A bite-PAST
 'The dog bit Chelswu on the leg.'
 b. *Tali-lul kay-ka Chelswu-lul mwul-ess-ta.
 leg-A dog-N -A bite-PAST
 'The dog bit Chelswu on the leg.'

As shown above, the first accusative nominal in the possessor ascension pattern can scramble, but the second accusative nominal cannot. As can be seen below, the possessor ascension pattern displays the same phenomenon with respect to topicalization, since the topicalization at sentence initial position is not available unless the given constituent scrambles to the sentence initial position.

Topicalization (I)

- (35) a. Chelswu-nun kay-ka tali-lul mwul-ess-ta.
 -T dog-N leg-A bite-PAST
 'As for Chelswu, the dog bit him on the leg.'
 b. *Tali-nun kay-ka Chelswu-lul mwul-ess-ta.
 leg-T dog-N -A bite-PAST
 'As for the leg, the dog bit Chelswu on it.'

Topicalization (II)

- (36) a. Kay-ka Chelswu-nun tali-lul mwul-ess-ta.
 dog-N -T leg-A bite-PAST
 'The dog bit Chelswu on the leg.'

- b. Kay-ka Chelswu-lul tali-nun mwul-ess-ta.
 dog-N -A leg-T bite-PAST
 'The dog bit Chelswu on the leg.'

The second accusative nominal in the possessor ascension pattern cannot sentence-initially topicalize but can topicalize *in situ*, just as the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern.

Further, the possessor ascension pattern shows the same behavior as the *ha-ta* pattern with respect to relativization:

Relativization

- (37) a. Kay-ka tali-lul mwu-n Chelswu
 dog-N leg-A bite-RC
 'Chelswu who the dog bit on the leg'
 b. *Kay-ka Chelswu-lul mwu-n tali
 dog-N -A bite-RC leg
 'the leg which the dog bit Chelswu on'

The above examples show that the first accusative nominal in the possessor ascension pattern undergoes relativization, but the second accusative nominal does not, just as for the *ha-ta* pattern.

To account for the inapplicability of scrambling (fronting topicalization, by implication) and relativization to the ascension chômeur in the possessor ascension pattern and the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern, Y. Choi (1988) provides the Precedence Condition on Ascension and the Restriction on Relativization (cf. section 2.3.4), which prohibit respectively the ascension chômeur from being scrambled and relativized. The two constraints provided in his analysis seem to cover the possessor ascension pattern and the *ha-ta* pattern in connection with scrambling, topicalization, and relativization. This is because the second accusative constituent in

the *ha-ta* pattern is also an ascension chômeur in Y. Choi's analysis.

However, his analysis does not provide a fundamental reason why the possessor ascension pattern and the *ha-ta* pattern work the different way with respect to pronominalization and clefting although he claims that the two patterns are parallel in terms of their structures. In this regard, Y. Choi's (Specifier) Ascension Analysis must treat these differences between the possessor ascension pattern and the *ha-ta* pattern as an accidental phenomenon. That is, the Ascension Analysis provide other constraints to prohibit the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern from being pronominalized and clefted. This is because, albeit both the second accusative nominal in the possessor ascension pattern and the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern are equally ascension chômeurs in the Ascension Analysis, only the possessor ascension chômeur can pronominalize and cleft.

Furthermore, the Precedence Condition on Ascension and the Restriction on Relativization may even be redundant in some sense. Notice that the Ascension Analysis assumes that the first accusative constituent is in a relation of specifier to the second accusative constituent at the initial stratum. Therefore, the inapplicability of scrambling to the possessor ascension chômeur is attributable to the general constraint in Korean. This is: the head of the constituent cannot precede any other part of the constituent at all because Korean is a strict head-final language. That is, this restriction on scrambling is never specific to the ascension construction. Therefore, the Precedence Condition on Ascension is redundant in accounting for the ascension construction since it would need to be stated as a word order

constraint at a different level in the description of Korean grammar any way. The Restriction on Relativization seems to be the same. This constraint states that no part of an ascension *chômeur* can be the target of relativization. However, as is well-known, relativization is generally not available to the head noun of the NP across languages (cf. Ross (1967), Chomsky (1964)). That is, this restriction on relativization is never specific to the ascension construction. Rather, it should be stated as a general constraint at the higher level in the description of Korean grammar (as well as across languages).

Given the above, it may be then obvious why the ascension *chômeur* cannot scramble and relativize whereas it can pronominalize and cleft. The inapplicability of scrambling (and fronting topicalization, by implication) and relativization is attributed to the headness of the ascension *chômeur per se*. However, the ascension *chômeur* can undergo pronominalization and clefting because it does not lose the category of NP.

On the other hand, since the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern is a verb, it is not at all subject to any syntactic process if it appeals to the category of NP or (direct) objecthood. For this reason, the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern does not pronominalize, cleft, scramble, and relativize in a consistent manner. Thus, the specification of the second accusative constituent as a verb provides not only a fundamental account of the differences between the possessor ascension pattern and the *ha-ta* pattern in connection with pronominalization and clefting but also a consistent account for the inapplicability of the syntactic processes including

passivization to the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern. Notice that the inapplicability of scrambling, topicalization, and relativization to the possessor ascension *chômeur* of the possessor ascension pattern and the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern is just coincidentally attributable to the headness of the two constituents. That is, the possessor ascension *chômeur* is the head of NP whereas the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern is the head of the embedded clause because verb is a head of clause in Korean.

Let us now consider passivization with respect to the possessor ascension pattern.²⁰

Passivization

- (38) a. *Chelswu-ka kay-eyuyhay tali-lul mwul-e ci-ess-ta.
 -N dog-by leg-A bite-PASS-PAST
 'Chelswu was bitten on the leg by the dog.'
 b. *Tali-ka kay-eyuyhay Chelswu-lul mwul-e ci-ess-ta.
 leg-N dog-by -A bite-PASS-PAST
 '*The leg was bitten Chelswu on by the leg.'

As shown above, neither of the two accusative nominals in the possessor ascension pattern passivizes. The failure of passivization here looks parallel to the failure for the *ha-ta* pattern. In this regard, the Ascension Analysis can account for the inapplicability of passivization to the two accusative constituents in both patterns in the same manner. That is, the second accusative constituent cannot be passivized because of the *Chômeur Advancement Ban* and the first one cannot be passivized either due to the passive constraint allowing the final 2 to passivize only when there is no 2-*chômeur* under the same node. However, admitting the ascension structure for the *ha-ta* pattern renders an account of the

differences between the possessor ascension pattern and the *ha-ta* pattern inconsistent, as discussed above, although the same structure is posited for the two given pattern.

In the above, it has been argued that the difference between the possessor ascension pattern and the *ha-ta* pattern with respect to pronominalization and clefting suggests that the structures of the two patterns are not parallel with each other. It has been further argued that the inapplicability of scrambling, topicalization, and relativization to the ascension *chômeur* in the possessor ascension pattern is attributable to the headness at the initial level whereas the inapplicability of those processes to the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern is ascribed to the categoricity of verb. Therefore, for the reasons discussed above, I again conclude that the *ha-ta* pattern is in fact not an ascension construction, and that the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern is a verb.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has shown that the monoclausal multiple accusative constructions such as the ditransitive pattern, the lexical causative pattern, and the possessor ascension pattern are not violations of the Stratal Uniqueness Law though those constructions include two accusatively marked nominals within the same simplex clause. Through the comparison of the given multiple accusative constructions to the *ha-ta* pattern, this chapter, on the other hand, demonstrated that the accusatively marked nominals in the given patterns exhibit the same

syntactic behavior as the first accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern but the different behavior from the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern. Further, it has been shown that the superficial parallelism regarding passivization between the 3-to-2 Advancement Constructions and the *ha-ta* pattern is due to other syntactic reasons.

In particular, this chapter has proposed that the *ha-ta* pattern is not an ascension construction though the *ha-ta* pattern seems superficially to work the same way as the possessor ascension pattern in regard to scrambling, topicalization, and relativization. Rather, this chapter has argued that the dissimilarities with respect to pronominalization and clefting reveal that those two patterns are structurally different from each other. That is, the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern is a verb and the *ha-ta* pattern is in turn biclausal. Thus, this chapter has supported the Biclausal Analysis of the *ha-ta* pattern by providing negative evidence through the comparison of the monoclausal multiple accusative constructions to the *ha-ta* pattern which is a biclausal multiple accusative construction.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. In this chapter, the term "psychological predicate construction" refers to sentences like (4) in the preceding chapter.

2. This construction had been treated as Dative Shift in classic transformational grammar approaches. Dative Shift (Dative Movement) is analogous to the 3-to-2 Advancement in RG in the sense that indirect objects become direct objects but different from the 3-to-2 Advancement in the sense that original direct objects remain as direct objects whereas the 3-to-2 Advancement put initial direct objects en chômage. Further, 3-to-2 Advancement is conceptually different from Dative Shift in that the advancement is not a transformation but a change of GR.

On the other hand, Larson (1988) has recently presented a somewhat different analysis. Adapting an approach from Chomsky (1957, 1975), Larson claims that sentences like (i) involve an underlying clauselike VP whose "subject" is a letter and whose "object" is (to) Mary, and that the inner constituent is obscured at S-Structure by an operation of V Raising.

(i) John sent a letter to Mary.

Assuming that VP consists of an empty V taking a VP complement whose specifier is a letter, whose head is *send*, and whose sole complement is the PP *to Mary*, Larson (1988:342) asserts that *send* takes the complement *to Mary*, forming a small predicate *send-to-Mary* as in Chomsky (1955, 1975), that the small predicate is predicated of an "inner subject" a letter, forming a VP with clauselike structure a letter *send to Mary*, and that this VP is in turn predicated of a subject like *John* to yield the structure (ii). Further, Larson (1988:343) contends that (iii) is derived by an obligatory operation of V Raising to the empty V position -- i.e., head-to-head movement along line with Baker (1985, 1988) and Chomsky (1986b).

(ii) John [VP a letter [V' send to Mary]]

(iii) John send [VP a letter [V t to Mary]]

Claiming that Dative Shift is Passive, Larson (1988:351-4) argues that English double object construction like (iv) is the result of Passive which applies within the clauselike VP.

(iv) John sent Mary a letter.

Putting aside other problems, Larson's idea, however, is ad hoc in that he develops an unorthodox structure and that his claim of Dative as Passive is not exactly parallel to passivization because *Mary* advances to 2 from 3 whereas passivization in RG is the advancement to 1 from 2. See Jackendoff (1990) for a detailed criticism of Larson's analysis.

3. I will not here repeat arguments against the synonymy hypothesis between lexical causatives and syntactic causatives. See

3.2.2 and references cited therein for the discussion of the differences between the two types of causatives.

4. See section 3.4.1 and references therein for the discussion of the Clause Union Law and the Inheritance Principle.

5. See 3.2.1 about the causative affixes in Korean.

6. I take the exemplified lexical items in (6) through (8) from K. Park (1986:8).

7. To escape from this undergeneration problem, one might argue that the sentences like (9) result from the application of 3-to-2 Advancement to the sentences like (4) which underwent clause union. However, this treatment is not plausible because of the following reasons. First, it is possible to provide a simple account for the sentences in (4) and (9) only with 3-to-2 Advancement Analysis (i.e., without help of Clause Union Laws) as will be shown below. Second, it seems not certain whether 3-to-2 Advancement applies to a revalued 3 (via Clause Union, in this particular case) across languages.

8. See Section 3.4.1 for the details of the Union Parameter.

9. See Dubinsky's (1986) Clause Union Analysis of Japanese causative sentences discussed in 3.4.2 for the parametrized Clause Union Laws and see Gibson and Raposo (1986) for the discussion of The Union Parameter.

10. See section 3.4.2 for the details and the problems of Davies's (1986) idea and the reconstructed version into Korean syntactic causative constructions.

11. See Section 3.4.2 for the arguments against the postulation of demotion to 2 from 3 for Korean.

12. Adapting Marantz's (1984) idea of morphological merger, K. Park (1986) proposes that lexical causative verbs morphologically merge into single verbs at the D-Structure. I will not discuss the morphological merger of lexical causatives. See K. Park (1986) and Marantz (1984) for the discussion of morphological merger.

13. Passivization phenomena are discussed at the later part of this section.

14. See Perlmutter and Postal (1983c:109-24) for the detailed discussion of the Chômeur Advancement Ban.

15. Alternatively, it may be best to say that (24a) is not licensed because the final 3 in the sentence (2a) is passivized despite that passivization (in RG) is the advancement from 2 to 1. However, I will not consider this option since the concern of this study is the

multiple accusative construction (not dative construction) and the given constraint on passivization is needed anyway in Korean.

16. If this is really the case, then Korean is a language which violates the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (Perlmutter & Postal (1984)) which prohibits more than one Advancement to 1 within a clause. This is because *Swuni*, the initial 3, advances to the 1-hood although *chayk* is advanced to 1-hood through passivization. The lexical causative pattern displays the same phenomenon, as shown below. However, I will leave this problem regarding the 1-Exclusiveness Law for future study.

17. See section 2.3.4 for Y. Choi's Specifier Ascension Analysis and Gerdts's Modifier Ascension Analysis of the *ha-ta* pattern.

18. On the other hand, S. Park (1985) claims that Possessor Ascension in Korean takes place on an absolutive base while S. Chun (1985, 1986) and Y. Choi (1988) argue that the Possessor Ascension occurs in subject and object. I will not pursue this matter either since it does not affect the discussion in this study. See S. Park (1985), S. Chun (1985, 1986), and Y. Choi (1988) for detailed discussion of the possessor ascension constructions in Korean. See Y. Kang (1986, 1988) for arguments against the Possessor Ascension Analysis and his alternative analysis within the GB framework.

19. As noted in note 29 to Chapter 2, a proform referring to a body part conveys a locative meaning. However, I will consider the proform in the sentence (31b) as the pronominalization of the head noun *tali*, ignoring the locative meaning.

20. Unlike the sentence (38a), the following sentence is possible in a same meaning:

- (i) *Swuni-ka kay-eykey/hantey tali-lul mwul-li-ess-ta.*
 -N dog-DAT/by leg-A bite-PASS-PAST
 'Swuni was bitten on the leg by the dog.'

The above is the so-called lexical passive sentence of (38a). However, I will not take the above sentence into consideration because discussion here concerns the applicability of syntactic passivization to the possessor ascension pattern and the *ha-ta* pattern. Furthermore, it seems not clear at present whether the sentence (i) is valid as a genuine passive, or whether the lexical passive verb *mwul-li-ta* is an independent lexical item in the lexicon.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

One of the claims in RG is that across languages no single clause can contain more than one nominal bearing the same term relation such as subject, direct object, or indirect object. This is called the Stratal Uniqueness Law, which is one of well-formedness conditions characteristic of the RG theory. As is well-known, Korean frequently allows multiply case-marked seeming simplex constructions. If Korean really allows multiple case-marking within a simplex clause, it certainly casts a strong doubt on the validity of the Stratal Uniqueness Law as a language universal. In this regard, the so-called double object construction (i.e., the *ha-ta* pattern) and other seeming double object constructions in Korean have been analyzed in a way consistent with the validity of the Stratal Uniqueness Law. This was the overall purpose of this thesis.

Of the apparent double object constructions, it is the *ha-ta* pattern which is least readily explicated. Undoubtedly, it has been a long standing tradition to treat the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern as a noun and, hence, to analyze the *ha-ta* pattern as a simplex clause containing two accusatively marked nominals. Contrary to this assumption of other existing studies, this thesis has proposed a biclausal structure for the *ha-ta* pattern. Consequently, the immediate

purpose of this thesis was in demonstrating that the so-called double object construction is not an instance of the violation of the Stratal Uniqueness Law, though it includes two accusatively marked constituents within an apparent simplex clause.

Chapter 2 provided evidence suggesting that the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern and the verb *ha*, respectively, behave as a main verb with respect to adverbial modifiers and negation words, and showed that the Biclausal Analysis affords a plausible account for case marking phenomena in a corresponding passive clause and the difference in behavior between the two accusative constituents. As consequences of the Biclausal Analysis of the *ha-ta* pattern, Chapter 2 showed that constraints such as the Object-over-Object Constraint (B. Park (1981)), the Precedence Condition on Ascension (Y. Choi (1988)), and the Restriction on Relativization (Y. Choi (1988)) are not needed in Korean grammar, because the inapplicability of scrambling and relativization (and others such as pronominalization, clefting, topicalization, and passivization) is due to the verbal-hood of the second accusative constituent *per se*. Chapter 2 showed further that the *ha-ta* pattern parallels native Korean verb constructions in every respect whereas other studies have generally assumed that the *ha-ta* pattern was restricted to so-called Sino-Korean action nouns.

Chapter 3 supported the Biclausal Analysis by demonstrating that the syntactic causative constructions are biclausal structures motivated by the characteristics of the verb *ha*. Chapter 3 also showed that the syntactic causative pattern is another instance of the apparent double object construction, which results from the interaction of the biclausal

structure with Subject-to-Object Raising, but that it does not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law, since the two accusatively marked nominals belong to different clauses. As a consequence of the Biclausal Analysis of the syntactic causative construction, it was also shown that the theory of Clause Union in RG does not hold for Korean causative constructions. Rather, there is no clause union phenomenon in Korean causative constructions.

Chapter 4 supported the Biclausal Analysis of the *ha-ta* pattern by clarifying that the psychological predicate construction is another instance of biclausal structure formed by clausal complementation to the verb *ha*. Chapter 4 showed that a potential seeming double object construction may result due to the interaction of the biclausal structure with Subject-to-Object Raising (which follows Unaccusative Advancement) and the fact that embedded clauses can also be assigned case markers in Korean.

On the other hand, Chapter 5, from different perspectives, supported the Biclausal Analysis of the *ha-ta* pattern by showing that the two accusatively marked nominals in such monoclausal structures as the ditransitive pattern, the lexical causative pattern, and the possessor ascension pattern behave differently from the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern. It was first shown that the apparent double object constructions do not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law, because of 3-to-2 Advancement or Possessor Ascension. Further, Chapter 5 claimed that the different behavior of the two accusative nominals in the monoclausal patterns from that of the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern with respect to the

syntactic processes which are sensitive to the category of NP and/or (direct) object-hood is due to the fact that those constituents are not verbs, unlike the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern. In particular, Chapter 5 established that the possessor ascension pattern is not parallel to the *ha-ta* pattern, though Y. Choi (1988) argues that those two constructions are identical. Rather, Chapter 5 argued that the similarities between the ascension *chômeur* in the possessor ascension pattern and the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern with respect to scrambling (and topicalization, by implication) and relativization are coincidentally due to the headness of the two given constituents (i.e., the head of compound nominal and the head of embedded clause, respectively).

Thus, the proposed Biclausal Analysis has made it possible to treat in the same manner the so-called double object construction (i.e., the *ha-ta* pattern), the syntactic causative constructions, and the psychological predicate construction in terms of the clausal complementation feature of the verb *ha*, all of which have generally been treated as independent constructions. Further, an important implication of the Biclausal Analysis is that Korean allows an indefinite number of multiple accusatives (by the same token, nominatives, due to passivization) in principle just as far as the clause embedding is allowed, regardless of whether the verbs are Sino-Korean or pure Korean. This peculiarity is due to the fact that Korean is an SOV language which is strictly verb-final. This prediction is borne out, as can be seen below:¹

- (1) a. Cengpwu-ka tampay-lul swuip-ul ha-yess-ta.
government-N cigarette-A import-A do-PAST
'The government imported cigarettes.'
- b. Cengpwu-ka tampay-lul swuip-ul helak-ul ha-yess-ta.
government-N cigarette-A import-A allow-A do-PAST
'The government allowed importing cigarettes.'
- c. Cengpwu-ka tampay-lul swuip-ul helak-ul pantay-lul hayssta.
government-N cigarette-A import-A allow-A reject-A do-PAST
'The government rejected allowing importing cigarettes.'
- (2) a. Tampay-ka (cengpwu-eyuyhay) swuip-i toy-ess-ta.
cigarettes-N government-by import-N PASS-PAST
'Cigarettes were imported by the government.'
- b. Tampay-ka (cengpwu-eyuyhay) swuip-i helak-i toy-ess-ta.
cigarettes-N government-by import-N allow-N PASS-PAST
'Cigarettes were allowed to be imported by the government.'
- c. Tampay-ka (cengpwu-eyuyhay) swuip-i helak-i pantay-ka
cigarettes-N government-by import-N allow-N reject-N
toy-ess-ta.
PASS-PAST
'Allowing importing cigarettes were rejected by the
government.'

In (1a), [cengpwu-ka tampay-lul swuip] is embedded into the matrix clause, [cengpwu-ka ha-yess-ta], and, in (1b), [[cengpwu-ka tampay-lul swuip] is embedded into the higher clause, [cengpwu-ka ... helak], which is embedded into the higher matrix clause, [cengpwu-ka ... ha-yess-ta], and in (1c), [[cengpwu-ka tampay-lul swuip]-ul helak] is embedded into the higher clause, [cengpwu-ka ... pantay], which is in turn embedded in the higher matrix clause, [cengpwu-ka ... ha-yess-ta], and so on. This naturally accounts for why (1a), (1b), and (1c) are doubly, triply, and quadruply accusatively case-marked. The same account can apply to the multiply nominatively case-marked sentences in (2). That is, (2a) is a case in which the 2 in the embedded clause and the embedded clause itself are passivized, and (2b) is a case in which the 2 in the lowest embedded clause, the lowest embedded clause itself, and the next embedded clause are successively passivized.

However, there are some possible objections to the Biclausal Analysis of the *ha-ta* pattern. One possible objection comes from the fact that the second accusative constituent in the *ha-ta* pattern can act like a subject as well as an object, as can be seen below:

- (3) a. Kongpwu-ka elyep-ta.
 study-N difficult
 'Study is difficult.'
 b. Swuni-ka kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.
 -N study-A do-PAST
 'Swuni studied.'

In light of this, Sino-Korean words such as *kongpwu* 'study', *phakoy* 'destroy', *yencwu* 'play', *palkyen* 'discover', etc. may be claimed to be nouns rather than verbs. I have little to say about this matter at present. Two tentative solutions may be suggested, however.

The first option is to admit two different categories for the Sino-Korean words in question. For example, one might assume that *kongpwu*₁ is a noun but *kongpwu*₂ is a verb. Therefore, *kongpwu* in the *ha-ta* pattern is a verb but *kongpwu* in the above examples is a noun. The plausibility of this assumption derives from the fact that Chinese does not allow morphological distinctions between nouns and corresponding verbs.

An alternative option is that the Sino-Korean words in question are still verbs but their complements optionally drop. This line of reasoning stems from the fact that an unspecified object is always assumed for *kongpwu* in the above examples, for instance, as noted in 2.3.4. Actually, the sentences in (3) are always interpreted as below:²

- (4) a. To study something is difficult.
 b. Swuni studied something.

If either of the two tentatively suggested solutions is correct, the sentences in (3) are not genuine counter-examples but only apparent counter-examples. However, I will leave this matter open for future study.

Another possible objection comes from the fact that the sequence of embedded verb and matrix verb seems to sound like a single verb. What the Biclausal Analysis claims is that the sequence of *kongpwu-ha(-ta)* in the *ha-ta* pattern is the reflection of syntactic structure itself (i.e., the sequence of embedded verb, null complementizer, and matrix verb). However, Korean native speakers seem to hear the same sequence as a single verb. This is the same for the syntactic causative pattern and the psychological predicate construction. If this is indeed the case, the Biclausal Analysis may be false.

To account for the above problematic phenomenon, the level of perception has been assumed to be a postsyntactic level (cf. Chapter 5.) Here, the level of perception refers to some level after Syntax (presumably in the phonological component in the sense of Shibatani and Kageyama (1988) or PF-component in the sense of Chomsky (1981)). Put differently, the underlined part in the sentences below may be perceived as a constituent (specifically, a verb stem) unless other elements such as case markers, adverbs or negation words intervene, though they are syntactically sequences of an embedded verb, (null) complementizer, and matrix verb.

- (5) a. Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-ha-n-ta.
 -N English-A study-do-PRES
 'Swuni is studying English.'
 b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka chayk-ul ilk-key-ha-n-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-COMP-do-PRES
 'Chelswu makes Swuni read a book.'
 c. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul coh-a-ha-n-ta.
 -N -A fond-COMP-do-PRES
 'Chelswu likes Swuni.'

A similar phenomenon can be also observed in English. Let us consider the following sentences:

- (6) a. I want to win the race.
 b. John is not a student.
 c. They are going to climb the mountain.

 (7) a. I wanna win the race.
 b. John isn't a student.
 c. They're going to climb the mountain.

As shown above, *want to*, *is not*, and *They are* in (6) are, respectively, contracted into *wanna*, *isn't*, and *They're*, as in (7). These contractions may be due to the fact that *want to* in (6a), for example, is perceived as a single constituent in the phonological component though *want* and *to* belong to different constituents in the level of syntax (under the assumption that *want* takes clausal complement). Interestingly, *want* and *to* cannot, however, be contracted if other elements intervene, as can be seen below:

- (8) a. I want myself to win the race. (*wanna)
 b. John is certainly not a student. (*isn't)
 c. They, the fools, are going to climb the mountain. (*They're)

The impossibility of the contraction in (8) may be attributable to the fact that *want* and *to*, for instance, cannot be perceived as a single

constituent any more because of the intruder, *myself* here, just as the cases for the above examples in Korean. In other words, it may be said that the perceptual cohesion between *want* and *to* is stronger in the example (6a) than in the example (8a). This perceptual cohesion may be further supported by the following pairs of examples:

- (9) a. Who do you want to kiss?
b. Who do you want to kiss you?
- (10) a. Who do you wanna kiss?
b. *Who do you wanna kiss you?

Interestingly enough, the contraction takes place in (9a), but not in (9b), as shown in (10), despite the fact that their superficial contexts are identical. Jaeggli (1980) and Chomsky (1980) attribute the difference between (9a) and (9b) to the absence or the presence of the Case-marked trace between *want* and *to*. Needless to say the details of the Trace Theory in Jaeggli (1980), Chomsky (1980), and many others, the contrast between (10a) and (10b) seems to suffice to assume that the same sequence, *want to*, is perceived differently in some level after Syntax. In other words, *want to* must be perceived as a single constituent in (9a), but not in (9b), in postsyntactic level.

If the above are the cases, the examples in (5) may be not counter-evidence to the Biclausal Analysis. Rather, the Biclausal Analysis can answer the question of why Korean allows numerous seeming compound verbs (i.e., VV compounds) whereas English does not allow them (even though English allows a few compounding verbs, they are rare). Unlike English (which is an SVO language), Korean must systematically

allow the sequence of an embedded verb and matrix verb for a structural reason, as shown in chapters 2, 3, and 4.

To recapitulate, despite the potential problems discussed above, the contributions of this study will be summarized as follows: If the pretheoretical assumption and the analysis given in this thesis are on the right track (as I hope they are), this study, first of all, has shed light on the syntactic study of so-called Sino-Korean action nouns and has provided a unified account for the so-called double object construction, the syntactic causative construction, and the psychological predicate construction, all of which have been treated independently. On the other hand, for the theory of RG, this study has confirmed that the Stratal Uniqueness Law is valid insofar as the constructions examined are concerned, has raised some question about validity of the Clause Union Laws in Korean causative constructions, and has given evidence that the psychological predicates in Korean also belong to the category of unaccusative predicates.

Further, for general linguistic theory, this study provokes a reconsideration of so-called word-formation rules in Korean, which is an agglutinating language and an SOV language, from the different perspective from that of the Lexicalist Hypothesis (e.g., Lapointe (1981), Jensen and Jensen (1984), Di Sciullo and Williams (1987), and others) or the Syntactic Hypothesis (Anderson (1982), Fabb (1984), Sugioka (1984), and others). Though this thesis has not been principally concerned with word-formation rules, there was the implicit claim that the underlined sequences (which have been usually assumed as lexical words) in (5) are not outputs of word-formation (regardless of

word-formation in the lexicon or in syntax) but the direct reflection of syntactic structures *per se*.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. Of course, the same thing holds for pure Korean verbs. However, there seems to be a constraint on the pure Korean verb pattern. The objects of pure Korean verbs are nouns, not clauses, in this construction (see the sentences below). This seems to be the reason why pure Korean verbs do not allow a multiple (more than double) case-marked construction, as in (1).

- (i) Nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ppwuli-ki-lul ha-yess-ta.
farmer-N seed-A scatter-NM-A do-PAST
'The farmer did scattering seeds.'
- (ii) *Nongpwu-ka ssi-lul kolu-ki-lul ppwuli-ki-lul ha-yess-ta.
farmer-N seed-A choose-NM-A scatter-NM-A do-PAST
- (iii) *Nongpwu-ka ssi-lul ppwuli-ki-lul kolu-ki-lul ha-yess-ta.
farmer-N seed-A scatter-NM-A choose-NM-A do-PAST

2. This alternative may encounter a problem. Note that the complement of a verb optionally deletes in Korean. However, Sino-Korean verbs occurring at the position of subject should obligatorily delete their complement. This follows from the fact that the sentence below is not possible in Korean.

- (i) *Yenge-lul kongpwu-ka elyep-ta.
English-A study-N difficult
'To study is English is difficult.'

REFERENCES

- Ahn, Hee-Don. 1989. "On Light Verb Constructions in Korean and Japanese". ms. University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Aissen Judith L. and David M. Perlmutter. 1983. "Clause Reduction in Spanish". In Perlmutter ed.:360-403.
- Anderson, Stephen. 1982. "Where's Morphology?". Linguistic Inquiry 13.4:571-612.
- Bak, Sung-Yun. 1982. "Causativization in Korean." Linguistic Journal of Korea 7.2: 322-42.
- Baker, M. 1985/88. Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing. Doctoral dissertation. MIT. Revised version 1988. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Bickford, John Albert. 1987. Universal Constraints on Relationally Complex Clauses. Doctoral dissertation. University of California at San Diego.
- Blake, Barry J. 1990. Relational Grammar. Routledge. London and New York.
- Cho, E. 1987. "Korean Causatives in Relational Grammar: Arguments against the Clause Union Analysis." In Kuno, Lee, Whitman, Bak, and Kang. eds.:3-26.
- _____. 1988. Some Interactions of Grammar and Pragmatics in Korean. Hanshin, Seoul.
- Choe, Hyon Sook. 1988. Restructuring Parameters and Complex Predicates: A Transformational Approach. Hanshin, Seoul.
- Choi, Young-Seok. 1988. A Study of Ascension Constructions in Korean. Doctoral dissertation. University of Hawaii.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1955/75. The Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- _____. 1964. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory. The Hague:Mouton.
- _____. 1970. "Remarks on Nominalization". In R. Jacobs and P. S. Rosenbaum, eds. Readings in English Transformational Grammar. Ginn & Co., waltham.
- _____. 1980. Rules and Representations. Columbia University Press, New York.

- _____. 1981. Lectures on Government and Binding. Foris Publications, Dordrecht.
- _____. 1982. Some Concepts and Consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 6. The MIT Press, Cambridge.
- _____. 1986a. Knowledge of Language.
- _____. 1986b. Barriers. Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 13. The MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Chun, Soon Ae. 1985. "Possessor Ascension for Multiple Case Sentences." In S. Kuno, Whitman, Lee, and Kang eds.:30-9.
- _____. ed. 1986. Relational Studies on Korean. Department of Linguistics State University of New York at Buffalo, New York.
- _____. 1986. "Possessor Ascension in Korean." In Soon Ae Chun ed.:11-97.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. "The Syntax of Causative Constructions: Cross-Language Similarities and Divergences". In Syntax and Semantics 6:261-312. ed. by Masayoshi Shibatani. Academic Press, New York.
- Cook, Eung-Do. 1968. Embedding Transformations in Korean Syntax. Doctoral dissertation. University of Alberta.
- Davies, Williams D. 1981. Choctaw Clause Structure. Doctoral dissertation. University of California at San Diego.
- Davies, William D and Carol Rosen. 1988. "Unions as Multi-predicate Clauses." Language 64:52-88.
- Di Sciullo, Anna-Maria, and Edwin Williams. 1987. On the Definition of Word. The MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 1983. "Indirect Objects in Kinyarwanda Revisited". In Perlmutter ed. 129-40.
- Dubinsky, S. W. 1985. Japanese Union Construction: A Unified Analysis of '-sase' and '-rare'. Doctoral dissertation. Cornell University.
- Dubinsky, S. W., M. Lloret, and P. Newman. 1990. "Lexical and Syntactic Causatives in Oromo". Language 64.3:485-500.

- Dubinsky, S. W. and C. Rosen eds. 1983. A Bibliography on Relational Grammar through April 1983 with Selected Titles on Lexical Functional Grammar. Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington.
- _____. eds. 1987. A Bibliography on Relational Grammar through April 1983 with Selected Titles on Lexical Functional Grammar. Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington.
- Emonds, J. 1970. Root and Structure Preserving Transformations. Doctoral dissertation. MIT. Reproduced by the Indiana University Linguistic Club, Bloomington.
- Fabb, Nigel. 1984. Syntactic Affixation. Doctoral dissertation. MIT.
- Fodor, J. A. 1970. Three Reasons for not Deriving 'KILL' from 'CAUSE TO DIE'. Linguistic inquiry 1:429-38.
- Gary, Judith O. and Edward L. Keenan. 1977. "On Collapsing Grammatical Relations in Universal Grammar". In P. Cole and J. Sadock eds. Syntax and Semantics 8:83-120.
- Gerdts, Donna B. 1985. "Surface Case vs. Grammatical Relations in Korean: The Evidence from Quantifier Floating". In S. Kuno, Whitman, Lee, and Kang eds.:48-61.
- _____. 1986. "Causatives and Passives in Korean: Evidence for Clause Union Without Revaluation" In Soon Ae Chun ed.:98-14
- Gerdts, D. B. and C. Youn. 1987. "An Inversion Analysis of Korean Tough Constructions". In Susumu Kuno, Ik-Hwan Lee, John Whitman, Sung-Yun Bak, and Young-Se Kang eds.:57-66.
- Gibson, Jeanne D. and Eduardo Raposo. 1986. "Clause Union, the Stratal Uniqueness Law, and the Chômeur Relation." Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 4:295-331.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1957. Essays in Linguistics. The University of Chicago Press.
- Grimshaw, Jane and Armin Mester. 1988. "Light Verbs and Theta-Marking". Linguistic Inquiry 19.2:205-32.
- Han, Hak-Sung. 1987. The Configurational Structure of the Korean Language. Doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.
- _____. "Light Verbs and Verb Raising". Language Research 24.4:565-81.

- Han, Jung-Kill. 1985. "On the Determination of a Causative Verb and a Causative Construction". Language Research 21.2:179-97.
- Harada, S. I. 1973. "Counter Equi-NP Deletion". Annual Bulletin 7:113-48. Research Institute of Logopedics and Phoniatics. University of Tokyo.
- Harris, Alice C. 1984a. "Case Marking, Verb Agreement, and Inversion in Udi". In Perlmutter and Rosen eds.:243-58.
- _____. 1984b. "Inversion as a Rule of Universal Grammar:Georgian Evidence". In Perlmutter and Rosen eds.:259-91.
- Hartmann, R. R. K. and Stork, F. C. 1972. Dictionary of Language and Linguistics. Applied Science Publishers Ltd., London.
- Hong, Chong-Sun. 1983. "Korean Nominalizers -um and -ki". Linguistic Journal of Korea 8.2:241-272.
- Im, Hong-bin 1979. Yongenuy Ekwunpwunli Hyensangey Tayhaye. Linguistic Journal of Korea 4.2:55-76.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1977. X'-Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 2. The MIT Press, Cambridge.
- _____. 1990. "On Larson's Treatment of the Double Object Construction". Linguistic Inquiry 21.3:427-56.
- Jaeggli, Osvaldo. 1980. "Remarks on To Contraction". Linguistic Inquiry 11.1:239-45.
- Jensen, John, and Margaret Stong-Jensen. 1984. "Morphology is in the Lexicon!". Linguistic Inquiry 15.3:474-98.
- Jeong, H.-S. R. 1988. "On Causative and Passive Constructions in Korean: The Comparison of Incorporation and Lexicase Analysis." Working Papers in Linguistics 20.2:86-107. University of Hawaii.
- Johnson, David E. and Paul M. Postal. 1980. Arc Pair Grammar. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Kang, Beom-mo. 1988. Functional Inheritance, Anaphora and Semantic Interpretation. Doctoral dissertation. Brown University.
- Kang, Young-Se. 1984. "Two Types of Periphrastics Causative Constructions in Korean." Linguistics Journal of Korea 9:29-71.
- _____. 1986. Korean Syntax and Universal Grammar. Doctoral dissertation. Harvard University.

- _____. 1988. "A Null Hypothesis for Double Accusative Constructions in Korean". In Linguistics in the Morning Calm 2:363-7. ed. by The Linguistics Society of Korea Hanshin, Seoul. 1988.
- Keenan, E. L. and B. Comrie. 1977. "Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar." Linguistic Inquiry 8:63-99.
- Kim, Il-Kon. 1985. "The Need for Grammatical Relations and Syntactic Levels." Linguistic Journal of Korea 10.2:311-27.
- Kim, Jong-Mi. 1986. Phonology and Syntax of Korean Morphology. Hanshin, Seoul.
- Kim, Young-Hee. 1973. Hankwukeuy Kyekmwunpep Yenkwu. M.A. thesis. Yonsei University.
- _____. Hankwuke Thongsalonuy Mosayk. Tap Chwulpansa, Seoul.
- King, Robert D. 1969. Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar. Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1973. The Structure of the Japanese Language. MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Kuno, Susumu, John Whitman, Ik-Hwan Lee, and Young-Se Kang eds. 1985. Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics. Hanshin, Seoul.
- Kuno, Susumu, Ik-Hwan Lee, John Whitman, Sung-Yun Bak, and Young-Se Kang eds. 1987. Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics II. Hanshin, Seoul.
- Kuroda, S. Y. 1965. "Causative Forms in Japanese". Foundations of Language 1:30-50.
- _____. 1978. "Case-Marking, Canonical Sentence Patterns, and Counter-Equi in Japanese". In J. Hinds and I. Howard, eds., Problems in Japanese Syntax and Semantics. Kaitakusha, Tokyo.
- _____. 1988. "Whether We Agree or Not: A Comparative Syntax of English and Japanese." Linguistic Investigations XII:1-47.
- Kwon, Jae-il. 1985. Kwukeyu Pokhappmwun Kwuseng Yenkwu. Cipmwuntang, Seoul.
- Lakoff, G. 1965. "On the Nature of Syntactic Irregularity". Mathematical Linguistics and Automatic Translation. Computation Laboratory of Harvard University, Report No. NSF-16. Cambridge.

- Lapointe, Steven. 1981. "General and Restricted Agreement Phenomena". In The Scope of Lexical Rules ed. by M. Moortgat, H. v.d. Hulst, and T. Hoekstra, 125-59. Dordrecht:Foris.
- Larson, Richard S. 1988. "On the Double Object Construction". Linguistic Inquiry 19.3:335-91.
- Lee, Chung-Min. 1973. Abstract Syntax and Korean with Reference to English. Pan Korea Book Co, Seoul.
- Lee, Hong-Bae. 1970. A Study of Korean Syntax. Pan Korea Book, Seoul.
- Lee, Keedong. 1975. "Lexical Causatives in Korean". Language Research 11.1:17-24.
- Lee, Keon Soo. 1988. "About the So-called Double Object Construction in Korean." Working Papers in Linguistics 20.1:101-30. University of Hawaii.
- _____. 1990a. "Biclausal Analysis of the So-called Double Object Construction in Korean." Korean Linguistics 6:69-107.
- _____. 1990b. "The Biclausal Structure of the So-called Double Object Constructions in Korean: *Ha-ta* Pattern vs Other Patterns". Presented at the 7th International Conference on Korean Linguistics held at Osaka, Japan. To appear in Papers from the Seventh International Conference on Korean Linguistics.
- Lee, Sangcheol. 1987. "Causativization in Categorical Grammar." Linguistic Journal of Korea 12.1:54-73.
- Lehmann, W. P. 1962. Historical Linguistics: An Introduction. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Li, C. N. and S. A. Thompson. 1976. "Subject and Topic: A New Typology of Language". In Subject and Topic. ed. by Li, C. N. Academic Press, New York
- Marantz, Alice P. 1984. On the Nature of Grammatical Relations. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 10. The MIT Press, Cambridge.
- McCawley, James. D. 1968. "Lexical Insertions in a Transformational Grammar without Deep Structures". CLS 4:71-80.
- _____. 1976. "Remarks on What Can Cause What". In M. Shibatani ed. Syntax and Semantics 6:117-29. Academic Press, New York. 1976.
- O'Grady, William. 1985. "An Argument for Discontinuous VPs in Korean". Language Research 21.3:451-60.

- _____. 1986. "Floated Quantifiers as Anaphors in Korean". Linguistic Journal of Korea 6.1:17-24.
- _____. 1987a. Principles of Grammar and Learning. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- _____. 1987b. "The Interpretation of Korean Anaphora". Language 63.2:251-77.
- _____. 1988. "Grammatical Relations and Korean Syntax". In Linguistics in the Land of the Morning Calm 2. ed. by Linguistic Society of Korea. Hanshin, Seoul.
- _____. to appear. Categories and Case: The Sentence Structure of Korean. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory. John Benjamins Co.
- Oehrle, Richard, Emmon Bach and Deidre Wheeler eds. 1988. Categorial Grammars and Natural Language Structures. Reidel, Boston.
- Park, Byung-soo. 1972. A Study of the Korean Noun Phrase Complementation Structures with Special Attention to the Verb Ha. University of Pittsburgh dissertation; published under the title Complement Structures in Korean. Seoul: Tower Press. 1974.
- _____. 1976. "On Manner Adverbs in Korean." Linguistic Journal of Korea 1.1:151-167.
- _____. 1977. "Tongsa ha-uy Mwunpep." Book Review of C. Suh (1975). Linguistic Journal of Korea 2.1:
- _____. 1981. "On the Double Object Constructions in Korean". Linguistic Journal of Korea 6.:91-113.
- Park, Kabyong. 1986. The lexical Representations of Korean Causatives and Passives. M. A. thesis. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Reproduced by the Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington.
- _____. 1988. "Morphology of Morphological Causatives and Passives in Korean". In Linguistics in the Land of Morning Calm 2:563-580. ed. by The Linguistic Society of Korea. Hanshin, Seoul.
- _____. 1990. "Negation, Verb Movement and Light Verbs in Korean". ms. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Park, Sang-Jin. 1985. "Possessor Ascension in Korean". Linguistic Journal of Korea 10:329-63.
- Patterson, Betty S. J. 1974. A Study of Korean Causatives. M.A. thesis. University of Hawaii.

- Perlmutter, David M. 1978. "Impersonal Passives and the Unaccusative Hypothesis". In Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society. University of California at Berkeley.
- _____. 1980. "Relational Grammar". Syntax and Semantics 13:195-229. Academic Press, New York.
- _____. ed. 1983. Studies in Relational Grammar 1. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- _____. 1983. "Personal versus Impersonal Constructions". Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 1:141-200.
- _____. 1984. "Working 1s and Inversion in Italian, Japanese, and Quechua". In Perlmutter and Rosen eds.:292-330.
- _____. 1985. "The Morphological Locality Principle". Paper presented at Stanford University.
- Perlmutter, David M. and Paul M. Postal. 1974. Lectures on Relational Grammar at Summer Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America. Amherst. Mass.
- _____. 1983a. "Toward a Universal Characterization of Passivization." In Perlmutter 1983:3-29.
- _____. 1983b. "The Relational Succession Law." In Perlmutter 1983:30-80.
- _____. 1983c. "Some Proposed Laws of Basic Clause Structure." In Perlmutter 1983:81-128.
- _____. 1984. "The 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law." In Perlmutter and Rosen 1984:81-125.
- Perlmutter, David M. and Carol Rosen. eds. 1984. Studies in Relational Grammar 2. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Postal, Paul M. 1960. Studies of Passive Clauses. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- _____. 1971. Cross-Over Phenomena. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Radford, Andrew. 1981. Transformational Syntax: A Student's Guide to Chomsky's Extended Standard Theory. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- _____. 1988. Transformational Grammar: A First Course. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Ree, Jung-No. 1969. Some Aspects of Korean Syntax. Doctoral dissertation. Indiana University.
- _____. 1974. Topics in Korean with Notes to Japanese. Yonsei University Press, Seoul.
- Riemsdijk, Henk van and Edwin Williams. 1986. Introduction to the Theory of Grammar. Current Studies in Linguistics 12. The MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Rosen, Carol. 1981. The Relational Structure of Reflexive Clauses: Evidence from Italian. Doctoral dissertation. Harvard University.
- _____. 1983. "Universals of Causative Union: A Co-proposal to the Gibson-Raposo Typology." CLS 19:338-52.
- _____. 1984a. "Chômeur Causees and the Universals of Causative Union". Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics. pp.179-98.
- _____. 1984b. "The Interface between Semantic Roles and Initial Grammatical Relations." In Perlmutter and Rosen:38-80.
- Rosenbaum, Peter S. 1967. The Grammar of English Predicate Complement Constructions. The MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Ross, J. R. 1967. Constraints on Variables in Syntax. Doctoral dissertation. MIT. Reproduced by the Indiana University Linguistic Club, Bloomington.
- Saito, M. 1985. Some Asymmetries in Japanese and Their Theoretical Implications. Doctoral dissertation. MIT, Cambridge.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1972. "Three Reasons for not Deriving 'Kill' from 'Cause to Die' in Japanese." Syntax and Semantics I:125-37. John P. Kimball. ed. Seminar Press, New York.
- _____. 1973a. "Semantics of Japanese Causativization". Foundations of Language 9:327-73.
- _____. 1973b. "Lexical versus Periphrastic Causatives in Korean." Journal of Linguistics 9:281-97.
- _____. 1976. "The Grammar of Causative Constructions: A Conspectus". In M. Shibatani ed. Syntax and Semantics 6:1-40. Academic Press, New York. 1976.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi and Taro Kageyama. 1988. "Word Formation in a Modular Theory of Grammar". Language 64.3:451-84.

- Shim, J. K. 1980. "Myengsahwauy Uymikinung". Linguistic Journal of Korea 5.1:79-102.
- Shin, Kyunggu. 1982. "Passive Constructions in Korean." Linguistic Journal of Korea 7.1:199-240.
- Sohn, Ho-min. 1973. "A Re-examination of 'Auxiliary' Verb Constructions in Korean." Working Papers in Linguistics 5.3:63-88. University of Hawaii.
- _____. 1980. "Theme-Prominence in Korean". Korean Linguistics 2:2-19.
- Song, Seok Choong. 1967. Some Transformational Rules in Korean. Doctoral dissertation. Indiana University.
- _____. 1971. "A Note on Negation in Korean". Linguistics 76:59-76.
- _____. 1978. "Causes of Confusion in Descriptions of Korean Causatives". In Papers in Korean Linguistics: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Korean Linguistics, ed. C.-W. Kim ed., pp.207-16. Hornbeam Press, Columbia.
- _____. 1981. "On Interpreting the Scope of Negation in Korean". Language Research 18.1:197-215.
- Stowell, Timothy A. 1981. Origins of Phrase Structure. Doctoral dissertation. MIT.
- Sugioka, Yoko. 1984. Interaction of Derivational Morphology and Syntax in Japanese and English. Doctoral dissertation. University of Chicago.
- Suh, Cheong-Soo 1975. Tongsa Ha-uy Mwunpep. Hyengsel, Seoul.
- Sung, Kwang Soo. 1974. "Kwuke Cwue Mich Mokcekeuy Cwungchwulhyensangey Tayhayey". Mwunpepyenkwa 1.
- _____. 1977. Kwuke Cosaey Tayhan Yenkwu. Doctoral dissertation. Korea University.
- Tonoike, Shigeo. 1978. "On the Causative Constructions in Japanese". In Hinds, J. & I. Howard eds. Problems in Japanese Syntax and Semantics 3-29.
- _____. "Intra-Subjectivization". Papers in Japanese Linguistics 6:325-38.
- _____. 1980. "More on Intra-Subjectivization". Working Papers in Linguistics. MIT.

- Williams, Edwin. 1980. "Predication". Linguistic Inquiry 11.1:203-38.
- _____. 1983. "Against Small Clauses". Linguistic Inquiry 14.2.
- Yang, Dong-whee. 1976. "On Complementizers in Korean". Linguistic Journal of Korea 1.2:18-45.
- Yang, In-Seok. 1972. Korean Syntax: Case Markers, Delimiters, Complementization. Doctoral dissertation University of Hawaii
- Yim, Young-Jae. 1984. Case-Tropism: The Nature of Phrasal and Clausal Case. Doctoral dissertation. University of Washington.
- _____. 1985. "Multiple Subject Constructions". In Susumu Kuno, John Whitman, Ik-Hwan Lee, and Young-Se Kang eds.:101-12.
- Youn, Cheong. 1986. "Inversion in Korean". In Soon Ae Chun ed.:1-50.