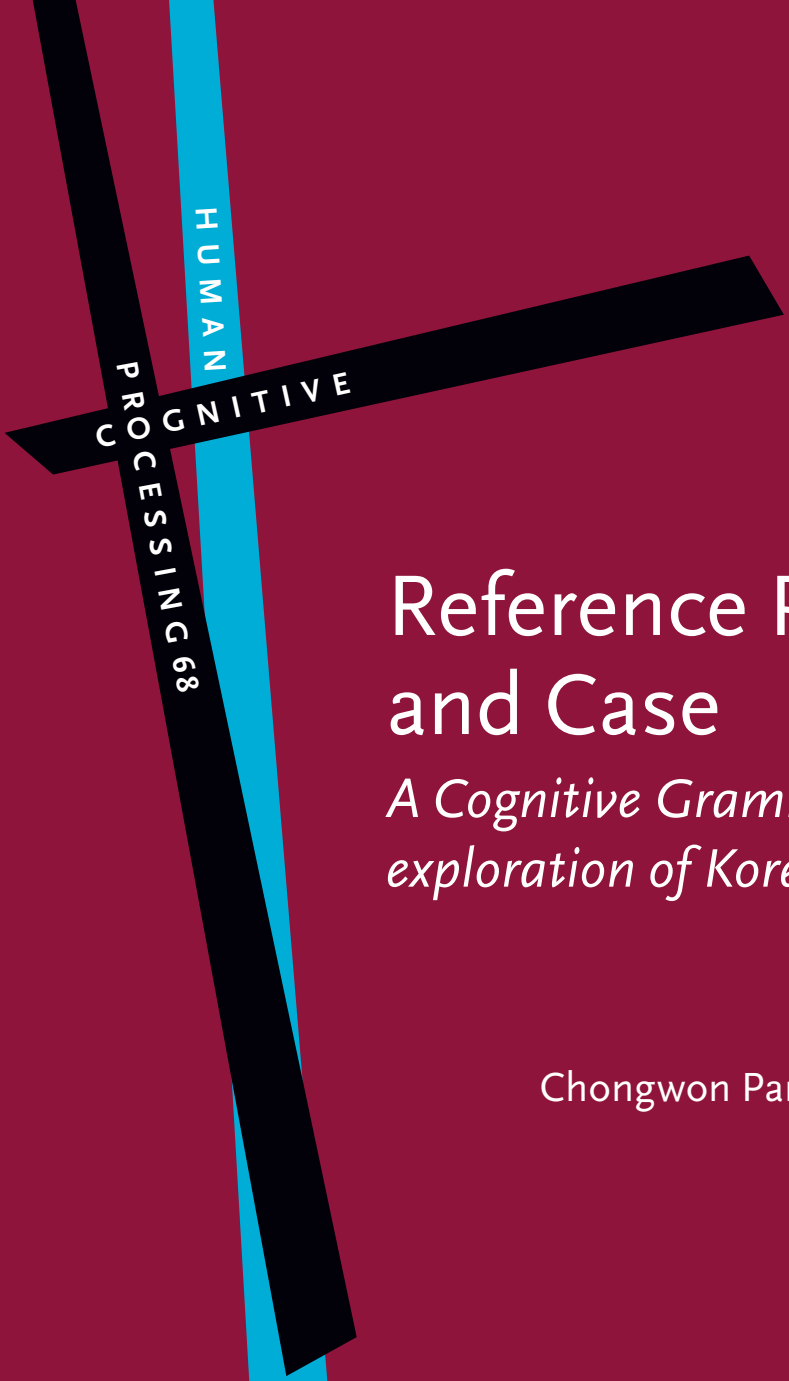

Reference Point and Case

A Cognitive Grammar exploration of Korean

Chongwon Park

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To Bridget, Angela, and Elle, who make me laugh and cry.
Mostly cry.

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List of abbreviations

ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ADN	Adnominalizer
ADV	Adverbializer/Adverbial
CG	Cognitive Grammar
CJT	Conjecture
CLS	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
CONJ	Conjunction
CONN	Connectives
COP	Copula
COR	Correlative Coordinator
DECL	Declarative
END	Sentence Ender
GEN	Genitive
HON	Honorific
IAP	Inalienable Possession
IMF	Imperfect
IMP	Imperative
INS	Instrumental
IND	Indicative
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
MAC	Multiple Accusative Construction
MNC	Multiple Nominative Construction
MOD	Modifier
MODL	Modality
NNS	Nominative-Nominative Stacking
NMZ	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
POT	Potential
PRS	Present
PROG	Progressive
PST	Past
Q	Interrogative
Q	Floated quantifier
QUOT	Quotative
ERL	Relativizer
RET	Retrospective
SG	Singular
SOR	Subject-to-Object Raising
SSR	Subject-to-Subject Raising
STAT	Stative
TOP	Topic
VNP	Verbal Noun Phrase

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Acknowledgements

Upon finishing my Ph.D. in 2005, I wanted to take a little break from formal linguistics. Then, I stumbled upon Kumashiro and Langacker's article on Japanese double subject constructions published in *Cognitive Linguistics* in 2003. It was abstruse, esoteric, intriguing, and different from my understanding of linguistics at that time. It read like something written in a language that I had never encountered. After finishing it with much effort, I was hooked and sought to seriously pursue Cognitive Grammar. I loved the diagrams and wanted to understand them better. The result of that "wanderlust" pursuit is this monograph. At that time, I never knew I would write a book on Korean case from a Cognitive Grammar perspective. But life is surprising in that we never know what will be presented at the next turn.

I am greatly indebted to two people: James Yoon and Ronald Langacker. James Yoon, who is my mentor, friend, and colleague, showed me the complex world of the Korean case system. The more research I do on Korean case, the more beautiful I find it. Without his teaching and guidance, I would have not been able to start this project, let alone finish it. Without his research, I would have not noticed the beauty of the case system of Korean. Ronald Langacker also deserves my special thanks. I met him at conferences several times and communicated with him through emails, but I was never formally taught by him. Nevertheless, his theory impacted me and my career significantly. Reading his work over the past 15 years has been a joyful, unforgettable, and enlightening experience.

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Duluth, Minnesota
May 2019

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Korean case: Where to start

The goal of this research is to answer the rarely discussed questions of why complicated grammatical case phenomena exist in Korean and what the connection is between the case forms and their functions. Broadly speaking, I argue that the case forms in Korean reflect patterns of the human cognitive process. This claim, which may seem rather obvious to non-linguists, is indeed a radical alternative to the mainstream theory of generative linguistics. My specific objective is to provide a systematic linguistic tool to accurately analyze the case phenomena.

Since Chomsky's revolutionary work on natural language in the 1960s, many scholars in the humanities and sciences alike have been conducting research to understand the nature of the human mind under a very specific pair of assumptions: (1) Language exists as a separate unit from the human cognitive system and conceptualization; (2) A study of forms (structures) without recourse to their functions is valuable. As part of this mainstream enterprise in contemporary linguistics, scholars who focused on languages similar to Korean have invested an enormous amount of time and resources over the past four decades to understand the grammatical case phenomena.[1] The reason the case phenomena were so attractive to researchers is because Korean-type languages exhibit very complicated and informatively crucial case structures, and it is impossible to understand the formal properties of those languages without proper understanding of the said phenomena. Nevertheless, there is no consensus on this subject within the generative approach, and scholars continue to endeavor to find non-*ad-hoc* solutions to these puzzling phenomena without breaking the endorsed assumptions.

I argue that if we adopt the assumption that case is meaningful, we not only explain a substantially wider set of data, but we also reach a more reasonable generalization. What I hope to demonstrate in this book is that case markers, whether grammatical, lexical or inherent, are meaningful elements. The assumption

1. There is an ample amount of research conducted from non-generative formal perspectives too, which will be discussed throughout the book. One noteworthy approach from this perspective is Kim (2016a). Kim adopts a construction grammar perspective, and his position is similar to what I adopt here in a larger sense, although conceptual semantics is not his concern.

that case has meaning hardly needed to be argued in early historical linguistics (Luraghi 2009: 137), while discussing the meaning of case has been treated as unorthodox in contemporary linguistics, particularly in the generative linguistics tradition. Perhaps now is the time to return to the pre-generative perspective, concerning the case phenomena. In his textbook on Functional Grammar, Thompson (2004: 1) introduces an interesting story about an old man:

> A man is driving through a part of the country he doesn't know, and he gets lost in what looks like to him like the middle of nowhere, completely deserted. Finally, he sees an old man working in a field, and he stops the car and calls out to him, 'Excuse me, how do I get from here to …?' (the name of the town depends on which country you hear the story in). The old man thinks for a while, and then he says, 'Well, if I were you I wouldn't start from here.' (Thompson 2004: 1)

This story gave me a strong impression and made me think of the case-related issues from a different angle. As Thompson mentioned, where you can get to depends a great deal on where you start from; similarly, in language, starting from the "wrong" assumption may make it much more difficult to get to a robust and fulfilling explanation of phenomena.

To identify the problems at hand, let us consider the three Korean Examples (1.1)–(1.3) below, which indicate Multiple Nominative, Multiple Accusative, and Non-nominative Subject Constructions, respectively.

(1.1) John-i khi-ka khuta. [Multiple Nominative]
John-NOM height-NOM tall
'John is tall.'

(1.2) John-i Mary-lul phal-ul pithulessta. [Multiple Accusative]
John-NOM Mary-ACC arm-ACC twisted
'John twisted Mary by her arm.'

(1.3) Ku hakkyo-ey ton-i manhta. [Non-nominative Subject]
that school-LOC money-NOM much
'The school has lots of money.'

A typical generative-based analysis of the examples posits a base structure for each sentence above. Several types of derivational mechanisms then are applied to the base structure to yield each sentence with emphasis placed on the structural modification, as opposed to the human conceptualization process. One weakness of this analysis is the lack of explanation of the commonality observed in all three constructions. For instance, the two subjects in (1.1), the two objects in (1.2), and the locative-subject and the subject in (1.3) are related to each other with a very similar type of conceptualization, i.e., a possession-like property. By treating the three constructions independently without referring to their conceptual structures, the

generative approach fails to capture the common property that exists in all three examples. More importantly, the generative approach ignores the fundamental questions of why these constructions even exist, and what their function is.

1.2 A new-old perspective: Case and conceptual semantics

The specific claim of my research is that the case phenomena such as the above are uniformly accounted for by the notion of reference point: a mental path from one concept to another. The concept of reference point is straightforward and strikingly intuitive. Before we discuss the notion within Cognitive Grammar, let us begin this section with a very common situation we may encounter in everyday life. A good analogy to describe the notion of reference point is that of bird watchers looking for falcons in a densely wooded area. One bird watcher spots a bird immediately and notifies his companion. The companion, not seeing the bird right away, would ask exactly where the bird is, since the heavily wooded area provides many places for a falcon to perch. The first bird watcher would then provide some kind of reference point for the companion, perhaps with the aid of a preposition phrase: *The bird is near the big rock*. Although the example is an analogy, it would be fair to say that it explains this basic concept very clearly; reference point is a mental address that enables one entity to make mental contact with another, in this example, the companion with the falcon.[2]

I argue that Examples (1.1)–(1.3) illustrated above are not different from the bird analogy. In Example (1.1), the first subject *John* is a reference point to the second subject *height*. The second subject *height* is conceptually difficult to understand without invoking a contextually relevant person or thing. As a result, the speaker needs to introduce another subject (*John*, in this case) as a reference point to easily reach the concept of *height*. Similarly, the first object *Mary* in (1.2) is a reference point to *arm* because *arm* cannot exist without a possessor. The locative subject *school* functions as a reference point to *money* in (1.3) because *money* conceptually requires an owner. All three examples showcase the ubiquitous occurrence of reference point in sentences with possessive constructions. Taking this

2. In this example, both *the bird* and *the big rock* are conceptually salient individually. In this situation, the speaker first directs the listener's attention to *the big rock* for the purpose of locating *the bird*, which is mentally accessible in relation to *the big rock*. For this reason, *the big rock* (reference point) functions as a mental address for *the bird* (target). Oftentimes, one reference point affords potential access to many different targets. As a result, the number of targets for one reference point is not definite. Nonetheless, some targets are more easily accessible through a reference point than others. Consider *the car's headlight* vs. **the headlight's car*. The second example is not acceptable because it is difficult to draw a mental path from *the headlight* to *car*.

one step further, the same notion, reference point, can be extended to the analysis of other case-related phenomena: Adverbial case marking, Verbal Nouns, Subject-to-Object Raising, and Nominative-Nominative Stacking, as we will see later.

The remaining issue I attempt to resolve in this research is why the same conceptualization is realized in three different structures as in (1.1)–(1.3). I posit that the conceptualization is differently reflected in different structures with a clear motivation (form-meaning connection). I then demonstrate the rigorousness of my analysis within Ronald Langacker's Cognitive Grammar. As for the sources, most of the data presented in this book were created based on my intuition. This is because the case phenomena I deal with are not frequently observed in the corpus, mainly because they are often used in spoken forms, and the size of the Korean spoken corpora is small compared to the written ones. A small portion of the data, however, is extracted from corpus searches where possible. Some data comes from internet searches, as well. When I directly argue for or against the published articles/books, I use the authors' original examples.

1.3 Case and grammatical functions

Cognitive Grammar (CG) is radically different in its approach to subjects and case compared to traditional approaches. Therefore, in dealing with subjects in Korean, it is necessary to bring up the definition of subject. Traditionally, subjects in Korean have been defined as nominals to which a nominative case marker (*-i* or *-ka*) has attached; however, these case markers do not carry meaning *per se*. Most analyses employ this equation (subject = a nominative-marked nominal) as one of the diagnostic criteria for subjects in Korean. The corollary of this assumption is that subject is not meaningful and it is a purely grammatical notion.

CG views linguistic case and subject differently from the traditional approach by treating it as a meaningful unit in grammar. Subjects – which are often equated to nominative case-marked noun phrases – are defined in a similar way. Subjects, whether contentful subjects or expletives, are meaningful entities. It is worth noting that meaningfulness of subject and case must be understood at a schematic level, instead of as a specified meaning. After providing an ample amount of empirical evidence,[3] Langacker (2008: 369) argues that "any content-based definition of subject is doomed to failure." Instead, he claims that focal prominence alone can be used to define subject. Focal prominence is generally given to the primary relational figure. When there are two focal participants, trajector tends to acquire focal

3. I do not provide a detailed review of Langacker's arguments concerning this position. Interested readers should refer to Langacker (2008: 363–370).

prominence.[4] In a strongly agent-oriented language, trajector status is conferred on either the agent or the most agent-like of the profiled participants, because the agent has the highest focal prominence in this type of language. This trajector then acquires the subject status. For example, *Floyd* is a subject in (1.4), because *Floyd*, as an agent, has the highest focal prominence among the three participants profiled.[5] By contrast, the instrument, *a hammer*, becomes a subject in (1.5) due to its highest focal prominence between the two profiled participants. Since there is only one profiled participant in (1.6), *the glass* is interpreted as a subject. These properties are represented by the action chains – a series of forceful interactions – shown on the right side of each example in (1.4)–(1.6). While the double arrow involves the transmission of energy from one participant to another, the single arrow illustrates the participant that undergoes a change of state. Subscript S and O refer to subject and object, respectively.

(1.4)	Floyd broke the glass with a hammer. (Langacker 2008: 369)	**AGENT**$_S$ ⇒ **INSTRUMENT** ⇒ **PATIENT**$_O$ →
(1.5)	A hammer broke the glass. (Langacker 2008: 369)	AGENT ⇒ **INSTRUMENT** ⇒ **PATIENT**$_O$ →
(1.6)	The glass broke. (Langacker 2008: 369)	AGENT ⇒ INSTRUMENT ⇒ **PATIENT**$_S$ →

More precisely, Langacker (1995: 30) explains that "the subject and object of a clause are characterized as those nominals whose profiles correspond to the trajector and landmark of the process profiled at the composite structure level." The subject status is often conferred to the trajector because, as a figure of the profiled process, it is the most prominent participant.[6]

One potential criticism of this approach to subject is that the criterion we used to define subject, focal prominence, is still a content-oriented notion. However, as Langacker (2008: 72) argues, focal prominence is neither a semantic role nor conceptual content. Rather, focal prominence is a grammatical relational notion to identify the status of a primary or secondary participant. This CG notion of subject resembles Rothstein's (2004) hypothesis that subject must be purely schematic, although her theoretical assumptions are drastically different from those of CG. Rothstein (2004: 19) claims that the prominence of the subject stems from its structural properties, not from any inherent meaning asymmetry. Although the

4. Focal prominence, trajector, and landmark are defined in Chapter 2.

5. Profiling is defined in Chapter 2. Profiled participants in these examples are in bold.

6. The concepts, *figure* and *ground*, are defined in Chapter 2.

CG definition of subject and Rothstein's are grounded on two polarized assumptions, they seem to reach the same conclusion: grammatical relations only can be defined in a highly schematic way. The notion of subject I have in mind is based on ideas from these seemingly unrelated research programs.

It is a well-known fact that case does not always go hand-in-hand with grammatical function. Though it is true that many subjects in Korean occur with the nominative markers, *-i*/*-ka*, we observe many examples that do not fit this characterization. Let us consider the Non-nominative Subject Construction shown in (1.7). Although *apenim* 'father' is dative-marked, it is apparent that *apenim* 'father' behaves as a subject, as evidenced by the honorific agreement between *apenim* 'father' and the predicate. The nominative-marked nominal *ton* 'money' is not a true subject in this case.

(1.7) apenim-eykey ton-i manh-usi-ta.
father-DAT money-NOM a.lot-HON-DECL
'Literal: To (my) father, there is a lot of money.'
'Interpretation: (My) father is rich.'

What we need to explain, then, is what makes the nominative marking of *ton* 'money' possible, and how the subject status is conferred on the dative-marked nominal. The hypothesis I put forward throughout this book is summarized in (1.8), which is particularly relevant to Multiple Subject, Multiple Object, and Non-nominative Subject Constructions.[7]

(1.8) a. Reference point/target alignment is associated with topicality.
b. Trajector/landmark alignment is associated with case.
c. Grammatical relations – subject and object – are manifestations of (a) and (b).

(1.8a) is not surprising at all because reference point functions like a topic in the sense that it identifies the "aboutness" relation. As shown in Section 4 of this chapter, topic constructions are indeed analyzed as a reference point phenomenon. Here, it needs to be clarified that reference point is not directly connected to subjecthood, something which is not clearly addressed in Langacker's work. The reason we often observe subject as a reference point is the higher degree of topicality a subject generally exhibits. Object, too, can be construed as a reference point if it exhibits a certain degree of topicality, which I demonstrate in detail in Chapter 4. The trajector/landmark alignment concerns focusing; trajector and landmark are solely defined in terms of primary and secondary focal prominence. Then, (1.8b)

7. The expression *is associated* in (1.8a) and (1.8b) may be understood as an entailment. Being a reference point is a sufficient condition for topicality, but not vice versa.

states that the function of case markers is to identify the focal prominence. While the primary focus is marked with nominative, the secondary focus is marked with accusative or dative. (1.8c) states that grammatical relations are the consequence of the interplay between (1.8a) and (1.8b). A prototypical subject has the property of reference point as well as trajector, while a prototypical object has the property of target and landmark. When a nominal is construed as a reference point and a landmark, it is realized as a dative or locative subject.

The claim made in (1.8) is tested against various types of case constructions throughout the book. The short conclusion is that the simple hypothesis-based analysis resolves many issues that have been debated without clear consensus in the literature on Korean case.

1.4 A summary of chapters

The organization of this book and a summary of each chapter are as follows. Chapter 2 provides brief introduction to Cognitive Grammar. The notions germane to this research are introduced, including – but not limited to – profiling, focal prominence, and reference point.

Chapter 3[8] provides an analysis of Korean multiple subject/nominative constructions as illustrated in (1.9).

(1.9) **John-i** **son-i** khu-ta.
John-NOM hand-NOM big-DECL
'John has big hands.'

After illustrating that the outer NP, *John-i* 'John-NOM', does not form a constituent with the inner NP, *son-i* 'hand-NOM', I argue that *John-i* 'John-NOM' functions as a reference point, in relation to the inner clause (as opposed to the inner NP), *son-i khuta* '(Someone's) hand (is) big', in the sense that the outer NP plays a role as mental address to the propositional statement made by the inner clause. It is further argued that the reference point approach to this construction sheds light on the ostensibly problematic phenomenon as in (1.10) by demonstrating that the crucial function of the multiple nominative construction is to identify mental address to a proposition, not a simple possessive relationship.

(1.10) **yelum-i** **sakwa-ka** masiss-ta.
Summer-NOM apple-NOM be.tasty-DECL
'Apples taste good in summer.'

8. Chapter 3 is a revised version of Park (2011).

Chapter 4[9] focuses on the conceptual structures of Korean Multiple Accusative Constructions as shown in (1.11).

(1.11) Jane-i **John-ul phal-ul** pithul-ess-ta.
Jane-NOM John-ACC arm-ACC twist-PST-DECL
'Jane twisted John's arm.'

Similar to the case of the Multiple Nominative Construction, I claim that the accusative-marked nominals in the constructions are connected through a reference point; outer accusative-marked nominals function as reference points. More specifically, the outer accusative-marked nominal, *John-ul* 'John-ACC' in (1.11), functions as a reference point in relation to the complex verb *phal-ul pithul-ess-ta* 'twisted (someone's) arm', where *John-ul* 'John-ACC' provides access to the target – the complex verb. This example demonstrates that *John*, as a reference point, does in fact exhibit a local topic property.

Chapter 5[10] examines three types of grammatical constructions: case stacking and two types of non-nominative subject constructions as in (1.12)–(1.14).

(1.12) **sensayng-nim-hanthey-ka** chayk-i manh-usi-ta. [Case Stacking]
teacher-HON-DAT-NOM book-NOM many-HON-DECL
'It is (the) teacher who has many books.

(1.13) **sensayng-nim-hanthey** chayk-i manh-usi-ta. [Dative Subject]
teacher-HON-DAT book-NOM many-HON-DECL
'(The) teacher has many books.'

(1.14) **na-eykey** paym-i mwusep-ta. [Dative Subject with a psych -predicate]
I-DAT snake-NOM fearsome-DECL
'I am afraid of snakes.'

It is demonstrated that examples like (1.12) arise through the conceptual blending of the Multiple Subject Construction and the locative schema in which the experiencer is marked with the dative case. In the examples in (1.12)–(1.14), I demonstrate that dative-marked nominals have the property of reference point, but they are landmarks, which in fact made the nominals' dative marking available.

Chapter 6[11] provides an analysis of Korean adverbial case constructions as in (1.15)–(1.16).

9. Chapter 4 is a revised version of Park (2013a).

10. Chapter 5 is a revised version of Park (2014).

11. Chapter 6 is a revised version of Park (2013b).

(1.15) pi-ka **han-sikan tongan-i**
rain-NOM one-hour during-NOM
wa-ss-ta. [Nominative-marked adverbial]
come-PST-DECL
'It rained for one hour.'

(1.16) John-i ku chayk-ul **sey-pen-ul**
J-NOM that book-ACC three-time-ACC
ilk-ess-ta. [Accusative-marked adverbial]
read-PST-DECL
'John read the book three times.'

I argue that nominative-marked adverbials as in (1.15) are the result of the setting subject construal of the adverbial. Accusative-marked adverbials such as (1.16), then, are construed as a location, which is part of the setting. I also argue that the notion of setting subject is associated with the imperfective construal of a given situation in conjunction with the subject's lower degree of topicality. Conversely, the locational interpretation of an adverbial is tied to the perfective construal of a situation and a higher degree of topicality of the subject. The notion of reference point becomes relevant in this chapter because the setting subject *han-sikan tongan-i* 'for an hour' in (1.15), I argue, is interpreted as a reference point while maintaining its setting subject status.

Chapter 7[12] examines how Korean verbal nouns are construed as either a noun or a verb in a given context as in (1.17)–(1.18).

(1.17) Kim-kyoswu-nim-uy **thongsalon-uy** yenkwu-ka khun cinchek-ul
K-professor-HON-GEN syntax-GEN research-NOM big improvement-ACC
poi-ko iss-ta. [N-Type]
show-COMP PRES.PROG-DECL
'Professor Kim's research on syntax is showing great improvement.'

(1.18) Kim-kyoswu-nim-i **thongsalon-ul** yenkwu-hay-ss-ta. [V-Type]
K-professor-HON-NOM syntax-ACC research-do-PST-DECL
'Professor Kim did research on syntax.'

I argue that the two types of case patterns arise due to different construals of the same content. When a verbal noun is construed as a thing,[13] it needs to be nominally grounded to be a full nominal. The genitive-case pattern in the verbal noun constructions is motivated by the need for this grounding with the help of reference point. By contrast, when the same verbal noun is construed as a process (verb), it

12. Chapter 7 is a revised version of Park (2013c).

13. *Thing* is a technical CG term, which is roughly identical to a noun.

needs to be clausally grounded by tense to be a full clause. For the purpose of grounding, the schematic verb *ha(y)-* 'do' must combine with verbal nouns to lend its processual characteristic to them, since verbal nouns profile a nonprocessual complex relationship. The verbal case pattern arises due to this processual nature of the temporalized verbal nouns.

Chapter 8 examines the Subject-to-Object Raising Construction in Korean as in (1.19), demonstrating how the said construction's conceptual structure is analyzed by the notion of reference point.

(1.19) John-un **ku haksayng-tul-ul** kaceng-i cohta-ko mitnun-ta.
John-TOP that student-PL-ACC family-NOM good-COMP believe-DECL
'John thinks that those students come from good families.'

I argue that the conceptual motivation of the raising of *ku haksayng-tul* 'those students' in (1.19) is to create mental contact with the raised object and the verbal complement. I demonstrate that the verb *mitnun-ta* 'believe' portrays *ku haksayng-tul-ul* 'those students-ACC' as a reference point that enables the conceptualizer to access the process being located on the protagonist *John*'s belief scale.

Chapter 9 discusses Nominative-Nominative Stacking (NNS) as in (1.20), where *sensayng-nim* 'teacher-HON' is marked with Nominative twice, once with the Honorific Nominative marker *-kkeyse*, and once with the regular Nominative marker, *-i*. To some speakers, (1.21) is also possible, where two nominative markers are staked without an intervening delimiter.

(1.20) sensayng-nim-tul-**kkeyse**-man-**i** i selmwunci-ey
teacher-HON-PL-NOM.HON-only-NOM this survey-to
tap-ha-sil-swuissta.
answer-do-HON-be.able.to
'Only teachers can answer this survey.'

(1.21) sensayng-nim-tul-**kkeyse**-ka ton-i manh-usi-ta.
teacher-HON-PL-NOM.HON-NOM money-NOM a.lot-HON-DECL
'(My) teachers have lots of money/(My) teachers are rich.'

I first review three major approaches to *-kkeyse*: Cho and Sells (1995)/Sells (1995a), Yoon (2005), and Levin (2017). After close examination, I show that all of these approaches face both empirical and theoretical challenges; then, I discuss that the problems raised in the literature concerning the stacking phenomenon stem from the erroneous assumption that there is sharp demarcation between structural and lexical (or inherent) cases. If we relax this assumption, the heavy discussion on the status of *-kkeyse* found in the literature becomes less important. Rather, we can focus our attention on a more important question: why does the stacking phenomenon exist? I demonstrate that the NOM-NOM stacking construction arises as an

alternative construal of *-kkeyse*, where a *-kkeyse*-marked nominal invokes a hyper-honorified entity. I also examine why (1.20) is much more natural than (1.21), by examining the role of the delimiter *-man* 'only' in case stacking examples.

CHAPTER 2

An overview of Cognitive Grammar

2.1 Motivation

This chapter introduces some basic notions of CG, which is a theoretical framework put forward by Ronald Langacker in the mid-1970s. Since then, it has been revised, in some cases somewhat significantly, and more fine-grained works have been provided in a series of his seminal works (Langacker 1987, 1991, 1999, 2008, 2009, among others). Within the current cognitive linguistics enterprise, it is commonplace to see Langacker's work cited both directly and indirectly. In that sense, there is no denying that CG is certainly an influential theory in contemporary linguistics. Although many works grounded in cognitive linguistics adopt CG's rationale, it is unfortunate that not many works fully entertain CG's explanatory power, and little attention is paid to its sophisticated technical details. Many CG-based works tend to stop at the level of impressionistic analysis without providing detailed CG-unique formulas. This should not be understood as a claim that an analysis with technical details is superior to an analysis devoid of them. It is certain that without utilizing the technical apparatus provided in CG, one can provide a robust analysis. Nonetheless, I believe employing the detailed CG diagrams is a technically precise way to illustrate the systematic nature of language.

The other reason I pursue technical CG analyses is to dispel common misconceptions concerning functionalistic approaches to language. It is not uncommon to equate rejection of a formal approach to rejection of mathematical formalization. However, as Croft (1995: 503fn) states, "it is quite possible to characterize any formalist or functionalist theory in a rigorous metalanguage." In agreement with Croft and others such as Bybee (1998), Newmeyer (1998: 8) writes that "while functionalists have not produced formalized theories, many agree that in principle there is nothing about their orientation that should prevent them (someday) from doing so." CG is proof of exactly the opposite: that such a formalized functional theory already exists and thrives in the field, and has for many decades. CG is a highly-formalized theory characterized in a rigorous metalanguage, up to the level of the generative syntactic theories. As will be clearer in the later sections, the majority of seemingly abstract notions are formalized to help describe language in a highly systematic and visually attractive way.

2.2 Foundational CG notions

In the following sections, I explain several notions and their technical representations in CG, which are necessary to understand my analyses in later chapters. The notions discussed in this section are ones familiar to linguists who already have some background in cognitive linguistics.

2.2.1 Symbolic assemblies

It can be said that CG is based on one fundamental theoretical assumption: the basic unit of grammar is a form-meaning pairing, which is defined as a symbol. In CG, grammar is symbolic in nature. Langacker makes clear the principle of CG as below, which is dubbed *symbolic assemblies*.

> The basic tenet of CG is that nothing beyond symbolic structures need be invoked for the proper characterization of complex expressions and the patterns they instantiate. More specifically, lexicon and grammar form a gradation consisting solely in assemblies of symbolic structures. An immediate consequence of this position is that all constructs validly posited for grammar description must be in some way be meaningful. (Langacker 2008: 5)

The above means that any linguistic expression has the basic organization shown in Figure 2.1. The important claim of CG is that this organization holds at any linguistic level: sound, morpheme, word, phrase, sentence, and discourse.

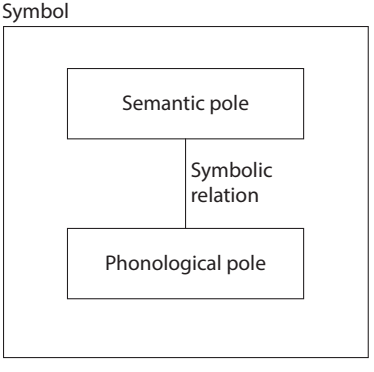

Figure 2.1 Symbolic structure

CG makes a strong claim that linguistic analysis is possible by reference only to the three kinds of entities shown in Figure 2.1: phonological, semantic, and symbolic structures.

2.2.2 Construal

In CG, the meaning of an utterance comprises both conceptual content and the construal of content, which is the way of viewing a particular scene. The major claim of CG concerning construal is that semantics is conceptualization, and different construals lead to different conceptualizations. CG identifies four broad classes of construal phenomena: specificity, focusing, prominence, and perspective.

2.2.2.1 *Specificity*

Specificity concerns how detailed or how schematic the scene in question is. Constructions can display a varying degree of specificity as illustrated in the examples in (2.1). It is intuitive that the degree of specificity increases in the examples in (2.1) from left to right.

(2.1) the book > the book of linguistics > the book of linguistics on semantics > the book of linguistics on semantics with a blue cover

If we reverse the order, we see the examples regress from more specific to more schematic items. This type of schematization is another essential property of language structure. In fact, CG claims that all linguistic generalizations arise through schematization from more specific structures.

2.2.2.2 *Focusing*

Focusing concerns the selection of conceptual content and the issues of foreground/background and figure/ground distinctions adopted from Gestalt psychology. The phenomenon of figure/ground organization was first proposed by Rubin (1915), where figure is a foregrounded entity and ground is a backgrounded entity. In general, figure appears to be thing-like, closer to the viewer, more dominant, and better remembered. By contrast, ground appears to be substance-like, less dominant, and less well-remembered. Talmy (1972, 2000) observes that smaller and more mobile objects are typically interpreted as figures, while more immovable objects that often serve to locate other objects are typically interpreted as ground.

The compositional path is one of the main substructures of the construal process focusing. It refers to how an expression's composite meaning relates to those of its components. Table 2.1 provides the definitions of composite/component structures and analyzability, which are needed to understand the notion of compositional path.

Table 2.1 Composite/component structures and analyzability defined (Langacker 1987: 292)

The composite structure	A 'unified', 'seamless' conceptualization that includes the full content of the expression
The component structure	Represents limited 'chunks' of this content dissociated from the whole for coding purposes.
Analyzability	Recognition of the contribution that each component makes to the composite conceptualization.

In CG, "an expression's meaning does not consist of its composite semantic structure alone, but further includes its compositional path" (Langacker 2008: 61). To explain what this means, let us consider Figure 2.2. The composite conception *lipstick maker* is viewed against the component semantic structures at all lower levels. In this case, *lipstick maker*[1] is the foregrounded entity, and the other elements are all backgrounded, where the relative degree of foregrounding is represented by the thickness of lines. However, both *lipstick* and *maker* contribute to the secondary dimension of the meaning of *lipstick maker* due to their proximity to the compositional path and their high degree of analyzability, notated by solid boxes. Both MAKE + -ER and LIP + STICK less saliently contribute to the meaning of *lipstick maker* because they are backgrounded in relation to *maker* and *lipstick*, respectively. In addition, being a fixed expression, LIP + STICK exhibits a low degree of analyzability, notated by dotted boxes.

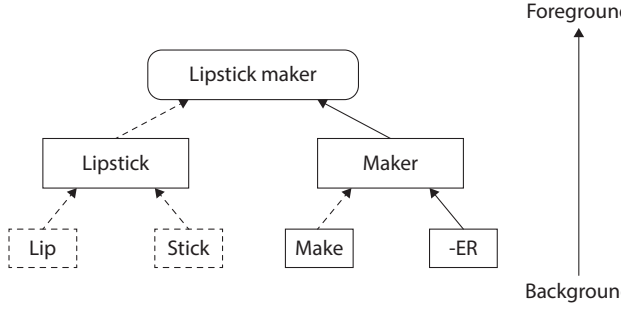

Figure 2.2 Compositional path, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 60)

Another relevant notion to focusing is scope, which refers to the range of linguistic units within which grammatical or conceptual entities are seen. Using a viewing metaphor, scope identifies which portions of the scene in question are actually utilized as the basis of grammatical or conceptual entities. Scope is related to

1. The rounded corners on the box surrounding *lipstick maker* means that it is a novel expression.

foreground/background in the sense that it can be foregrounded or backgrounded depending on which portions are put "on-stage". Let us consider Figure 2.3, which shows two types of scope: Maximal Scope (backgrounded) and Immediate Scope (foregrounded).

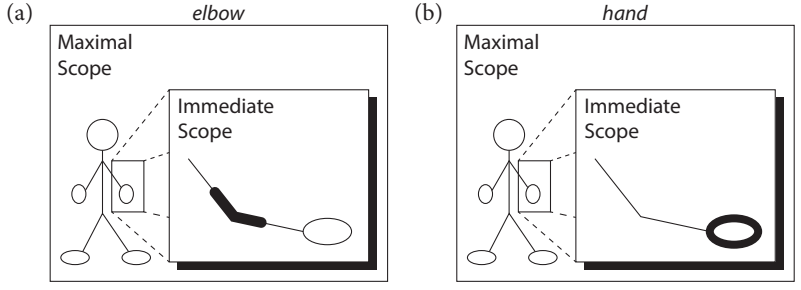

Figure 2.3 Scope illustrated, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 64)

In Figure 2.3(a) and Figure 2.3(b), the foregrounded region is *arm*, identified as Immediate Scope, although Figure 2.3(a) represents *elbow* and Figure 2.3(b) *hand*. This is because *arm* directly figures in the conceptualization of *elbow* and *hand*. In both cases, the conception of the *human body* needs to be selected. This domain, however, is not directly relevant to *elbow* or *hand*; *body* therefore is backgrounded, identified as Maximal Scope.

2.2.2.3 *Prominence*

Language expresses prominence (or salience) in many different ways. For example, a prototype is more salient than its extensions, and a foregrounded entity has a higher degree of prominence relative to its background. I demonstrate two particular types of prominence adopted in CG: profiling and trajector/landmark alignment. Profiling is the process whereby an aspect of some conceptual base is selected. Metaphorically speaking, a conceptual base is "the portion put 'onstage' and foregrounded as the general locus of viewing attention" (Langacker 2008: 66). In CG, a profiled entity is represented with heavy lines. Figure 2.4 illustrates that each of the four words, *hub*, *spoke*, *rim*, and *wheel*, profiles a different portion of the conceptual base *wheel*.

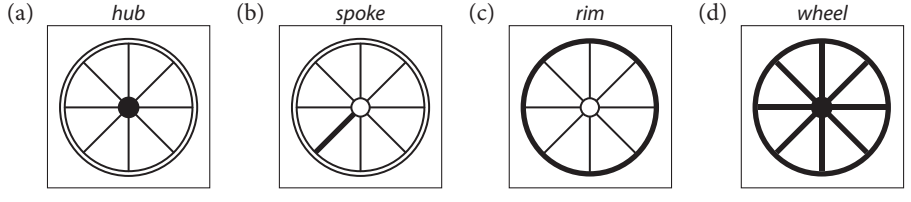

Figure 2.4 Profiling depicted, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 67)

The second type of prominence is trajector/landmark alignment. The trajector is the most prominent participant and is the entity construed as being located, evaluated, or described. The trajector can be characterized as the primary focus within the profiled relationship. If there is an entity made prominent as a secondary focus, it is called a landmark. It is important to emphasize that trajector does not have to be mobile. The concepts of trajector and landmark are solely defined in terms of primary and secondary focal prominence, not in terms of any specific semantic role or conceptual content. One example of trajector/landmark alignment is illustrated in Figure 2.5.

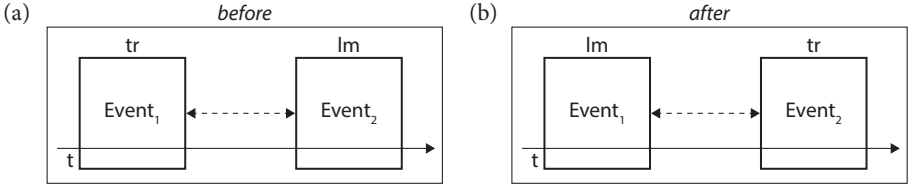

Figure 2.5 Trajector/landmark alignment, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 72)

Figure 2.5 demonstrates that focal prominence does not have to be limited to a thing. A relationship can be conceptually salient in terms of trajector or landmark as well. Diagram (a) shows the instance, where $Event_1$ is chosen as a trajector while $Event_2$ functions as a landmark, as in the sentence *The other guests all left before we arrived*. Maintaining the same relationship, diagram (b) shows its semantic contrast with (a) by switching the trajector and the landmark, as in *We arrived after the other guests all left*.

2.2.2.4 *Perspective*

Perspective refers to a viewing arrangement, one example of which is a presupposed vantage point. The two expressions in (2.2a) and (2.2b), *in front of* and *behind*, rely on vantage point to locate the trajector with respect to the landmark. While the viewer's line of sight accesses the trajector *the greenhouse* in (2.2a), it accesses *the movie theater* in (2.2b). The objective situation of the two expressions is identical in the two sentences; what is different is the viewing arrangement of the speaker.

(2.2) a. The greenhouse is in front of the movie theater.
b. The movie theater is behind the greenhouse.

(2.2a) and (2.2b) are illustrated in Figure 2.6. The two diagrams are essentially identical except for the entity the VP (Vantage Point) accesses.

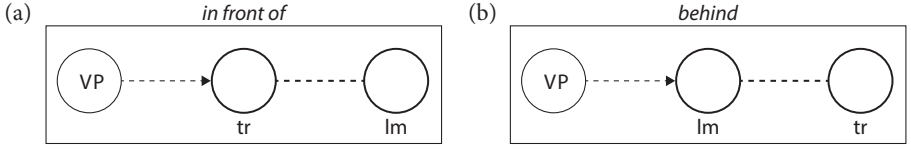

Figure 2.6 *in front of* vs. *behind*, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 76)

The notions of subjectivity and objectivity are closely related to vantage point. In a typical viewing scene, we observe asymmetry between the viewer and the viewed. While the viewing subject is construed subjectively, the entity that is viewed is construed objectively. In general, the speaker and hearer are the subjects of conception because they apprehend the meanings of expressions. By contrast, the entity to which our attention is directed is the object of conception because it is put "on-stage" to which the interlocuter's attention is drawn.

2.3 Technical CG notions

CG utilizes many technical notations, which often become a hindrance to the full understanding of CG-based analyses. In this section, I lay out basic technical CG notations germane to the analyses in this book. These notations are used as they are or with some modification when I analyze Korean data in later chapters.

2.3.1 Correspondence and elaboration

Correspondences indicate how component and composite structures fit together in a coherent assembly (Langacker 2008: 185). For example, in the description of *I hit the ball*, the verb *hit* profiles a relation (represented by an arrow in Figure 2.7), whereas the nominal *the ball* profiles a thing. This type of object construction is elaborated by the correspondence that identifies the verb's landmark with the nominal profile. This correspondence is illustrated in Figure 2.7, where it is represented as a dotted line.

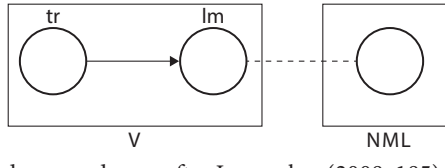

Figure 2.7 Correspondence, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 185)

In explaining correspondence, I used the term *elaboration*. Elaboration is a technical term in CG, and must be defined before we proceed. Let us assume that

Figure 2.8 illustrates the same sentence as Figure 2.7, *I hit the ball*. In Figure 2.8, the schematic element (*lm*) is categorized by another component, *the ball*, as being instantiated by the more specific entity. This process is called elaboration. The element elaborated is called the e-site (or elaboration site), which is represented as the gradient hatching. The solid arrow from the *lm* to the nominal component indicates that this schematic substructure categorizes the other component in a relationship of elaboration, *the ball*, referenced above.

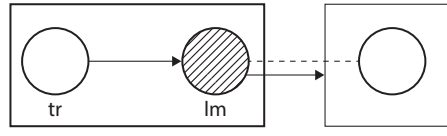

Figure 2.8 Elaboration and e-site

Besides the identified e-site, there is another difference between Figure 2.7 and Figure 2.8. In Figure 2.8, the schematic structure of the verb is represented in heavier lines than those of the component nominal. By contrast, the distinction is ignored in Figure 2.7. The rectangular box in Figure 2.8 with the bold line refers to a profile determinant, which is explained in the following subsection.

2.3.2 Profile determinants and complements

A profile determinant is the same as *head* in traditional linguistics. The bold box in Figure 2.8 indicates that the verb functions as the profile determinant in this construction. In Figure 2.8, the component nominal is said to be a complement of the profile determinant. Not surprisingly, a complement is defined with reference to symbolic assemblies in CG. A complement is a component structure that elaborates a salient substructure of the profile determinant. In Figure 2.8, for instance, the component nominal, *my hand*, elaborates the salient substructure of the profile determinant, *lm*, hence satisfying the definition of *complement*. Now that we have discussed some technical notations of CG, let us introduce a CG analysis of the simple sentence *Alice admires Bill* in Figure 2.9, which is directly adopted from Langacker (2008: 210).

Figure 2.9 is mostly self-explanatory based on the notations detailed in this section. There are three more notations that need explanation, however. The dashed arrow between the *tr* and the *lm* for the verb *admires* signifies that the relationship between the *tr* and the *lm* is mental as opposed to physical. There is another type of dashed arrow used in the diagram, found between *Bill* and *admires Bill* and *Alice* and *Alice admires Bill*. This type of arrow is used to represent that the relationship between the component structure and the composite structure is an extension, as opposed to categorization. That is, the composite structure, *admires*

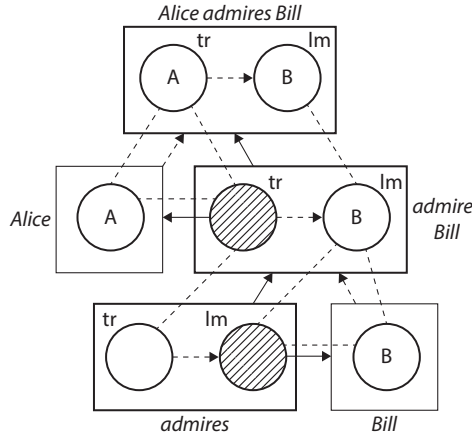

Figure 2.9 A diagram for *Alice admires bill*, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 210)

Bill, does not fully instantiate the component structure, *Bill*, in the given example. Finally, the solid upward arrows represent categorization, which indicates a direction from a profile determinant to a composite structure.

2.3.3 Grounding

In CG, a noun merely specifies a type of thing, and a nominal designates a grounded instance of a thing or process. In dealing with a nominal, the difference between a type and an instance is that an instance is thought to occupy a particular location, space being the major domain of instantiation for nominals. Figure 2.10 (Langacker 2009:[2] 86) illustrates type and instance conceptions. The dashed boxes indicate the domain of instantiation and *t* abbreviates a type specification. While type and instance conceptions have the same essential content, they are different in that an instance has a particular location in the domain of instantiation, whereas a type conception emerges by abstracting away from its instances. In Figure 2.10, the >> symbol is used as an abbreviatory notation for instance conceptions.[3]

2. This chapter of Langacker (2009) originally appeared in Langacker (2004b).

3. The dot in the right-most figure in Figure 2.10 refers to grounding, which is defined immediately following the figure.

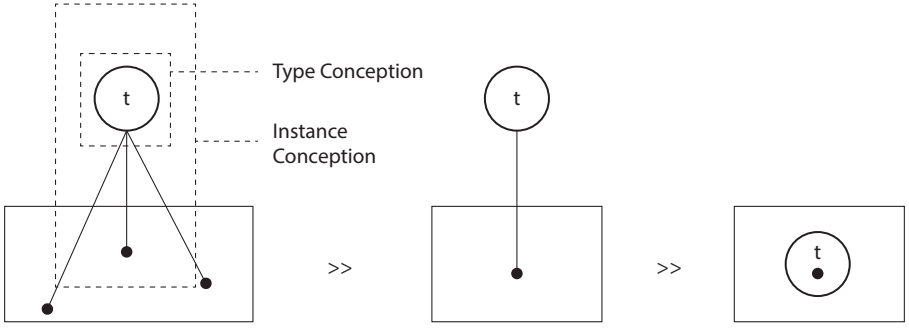

Figure 2.10 Instance conception, redrawn after Langacker (2009: 86)

Closely related to instance conceptions is grounding. Grounding can be thought of as either presupposing a coordinated mental reference or else establishing it. Grounding can be intrinsic as with personal pronouns and proper names. In English, however, there are overt elements that serve to distinguish one entity from other members of its category. Whether grounding is intrinsic or not, the function of grounding is to direct the S(peaker)'s and the H(earer)'s attention to the same instance of the type in question. Figure 2.11 illustrates grounding with its abbreviatory notation.

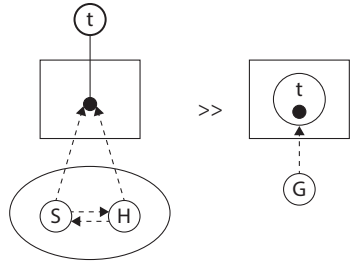

Figure 2.11 Grounding illustrated, redrawn after Langacker (2009: 87)

Figure 2.11 specifically demonstrates a coordinated mental reference with the definite article, represented by dashed arrows leading from S and H to the profiled thing. The diagram shows the case where the S's and H's attention is directed to the specific instance of a nominal type, which is achieved with the definite article.

2.4 Reference point

Reference point is a crucial notion for the present book. The concept of reference point is straightforward and strikingly intuitive. In Chapter 1, I introduced the notion using a bird watcher analogy. The technical representation is introduced here with its applications to several English constructions.

2.4.1 Reference point in CG

The aspects of the reference point relation are shown schematically in Figure 2.12. In this figure (Langacker 2008: 84),[4] C stands for the conceptualizer, R for the reference point, and D for the dominion. Dominion constitutes the possible set of targets that a given reference point can invoke. The dashed arrow is the mental path the conceptualizer follows to reach the target, which is the entity accessed via the reference point. This figure shows the situation where the reference point has conceptual saliency (that is, it is profiled), as notated by the bold circle for R.[5] What the reference point relationship does in Figure 2.12 is to connect the two individually salient entities, where the first entity functions as mental address for the second.

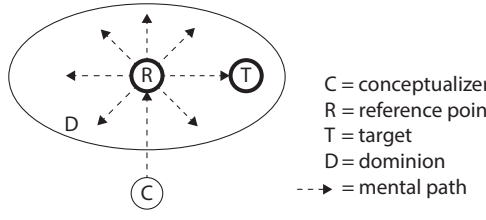

Figure 2.12 Reference point illustrated, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 84)

To illustrate a concrete case of reference point, let us consider the possessive noun phrase *Sally's dog*. The possessive morpheme *'s* invokes a reference point relationship. In this relationship, *Sally* is invoked as a reference point, and *dog* is accessed via this reference point, *Sally*. Viewing English possessives as a reference point relationship is now a common practice, and it is frequently discussed in textbooks[6] as a standard analysis (Taylor 2002; Croft and Cruse 2004; Evans and Green 2006; Radden and Dirven 2007, among others). Addressing this issue is of interest because there is a clear similarity between reference point and Korean case phenemona.

4. Cf. Langacker (1993). The diagram provided here is a revised version of Langacker (1993: 11), where the relationship itself is profiled, instead of R and T.

5. Conceptual saliency is not a necessary condition for a reference-point. A reference-point can be invoked implicitly, which I will discuss in later chapters. Additionally, note that the target also has cognitive saliency in Figure 2.12.

6. Besides the textbooks, Taylor (1996) and Langacker (1999) discuss English possessive constructions from this perspective in depth.

2.4.2 Applications of reference point

Reference point can be manifested as an intrinsic relationship with a profiled process as a target, as illustrated in Figure 2.13(b). In this situation, the trajector of a profiled relationship is characterized as a reference point. The clause external topic construction can also be analyzed as a reference point phenomenon, which is illustrated in Figure 2.13(a). In Figure 2.13(a), the target is a full clause as notated by a rectangle. R's dominion in this case is the range of associated knowledge, within which the target is interpreted.

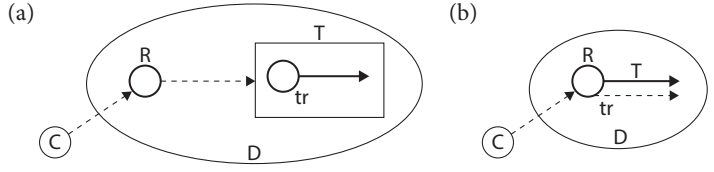

Figure 2.13 Extrinsic vs. intrinsic topics, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 517)

Figure 2.13(a) then can be extended to account for left-dislocation and topic constructions as shown in (2.3a) and (2.3b) respectively.

(2.3) a. That idiot, I should have fired him a long time ago.
b. That idiot, I should have fired a long time ago.

Figure 2.14(a) represents (2.3a) and Figure 2.14(b) represents (2.3b). The two diagrams are identical except for the existence of pivot, which is R's manifestation in the proposition. Note that the pivot notated by a circle exists in Figure 2.14(a), but its existence is merely implied in Figure 2.14(b).

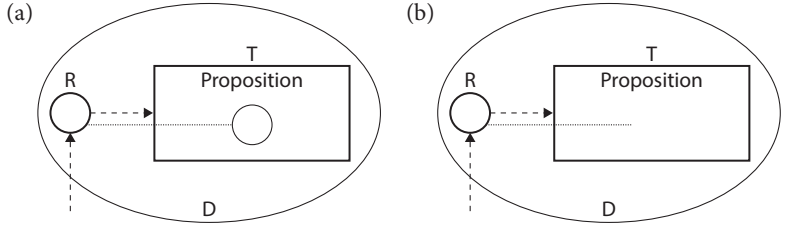

Figure 2.14 Left-dislocation vs. topic constructions, redrawn after Langacker (2009: 48)

Another noticeable extension of reference point is Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) on Japanese double subject constructions, in which the authors convincingly argue that Japanese double subject constructions are a manifestation of reference point. These authors' argument is discussed in great detail in 3. It is also noteworthy that Kumashiro (2016) also successfully applied the independently motivated construct, reference point, to Japanese topic and dative-nominative constructions.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter introduced fundamental concepts of CG coupled with technical CG notations. The notions I discussed are symbolic assemblies and construal. Under construal, I also discussed four concepts: specificity, focusing, prominence, and perspective. As for the technical notations, I laid out how elaboration, correspondence, profiling, and grounding are in action mainly using Langacker's examples and diagrams. I also introduced the crucial notion of reference point with its notations as well as its applications. These notions are adopted in my analyses of Korean case phenomena in later chapters.

CHAPTER 3

Multiple nominative constructions

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with Korean multiple nominative constructions (MNCs), addressing how effectively they can be interpreted by applying the notions of reference point and metonymy. As we can consider metonymy a reference point phenomenon (Langacker 1993: 30), discussing the roles of the two in conjunction is not unexpected. I argue that my analysis based on reference point and metonymy provides natural analyses of Korean MNCs, which have long been a subject of linguistic analysis from diverse perspectives.[1]

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 3.2 illustrates some of the essential properties of MNCs. Section 3.3 discusses the inadequacy of the direct application of reference point in English possessive constructions to Korean MNCs. In Section 3.4, I illustrate that clausal level subjects exhibit reference point properties in the sense that they force a topical interpretation. Section 3.5 provides analyses of Korean MNCs, detailing the issues addressed previously. In this section, the notion of reference point is connected to metonymy and domain highlighting. In Section 3.6, I demonstrate that Kumashiro and Langacker's (2003) dichotomy between double subject proper and complex predicate is not applicable, at least to Korean. Section 3.7 discusses a topic-marked MNC, where one of the nominative markers alternates with the topic marker. Section 8 concludes the chapter by summarizing my analyses.

3.2 Properties of MNCs

MNCs are observed in many languages.[2] In some languages like Mandarin and Thai, these constructions are formed by juxtaposing bare NPs, which are followed

1. For a recent survey of this topic, please refer to Yoon (2015).

2. In addition to Japanese and Korean which I deal with in this chapter, many languages such as Mandarin (Kumashiro and Langacker 2003), Thai (Kumashiro and Langacker 2003), Newari (Kumashiro and Langacker 2003), Luiseño (Steele 1977), Lango (Noonan 1992), and Cahuilla (Seiler 1983) are attested to exhibit such a construction. Research related to Korean and Japanese not discussed in detail in this chapter are Jang (1998) and Kuno (1973).

by a predicate. In Japanese and Korean, which exhibit salient case morphology, nominals are expressed through the manifestation of multiple nominative-marked noun phrases. This is accomplished by juxtaposing the case-marked noun phrases, as illustrated in (3.1) and (3.2).

(3.1) Taroo-ka hana-ka hikui. [Japanese]
Taroo-NOM nose-NOM low
'Taroo has a flat nose.' (Kumashiro and Langacker 2003: 2)

(3.2) apenim-i khi-ka ku-si-ta. [Korean]
father-NOM height-NOM tall-HON-DECL
'Father is tall.'

Although there exists a sizeable amount of research on the syntactic properties of multiple nominative constructions as described, relatively little attention has been paid to the conceptual semantic properties of these constructions. This might be due to the syntactocentric nature of the generative linguistics approach, as dubbed by Jackendoff (2002). More plausibly, however, the reason for the lack of cognitive research on these constructions might be the difficulty in categorizing the constructions based on their meanings. As noted by many researchers, Korean MNCs can be interpreted in various ways. Examples (3.3)–(3.6) show some possible interpretations of the constructions.[3]

(3.3) Cheli-ka cip-i hakkyo-eyse kakkap-ta.[4] [Topic]
Cheli-NOM home-NOM school-from close-DECL
'As for Cheli, (his) home is close to school.'

(3.4) Cheli-ka apeci-ka hakkyo-ey onul
Cheli-NOM father-NOM school-LOC today
o-si-ess-ta.[5] [Focus – (Yoon 2009: 67)]
come-HON-PST-DECL
'It is Cheli whose father came to school today.'

3. To clarify, I am not claiming that (3.3) is a topic construction, (3.4) a focus construction, (3.5) possession, and (3.6) part-whole *per se*. The purpose of the presentation of these examples is to provide the reader with a variety of the semantic interpretations of Korean MNCs. More importantly, I argue that these various types of interpretations are symptomatic of the reference point phenomenon that all the examples share.

4. Although sentence (3.3) can be interpreted as topic-like, the topical interpretation is not required for the sentence. The neutral meaning 'Cheli's home is close to school/Cheli lives by the school' is also possible.

5. (3.4) has a focus interpretation, as Yoon indicates. However, a topical interpretation is also available, such as 'As for Cheli, his father came to school today.'

(3.5) Cheli-ka ton-i manh-ta. [Possession]
Cheli-NOM money-NOM much-DECL
'Cheli has lots of money.'

(3.6) ku catongcha-ka pakhwui-ka say kes-i-ta. [Part-whole]
that car-NOM wheel-NOM new thing-COP-DECL
'That car has new wheels.'

In addition to these relatively straightforward examples, there are others that cannot be categorized as one of the above, as illustrated in (3.7) and (3.8). Not only can these not be categorized as one of the types in (3.3)–(3.6), but it is hard to single out the conceptual properties of the MNCs manifested in (3.7) and (3.8). Kim, Sells, and Yang (2007) categorize MNCs into two types: Possessive Nominative Construction (PNC) and Adjunct Nominative Construction (ANC). While (3.3)–(3.6) belong to the PNC category, examples in (3.7)–(3.8) are instances of the ANC.[6]

(3.7) pihayngki-ka 747-i khu-ta.
airplane-NOM 747-NOM big-DECL
'The 747 is big.'

(3.8) sakwa-ka mas-i tal-ta.
apple-NOM taste-NOM sweet-DECL
'Apples taste sweet.'

As noted by Yoon (2009: 28), when the MNC is embedded, no special discourse function is required, as illustrated in (3.9). Based on this observation, Yoon argues that they cannot be licensed solely by an information structure role, such as topic or focus. Yoon's observation is accurate in that the outer nominal's topicality is not prominent in (3.9); however, closer examination of (3.9) reveals that the decreased topicality of the outer nominal is due to the newly established topic in the whole sentence. As is clearly identified by the topic marker, the topic in (3.9) is *na* 'I'.

(3.9) pihayngki-ka 747-i khu-ta-nun sasil-ul na-nun
airplane-NOM 747-NOM big-DECL-ADN fact-ACC I-TOP
mol-lass-ta (Yoon 2009: 68)
not.know-PST-DECL
'I didn't know the fact that the 747 is big.'

6. In addition to these MNCs, there are MNCs that arise due to nominative-marked objects. Objects can be marked with nominative when the predicates are psychological verbs in Korean. This chapter deals exclusively with MNCs, where nominative-marked nominals exhibit subject properties.

The focus of this chapter revolves around the question of how the MNC and its topicality arise. Simply put, throughout this chapter, I argue that the nature of the licensing of the outer nominative-marked nominal and the conceptual semantic interpretations of MNCs are deeply rooted in the construction's reference point nature. Different from Yoon's argument, I demonstrate that the outer nominals in (3.3)–(3.8) also exhibit a higher degree of topicality in comparison to inner nominals, which is also symptomatic of the outer nominals' reference point role.

3.3 Properties of the NPs in MNCs

One of the main issues for researchers in dealing with Korean MNCs was to identify the relationship among the NPs in MNCs. Many attempts to analyze those constructions (Kang 1985; Chun 1985; Choe 1986; Akiyama 2005, among others) treated the nominative-marked noun phrases as semantically related. These approaches usually resulted in proposing a possessor ascension mechanism that creates a new subject from a possessor noun phrase, as schematically illustrated in (3.10).

(3.10) [Cheli-uy khi]-ka khu-ta. → Cheli-ka khi-ka khu-ta
[Cheli-GEN height]-NOM big-DECL Cheli-NOM height-NOM big-DECL (Yoon 2009: 72)
'Cheli's height is big' → 'Cheli is tall.'

This type of approach, as interesting as it may sound, faces several empirical problems. First, as noted by Yoon (1986, 2009), there are abounding examples that cannot be explained by a possessive relation between the two noun phrases in question. (3.12), which is a result of the aforementioned ascension mechanism from its base (3.11), is not acceptable, making the mechanism itself futile.

(3.11) Cheli-uy phal-i sulmyesi Yenghuy-uy heli-lul kam-ass-ta.
Cheli-GEN arm-NOM surreptitiously Yenghuy-GEN waist-ACC wrap-PST-DECL (Yoon 2009: 74)
'Cheli's arms surreptitiously wrapped around Yenghuy's waist.'

(3.12) *Cheli-ka phal-i sulmyesi Yenghuy-uy heli-lul kam-ass-ta.
Cheli-NOM arm-NOM surreptitiously Yenghuy-GEN waist-ACC wrap-PST-DECL (Yoon 2009: 74)
'As for Cheli, his arms surreptitiously wrapped around Yenghuy's waist.'

Another problem with this type of approach is the non-constituent nature of the noun phrases of these constructions. To illustrate these properties, Chae and Kim (2008: 877–878) provide three constituent tests. First, adverbs can be freely inserted between the two noun phrases as in (3.13). Second, the two noun phrases alone cannot be used as an answer to an echo question as in (3.14a) and (3.14b). Third, pseudo-clefting is not allowed in these constructions, as shown in (3.15).

(3.13) Chelswu-ka cengmal nwun-i khu-ta. (Lim 1997: 35)
Chelswu-NOM really eye-NOM big-DECL
'Cheswu has really big eyes.'

(3.14) a. mwue-ka khuta-ko?
what-NOM big-COMP
'What is big?'
b. *Chelswu-ka nwun-i
Chelswu-NOM eye-NOM
'Chelswu's eyes'

(3.15) *cengmal khu-n kes-un Chelswu-ka nwun-i-ta.
really be.big-ADN thing-TOP Chelswu-NOM eye-COP-DECL
'What are really big are Chelswu's eyes.'

The evidence provided opposes the approach that the noun phrases in MNCs exhibit direct structural relations. Based on these types of observations, some scholars[7] (Shibatani 1990; Yoon 2007; S. Lee 2007; Chae and Kim 2008, among others) analyzed NP_2 as a clausal level predicate in the [NP_2 [NP_1 PREDICATE]] configuration. Along these same lines, I analyze Korean MNCs as a construction where an outer NP is related to a clause that contains the inner NP(s) structurally as well as semantically.

Although I am making the same assumption as those scholars, there is a difference. Most of the research[8] mentioned here has utilized a series of grammatical tests of varying degrees to identify the subject in order to come to the above conclusion. Langacker (2008: 364), however, treats this as a non-explanatory list of grammatical behaviors.[9] Following the CG rationale, I identify a subject as a

7. These scholars are greatly diverse in their technical analyses, although the underlying assumptions are similar. The differences in their technical details are beyond the scope of the present chapter.

8. Chae and Kim (2008) provide arguments against Yoon's (2009) list of subject properties.

9. In dealing with Korean, Yoon (1986), Youn (1990), and Hong (1991) provided a list of properties in identifying subjecthood. Langacker (2008) refuses this type of identification of subject based on two criticisms. First, since it is just a list, it does not provide an explanation of the

nominal that is a reference point trajector. NP_2 is an extrinsic reference point trajector in [NP_2 [NP_1 PREDICATE]], while NP_1 is an intrinsic reference point trajector in the structure [NP_1 PREDICATE]. Therefore, both NP_1 and NP_2 are subjects at a different level. This general definition of subject is elaborated on in Section 3.5.1 before I provide a technical CG analysis of the constructions. In fact, a similar intuition[10] was adopted by Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) in their CG-based analysis of Japanese double subject constructions, which is discussed in depth in the next section.

In order to capture the differences among MNCs, we can certainly categorize them into PNC and ANC, just like Kim, Sells, and Yang (2007) and Kim (2016a). This is a reasonable proposal, but the ANC does not have a uniform interpretation, and it may be further categorized into more subtypes; this makes categorization challenging. At the same time, all MNCs exhibit many common properties. My proposal is to posit one general structure for MNCs; the PNC is one specific case in which an implicit reference point relationship is invoked.

3.4 A clause-level subject as a reference point subject

To the extent of my knowledge, not much work has been done on MNCs in the CG tradition[11] or in cognitive linguistics in general.[12] Kumashiro and Langacker (2003)[13] and Langacker (2004a) are rare attempts to deal with Japanese double subject constructions in CG; the two articles deal with the same topic. While

properties of subject. Second, a list tends to be too language-specific, lacking an explanation of the general tendency of subject.

10. Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) does not define subject/object as a result of the interplay between reference point and trajector/landmark.

11. Yeon (1999) provides some analysis of possessor ascension constructions in Korean, such as *Mary-ka John-eykey tung-ul mil-li-ess-ta* 'Mary was pushed on the back by John.' Yeon explains the ascension mechanism based on semantico-pragmatic constraints. However, MNC itself was not his main interest in his article.

12. There are a couple of analyses that indirectly dealt with double subject constructions in Japanese and other languages. They include Heine (1991, 1997) and Dąbrowska (1997). While Heine's analysis deals with the grammaticalization of posessives, Dąbrowska briefly shows her analysis of Japanese double subject constructions to support Wierzbicka's (1988) personal sphere theory. Although these two approaches provide very interesting generalizations on double subject constructions, due to their relative remoteness to the present chapter, I will not discuss the approaches here.

13. Kumashiro and Lagacker's (2003) proposal is partially based on Kumashiro (2000).

Langacker (2004a) provides a more conceptual background of the issue, Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) provide the fine-grained technical details in CG. The main idea of these two articles is to propose a reference point subject creation mechanism for Japanese double subject constructions, which would look like Figure 3.1. In this construction, a reference point relationship is profiled at the composite-structure level, where the NP_2 (R) in [NP_2 [NP_1 PREDICATE]] is a reference point trajector.

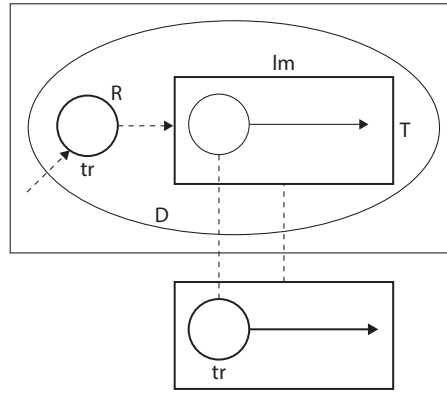

Figure 3.1 Reference point subject creation, redrawn after Kumashiro and Langacker (2003: 31)

What this reference point subject creation reveals is that NP_2 is created exocentrically. Since the newly created NP_2 is outside of the nuclear clause, NP_2 is interpreted as an external topic that appears in a grammatically salient position.

The second major property of Kumashiro and Langacker's proposal is the dichotomy between true double subject constructions and complex predicate constructions. They argue that not all constructions that fall into the schematic description [NP_2 [NP_1 PREDICATE]] are double subject constructions. Some of the seemingly double subject constructions are in fact complex predicate constructions. Based on the three syntactic tests – honorification, reflexive, embedding – Kumashiro and Langacker distinguish true double subject constructions from complex predicate constructions in the following ways. In true double subject constructions, [1] only NP_1 controls subject honorification; [2] either NP_1 or NP_2 control reflexive *jibun* 'self'; and [3] embedding is not freely permitted. Complex predicate constructions behave differently from true double subject constructions in all three aspects. First, only NP_2 controls honorification. Second, only NP_2 controls reflexive *jibun* 'self'. Third, embedding is permitted. They thus propose another constructional schema to explain the properties of complex predicates, which is illustrated in Figure 3.2.

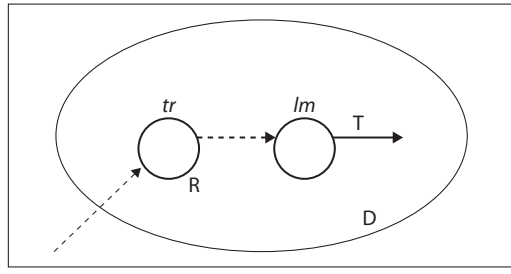

Figure 3.2 Complex predicate construction, redrawn after Kumashiro and Langacker (2003: 37)

There is no denying that Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) and Langacker (2004a) provide an insightful analysis of the Japanese double subject construction by adopting the notion of reference point. That being said, their analysis needs to be further explored to answer several questions unaddressed in their research. The first question concerns the topicality of outer nominative-marked nominals. As already discussed, Yoon (2009) – along the same lines as Heycock (1994) – argues that the outer nominal does not need to be a topic as in (3.16), which is a reintroduction of (3.9).

(3.16) Pihayngki-ka 747-i khu-ta-nun sasil-ul na-nun mol-lass-ta.
airplane-NOM 747-NOM big-DECL-ADN fact-ACC I-TOP not.know-PST-DECL
'I didn't know the fact that the 747 is big.'

Yoon (2009) also questions what sort of topic is marked by *-ka* rather than *-nun*, considering that *-nun* is an indisputable topic marker in Korean. He further argues that NP_2 in [NP_2 [NP_1 PREDICATE]] cannot be a topic, based on the observation that NP_2 in (3.17) does not have a topical interpretation. (3.17) is acceptable only if NP_2 is interpreted as focus.[14]

(3.17) Cheli-ka apeci-ka hakkyo-ey onul
Cheli-NOM father-NOM school-to today
o-si-ess.ta. (Yoon 2009: 67)
come-HON-PST-DECL
'It is Cheli whose father came to school today.'

The properties listed thus far seem to be against the claim that NP_2 in the formula [NP_2 [NP_1 PREDICATE]] is a topic; however, there are several issues with Yoon's claim against the topicality of NP_2. First, Yoon's judgment that *Cheli* in (3.17) can only be interpreted as focus seems to be too strong. At least to me, the topical

14. Kim (2016a) has a stronger position on the focus status of the outer nominal. Kim (2016a: 273) claims that the outer nominal encodes the focus.

interpretation 'As for Cheli, his father came to school today' seems to be natural. Putting aside the issue with judgment, it is true that there is no special discourse function required for the outer nominative-marked nominal in MNCs. However, *Cheli* undeniably has a higher degree of topicality in comparison to *apeci* 'father' or *hakkyo* 'school' in (3.17). This is because it is likely that the sentence is "about" *Cheli*. As is argued throughout this chapter, if we analyze *Cheli* as a reference point in relation to the clause [*apeci-ka hakkyo-ey onul o-si-ess-ta*], the topical nature of *Cheli* is naturally explained. Since reference point is a mental address to access a relatively less salient entity, its topicality is to be expected.

Then, how do we get the focus reading of the outer nominal in (3.17)? It is worth noting that a focus reading is also available in a plain sentence like (3.18). As indicated by the four different translations, *Cheli* in (3.18) can be interpreted as a topic or a focus depending on a discourse context, which I believe most scholars agree upon.

(3.18) Cheli-ka chayk-ul il-ess-ta.
C-NOM book-ACC read-PST-DECL
'Cheli read the book.'
'As for Cheli, he read the book.'
'It is Cheli who read the book.'
'It is the book that Cheli read.'

Jun (2015: 181) states that any element can be interpreted as a focus if phonological prominence is given. The phonological prominence is often coupled with case markers, and it is not surprising to observe that case-marked elements are much more susceptible to a focus interpretation than bare nominals.[15] No matter what the interpretation of (3.18) would be, it seems clear that *Cheli* has a higher degree of topicality than *chayk* 'book' because (3.18) is more likely about *Cheli* than *chayk* 'book'; a translation like 'As for the book, Cheli read it.' is much less feasible. What this means is that the availability of the focus reading of (3.17) does not necessarily defy the topical nature of the outer nominal.

Regarding the topicality of nominative-marked nominals, Jun (2015: 186) argues that "it cannot be maintained that the subject marker *-ka* also marks topic." The examples he demonstrates, however, do not include MNCs. It is true that plain examples like (3.18) may be more frequently interpreted non-topically. In MNCs, however, the outer nominal certainly displays topical properties, and Jun's claim needs to be more contextualized to account for those properties. The nominative-marked nominal does not indicate a topic, but topics can be marked with the nominative marker in restricted syntactic environments. Unlike topic-marked

15. See Yi (1988) for details.

nominals, nominative-marked topics may be easily overridden with phonological information, such as a high-pitched accent. This is another reason why (3.17) can be interpreted with a focus reading.[16]

As for Yoon's comment on the difference between the nominative marker and the topic marker, I argue that they are indeed different, but they can carry the same function at the higher level of organization. For example, the nominative-marked nominal in (3.17), *Cheli-ka*, may alternate with *Cheli-nun* 'Cheli-TOP' without affecting the topical interpretation of (3.17). The difference between the two is observed at the component structure level. While the nominative-marked outer nominal was created excocentrically at the later stage of composition, the topic-marked nominal is formed at a lower level. They are only different in their compositional pathways and ultimately perform the same function in this particular case.

Returning to Kumashiro and Langacker (2003), another weakness stems from the semantic relationship between NP_2 and the clause [NP_1 PREDICATE]. Apart from the claim that NP_2 is a topic of the clause, they do not go into detail in explaining the discourse relationship between NP_2 and the rest of the sentence. To overcome this weakness, I demonstrate how the metonymic relationship captures the various types of possible interpretations of the MNC.

The last weakness of Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) is the dichotomy between genuine double subject constructions and complex predicate constructions. None of the criteria can be applied to Korean. First, closer examination shows that either NP_1 or NP_2 can control honorification in Korean MNCs. Second, the Korean reflexive *caki* can be controlled either by NP_1 or NP_2 in alleged complex predicate constructions. Third, almost any MNC can be embedded. The details concerning this particular problem are delineated in Section 3.6 with relevant examples.

3.5 A CG-based analysis of Korean MNCs

Having discussed some weaknesses with Kumashiro and Langacker's analysis, this section provides my analysis of Korean MNCs. In Section 3.5.1, I define subject following the CG tradition, mainly by elaborating on the existing definitions proposed by Langacker's series of works. Section 3.5.2 provides a grammatical analysis of MNCs adopting the notion of reference point. This notion is extended in conjunction with domain highlighting in Section 3.5.3 to account for the conceptual semantic properties of those constructions.

16. Some scholars support the view that the nominative marker also can also mark topic. See Y-H Kim (1978), K. Choi (1999), and H-P Im (2007), among others.

3.5.1 The notion of subject elaborated

In analyzing MNCs, we need to identify which nominative-marked nominal is a subject. To identify the subjecthood, two criteria can be used: [1] subject is a reference point, and [2] subject is the most prominent participant – the most agent-like trajector – among the profiled participants in a profiled process. The second criterion is not controversial in the CG approach. As cited earlier, Langacker (2008: 369) argues that "focal prominence stands alone as being both workable and cognitively plausible [for the definition of subject]." However, the focal prominence-based criterion is not always clear cut. It is not entirely clear whether *ton* 'money' or *ku hakkyo* 'that school' is a trajector, these being the two profiled participants in (3.19). Sentence (3.19a) can be roughly interpreted as 'Lots of money was in that school' and (3.19b) as 'The school was affluent.' Then, why do the almost identical sentences in (3.19) have different interpretations concerning the subjecthood?

(3.19) a. ton-i ku hakkyo-ey manh-ass-ta.
money-NOM that school-LOC a.lot-PST-DECL
'Lots of money was in that school.'

b. ku hakkyo-ey ton-i manh-ass-ta.
that school-LOC money-NOM a.lot-PST-DECL
'That school was affluent.'

This question, of course, can be answered in several different ways solely based on criterion [2], by treating the locative-marked and the nominative-marked noun phrases as equal candidates for the subject. In other words, either *ton* 'money' or *ku hakkyo* 'that school' can be a trajector. This is a reasonable solution, but it may not clearly answer the question of why the nominative-marked nominal exhibits a more subject-like behavior in (3.19a), while the locative-marked nominal shows the subject property in (3.19b). We also need to answer why the nominative-marked nominals are more often associated with the subjecthood than locative/dative-marked noun phrases. I propose that subjecthood is a consequence of the interplay between the reference point/target and trajector/landmark alignments. While reference point is associated with topicality, trajector/landmark alignment is associated with case marking as shown in (3.20a) and (3.20b). A typical subject exhibits a higher degree of topicality and is marked nominative as illustrated in (3.20c). The dative-marked nominal exhibits a subject property in (3.19b) because it is a reference point landmark as described in (3.20d). Put differently, both the reference point/target and trajector/landmark alignments need to be considered to accurately identify subject.

(3.20) a. A reference point exhibits a higher degree of topicality than its target.
b. A trajector is manifested as nominative marking and a landmark as accusative/dative marking in Korean.
c. A typical subject is a reference point trajector, and a typical object is a target landmark.
d. A reference point can be associated with a landmark, which is manifested either as a dative/locative-marked subject or a secondary object.

I would like to emphasize that (3.20) does not indicate that reference point is always identical to topic. In a plain sentence like (3.21), the nominative marked nominal, *Chelswu*, does not have a topical interpretation as indicated in the translation. However, it clearly exhibits a higher degree of topicality than the accusative-marked nominal, in the sense that there is a higher chance that the sentence is about *Chelswu* than *books*.

(3.21) Chelswu-ka chayk-ul coha-ha-n-ta.
C-NOM book-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL
'Chelswu likes books.'

It must also be clarified that I am not denying the crucial role of focal prominence in identifying the subject of a clause. It goes without saying that the notions of trajector and focal prominence are important concepts in defining subject. That being clarified, what I am proposing is that focal prominence must be understood in conjunction with the notion of reference point in defining subject. It is also worth noting that subject can be identifiable at different levels of conceptual organization. It is possible to have multiple subjects with one lexical-level predicate in MNCs, if we can identify multiple reference point trajectors at different levels.

3.5.2 Reference point subject creation

Having discussed the notion of subject, I explain how and in what context a subject can be interpreted as a reference point. Let us now compare the two sentences below: (3.22) is a regular clause where there is only one nominative-marked nominal, whereas (3.23) is an example of an MNC.

(3.22) Mary-ka yeyppu-ta.
M-NOM pretty-DECL
'Mary is pretty.'

(3.23) Mary-ka nwun-i yeyppu-ta.
M-NOM eye-NOM pretty-DECL
'Mary's eyes are pretty.'/'Mary has pretty eyes.'

In (3.22), *Mary* combines with the predicate *yeyppu* 'pretty' to form a sentence. Here, *Mary* is the subject of the sentence. The subjecthood of *Mary* is identified based on the two factors. First, *Mary* exhibits a reference point property by being the only topical nominal. Note that this reference point is different from my term 'reference point subject' in that it is like an intrinsic topic. I use 'reference point subject, exclusively to refer to the subject created by the mechanism depicted in Figure 3.1. Second, *Mary* gets focal prominence due to the fact that it has the most agent-like property among the participants, by being the unique participant in the given sentence. This property is illustrated in Figure 3.3, where M represents *Mary*.

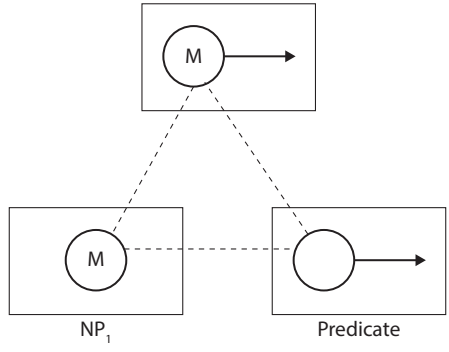

Figure 3.3 Regular subject composition

In comparison with (3.22), (3.23) illustrates a different situation. In (3.23), *nwun-i* 'eye-NOM' is the subject of the predicate *yeyppu* 'pretty' since it combines with a predicate to form a clause and is a trajector. The clause *nwun-i yeyppu-ta* 'eyes are pretty' then functions as a clausal-level predicate since its subject position is already saturated. At the next level, *Mary* meets the two criteria we used to identify the subject of the predicate. *Mary* combines with the clausal predicate, where *Mary* is the most agent-like participant by being the only participant at this level. The only difference between *nwun* and *Mary* is that *nwun* is the subject of the genuine predicate, while *Mary* is the subject of the clausal-predicate. (3.23) is illustrated in Figure 3.4, which is created by utilizing the reference point subject creation mechanism illustrated in Figure 3.1. M(ary) functions as a subject of the full composite structure, and *nwun* 'eye' is the subject of the predicate *yeyppu* 'pretty'. The D(ominion) includes the possible set of targets that NP_2 can invoke. Note that *nwun* 'eye' implicitly invokes a reference point because it cannot be alienated from its possessor. The implicit reference point corresponds to the reference point subject, R_2. The two reference point relationships correspond to each other because they denote the same relationship. Due to the correspondence of the relationships, the two relations may collapse, yielding a complex predicate-like structure as shown in Figure 3.2. The coalescence is purely optional, so we

cannot say that a certain MNC is always construed as a complex predicate. Note that MNCs construed as a complex predicate due to the coalescence can also be easily interpreted as non-complex predicate constructions. Drawing a sharp line between the two types therefore is not tenable.

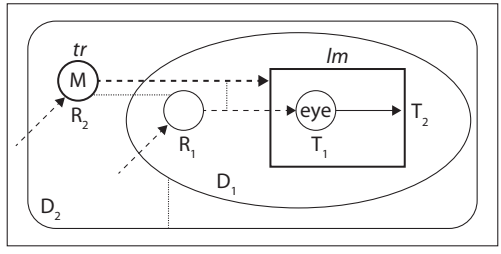

Figure 3.4 Double subject construction illustrated

One noticeable difference between (3.22) and (3.23) is that the subject of (3.23) is created by a new process, as depicted in Figure 3.1, which is a process not required for (3.22). What this difference reveals is that *Mary* in (3.23) is more loosely related to its predicate *nwun-i yeyppu-ta* than the relation between *nwun* to *yeyppu-ta*.[17] The reference point subject *Mary* functions as a guideline to reach the statement 'eyes are pretty'. Without *Mary*, the statement 'eyes are pretty' will remain rather vague and conceptually less autonomous. This conceptual dependency is resolved by creating the reference point subject, *Mary*.

The same mechanism can now be extended to a sentence that has more than two nominative-marked nominals like (3.24).[18]

(3.24) yelum-i swuyengcang-i salam-i manh-ta.
summer-NOM swimming.pool-NOM people-NOM a.lot-DECL
'There are a lot of people in the pool in the summer.'

In (3.24), the innermost noun phrase is a subject of a genuine predicate, which is created by the regular subject composition schema. The other noun phrases, which are the subjects of clausal predicates, are created by the reference point subject creation mechanism illustrated in Figure 3.1. Different from Figure 3.4, one more layer is added by simply plugging the new clausal predicate into the predicate slot of the reference point subject schema. Another difference between Figure 3.4 and Figure 3.5 is the presence of the implicit reference point. In Figure 3.5, *swuyengcang* 'swimming pool' does not invoke a reference point because it is an independent

17. For this type of multiple nominative construction, we need to posit multiple topicality at different levels. See Strawson (1964), Chafe (1976), Lambrecht (1994), Rothstein (2004), and Erteschik-Shir (2007) for detailed discussion on multiple topicality.

18. The interpretation of (3.24) is explained in Section 3.5.3.

concept unlike *nwun* 'eye'. Consequently, the two reference point relationships invoked are not identical either, as indicated by the lack of the correspondence relationship. Other than these, Figure 3.5 is identical to Figure 3.4. In Figure 3.5, S refers to *swuyengcang* 'swimming pool'. Note that Figure 3.4 is a description of PNC, while Figure 3.5 indicates ANC, in terms of Kim (2016a).

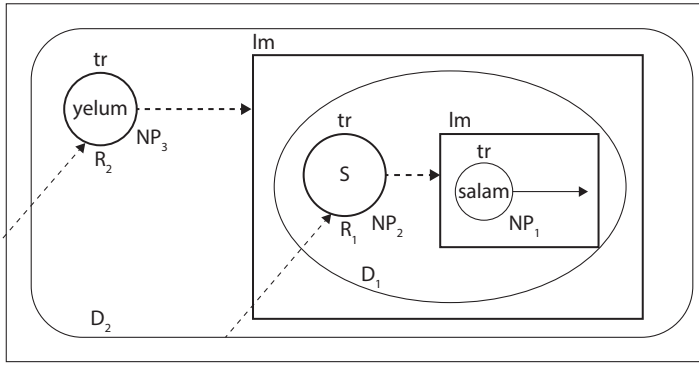

Figure 3.5 Multiple subject construction illustrated

Naturally, this process can be applied recursively in accounting for MNCs with more than three nominative-marked nominals. This recursive application is simply achieved by creating a new reference point subject with the schema provided in Figure 3.1. The same idea has been already presented by many other scholars such as Kuroda (1988), Shibatani (1990), B-S. Park (2001), Chae and Kim (2008), and others. Clearly, though, the technical details vary among the scholars, especially in identifying the properties of the nominative-marked nominals. For example, in the given formula [NP_2 [NP_1 PREDICATE]], Shibatani (1990, 1999) distinguishes NP_2 from NP_1 by identifying NP_2 as a 'large subject', whereas NP_1 is a 'small subject'. B-S Park (2001) treats NP_2 as a focused subject and NP_1 as a regular subject. Schütze (2001) claims that NP_2 is a combination of topic and focus. I will not discuss the various proposals concerning the grammatical status of NP_1 and NP_2, since the technical details of the previous proposals are of no relevance to the current discussions.

What I am claiming is that MNCs can be formed by recursively creating reference point subjects, functioning as a mental address to their immediate predicate. Another natural consequence of this recursive application of the schema is that both NP_1 and NP_2 have the subject status, their being the reference point trajectors. The only difference between the two is their different grammatical level. NP_1 is the subject of a predicate, while NP_2 is the subject of a clausal-predicate. As a trajector of a profiled process, NP_1 exhibits a high degree of topicality – intrinsic reference point – and is manifested as a subject of the predicate. NP_2 is a reference

point trajector in relation to the clausal landmark. Therefore, it is also manifested as a subject but with a clausal predicate. Except for this difference, they exhibit the same property required for a subject illustrated in Section 3.5.1. All outer nominative-marked nominals in MNCs exhibit the same properties. In order to discern the propositional mental destination, which is denoted by a clausal-predicate, the interlocutors need some sign posts. Subjects formed through the reference point subject creation process perform this function. The topic of the next subsection is how this particular interpretation arises.

3.5.3 Metonymy and domain highlighting

In Section 3.5.2, I discussed that NP_2 in [NP_2 [NP_1 PREDICATE]] is formed by the reference point subject creation mechanism. Because NP_2 is given exocentrically, the relationship between NP_2 and its clausal predicate [NP_1 PREDICATE] is relatively loose. In this section, I argue that the conceptual relationship between NP_2 and its clausal predicate is systematically explained by domain highlighting,[19] in addition to topicality.

Based on Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1987), Croft (2006: 280) generalizes that a metonymic mapping occurs within a single domain matrix, not across domains or domain matrices. In some cases, a metonymic shift also involves a shift of domains within the domain matrix.[20] The domain is a semantic structure that functions as the base for at least one concept profile, and several different domains can be presupposed by one concept. The combination of domains multiply presupposed by one concept is called the domain matrix. Domain highlighting is a conceptual effect that highlights a specific domain within a concept's domain matrix on different occasions (Croft 2006: 281). For example, in the sentence *Time magazine is pretty vapid*, *magazine* underwent a metonymic shift through domain highlighting. In the literal meaning, the primary interpretation of magazine is

19. Croft's *domain highlighting* has great similarity to Langacker's (1984, 1994) *active zone*. Langacker's active zone is a part of an entity, which is cognitively activated by virtue of linguistic context. For example, in the two sentences, *Max heard the trumpet* and *Max saw the trumpet*, the verbs serve to activate different aspects of our knowledge. Due to the verb *heard*, the active zone of the first sentence relates to knowledge concerning the sound emitted by trumpets. By contrast, in the second sentence, the active zone relates to the visual properties, which is motivated by the verb *saw*.

20. Croft (1993, 2006) uses the term *domain* following Langacker (1987). According to Croft (2009: 7), "a semantic frame is essentially identical to what other cognitive linguists have called a domain." Croft (2009: 7) also clarifies that frame is a system of related concepts. To understand any domain, we have to understand the whole structure in which it fits. In this chapter, I am using the term domain in this general sense.

'a physical entity with a paper cover, which is issued regularly, usually every week or every month. It contains articles, stories, photographs, and advertisements.'[21] The meaning of 'general publication' is a secondary meaning of *magazine*, which becomes primary in the sentence *Time magazine is pretty vapid*. This shift happens by highlighting the publication domain in the given sentence. According to Croft (2006: 286), the essential aspect of metonymy is the highlighting of one aspect of a profiled concept in the entire domain matrix. Though often observed together, metonymy is not the same as domain highlighting. Croft (2006: 281) explains the difference between the two notions using several examples. In two different expressions *The book is heavy* and *The book is a history of Iraq*, the concept [BOOK][22] is profiled in at least two primary domains: physical objects and semantic content. However, it is unclear whether these sentences refer to the same book entity or separate ones, although the concepts symbolized by *the book* in two different sentences are different. This is not a usual example of metonymy because the elements profiled in each domain are highly intrinsic with no reference to external entities. For this reason, *book* is not often treated as metonymy. Nonetheless, it seems obvious that the two different entities referred to in the examples are motivated by *book*'s lexical ambiguity by domain highlighting. In other words, domain highlighting is a necessary condition for metonymy, but it cannot be a sufficient condition.

The other property of domain highlighting relevant to our discussion is that the expressions which manifest domain highlighting are all autonomous relative to the main verbs dependent on them (Croft 2006: 290); domain highlighting occurs with autonomous predications or concepts. To illustrate this with an example, let us consider (3.25).

(3.25) Proust is tough to read. (Croft 2006: 292)

In (3.25), the predicate *is tough to read* is a dependent predication because, in general, a salient substructure of *is tough to read* is elaborated by its subject. On the other hand, *Proust* is an autonomous predication relative to *is tough to read*, since a salient substructure of *Proust* is not elaborated by *is tough to read*. The metonymic meaning of *Proust*, a work of Proust, arises, because the predicate *is tough to read* requires 'something that can be read'. Induced by the dependent predication *is tough to read*, the autonomous predication *Proust* gets a metonymic meaning, highlighting a semantic content domain, which was not the primary domain of the predication *Proust*.

21. This definition is from the Cobuild Dictionary (2001).

22. Small-capital words within brackets refer to concepts, and small-capital words without brackets refer to domains.

Domain highlighting enhances the understanding of the conceptual semantics of Korean MNCs. To illustrate the role of domain highlighting in the interpretation of MNCs, let us consider (3.26), whose semantic interpretation was left out in the previous subsection.

(3.26) apeci-ka ton-i manh-usi-ta.
father-NOM money-NOM a.lot-HON-DECL
'(Someone's) father is rich.'

First, the innermost clause *ton-i manh-usi-ta*[23] '(someone) has lots of money' is created using the regular clause schema. The next nominal, *apeci-ka*, is created as a reference point subject, which is an autonomous predication in relation to its clausal predicate, and it is profiled in multiple domains[24] such as KINSHIP RELATION, AUTHORITY, SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, etc. As a clausal predicate, *ton-i manh-usi-ta* is a dependent predication relative to its subject since its salient semantic structure is elaborated by its subject, *apeci-ka* 'father-NOM'. Induced by the clausal predicate *ton-i manh-usi-ta*, the domain SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS is highlighted in the domain matrix of *apeci*. This interpretation can be applied recursively with the same mechanism. For instance, if we add one more noun phrase, *Chelswu*, we are highlighting one domain of CHELSWU, in this case FAMILY-SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS. The process is induced by the newly created clausal predicate *apeci-ka ton-i manh-usi-ta* to acquire the desired meaning 'Chelswu has a father who is rich'.

A well-known problematic example in Korean, like (3.27), is accounted for systematically without an additional mechanism.

(3.27) yelum-i sakwa-ka mas-i tal-ta.
summer-NOM apple-NOM taste-NOM sweet-DECL
'Apples taste sweet in the summer.'

In explaining the semantics of (3.27), let us first consider the sentence *sakwa-ka mas-i tal-ta* 'apples taste sweet'. The predication SAKWA 'apple', not surprisingly, presupposes multiple domains such as PHYSICAL OBJECTS, FRUITS, FOOD, etc. In interpreting the sentence *sakwa-ka mas-i tal-ta* 'apples taste sweet', a metonymic shift occurred through highlighting the predication's profile in the domain of FLAVOR. The inner clause *mas-i tal-ta*, as a clausal predicate, induces the domain

23. Technically, *-usi-* should be added later as a result of the agreement with the honorific subject.

24. It is not always possible to precisely identify the domain against which a concept is understood. As noted by Taylor (2003: 88) "in principle, any conceptualization or knowledge configuration, no matter how simple or complex, can serve as the domain for the characterization of meanings."

highlighting of [SAKWA]. Motivated by its predicate, the domain of FOOD in the domain matrix of [SAKWA] is highlighted, yielding the metonymic interpretation of the sentence. A similar shift happened in interpreting the outer sentence, *yelum-i sakwa-ka mas-i tal-ta* 'Apples taste sweet in the summer'. Multiple domains are presupposed by the predication [YELUM] 'summer', such as WEATHER, ACTIVITIES, VEGETATION, etc. In this case, the newly introduced clausal predicate *sakwa-ka mas-i tal-ta* induces the metonymic shift of the autonomous predication [YELUM] 'summer', highlighting the VEGETATION domain in the domain matrix of [YELUM].

This analysis can also explain rather problematic sentences like (3.28) and (3.29). O'Grady (1991), treating the noun phrase *elkwul-i* 'face-NOM' in (3.28) as an adverbial nominative noun phrase, claims that (3.28) is acceptable, while (3.29) is not, because *elkwul-i* appears sentence initially, as opposed to closer to the verb as in (3.29).

(3.28) Mary-ka elkwul-i yeyppu-ta. (O'Grady 1991: 82)
Mary-NOM face-NOM pretty-DECL
'Mary's face is pretty.'

(3.29) *elkwul-i Mary-ka yeyppu-ta. (O'Grady 1991: 82)
face-NOM Mary-NOM pretty-DECL
'Intended: Mary's face is pretty.'

O'Grady's adverbal analysis of *elkwul-i* in (3.29) faces two problems. First, if *elkwul-i* has an adverbial status, we cannot explain the unacceptability of (3.30), where the adverb *cal* is nominative-marked and appears closer to the verb than the other nominative-marked nominals. In Korean, an adverbial carrying a case marking is not unusual, as in (3.31). In (3.31), the accusative-marked adverbial *cal* is acceptable at least to some speakers. If, as O'Grady (1991) claims, *elkwul-i* has the adverbial status, what forbids (3.30), where one adverbial with a nominative case is followed by another adverbial with the same case marking? Since O'Grady treats all nominative-marked noun phrases as adverbials, except for the sentence initial nominative-marked noun phrase, (3.30) remains mysterious in his analysis.

(3.30) *John-i elkwul-i cal-i sayngki-ess-ta.
John-NOM face-NOM well-NOM form-PST-DECL
'Intended: John's face is handsome.'

(3.31) John-i kongpwu-lul cal-ul ha-ki-lul ha-nya, nolay-lul cal-ul
John-NOM study-ACC well-ACC do-NMZ-ACC do-Q sing-ACC well-ACC
ha-ki-lul ha-nya?
do-NMZ-ACC do-Q
'Is John good at studying or at singing (neither!)?'

Second, the unacceptability of (3.29) is questionable since (3.29) is fully acceptable when the relevant context is given, such as 'Speaking of girls with pretty faces, Mary is the prettiest among the girls in our current conversation', although (3.28) is more natural than (3.29). If (3.28) is more natural than (3.29), is there a way to account for its naturalness? My metonymy-based analysis explains not only the acceptability of (3.29) in a certain context, but also the more natural nature of (3.29) in comparison to (3.28). In (3.28), one of the domains presupposed by [MARY] is highlighted, induced by the clausal predicate *elkwul-i yeyppu-ta*. *Mary* being a female human, the domain where *elkwul-i yeyppu-ta* belongs is rather easily accessible in our common sense. By contrast, in the domain matrix of [ELKWUL], the particular person's prettiness is far from the primary domain. To highlight this particular domain, the interlocutors need to be given relevant context so as to access the domain more easily.

This metonymy-based explanation of the conceptual semantics of Korean MNCs is parallel to the grammatical structure of such constructions. Recall that we explained the grammatical structure of the constructions by adopting the idea of reference point. Reference point is a guiding principle to reach the desired destination. Through a reference point, we can access the desired goal of our communication faster and more effectively. In the same way, by virtue of domain highlighting, we can achieve the goal of our communication more effectively. For instance, *sakwa* 'apple' in (3.27) is formed exocentrically by the reference point subject creation mechanism. This exocentric nature of the reference point subject creation mechanism is exactly what we expect in domain highlighting. The subject *sakwa-ka* 'apple-NOM' is exocentric in relation to its clausal predicate *mas-i tal-ta* 'taste sweet'. At the same time, the relationship between *sakwa* and *mas-i tal-ta* is metonymic in the sense that one of the domains of [SAKWA] is highlighted by the predicate *mas-i tal-ta*. It can be said that this type of metonymic shift happens motivated by "conceptual unities" in terms of Croft (2006: 292). In everyday conversation, there is a background assumption that sentences are semantically coherent. Domain highlighting is one such effort to make sentences and discourse semantically coherent. The same is true of MNCs.

Be that as it may, there is one question yet to be answered. Given that MNCs arise due to a metonymic shift, why particularly is the nominative-marker utilized in those constructions?[25] Perhaps the reason for the choice of the nominative marker in these constructions is motivated by the nature of the constructions *per se*. As described, the outer nominals in these constructions are formed by the reference point subject creation mechanism. The duty of this mechanism is to

25. Dative Subject constructions exhibit similar properties, which also can be ascribed to the reference point subject properties of the constructions.

exocentrically create a new trajector. This newly created trajector is linked to its landmark, which is a clausal-level predicate. The function of the Korean nominative markers precisely fits this process by profiling the nominative-marked noun phrase as a subject through linking it to its landmark. Indeed, several scholars such as O'Grady (1991), Cho and Sells (1995), and Sells (1995a) have a similar view to mine. For example, O'Grady (1991) claims that the Korean nominative case marks an NP that combines with an IV (Intransitive Verb) category following combinatorial mechanisms of a categorial grammar. O'Grady's IV category is similar to my notion of clausal-predicate in this case. Despite the similarity between these scholars' approaches and mine, the key difference is that while these scholars claim that the role of nominative case markers is crucial in these constructions, my position is that the choice of a nominative marker in these constructions is an epiphenomenon of the reference point phenomenon.

3.6 Double subject constructions proper versus complex predicate constructions

This section addresses Kumashiro and Langacker's dichotomy of double subject proper[26] and complex predicate. This dichotomy, as seen in this section, proves to be superfluous. Based on Kumashiro (2000), Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) argue that there are two types of double subject constructions. One is double subject proper, and the other, complex predicate. Since some of their analyses are crucially based on this dichotomy, this distinction is a crucial factor for the authors. (3.32)–(3.33) are the examples of double subject constructions, whereas (3.34)–(3.35) are those of complex predicate constructions.

(3.32) Taroo-ga fuku-ga isumo
Taroo-NOM clothes-NOM always
hade-da. (Kumashiro and Langacker 2003: 26)
gaudy-be
'Taro always has gaudy clothes.'

(3.33) Taroo-ga sashimi-ga
Taroo-NOM sashimi-NOM
tabe-rare-ru. (Kumashiro and Langacker 2003: 26)
eat-POT-IMF
'Taroo can eat sashimi.'

26. Although I used the term MNC throughout this book, I chose to use double subject here because this is the term Kumashiro and Langacker used in their article.

(3.34) Yamada-sensei-ga me-ga zuibun juuketsu-shi-teiru
Yamada-teacher-NOM eye-NOM very inflammataion-do-STAT
(koto) (Kumashiro and Langacker 2003: 27)
(that)
'(that) Professor Yamada has very red eyes'

(3.35) Taroo-ga aisukurimu-ga suki-na
Taroo-NOM ice.cream-NOM like-be
(koto) (Kumashiro and Langacker 2003: 28)
(that)
'(that) Taroo likes ice cream'

As these authors explain, the distinction between the two types of constructions is based on the grammatical properties, and they provide three tests: honorification, reflexive, embedding. After applying these tests to several double subject constructions in Japanese, they conclude that the dichotomy is grammatically justifiable.

Conversely, I suggest that these grammatical tests cannot be used for the dichotomy, at least in Korean. Since the authors limit their data to Japanese only, one might argue that my counter-argument based on a different language would not be valid. However, the authors clearly address that they "strongly suspect that grounds for a comparable distinction can be found in other languages" (Kumashiro and Langacker 2003: 26). I believe that the authors expect other languages to exhibit the same or a similar grammatical pattern when they have double subject constructions. Considering that Korean is strikingly similar to Japanese typologically, my argument exclusively based on Korean can still be treated as germane to the given discussion. In the remainder of this section, I discuss Kumashiro and Langacker's three grammatical tests. I also show an additional piece of evidence – coordination – to claim that the double-subject/complex-predicate dichotomy is unwarranted.

Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) claim that only the subject of a predicate, whether it be a genuine predicate or a complex predicate, controls honorification. For example, in the formula [NP_2 [NP_1 PREDICATE]] of double subject construction proper, only NP_1 controls honorification, because only NP_1 is the subject of a genuine predicate. As a clausal subject, NP_2 cannot control honorification. By contrast, in complex predicate constructions, only NP_2 can control honorification, since NP_1 does not have a subject property, represented as [NP_2 NP_1 PREDICATE]. In this formula, NP_2 is the only subject of the complex predicate [NP_1 PREDICATE]. As a piece of evidence for this claim, they provide the following examples. In (3.36), NP_2 controls honorification, yielding either an unacceptable or awkward result. Therefore, (3.36) is a double subject construction proper. (3.37), which is an example of the complex predicate construction, shows that the honorific marker

does not agree with *sensei-ga*, because *sensei-ga* does not have a subject property. Since the honorification marker cannot agree with the speaker herself, *watashi* 'I', (3.37) is not felicitous.

(3.36) ?? Yamada-sensei-ga okosan-ga o-chisai.
Yamada-teacher-NOM child-NOM HON-small
'Professor Yamada has a small child.'

(3.37) * Watashi-ga sensei-ga o-suki-na (koto)
I-NOM teacher-NOM HON-like-be that
'(that) I like the teacher'

This test is problematic when we deal with Korean data. The Korean counterpart of (3.36), (3.38), is acceptable, especially when *atu(l)* is followed by the honorification marker *-nim*.

(3.38) Kim-sensayng-nim-i atu(l)-nim-i cak-usi-ta.
Kim-teacher-HON-NOM son-HON-NOM small-HON-DECL
'Mr Kim has a small son.'

(3.37) is also problematic in that the unacceptability might stem from the choice of the predicate in conjunction with the iconicity principle of proximity/distance. This key principle states that conceptual units that belong together tend to be closely integrated in the structure of language. The predicate *o-suki-ta* 'like' semantically requires an animate subject and an object, whether they be implicit or explicit. In Japanese, an SOV language, the first noun phrase in a clause tends to be interpreted as the subject. This is because the farthest noun phrase from the verb is seen as the subject in a canonical structure. In (3.37), *watashi-ga*, being the first appearing nominative-marked noun phrase in the sentence, is interpreted as the subject. The second nominative-marked noun phrase, *sensei-ga*, acquires a sort of objective meaning – nominative object – due to the property of the predicate *o-suki-na*; the predicate requires both subject and object.[27] Since the honorification marker always agrees with the subject but not with the object, (3.37) becomes infelicitous. The agreement possibility between *watashi* 'I' and the honorific marker is trivially ruled out, because, in any situation, the speaker (*watashi* 'I') cannot be honorified.

The other example of complex predicate of Kumashiro and Langacker is shown in (3.39). Kumashiro and Langacker (2003: 28) treat (3.39) as an example of a complex predicate, again based on the honorification agreement. They claim that "cultural expectations are naturally that *the teacher* should be honored rather than *his eyes*." Since *the teacher* controls honorification, it must be a subject of a predicate; therefore, *me-ga zuibun juketsu-nasat-teiru* must be a complex predicate.

27. Example (3.37) is actually an example of the Nominative Object Construction.

(3.39) Yamada-sensei-ka me-ga zuibun juketsu-nasat-teiru (koto)
Yamada-teacher-NOM eye-NOM very inflammation-do.HON-STAT that
'(that) Professor Yamada has very red eyes'

This explanation becomes problematic when we consider the Korean sentence (3.40). In (3.40), the speaker "incorrectly" uses the honorification marker *-sip-* to be polite to *sensayng-nim* 'teacher'. The honorific marker, however, agrees with *neykthai* in its grammatical form and meaning. Since *neykthai* is the only subject of *yeyppu-sip-ni-ta*, it can be said that *neykthai* controls the honorification, not *sensayng-nim*. We can also claim that *neykthai* is closely tied to the honorific marker, because what the speaker conveys is that the teacher's necktie is pretty, not the teacher.

(3.40) sensayng-nim, onul sensayng-nim-uy neykthai-ka
teacher-HON(-VOC) today teacher-HON-GEN necktie-NOM
yeyppu-sip-ni-ta.
pretty-HON-IND-DECL
'Teacher, your necktie looks pretty today.'

This type of honorification agreement may arise due to hyper-honorification to be extremely polite to the addressee. No matter what the motivation of this type of phenomenon is, similar phenomena are not unusually found in the Korean language and culture. If this is the case, we need to carefully assess the validity of the honorification-based test to identify the syntactic property of double (multiple) subject constructions.

Although there is an undeniable agreement mechanism, which is syntactically motivated, honorification cannot be explained without recourse to the social context. In everyday conversation in Japanese and Korean societies, speakers should know their social relationship to their addressee and referent with respect to age, social status, and the kinship status. The cultural value of respect plays a significant role in everyday discourse in the Korean society, and speakers rarely communicate with other people in a socially "acceptable" way without recourse to this. Considering that honorification is a social phenomenon and cannot be understood outside the social context, adopting honorification control as a syntactic test other than the subject agreement seems to be open to doubt.[28]

As their second test, Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) propose a criterion that either NP_1 or NP_2 in the formula [NP_2 [NP_1 PREDICATE]] controls the reflexive *jibun* in Japanese double subject constructions, while only NP_2 in [NP_2 NP_1 PREDICATE] controls *jibun* in complex predicate constructions. Kumashiro and

28. The socio-pragmatic nature of honorification is further supported by my study (Park 2009) on the grammaticalization of the Korean honorific marker *-sup-*.

Langacker (2003: 28) show the examples to claim that with *Taroo* as the antecedent, (3.41) is acceptable, while (3.42) is not.

(3.41) Taroo-ga jibun-no kurasu-de ichiban me-ga juuketsu-shi-teiru (koto)
Taroo-NOM self-GEN class-in most eye-NOM inflammation-STAT that
'(that) Taroo has the reddest eyes in his class'

(3.42) *Watashi-ga Taroo-ga jibun-no kurasu-de ichiban suki-na (koto)
I-NOM Taroo-NOM self-GEN class-in most like-be that
'(that) I like Taroo best in his class'

This second criterion does not work in Korean, since the Korean counterpart of *jibun*, *caki*, can be controlled by either noun phrase in supposed complex predicate constructions. A similar Korean nominative object construction in (3.43) seems to show the case that only *Yenghuy-ka* controls *caki*. By contrast, (3.44), which is also an alleged complex predicate construction, illustrates the case where *Chelswu* controls *caki*. One possible reason is that the subject *nay* is not often acceptable as an antecedent of *caki*, and the nominative object *Chelswu* takes over the antecedent role in this particular example. In other words, either NP_1 or NP_2 can control the reflexive *caki*, just like double subject constructions, hence making a blind application of the reflexive control criterion unwarranted.

(3.43) Yenghuy-ka Chelswu-ka caki hakkyo-eyse ceyil coh-ta.
Yenghuy-NOM Chelswu-NOM self school-at most good-DECL
'Yenghuy likes Chelswu best in his/her school.

(3.44) nay-ka Chelswu-ka caki tongney-eyse ceyil mip-ta.
I-NOM Chelswu-NOM self neighbor-at most ugly-DECL.
'Intended: I hate Chelswu the most out of his neighbors.'

The third criterion put forward by Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) is the possibility of embedding. They claim that double subject constructions are not embedded freely, whereas embedding is permitted in complex predicates. Their examples are shown in (3.45) and (3.46). According to these authors, (3.45), which is an example of double subject construction, is awkward, while *me-ga zuibun juuketsu-shi-teiru* in (3.46) can be embedded, since it is a complex predicate.

(3.45) ??Yamada-sensei-ga Taroo-ga oigosan-nara …
Yamada-teacher-NOM Taroo-NOM nephew-if
'If Professor Yamada has Taroo as his nephew…'

(3.46) Yamada-sensei-ga me-ga zuibun juuketsu-shi-teiru-nara …
Yamada-teacher-NOM eye-NOM very inflammation-do-STAT-if
'If Professor Yamada has very red eyes…'

This test is also problematic when applied to Korean. Korean permits embedding of either construction. Both (3.47) and (3.48) are acceptable in Korean.

(3.47) (Manyak) Kim-sensayng-nim-i Chelswu-ka atul-ilamyen etthehkey
if Kim-teacher-HON-NOM Chelswu-NOM son-if how
ha-si-ess-ul-kka?
do-HON-PST-CONN-Q
'What would Mr. Kim do if Chelswu were his son?'

(3.48) Kim-sensayng-nim-i nwun-i ceyil yeyppu-si-myen …
Kim-teacher-HON-NOM eye-NOM most pretty-HON-if
'If Mr. Kim had the best eyes…'

In addition to these unwarranted tests for Korean, Kumashiro and Langacker's dichotomy makes a problematic prediction. If the double subject construction is syntactically distinguishable from the complex predicate construction, coordination of the two constructions must not be possible.[29] Coordination is irreducibly syntactic, a fact which has been well attested in the literature. This prediction is not borne out, as we can see in the following examples. In (3.49), according to Kumashiro and Langacker (2003), the first conjunct of the coordinated phrase/clause has a full clause status, while the second conjunct is a complex predicate, *kyeysan* being devoid of subject properties. If Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) are correct, this asymmetric coordination would be hard to explain. (3.50) illustrates a similar case where the first conjunct is a part of a putative double subject construction proper, whereas the second conjunct is a complex predicate.

(3.49) John-i [[os-i hangsang cholaha]-ko [kyeysan-i
John-NOM clothes-NOM always shabby-CONJ calculation-NOM
ppalu]]-ta.
quick-DECL
'John always wears shabby clothes and is quick at calculation.'

(3.50) Kim-sensayng-nim-i [[pwuin-i mwuchek celm-usi]-ko [nwun-i
Kim-teacher-HON-NOM wife-NOM very young-HON-CONJ eye-NOM
acwu khu-si]]-ta.
very big-HON-DECL

29. In dealing with Japanese MNCs, Vermeulen (2005) argues that there are two types of MNCs. One is possessor type, the other adjunct type. Vermeulen's distinction is similar to Kumashiro and Lanacker's as the possessor type is similar to complex predicates and the adjunct type is similar to double subjects proper. One of Vermeulen's arguments for this dichotomy is a coordination test. She shows that the two different types of MNCs cannot be conjoined. Her coordination test cannot be extended to Korean, because these two putatively different types of constructions can be conjoined as illustrated.

'Intended: Mr. Kim has a very young wife and he has big eyes.'

None of the tests illustrated thus far provides evidence that double subject proper and complex predicate constructions are clearly distinguishable in Korean. I am not denying that there may be some different categorization of Korean MNCs, but this categorization might be predominantly based on the conceptual semantic properties of those constructions. In fact, both constructions exhibit identical compositional paths. The differences arise from their different semantic structures; they reside in the interpretation of those constructions, with metonymy and domain highlighting playing a crucial role in such an interpretation process.

3.7 Topic-marked MNCs

As briefly addressed earlier, the MNC may contain a topic-marked nominal. (3.51a) can be identically translated as the MNC in (3.51b). The position of the topic-marked nominal is not just limited to the outer nominal; it can appear as the subject of the lexical predicate as in (3.52), which primarily has the contrastive topic interpretation.

(3.51) a. Chelswu-nun nwun-i yeyppu-ta.
C-TOP eye-NOM pretty-DECL
'As for Chelswu, he has pretty eyes.'
b. Chelswu-ka nwun-i yeyppu-ta.
C-NOM eye-NOM pretty-DECL
'As for Chelswu, he has pretty eyes.'

(3.52) Chelswu-ka nwun-un yeyppu-ta.
C-NOM eye-TOP pretty-DECL
'Chelsw has pretty eyes, (but maybe he does not have other pretty body parts)'

The question I want to answer is what the difference is between (3.51a) and (3.51b). This is an important question because the two sentences denote the same situation. What I propose is (3.51a) and (3.51b) are different in their compositional pathways. The topic marker *-nun* is independently established to direct the speaker and hearer to the proper realm of knowledge for interpreting a target proposition; the topic marker invokes a reference point relationship, where a target is a clause. There are two possible representations of the topic marker as shown in Figure 3.6.

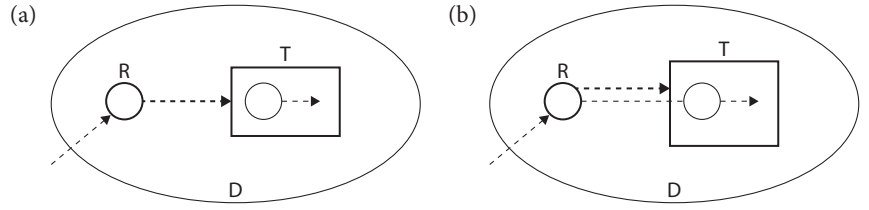

Figure 3.6 Topic marker as a reference point relationship

Figure 3.6(a) represents an example like (3.51a), where the topic-marked nominal is a reference point in relation to the clause *nwun-i yeyppu-ta* 'eye-NOM pretty-DECL'. Figure 3.6(b) is for an example like (3.53), where the topic-marked nominal is the subject of the predicate. In this case, the reference point invoked by the topic marker corresponds to the trajector of the internal relationship profiled by the process.[30] As a result, Figure 3.6(a) is identical to the external topic construction, while 3.6(b) is to the intrinsic topic construction.

(3.53) Chelswu-nun ca-n-ta.
C-TOP sleep-PRS-DECL
'As for Chelswu, he sleeps.'

Let us turn back to (3.51a) to compare it with (3.51b). In (3.51a), *nwun-i* 'eye-NOM' first combines with the predicate *yeyppu-ta* 'pretty-DECL' through the regular subject composition. The topic-marked nominal then combines with the clause *nuwn-i yeyppu-ta*, in which the clause becomes the target of the reference point. The result of the operation is identical to (3.51b), where the outer nominative-marked nominal is a reference point in relation to the inner clause. The difference between (3.51a) and (3.51b) is how we reached the final stage. While we applied the reference point subject mechanism to (3.51b), (3.51a) didn't need the same mechanism, owing to the reference point nature of the topic-marked nominal.

Another interesting observation of (3.52) concerns the inner nominal's contrastive interpretation. It seems that a topic-marked nominal in the NP_1 position is more readily interpreted contrastively in comparison to NP_2. If we switch the order of *Chelswu-ka* and *nwun-un* as in (3.54), the contrastive reading is weakened. This shows that the contrast reading is not a direct consequence of the topic marker. Nonetheless, the association between the topic marker and the contrastive reading seems to be stronger than between a nominative-marked reference point subject and a contrastive reading, which needs more thorough examination but is beyond the scope of this chapter.

30. Kumashiro (2016) treats Japanese nominative case marker as an independent construction builder as well. This type of analysis is reasonable. But there are some weaknesses when we deal with the case dropping phenomenon in Korean, which will be discussed in Chapter 9.

(3.54) nwun-un Chelswu-ka yeyppu-ta.
eye-NOM eye-TOP pretty-DECL
'As far as eyes are concerned, Chelswu has the best ones'

The interpretation of (3.54) is naturally expected in my analysis. While *Chelswu* is a regular subject in relation to the predicate *yeyppu-ta*, *nwun* 'eye' is a reference point, which is invoked by the topic marker. As a reference point, its topicality is nothing but expected.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter was an attempt to analyze Korean MNCs: their grammatical and conceptual structures. In a nutshell, I claimed that outer nominals, such as NP_2 and NP_3 in the formula [NP_3 [NP_2 [NP_1 PREDICATE]]], are both subjects in essence, however each at a different level. NP_1 is a subject of a genuine predicate, while both NP_3 and NP_2 are subjects of clausal predicates. I argued that these clausal-level subjects function as reference points. The reference point property of these outer noun phrases posed problems for many researchers in providing a systematic account of the conceptual semantics of these constructions. Once articulated, I argued, the property can explain several unexplained phenomena concerning MNCs. I also argued that the various semantic interpretations of these constructions stem from the metonymic nature of the constructions. Because metonymy is a type of reference point phenomenon, discussing metonymy in conjunction with reference point is crucial to discovering the depth in these seemingly simple notions. I argued that this obvious – yet often overlooked – connection provides a reasonable generalization of the conceptual semantics of MNCs. Throughout the course of this chapter, I have also shown multiple sources of evidence for my argument of subject in Korean MNCs in defense of the CG viewpoint. In providing technical details, I reflected on the works of Kumashiro and Langacker (2003), among others, although the details of my analysis differ from these authors'.

Before leaving this chapter, I would like to briefly discuss Kim's (2016a) view on the outer nominal as focus. The focus reading of the outer nominal is fully acceptable, as we discussed throughout this chapter, but treating the outer nominal uniformly as focus seems to be problematic. Kim's argument is based on the examples like (3.55). The answer in (3.55c) is felicitous for the question (3.55a), but not for the question (3.55b). Kim argues that since the focus particle *-to* is associated with the outer nominal in the question – an MNC – the outer-nominal must be the focus.

(3.55) a. nwu-ka apeci-ka kyoswu-i-si-ni?
who-NOM father-NOM professor-COP-HON-Q
'Whose father is a professor?'
b. nwukwu-uy apeci-ka kyoswu-i-si-ni?
who-GEN father-NOM professor-COP-HON-Q
'Whose father is a professor?'
c. Mimi-to apeci-ka kyoswu-i-si-ta. (Kim 2016a: 273)
Mimi-also father-NOM professor-COP-HON-DECL
'It is also Mimi whose father is a professor.'

In these examples, the outer nominal is indeed interpreted as the focus. We are forced to interpret the outer nominal as new information because of the wh-word that occupies the outer nominal position. Answer C naturally pairs with Question A. These examples, however, do not show that all outer nominals in MNCs are interpreted as the focus. This is a highly contextualized situation, and gaining a focus reading in this type of context is nothing but expected. It is important to emphasize that the topical and focal properties of nominals are not cut and dry. A topic at a lower level of organization can be reinterpreted as focus at a higher level of organization. In my analysis, the outer nominal in the MNC exhibits a higher degree of topicality compared to the inner nominal. This topicality, however, can be overridden at discourse level organization. (3.55) is one such case.

CHAPTER 4

Multiple accusative constructions

4.1 Introduction

Korean Multiple Accusative Constructions (MACs), where more than one accusative-marked nominal occurs within a clause, pose challenging theoretical problems. To understand the grammatical structures of these constructions, we need to explain the multiple case assignment mechanism by which all instances of case are controlled by the verb of a sentence. Concerning the meanings of the constructions, we need to explain how various meanings arise and what their functions are. Over the past two decades, a vast amount of research has been conducted, advancing our understanding of the grammatical structures of MACs. However, explaining the conceptual structures of the constructions remains a difficult task. From a cognitive linguistics perspective, this chapter addresses the common source behind the various meanings. I adopt the CG notion of metonymy, specifically, reference point as a metonymic phenomenon. I argue that this notion sheds some light on the nature of MACs in Korean.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 4.2 discusses grammar as a metonymic process. Section 4.3 discusses Korean MACs and how they are categorized. This section goes on to illustrate the major debates on the said types of constructions and provides the key nature of my analysis in terms of CG. Section 4.4 reviews five general characteristics of Korean MACs and discusses how they are explained in my approach. Section 4.5 discusses similarities and differences among three types of MACs, where the similarities stem from the reference point nature of these types. I also demonstrate that the other three types of MACs can be explained without direct recourse to reference point. Section 4.6 provides technical CG analyses of Korean MACs, and Section 4.7 concludes this chapter, summarizing the functions of MACs demonstrated in the chapter.

4.2 Grammar as a metonymic process

Metaphor and metonymy have certainly been some of the most discussed subjects in cognitive linguistics for the past three decades. Since Lakoff and Johnson's

(1980, 1999) seminal work, a substantial amount of research has been conducted to yield a reasonably clear notion of conceptual metaphor. By contrast, as pointed out by Panther and Thornburg (2003: 280), "things are less straightforward with metonymy." True, there is still an ongoing debate over whether to describe metonymy as a shift of meaning that occurs within a single domain (Barcelona 2002; Kövecses 2002; Kövecses and Radden 1998; Panther and Thornburg 1999) or as a contiguity relationship (Seto 1999; Peirsman and Geeraerts 2006). While there is no denying that this issue is important in identifying the nature of metonymy, the debate itself is not a major concern of the present chapter. Rather, the use of metonymy here is grounded on the general definition that "metonymy is a conceptual operation in which one entity, the vehicle, can be employed in order to identify another entity, the target, with which it is associated" (Evans 2007: 141). Using this definition, the aim of this chapter is to account for the connection between metonymy and grammar in Korean MACs as illustrated in (4.1). Detailed descriptions and other various types of MACs are introduced in Section 4.3.

(4.1) Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-lul son-ul cap-ass-ta.
C-NOM Y-ACC hand-ACC hold-PST-DECL
'Chelswu held Yenghuy by her hand.'

Langacker (2009: 41)[1] claims that "grammar is basically metonymy in nature." He provides an ample amount of justification to support his claim there and in his other works related to metonymy.[2] Adopting Langacker's claim, I extend the view of grammar as metonymy to one of the most debated constructions in Korean in the generative linguistics tradition. I argue that Korean MACs indeed exhibit metonymic nature. I further argue that the metonymy-based account not only sheds light on the nature of the constructions in question, but also answers several questions left unanswered by other scholars. Before I begin a detailed discussion on Korean MACs, I briefly introduce Langacker's view on grammar as metonymy in Section 4.2.1. Two case studies are provided in Section 4.2.2.

1. The chapter in Langacker (2009) originally appeared in *Journal of Foreign Languages* 6. 2–24, with the same title 'Metonymy in grammar.'

2. Metonymy in grammar has been widely discussed by researchers in dealing with numerous grammatical phenomena, such as Raising – Langacker (1995); Noun-verb conversion – Dirven (1999); Conceptual anaphor – Langacker (1999); Proper-common noun conversion – Barcelona (2003); Double subject constructions – Langacker (2009); among others.

4.2.1 Profile–active zone discrepancy

With regard to metonymy, the two notions of active zone and reference point play an important role. Active zone is a part of an entity, which is cognitively activated in a linguistic context. In explaining active zone, Langacker (1984) observes that there is often a discrepancy between profile and active zone in ordinary language use. To illustrate the discrepancy, let us consider (4.2). In the example, it is clear that what is *in her mouth* is not the whole of *the cigarette*. Although the nominal profile of *the cigarette* is the whole entity, what is conveyed by *the cigarette* in (4.2) is a particular portion of the cigarette – the active zone. Similarly, what the speaker means by *in her mouth* is not *in her whole mouth*, but only *between her lips*, where she holds the cigarette. As a result, we see a discrepancy between profile and active zone.

(4.2) The cigarette in her mouth was unlit. (Langacker 2009: 43)

Then, what is the connection between this type of discrepancy and grammar? To answer this question, Langacker (2009: 41) claims that the canonical linguistic situation is one of indeterminacy. The indeterminacy is resolved by providing mental access to the elements involved. Metonymy plays a role as a conceptual device that provides mental access to fill the gap left by the indeterminate situation. To put this explanation in Langacker's own words, let us consider the following (Langacker 2009: 41):

> … [T]he information explicitly coded linguistically does not itself establish the precise connections apprehended by the speaker and hearer in using an expression. Explicit indications evoke conceptions which merely provide mental access to elements with the potential to be connected in specific ways – the details have to be established from other considerations.

According to Langacker (2009: 44), Example (4.3) can be explained similarly. The English verb *hit* is not determinate as to which portions of the trajector and landmark participate. The indeterminacy is resolved by adding the grammatical entity – a preposition phrase – to specify active zone.

(4.3) She hit me (in the {arm / stomach / mouth / back / leg / knee / neck}).

The addition of a preposition resolves the indeterminacy issue left by the verb *hit*, specifying the active zone of *me*. The grammatical process of the addition of a preposition phrase is metonymy in that we can now mentally trace a path from a conceptually salient entity (*me*) to another conceptual entity (*arm*/*stomach*/*mouth*/*back*/*leg*/*knee*/*neck*). In this regard, Langacker's claim that "grammar is basically metonymy in nature" certainly holds true.

4.2.2 Multiple nominative constructions in Japanese and Korean

Reference point, as a type of metonymy, plays a crucial role in MACs. Metonymy involves speaking about a salient reference point that allows the interlocutors to access another conceptual entity. As discussed in Chapter 3, Kumashiro and Langacker (2003) argue that the topic-like property of the outer noun phrase in MNCs is the result of the reference point subject creation. In (4.4), for instance, the outer NP *Taroo-ga* 'Taroo-NOM' functions as a reference point to access the clause-level predicate *fuku-ga itsumo hade-da* 'clothes-NOM always gaudy-COP'. Since *Taroo-ga* was created by the reference point subject creation mechanism, it functions as a bridge to access the clausal predicate target. As a mental path to the clausal predicate, *Taroo-ga* in (4.4) is interpreted as a topical NP, as opposed to a genuine subject.

(4.4) Taroo-ga fuku-ga itsumo hade-da.
T-NOM clothes-NOM always gaudy-COP
'Taro always has gaudy clothes.'

The authors' analysis shows a clear connection between grammar and metonymy: the well-known double subject construction in Japanese is indeed one example of metonymy in grammar. The outer NP created by the reference point mechanism provides the hearer with mental access to the clausal predicate. Via *Taroo*, we can access one of the *Taroo*'s properties, in this case, always having gaudy clothes. In (4.4), the relationship between the outer NP and its clausal predicate is not explicitly indicated by any verb. The actual connection between the two elements is supplied on the basis of context or world knowledge.

Extending on my analysis of the MNC in Chapter 3, this chapter claims that metonymy also plays an important role in interpreting Korean MACs. Although the two constructions differ in many aspects, I argue that both multiple nominative and accusative constructions are systematically accounted for when viewed from the perspective of metonymy and reference point. This approach resolves several issues that have puzzled many scholars in interpreting Korean MACs.

4.3 The phenomenon: Korean MACs

In this section, I first describe several types of Korean MACs observed in the literature. Following this, I briefly discuss some major debates on these constructions. This section is concluded with a concise statement about the key aspect of my CG-based analysis.

4.3.1 The data

In Korean, multiple surface accusative-markings can appear in the domain of a single, underived predicate. One notable factor is that a variety of syntactic, semantic, and/or pragmatic relations exists among the identically accusative-marked constituents in MACs. Summarizing previous research on Korean MACs (Yoon 1989; Y-J Kim 1990; Maling and S-W Kim 1992; O'Grady 1998; among others), Yoon (2001: 2–3) categorizes Korean MACs into the following six types.[3]

(4.5) **Double Object**
Cheli-ka Swuni-lul senmwul-ul ponay-ss-ta.
C-NOM S-ACC gift-ACC send-PST-DECL
'Cheli sent Swuni a gift.'

(4.6) **Inalienable Possession**
Cheli-ka Swuni-lul phal-ul pithul-ess-ta.
C-NOM S-ACC arm-ACC twist-PST-DECL
'Cheli twisted Swuni's arm.'

(4.7) **Object + Acc-marked Adverb**
Cheli-ka chayk-ul sey sikan/pen-ul ilk-ess-ta.
C-NOM book-ACC three hour/times-ACC read-PST-DECL
'Cheli read the book for three hours/three times.'

(4.8) **Object + Quantifier/Classifier**
Cheli-ka sakwa-lul twu kay-lul mek-ess-ta.
C-NOM apple-ACC two CLS-ACC eat-PST-DECL
'Cheli ate two apples.'

(4.9) **Type–Token**
Cheli-ka kwail-ul sakwa-lul coha-ha-n-ta.
C-NOM fruit-ACC apple-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL
'As for fruits, Cheli likes apples.'

(4.10) **Modifier–Modifiee**
Cheli-ka kwutwu-lul kkamansayk-ul sin-ess-ta.
C-NOM shoes-ACC black.color-ACC wear-PST-DECL
'As for shoes, Cheli wore black ones.'

In discussing the semantics of MACs, Yoon (2001: 3) notes that different types of MACs might not arise in the same way, alluding to the potential difficulty in generalizing the semantics of the MACs. Intuitively, however, there seem to be some

3. Yoon is not claiming that the categorization is exhaustive. As far as I understand, what he intended was to show the complicated properties of MACs.

commonalities in all of the examples, except for the typical ditransitive Double Object construction shown in (4.5). The ditranstive Double Object construction seems to arise due to the two object-like participants. By contrast, what seems to be involved in examples other than the Double Object construction are some types of endocentric, as well as exocentric, nesting structures. To explain the intuitive similarity among the MACs, I argue that the commonalities are symptomatic of the construction's reference point property. More specifically, I argue that (4.6), (4.9), and (4.10) are accounted for directly based on reference point. Although somewhat similar relations might be construed, I argue that (4.5), (4.7), and (4.8) are not obvious examples of the reference point phenomenon. For a more natural account of these, I argue that (4.7) and (4.8) are motivated by adverbial case-marking and "floated" quantifier constructions, respectively.

4.3.2 The problems and the proposal

4.3.2.1 *The problems*

Among Yoon's six types of MACs, the Inalienable Possession (IAP) Construction has attracted the most attention from scholars. In explaining the syntactic property of IAP, researchers attempted to account for the multiple case assignment mechanism in diverse theoretical frameworks.[4] The semantic licensing of multiple objects has also been extensively discussed, the possessor ascension (Chun 1985; Cho 2000; Vermeulen 2005) analysis being one such well-known attempt.

As argued by Yoon (2001: 19–26), the mechanism exhibits several shortcomings. One empirical shortcoming is the fact that not all genitive-marked NPs can occur as accusative-marked possessors in IAP. Yoon discusses other technical problems with this approach, but the formal syntactic details are beyond the scope of this chapter. Although the possessor ascension mechanism is apparently problematic, there is no consensus as to why and how the possessive-like interpretation arises in IAP.[5] To explain how IAP is different from an Internal Possession Construction like (4.11), Chappell and McGregor (1996) argue that *Cheli*'s action in a sentence like (4.6) is understood as more directly affecting *Swuni* than in (4.11). While the action seems to be directed to *phal* 'arm' in (4.11), *Swuni* seems to be less affected by *Cheli*'s action, compared to (4.6) above.

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4. For details, refer to Kang (1985); Choe (1986); Gerdts and Youn (1989); Youn (1990); Y-J Kim (1990); J-S Lee (1992); Mailing and Kim (1992); O'Grady (1991, 1998); Cho (2000).

5. For example, Tomioka and Sim (2005) argue that the head of FP (Focus Phrase) assigns an affect theta role, yielding the affectedness interpretation. By contrast, Vermeulen (2005) claims that the affected interpretation arises due to pragmatics as opposed to a grammatically defined theta role.

(4.11) Cheli-ka Swuni-uy phal-ul pithul-ess-ta.
C-NOM S-GEN arm-ACC twist-PST-DECL
'Cheli twisted Swuni's arm.'

The same view is adopted by Yeon (2010); he argues that the notions of affectedness and contiguity can accurately characterize the semantic properties of IAP and potentially other types of MACs. I agree with Chappell and McGregor (1996) and Yeon (2010) in that (4.11) is different from (4.6) and the notions of affectedness and contiguity are closely related to the semantic nature of IAP.

That being said, the aforementioned authors' analyses have focused only on IAPs, thus failing to provide a unified analysis of constructions that exhibit similar properties. As will get clearer in Section 4.5, I would like to emphasize that I am not claiming that all MACs exhibit an identical type of reference point mechanism. There are clear differences among different types of MACs, but there are commonalities too, particularly among three types of MACs: IAP, Type–Token, and Modifier–Modifiee. These types invoke a reference point relationship, but the invoked reference point relates to the ultimate target – the inner accusative-marked nominal – at different levels, which leads to different interpretive properties. Among these three types, the IAP type is only susceptible to the affectedness condition because the reference point and target relation is established at the lower level, and the two reference point relationships collapse due to their conceptual affinity. The details of the differences are discussed in Section 4.5.1 and Section 4.6.

4.3.2.2 *The proposal*

This chapter centers around how the form of the three types of MACs illustrated in (4.6), (4.9), and (4.10) reflects its meaning in relation to the notion of reference point. I first argue that the schematic description of these examples is [NP-NOM [NP_1-ACC [NP_2-ACC [PRED]]]]. I then demonstrate how the reference point meaning of NP_1 arises in conjunction with its accusative-marking. The key aspect of my analysis is as follows. First, at the level of composition, NP_2 combines with the predicate in the regular object construction, producing the composite expression [NP_2-PRED], which is a complex verb because it profiles the event of PRED. Since NP_2 elaborates the landmark of PRED, it qualifies as the object at this lower/inner level. Due to its meaning, NP_2 implicitly invokes NP_1, which is a reference point in relation to [NP_2-PRED]. We can therefore posit a higher-level grammatical construction, where NP_1 combines with [NP_2-PRED] by virtue of elaborating this reference point invoked by the latter. The structure emerging at this level profiles a more elaborate process consisting of both the reference point relation and the process of [NP_2-PRED], which can be schematically described as [R-NP_2-PRED], where R stands for reference point. Since NP_1 specifies this landmark, the new

structure [NP$_1$-R-NP$_2$-PRED] arises. Now, as NP$_1$ is the landmark of [R-NP$_2$-PRED], NP$_1$ qualifies as a grammatical object. This process can be recursively applied to produce MACs. This general syntactic-conceptual structure explains why various meanings arise in MACs, particularly as in (4.6), (4.9), and (4.10). Once again, though all three types invoke a reference point relationship, they do exhibit different interpretive properties. These are ascribed based on which level the reference point accesses the target.

4.4 Five characteristics of MACs

In this section, I describe five principal properties of Korean MACs relevant to this chapter. I argue that the conceptual motivation of these constructions is to create a reference point object. The properties in relation to the notion of reference point are discussed in a non-technical way.

The first property is the potentially unlimited number of accusative-marked NPs in MACs. The second is the non-constituent nature of the NPs. The third is the "loose" connection of the outer NPs to the predicate. The fourth is the relational nominal property of the inner NPs in IAPs. The last is the supposedly fixed ordering of the accusative-marked NPs in MACs. Each property is described in a separate subsection below.[6]

4.4.1 Unlimited number of accusative-marked NPs

The first property is the potentially unlimited number of accusative-marked NPs in the constructions, as in (4.12), (4.13), and (4.14).

(4.12) Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul phal-ul sonmok-ul pithul-ess-ta.
C-NOM S-ACC arm-ACC wrist-ACC twist-PST-DECL
'Chelswu twisted Swuni's arm by her wrist.'

(4.13) Chelswu-ka kwail-ul sakwa-lul pwusa-lul coha-ha-n-ta.
C-NOM fruit-ACC apple-ACC Fuji-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL
'Chelswu likes Fuji among the apples, among the fruits.'

(4.14) Chelswu-ka kwutwu-lul kkamansayk-ul nacun kwup-ul sin-ess-ta.
C-NOM shoes-ACC black.color-ACC low heel-ACC wear-PST-DECL
'Chelswu wore low-heeled black shoes.'

6. This is not an exhaustive list of the properties of MACs. Only the most discussed properties in literature are introduced in this chapter.

While many realize the possibility of these multiply occurring accusative-marked NPs in MACs, most existing studies focus on double object constructions only. To understand the nature of these constructions, however, the potentially unlimited number of objects must be explained.

All types of MACs other than the ditransitive construction permit more than two accusative-marked NPs. This is strong evidence that the ditransitive Double Object construction differs from other MACs. Since verbs like *cwu-ta* 'give' in (4.15) is naturally trivalent, we can explain double accusative markings without invoking reference points, which is not the case for other types of MACs.[7]

(4.15) Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-lul senmwul-ul cwu-ess-ta.
C-NOM Y-ACC gift-ACC give-PST-DECL
'Chelswu gave Yenghuy a gift.'

One might claim that the multiplicity of the accusative-marked NPs is also possible in the ditransitive Double Object construction as in (4.16).

(4.16) Kim-sensayng-nim-i Chelswu-lul yenphil-ul ppalgansayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
K-teacher-HON-NOM C-ACC pencil-ACC red.color-ACC give-PST-DECL
'Mr. Kim gave Chelswu a red pencil.'

Although (4.16) seems identical to (4.12)–(4.14), the similarity is only superficial. While (4.12)–(4.14) exhibit the schematic structure [NP-NOM [NP_1-ACC [NP_2-ACC [NP_3-ACC [PRED]]]]], (4.16) exhibits a different structure, [NP-NOM [[NP_1-ACC] [NP_2-ACC [NP_3-ACC [PRED]]]]]. As will be clear in Section 4.6, NP_1 is a reference point in relation to [NP_2-ACC [NP_3-ACC [PRED]]] in (4.12)–(4.14). Recursively, NP_2 functions as a reference point in relation to [NP_3-ACC [PRED]]. By contrast, in (4.16), NP_1 is a genuine object of the PRED, and NP_2 is a reference point in relation to [NP_3-ACC [PRED]]. Under the same assumption, (4.15) yields the structure [NP-NOM [NP_1-ACC] [NP_2-ACC [PRED]]], where NP_1 and NP_2 are not directly associated. For this reason, constructing a conceptual affinity between NP_1 and NP_2 is unnatural. In (4.16), though NP_2 and NP_3 are metonymically related, NP_1 does not partake in this relationship by being an indirect object.

4.4.2 The non-constituent nature of the NPs in MACs

The second property concerns the constituency of the accusative-marked NPs. Although it is tempting to claim that the two objects in IAP as in (4.17) are

7. It is worth noting that the ditransitive Double Accusative construction still resembles the other MACs to the extent that NP_1 bears a resultative possessive relationship to NP_2, which is on a par with the notion of reference point.

grammatically related due to their possessive-like relation, the two NPs do not form one constituent.

(4.17) Yenghuy-ka Cheli-lul elkwul-ul ttayli-ess-ta.
Y-NOM C-ACC face-ACC hit-PST-DECL
'Yenghuy hit Cheli in the face.'

The non-constituency of the two NPs can be illustrated by some standard constituency tests, which are illustrated in Chae and Kim (2008: 879). Adverb insertion, elliptic relation between question and answer, and pseudo-clefting are shown in (4.18)–(4.20), respectively.

(4.18) Chelswu-ka Mary-lul chenchenhi meli-lul manci-ess-ta.
C-NOM M-ACC slowly head-ACC touch-PST-DECL
'Chelswu slowly touched Mary's head.

(4.19) mwue-lul manci-ess-ta-ko? * Mary-lul meli-lul.
what-ACC touch-PST-DECL-QUOT M-ACC head-ACC
'What did (Chelswu) touch?'
'[Intended] Mary's head'

(4.20) * Chelswu-ka manci-n kes-un Mary-lul meli-i-ta.
C-NOM touch-REL thing-TOP M-ACC head-COP-DECL
'[Intended] What Chelswu touched is Mary's head.'

As shown in (4.18), the adverb *chenchenhi* 'slowly' can be inserted between the two NPs without making the sentence infelicitous. (4.19) shows that the answer formed with the two NPs cannot bear an elliptic relation to the question. The clefted sentence (4.20) yields an unacceptable result. All of these tests show that the NPs are not directly related syntactically. These non-constituent properties are not only limited to IAPs. The test results are the same for the Type–Token and the Modifier–Modifiee MACs as well. (4.21)–(4.23) illustrate the three tests for the Type–Token MAC, while (4.24)–(4.26) show the cases of the Modifier–Modifee type.

(4.21) Chelswu-ka kwail-ul cengmallo sakwa-lul coha-ha-n-ta.
C-NOM fruit-ACC really apple-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL
'Chelswu really likes apples among the fruits.'

(4.22) mwue-lul coha-ha-n-ta-ko? ?kwail-ul sakwa-lul.
what-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL-QUOT fruit-ACC apple-ACC
'What does (Chelswu) like?'
'[Intended] apples, among the fruits'

(4.23) *Chelswu-ka coha-ha-n kes-un kwail-ul sakwa-i-ta.
C-NOM like-do-REL thing-TOP fruit-ACC apple-COP-DECL
'[Intended] What Chelswu liked is apples among the fruits.'

(4.24) Chelswu-ka kwutwu-lul nollapkeyto kkamansayk-ul sin-ess-ta.
C-NOM shoes-ACC surprisingly black.color-ACC wear-PST-DECL
'Surprisingly, Chelswu wore black shoes.'

(4.25) mwue-lul sin-ess-ta-ko? ?kwutwu-lul kkamansayk-ul.
what-ACC wear-PST-DECL-QUOT shoes-ACC black.color-ACC
'What did (Chelswu) wear?'
'[Intended] black shoes'

(4.26) *Chelswu-ka sin-un kes-un kwutwu-lul kkamansayk-i-ta.
C-NOM wear-REL thing-TOP shoes-ACC black.color-COP-DECL
'[Intended] What Chelswu wore was black shoes.'

The three tests show that the two accusative-marked NPs in these types of MACs do not form a constituent. That being said, *Mary-lul meli-lul* in (4.19) can bear an elliptic relation to the question in some contexts like (4.27).[8]

(4.27) kulssey, Mary-lul (kukes-to) meli-lul mal-i-ya!
well M-ACC (even) head-ACC say-COP-DECL
'Well, (it is surprising that Chelswu touched) Mary's head (not her shoulder/arm/back/etc.)!'

I believe the increasing acceptability of (4.27) is tied to the conceptual grouping. Langacker (1997: 9) argues that constituency is epiphenomenal and inessential to syntactic description. Even the simple sentence, *Alice admires Bill*, can be interpreted as a flat constituency like *Alice* / *admires* / *Bill* in slow and deliberate speech (Langacker 2008: 211). This means that there are various grounds for conceptual grouping, and that mental spaces and information structure groupings can exist and be linguistically important even if they do not coincide with grammatical constituency. As radical as it may sound, a similar proposal has been made in a different tradition. Steedman (1985, 2000), for example, argues that his Combinatorial Categorial Grammar can capture different groupings within one sentence like *Anna married Manny* (Steedman 2000: 85). It is the case that *Anna* / *married Manny* yields the logical form, while *Anna married* / *Manny* yields the intonational structure. What Steedman claims is that the two constituent structures are both possible structures that must be accounted for. He claims that

8. This example was provided by a reviewer at *Functions of Language*, where the earlier version of this chapter appeared as Park (2013a).

this flexibility is advantageous over other theories in explaining several possible groupings in one sentence.

The possible improvement of the acceptability of (4.19) and other similar examples in (4.22) and (4.25) in a specific context might be understood similarly. To understand (4.27) as a felicitous answer, a certain pragmatic context provides a means to build a conceptual grouping between two accusative-marked NPs. The improvement of the acceptability illustrated by (4.27) then might be due to the stronger conceptual grouping pragmatically motivated by other additional words such as *mal-i-ya* 'say-COP-DECL' and the construction itself.

Be that as it may, the properties illustrated in (4.17)–(4.26) yield the reasonable conclusion that NP_1 in the schematic configuration [NP-NOM NP_1-ACC NP_2-ACC PRED] is in fact syntactically related to the phrase [NP_2-ACC [PRED]], yielding the structure [NP-NOM [NP_1-ACC [NP_2-ACC [PRED]]]]. The addition of an outer accusative-marked NP is then recursively applied when there are more than two accusative-marked nominals, yielding the structure [NP-NOM [NP_1-ACC [NP_2-ACC [NP_3-ACC [PRED]]]]], where the number of accusative-marked nominals is 3.

This conclusion is far from being a novelty. O'Grady (1991, 1998) and Chae and Kim (2008) reached the same conclusion within different theoretical frameworks. Though not specifically addressed in their works, Sells (1995a) and Cho and Sells (1995) have the same underlying assumption for the case of Korean MACs. As for the recursive application of the accusative-marked nominal creation, many scholars also have had the same intuition (Kuroda 1988; Shibatani 1990; B-S Park 2001; among others). I agree with the aforementioned scholars in that the accusative-marked nominals are not directly related syntactically. What I want to emphasize here, however, is that there are conceptual groupings above and beyond those which can be captured in any single grammatical constituency hierarchy. This is part of the import of 'symbolic assembly' into CG, an alternative to rigid constituency trees.

4.4.3 The property of the outer NPs

The third property concerns the nature of the outer NP(s). In the schematic configuration [NP-NOM [NP_1-ACC [NP_2-ACC [PRED]]]], NP_1 is more "loosely" tied to the predicate than NP_2. For this reason, it can undergo syntactic movements such as scrambling and relativization, as shown in the (a) sentences in (4.28)–(4.29).[9]

9. To other types of MACs (Double Object, Object + ACC-marked Adverb, and Object + Quantifier constructions), this test cannot be applied. For example, *[John-i chayk-ul ilk]-un sey-sikan* 'The three hours John read the book' is fully acceptable. This is more evidence to say that these constructions are independently motivated. That is, *John-i chayk-ul sepen-ul ilk-ess-ta* 'John

By contrast, applying these movements to NP_2 yields infelicitous[10] outcomes, as in the (b) examples in (4.28)–(4.29). These properties of NP_1 and NP_2 are discussed in Yeon (2010) with the same examples cited below. These tests are all typically applied to objects, and the results of the tests show that [NP_2-ACC [PRED]] behaves like one predicate.

(4.28) a. Mary$_i$-lul John-un t$_i$ phal-ul ttayli-ess-ta.
M-ACC J-TOP arm-ACC hit-PST-DECL
'[Intended] John hit Mary on her arm.'
b. *phal$_i$-ul John-un Mary-lul t$_i$ ttayli-ess-ta.
arm-ACC J-TOP M-ACC hit-PST-DECL
'[Intended] John hit Mary on her arm.'

(4.29) a. [John-i t$_i$ phal-ul ttayli]-n Mary$_i$
[J-NOM arm-ACC hit]-REL Mary
'Mary who John hit on her arm'
b. *[John-i Mary-lul t$_i$ ttayli]-n phal$_i$
[J-NOM M-ACC hit]-REL arm
'The arm that John hit Mary on'

The examples shown above illustrate that only NP_1 can be moved out of its base position, but not NP_2. These tests can be felicitously applied to the Type–Token and the Modifier–Modifiee types as well. Examples (4.30)–(4.31) show the tests for the Type–Token MAC, whereas (4.32)–(4.33) illustrate the Modifier–Modifiee examples to which the tests are applied.

(4.30) a. chayk$_i$-ul Chelswu-nun t$_i$ hatukhepe-lul coha-ha-n-ta.
book-ACC C-TOP hard.cover-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL
'[Intended] Chelswu likes hard cover books, of the types of covers.'
b. *hatukhepe$_i$-lul Chelswu-nun chayk-ul t$_i$ coha-ha-n-ta.
hard.cover-ACC C-TOP book-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL
'[Intended] Chelswu likes hard cover books, of the types of covers.'

(4.31) a. [Chelswu-ka t$_i$ hatukhepe-lul coha-ha]-n chayk$_i$
[C-NOM hard.cover-ACC like-do]-REL book
'[Intended] The book that Chelswu liked in hard cover'
b. *[Chelswu-ka chayk-ul t$_i$ coha-ha]-n hatukhepe$_i$
[C-NOM book-ACC like-do]-REL hard.cover
'[Intended] The hard cover Chelswu liked as a book'

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read the book three times' arises due to the floated quantifier construction in Korean, which is discussed in Section 4.5.3.

10. Note that the (un)acceptable sentences are such when the intended meaning is given.

(4.32) a. kwutwu$_i$-lul Chelswu-nun t$_i$ kkamansayk-ul sin-ess-ta.
shoes-ACC C-TOP black.color-ACC wear-PST-DECL
'[Intended] Chelswu wore black shoes.'
b. *kkamansayk$_i$-ul Chelswu-nun kwutwu-lul t$_i$ sin-ess-ta.
black.color-ACC C-TOP shoes-ACC wear-PST-DECL
'[Intended] Chelswu wore black shoes.'

(4.33) a. [Chelswu-ka t$_i$ kkamansayk-ul sin]-un kwutwu$_i$
[C-NOM black.color-ACC wear]-REL shoes
'[Intended] The shoes that Chelswu wore in black'
b. *[Chelswu-ka kwutwu-lul t$_i$ sin]-un kkamansayk$_i$
[C-NOM shoes-ACC wear]-REL black.color
'[Intended] The black color that Chelswu wore on his shoes'

These examples are explained by the reference point nature of the NPs. The outer NPs are created by the reference point object creation mechanism. As a result, these NPs are more "loosely" connected to the predicate or the verb phrase with respect to the innermost NP. This "loose" connection to the predicate makes the outer NPs more vulnerable to the syntactic mechanisms. This property is reminiscent of the external topic construction, which was discussed in Chapter 2. An external topic is a reference point, its target being the proposition. As a reference point, it may be separated from the proposition. For example, the NP *That idiot* in *That idiot, I should have fired a long time ago* can be separated from the proposition, because it functions as a reference point; it evokes a target pertaining to the topic. Similarly, the outer NPs created as reference points can be separated more easily from their predicate base because their function is to evoke a relevant target. When we apply the syntactic mechanisms to the outer NPs, their reference point role is still maintained. Because of this, the application of the syntactic mechanism is better predicted for the outer NPs than for the innermost NP, which does not exhibit the reference point property.

To explain the similarity between the topic construction and MACs, let us consider the following non-contrastive topic constructions. As illustrated in (4.34), only the outer NP can undergo topicalization. When the inner NP is topicalized as in (4.35), the sentence is either infelicitous or awkward.

(4.34) John$_i$-un Mary-ka t$_i$ phal-ul pithul-ess-ta.
J-TOP M-NOM arm-ACC twist-PST-DECL
'John, Mary twisted his arm.'

(4.35)$^{*/?}$phal-un Mary-ka John-ul t$_i$ pithul-ess-ta.
arm-TOP M-NOM J-ACC twist-PST-DECL
'(His) arm, Mary twists John's.'

What the test reveals is that both topic constructions and MACs share something in common; both of them involve the reference point phenomenon and in these instances, what functions as a reference point is the topicalized element.

4.4.4 The relational property of NP_2 in IAP

Not every noun can appear in the NP_2 position in IAP. Y-J Kim (1990), J-M Yoon (1997), and Yoon (2001) observe that proper nouns and definite determiners cannot appear in the NP_2 position as illustrated in (4.36).

(4.36) a. *Yenghuy-ka Cheli-lul Swuni-lul ttayli-ess-ta.
Y-NOM C-ACC S-ACC hit-PST-DECL
'Yenghuy hit Cheli on Swuni.'
b. *Yenghuy-ka Cheli-lul ku phal-ul pwutcap-ass-ta.
Y-NOM C-ACC that arm-ACC grab-PST-DECL
'Yenghuy grabbed Cheli by that arm.'

The aforementioned researchers explain the unacceptability of the examples in (4.36) based on the claim that saturated noun phrases cannot appear as the second NP in IAP. Since *Swuni* in (4.36a) is a saturated NP, a proper noun, it cannot occur in the second NP position. Similarly, (4.36b) is not acceptable because *ku phal* 'that arm' is a saturated noun phrase – a definite NP.

This account faces two problems. First, though these explanations might have some descriptive advantages, they still need to explain why the saturated noun phrases cannot appear in the second NP position in IAP. A more vexing problem is the limited set of data presented by the researchers. Though both (4.37) and (4.38) are examples of IAP, definite noun phrases can occur in the second NP position.

(4.37) Tongswu-ka Yenghuy-lul ku ssanul-ha-n son-ul pwuscapko thongkok
T-NOM Y-ACC that cold-do-ADN hand-ACC holding wail
hay-ss-ta.
do-PST-DECL
'Tongswu wailed holding Yenghuy's cold (and stiff) hand.'

(4.38) Tongswu-nun Mary-lul ku yenglong-ha-n twu phalan nwuntongca-lul
T-TOP M-ACC that expressive-do-ADN two blue iris-ACC
iculswu eps-ess-ta.
forget not-PST-DECL
'Tongswu couldn't forget Mary's expressive blue eyes.'

In (4.37), the second NP contains the definite determiner *ku* 'that'. Similar to (4.37), (4.38) shows a case where the second accusative-marked NP is modified by the definite determiner. These examples show that 'saturated noun phrase' is not a viable

option in explaining IAPs. Rather, this property can be explained with the notion of reference point and metonymy. Once again, metonymy uses a more salient entity to mentally reach a less salient entity. In (4.36a), it is difficult to build a mental path from *Cheli* to *Swuni*, because both *Cheli* and *Swuni* are inherently unique by being the only instance of their kind. Similarly, definite pronouns and determiners ground the thing in the current discourse. For this reason, the definite expressions are already accessible to the hearer as referents. Therefore the process of building a mental bridge becomes superfluous, yielding (4.36a) and (4.36b) as unnatural sentences.

This explanation, however, still leaves the acceptability of (4.37) and (4.38) unexplained. In (4.37) and (4.38), when the definite determiner is used with an adjective, the acceptability increases. Why is this so? One possible answer to this question is to suggest that the MAC phenomenon involves not just syntax, semantics, and cognitive conceptualization, but also discourse pragmatics. Note a parallel to English: one can say *the expressive blue eyes of Mary*, and *those expressive blue eyes of Mary*, and even ?*those eyes of Mary*. But one cannot really say **the eyes of Mary*. In other words, **the eyes of Mary* in itself is not acceptable without adjectival modification. Although the exact reason for the acceptability of (4.37) and (4.38) is open for further discussion, the mental bridging from the first NP to the second NP still holds true because their acceptability seems to be otherwise motivated.

4.4.5 The ordering of the NPs

The last property I would like to discuss is the ordering among the accusative-marked NPs in MACs. Yeon (2010) observes that the ordering of the NPs is fixed in MACs, more specifically in IAP, rendering (4.39b) unacceptable.

(4.39) a. John-i Mary-lul phal-ul cap-ass-ta.
J-NOM M-ACC arm-ACC grab-PST-DECL
'John grabbed Mary by her arm.'

b. *John-i phal-ul Mary-lul cap-ass-ta.
J-NOM arm-ACC M-ACC grab-PST-DECL
'[Intended] John grabbed Mary by her arm.'

(4.39b) is indeed awkward in a normal situation. However, (4.39b) can be rescued when a relevant context is supplied. Let us consider the following situation:

> [Situation 1] At the party, people are playing a game called WHO'S WHO. The goal of the game is to identify a person based on his/her arm, without ever seeing his/her face. There are many people who are behind a big screen. Each person put his/her arm through a hole in the screen, but John, on the other side, cannot see the people through the screen. As part of the game, John is supposed to find his wife, Sue, only by looking at the arms. He, unfortunately, grabbed Mary's

arm. Then, somebody shouts *John-i phal-ul Mary-lul cap-ass-ta* 'By her arm, John grabbed Mary.'

This type of contextual rescue is not limited only to IAP. Other types of MACs exhibit similar properties. Let us take a look at Yoon's Modifier–Modifiee type MAC, which is reintroduced with a new number below.

(4.40) Cheli-ka kwutwu-lul kkamansayk-ul sin-ess-ta.
C-NOM shoes-ACC black.color-ACC wear-PST-DECL
'Cheli wore black shoes.'

At first glance, (4.41), where the two accusative-marked NPs switched positions, sounds awkward.

(4.41) Cheli-ka kkamansayk-ul kwutwu-lul sin-ess-ta.
C-NOM black.color-ACC shoes-ACC wear-PST-DECL
'Cheli wore black shoes.'

However, when a situation like [Situation 2] is given, the degree of acceptability substantially increases.

> [Situation 2] Cheli has to go to a party called the BLACK PARTY, where everybody is supposed to wear one black thing, whether it be a hat, shirt, or shoes. Cheli decided to wear black shoes. At the party, not seeing Cheli yet, Jane asks Mary what kind of black item Cheli wore. Mary answers Jane by saying *Cheli-ka kkamansayk-ul kwutwu-lul sin-ess-ta* 'For his black item of clothing, Cheli wore black shoes.'

The point of the argument in these examples is that the reason (4.39b) and (4.41) are acceptable in a certain context is in fact that the outer accusative-marked NPs in these examples function as a reference point. In (4.39b), if *phal* 'arm' is considered as providing access to the target, the arm's owner becomes a relevant target, making (4.39b) felicitous as depicted in [Situation 1]. The same is true in (4.41). The ordering between the accusative-marked NPs thus must be understood as a way of providing a mental path to the targets.

4.5 Commonalities and differences among MACs

The general idea of my analysis thus far is that NP_1 in the configuration [NP-Nom [NP_1-Acc [NP_2-Acc [PRED]]]] plays a role as a reference point in relation to [NP_2-Acc [PRED]]. This section illustrates that my reference-point-based analysis systematically accounts for the three types of MACs: IAP, Type–Token, and Modifier–Modifiee. As discussed previously, the Double Object construction does not fully conform

to this explanation because the predicates are inherently trivalent, and the double objects are motivated by two object-like participants dictated by the predicate.

In addition to the above four types of MACs, two other types of MACs need to be explained. I argue that, though similar on the surface, these two types of MACs, the Object + ACC-marked Adverb and the Object + Quantifier/Classifier type, exhibit different conceptual structures.

4.5.1 Reference point and the three types of MACs

The IAP type can be systematically explained as a reference point phenomenon because NP_1 functions like a possessor. Both the Type–Token and the Modifer-Modifiee MACs can also be explained by the notion of reference point. But these two types exhibit a different pathway in establishing a reference point relationship.

In the Type–Token variety like (4.9), which is reintroduced as (4.42), *sakwa-lul coha-ha-n-ta* 'apple-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL' is a predicate in itself. Owing to the meaning of *sakwa* 'apple', it implicitly invokes the element considered to provide access to the target, *kwail* 'fruit' in this case, which is a reference point in relation to *sakwa-lul coha-ha-n-ta*. One natural path of access is by following a taxonomic hierarchy from general to specific. Therefore, analyzing *kwail* 'fruit' as a reference point provides a reasonably solid solution. In (4.42), as indicated by the translations, the topical interpretation of *kwail* 'fruit' is available. This property of the outer nominal is expected due to the reference point nature.

(4.42) Cheli-ka kwail-ul sakwa-lul coha-ha-n-ta.
C-NOM fruit-ACC apple-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL
'As for fruit, Cheli likes apples.'

It is worth noting that the IAP type exhibits different properties than the Type–Token MAC. The topical interpretation for the IAP type in (4.39a) is possible to mean 'As for Mary, John grabbed her arm', but it is noticeably less salient when compared to the Type–Token MAC. In addition to the difference in the degree of topicality, Yoon (2015) notes that there are other significant differences between these two MACs. While the IAP type is susceptible to the affected condition proposed by Yoon (1990, 2001), J-M Yoon (1997), and Tomioka and Sim (2005, 2007), the Type–Token MACs are not. The affected condition requires that the outer nominal is affected by the process denoted by the inner nominal plus the predicate. Examples in (4.43) show the affected effect. The outer nominals in these examples are, in one way or another, affected by the profiled process, whether it be physical or indirect. While (4.43a)–(c) denote more physical affectedness, (4.43d) shows the cases of indirect affectedness. John's intense staring at Mary's face would very likely make Mary uncomfortable. According to Yeon (2003, 2010), the required

assumption for (4.43c) is that the possessor (*Mary*) and the possessee (*bag*) need to be contiguous; *Yenghuy* needs to have the bag at the time of the event.

(4.43) a. John-un Yenghuy-lul phal-ul pwutcap-ass-ta.
J-TOP Y-ACC arm-ACC grab-PST-DECL
'John grabbed Yenghuy by her arm.'

b. John-un Yenghuy-lul senmwul-ul ponay-ss-ta.
J-TOP Y-ACC gift-ACC send-PST-DECL
'John sent a gift to Yenghuy.'

c. John-un Mary-lul kapang-ul nakkachay-ss-ta.
J-TOP M-ACC bag-ACC snatch-PST-DECL
'John snatched Mary's bag.'

d. John-un Mary-lul elkwul-ul ttwulecikey
J-TOP M-ACC face-ACC intensly
chyeta.po-ass-ta. (Yoon 2015: 89–90)
stare.try-PST-DECL
'John intensely stared Mary in the face.'

The affected condition does not hold for the Type–Token MAC like (4.42); there is no way to interpret (4.42) in which *kawil* 'fruit' is affected by someone's liking apples.

The other difference between the two types is the availability of passivization. The IAP type can be passivized, where the outer accusative-marked nominal becomes the subject, as shown in (4.44a). The same does not apply to the Type–Token MAC as in (4.44b). These examples strongly imply that the outer accusative-marked nominal in the IAP type is more object-like than that of the Type–Token.

(4.44) a. John-un (Mary-eykey) phal-ul pithul-li-ess-ta.
J-TOP M-by arm-ACC twist-PASS-PST-DECL
'John was twisted his arm by Mary.'

b. *kwail-i yocum sakwa-lul (manhi)
fruit-NOM these.days apple.ACC a.lot
mek-hi-n-ta. (Yoon 2015: 93)
eat-PASS-PRS-DECL
'[Intended] Apples are eaten a lot these days among fruits.'

Capturing the difference between the two types is straightforward. First, in the IAP type, the inner accusative-nominal implicitly invokes a reference point, and it corresponds to the outer nominal. The reference point object is then created, which corresponds to the implicitly invoked reference point. The two reference point relationships correspond due to their conceptual affinity, yielding one collapsed reference point relationship. As a result, the two nominals are directly related, and a possession-like affected reading arises. Type–Token shows a different pathway.

Similar to the IAP type, the inner nominal implicitly invokes a reference point, and the outer nominal is created by the reference point object creation mechanism. This time, however, the two reference point relationships do not collapse, maintaining two distinct relationships. The outer reference point corresponds to the third reference point invoked by the whole clause. Due to this external nature of the newly invoked reference point, the outer nominal gains a more prominent topical interpretation. The lack of the correspondence between the two reference point relationships block the affectedness reading. This analysis also explains examples in (4.44). Since the two reference point relationships correspond in (4.44a), the two nominals conceptually appear adjacent, which forces the outer nominal in the IAP type to be more object-like. The lack of the correspondence between the two reference points for the Type–Token MAC leads to a less object-like property of the outer nominal.

Modifier–Modifiee is explained in a similar fashion, although there is a difference between (4.42) and (4.45). While *kwail* functions as a mental path toward *sakwa* taxonomically in (4.42), the relationship between *kwutwu* and *kkamansayk* in (4.45) is non-taxonomic. Rather, it is a profile–base relation, which is a relationship of concept to background assumption or presupposition. As discussed in Croft (1993: 169–171) and Langacker (1999: 49), many concepts belong to abstract domains, which are themselves profiled in complex domain matrices. These concepts often presuppose a large array of basic domains called maximal scope or domain structure. The concept, [KWUTWU], presupposes many basic domains, one such being COLOR SPACE, which is also one of the basic domains presupposed in defining the minimal concept [BLACK]. The concept [KWUTWU] incorporates the minimal concept [BLACK] hierarchically, where these concepts presuppose the basic domain COLOR SPACE. Therefore, drawing a mental path from the higher level concept [KWUTWU] to the lower level minimal concept BLACK is achieved without much effort.

(4.45) Cheli-ka kwutwu-lul kkamansayk-ul sin-ess-ta.
C-NOM shoes-ACC black.color-ACC wear-PST-DECL
'As for shoes, Cheli wore black ones.'

The other two types, the Object + ACC-marked Adverb and the Object + Quantifier/Classifier type, as reintroduced as (4.46) and (4.47), exhibit a challenge which cannot be explained by the reference point phenomenon.

(4.46) Cheli-ka chayk-ul sey sikan/pen-ul ilk-ess-ta.
C-NOM book-ACC three hour/times-ACC read-PST-DECL
'Cheli read the book for three hours/three times.'

(4.47) Cheli-ka sakwa-lul twu kay-lul mek-ess-ta.
C-NOM apple-ACC two CLS-ACC eat-PST-DECL
'Cheli ate two apples.'

I argue that these two cases are independently motivated by adverbial case-marking and floated quantifier constructions in Korean, which is the subject of the following subsection.

4.5.2 Adverbial case-marking[11]

The sentence in (4.46) illustrated above are examples of adverbial case-marking. Adverbial case-marking in Korean has been extensively discussed by many scholars in various traditions. (Maling 1993; S-W Kim and Mailing 1993; Wechsler and Lee 1996; Maling, Jun, and S-W Kim 2001; Kim and Sells 2010a; among others). The general consensus on this subject is that "although case-marked adverbials are in the accusative and indicate the boundedness of an event in several languages, this is not the case in Korean" (Kim and Sells 2010a: 625–626). To explain the properties of adverbial case-marking in Korean, many scholars provided different types of analyses. For example, Mailing, Jun, and S-W Kim (2001) propose that the predicate's argument structure in conjunction with the stativity of the predicate plays an important role in explaining the accusative-marking on duration and frequency adverbials. In a more recent article, Kim and Sells (2010a) propose that the animacy and the semantic properties of the predicate be incorporated to properly analyze adverbial case-markings[12]. Since an evaluation of previous research on this topic is not the concern of this chapter, I provide neither my critique of previous analyses nor my own analysis of adverbial case-marking in this chapter. No matter what the solution is, nearly all scholars working on this topic agree that the phenomenon of adverbial case-marking in Korean is tightly related to the semantic properties of the predicates. Just like the case of the dative Double Object construction, the adverbial case-marking is determined by the lexical properties of the predicate in conjunction with other possible constructional constraints.

4.5.3 Floated quantifiers

In Korean, numerals and numbers suffixed with a classifier can be syntactically separated from the nouns that they relate to semantically or that are floated. When

11. The detailed analysis of case-marked adverbials is provided in Chapter 6.

12. E. Lee (2017) goes one step further to claim that the advebial case marking pattern reflects the semantic-pragmatic prominence of the subject NP.

floated, they may be case-marked. Let us first consider Examples (4.48a) and (4.48b), both of which contain an NP-internal quantifier. While the genitive-marked quantifier precedes the head noun in (4.48a), the order is reversed in (4.48b).

(4.48) a. twu-myeng-uy haksayng-i yek-ey o-ass-ta.
two-CLS-GEN student-NOM station-DAT come-PST-DECL
'Two students came to the station.'

b. [haksayng twu-myeng]-i yek-ey
[student two-CLS]-NOM station-DAT
o-ass-ta. (Kim and Sells 2010b: 610)
come-PST-DECL
'Two students came to the station.'

These canonical quantifier constructions can be restructured with floated quantifiers, where the head noun and the quantifier are separated. When they are separated, both the head noun and the quantifier may bear a case marker as illustrated in (4.49a) and (4.49b). Following the notation used in Kim and Sells (2010b: 610), I put '^{Q}' on the head noun and the quantifier related to it.

(4.49) a. haksayng-i yek-ey twu-meyng-i o-ass-ta.
student^{Q}-NOM station-DAT two^{Q}-CLS-NOM come-PST-DECL
'Two students came to the station.'

b. kyoswu-ka chayk-ul sey-kwen-ul
professor-NOM book^{Q}-ACC three^{Q}-CLS-ACC
ssu-ess-ta. (Kim and Sells 2010b: 610)
write-PST-DECL
'The professor wrote three books.'

As observed by many scholars (Gerdts 1985; Urushibara 1991; Sohn 1999; Kim and Sells 2010b; Kim 2013, among others), only nominative and accusative markers may appear on floated quantifiers.[13] The Object-Quantifier type illustrated in (4.47) is one such example, where the floated quantifier is accusative-marked, because the head noun the quantifier modifies is also accusative-marked. This property is not observed in other types of MACs we have discussed thus far.

That being said, I would like to discuss one specific type of Object + Quantifier, which is interpreted metonymically. (4.50) is an example of SOR, where the subject of the embedded clause underwent raising to the object position of the matrix clause.

13. A. Kim (1995) discusses the word order effects within quantified NPs in Japanese, which is reminiscent of Korean 'floated' quantifiers.

(4.50) John-i haksayng-ul sey-myeng-ul [$\varnothing_i$ chencay-la-ko]
John-NOM student^{Q}-ACC three^{Q}-CLS-ACC [$\varnothing$-$_i$ genius-COP-COMP]
mit-ess-ta.
believe-PST-DECL
'John believed the three students to be geniuses.'

Langacker (1995) argues that raising is a metonymic shift. For example, in the SSR sentence *Don is likely to leave*, the verb *is likely to* profiles a thing as its trajector, whose location on the probability scale is mediated by a process in which it participates. This schematic process is the trajector's active zone (Langacker 1995: 32). As a consequence, the raised noun phrase, *Don*, functions like a topic in that *Don* calls to mind a process involving *Don*. This process can be assessed for likelihood. SOR behaves similarly to SSR. In the sentence, *I expect there to be some mud on the car*, *there* functions as the subject of the infinitival clause. At the same time, it also functions as an object of *expect*. It is worth noting that *there* does not participate directly in the relationship profiled by the verb *expect*. Instead, *there* is related to the verb *expect* by way of its active zone which is specified by the infinitival complement *to be some mud on the car*. *There* undergoes SOR to function as a reference point with respect to the infinitival complement.

Similar to the English example, the object *haksayng* in (4.50) is related to the verb *mit-ess-ta* by way of its active zone, specified by the embedded clause *chencay-la-ko* 'genius-COP-COMP'; *haksayng* becomes a reference point in relation to *chencay-la-ko*. The raising phenomenon involved in (4.50) enables us to interpret it metonymically, but the metonymic interpretation of (4.50) is not the direct outcome of the MAC or vice versa.

4.6 Technical analyses

Now that I have laid out the general ideas of my analyses and some properties of Korean MACs, I provide technical CG analyses of the constructions. The regular object, NP$_2$ in the configuration [NP-NOM [NP$_1$-ACC [NP$_2$-ACC [PRED]]]], is constructed by the regular object composition, depicted in Figure 4.1, where the nominal O's profile corresponds to a landmark.

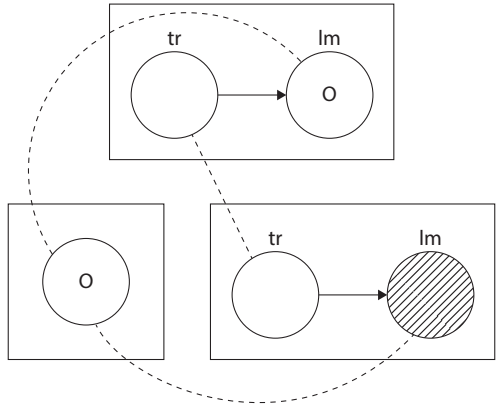

Figure 4.1 Regular object composition

The reference point object, NP_1 is created by an additional mechanism illustrated in Figure 4.2. Let us explain the reference point object creation mechanism with the example given in (4.51).

(4.51) Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul phal-ul pithul-ess-ta.
C-NOM S-ACC arm-ACC twist-PST-DECL
'Chelswu twisted Swuni by her arm.'

As argued throughout this chapter, the structure for (4.51) would look like [CHELSWU-NOM [SWUNI-ACC [ARM-ACC [TWIST]]]]. At the first level of composition, ARM combines with TWIST in the regular object construction illustrated in Figure 4.1, producing the composite expression [ARM-TWIST], which is a complex verb because it profiles the event of twisting. Since ARM elaborates the landmark of TWIST, it qualifies as the object at this lower level. The composite expression itself now becomes a verb. Due to its meaning, ARM implicitly invokes the arm's possessor. Therefore, the arm's possessor functions as a reference point in relation to ARM. We can now posit a higher-level grammatical construction, which is shown in Figure 4.2. Here, NP_1 (SWUNI) combines with the complex verb [ARM-TWIST] by virtue of elaborating the invoked reference point. The composite structure described in Figure 4.2 does not inherit its profile from either component. Rather it profiles a more elaborate process consisting of both the reference point relation and the process of ARM-TWISTING. This is a higher-level process that incorporates the reference point relation as one element, which can be schematically described as [R-ARM-TWIST], where R is a reference point. At this level, as shown in Figure 4.2, R functions as a landmark of the composite verb [R-ARM-TWIST]. Since NP_1 (SWUNI) specifies this landmark, we have the composite expression [SWUNI-R-ARM-TWIST], with the desired constituency. Here, SWUNI is an outer object, introduced at a higher level, and ARM is an inner

object, introduced at a lower level. As SWUNI is now the landmark of [R-ARM-TWIST], it receives an accusative marking. The same mechanism can be iterated at higher levels to produce longer sequences of objects. Note that Layer 1 (R_2) reflects the intrinsic nature of NP_2, while Layer 2 (R_1) exocentrically arises by way of reference point object creation mechanism. These two layers of reference points may coalesce, as shown by the correspondence lines between the two reference points. As NP_2 intrinsically invokes a reference point, and reference point object creation requires another reference point, the reference point invoked by NP_2 would be taken by the one created by the reference point creation mechanism.[14] The coalescence of two reference points, however, is not demonstrated here.

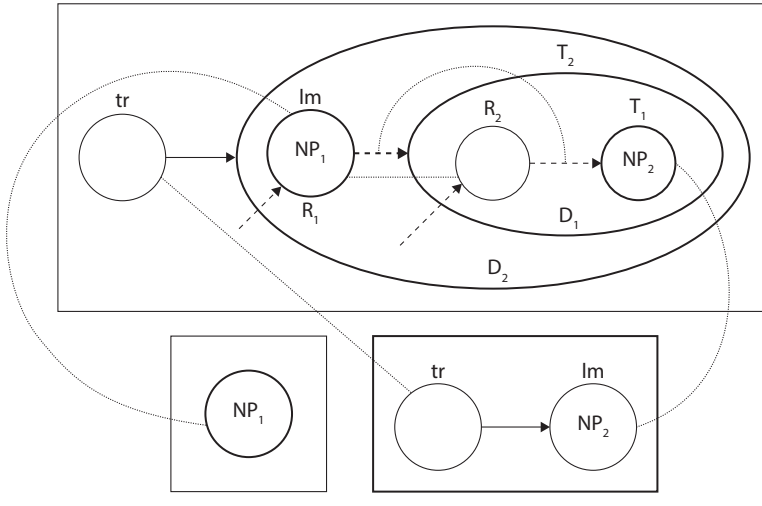

Figure 4.2 Reference point object creation

The full CG analysis of (4.51) is provided in Figure 4.3, where C stands for CHELSWU, S for SWUNI, and A for ARM.

14. This analysis makes the Korean multiple accusative construction parallel to the Japanese double subject construction with complex predicates, as described in Kumashiro and Langacker (2003). Interested readers should refer to Kumashiro and Langacker (2003: 37).

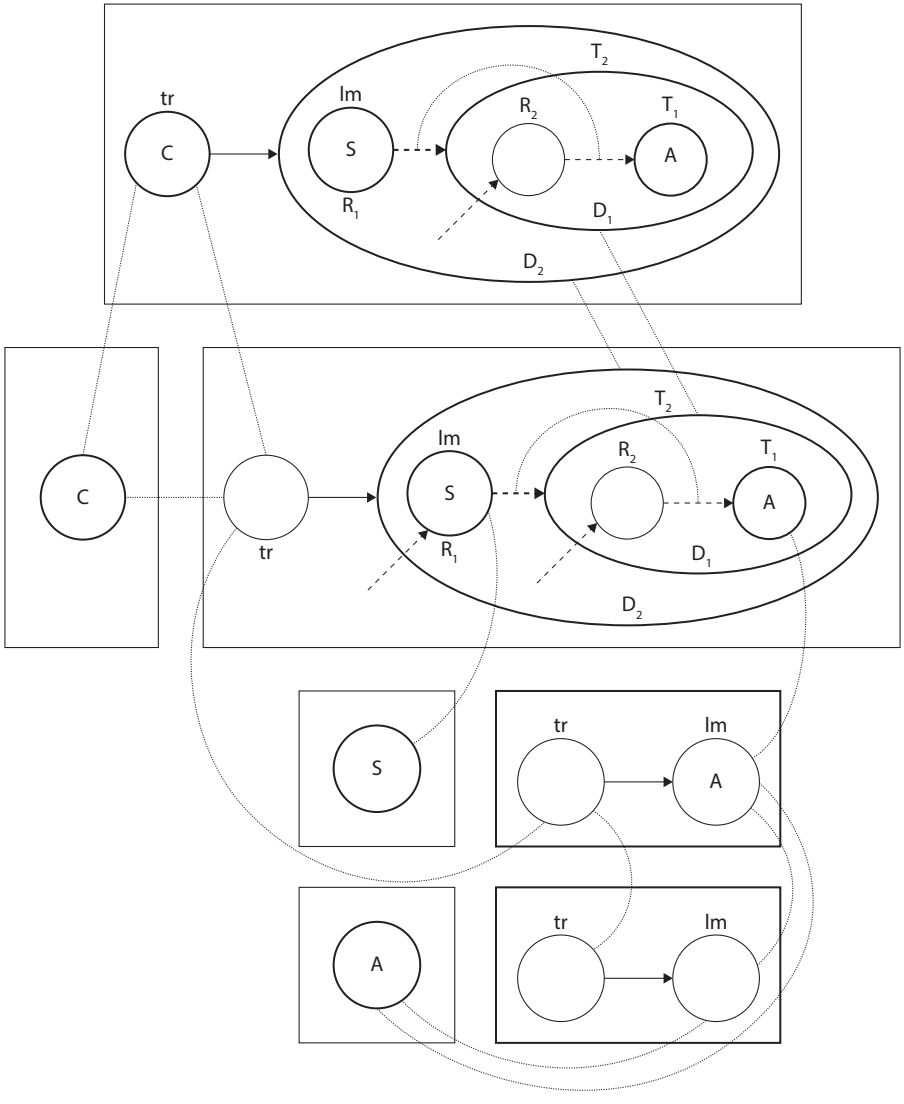

Figure 4.3 A full CG description of (4.51)

Figure 4.3 is a simple extension of Figure 4.2, with the addition of one more layer, a specified trajector. Figure 4.3 clarifies how multiple objects are assembled, showing that there are both simple and complex verbs, and that each object is simply an object at its own level of verbal constituency.

The other varieties, the Type–Token and the Modifier–Modifiee types, exhibit different structures, although both of them involve reference point as well. The CG diagram for (4.52) is provided in Figure 4.4, where F stands for FRUITS and A stands for APPLES.

(4.52) Chelswu-ka kwail-ul sakwa-lul coha-ha-n-ta.
C-NOM fruit-ACC apple-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL
'As for fruit, Chelswu likes apples.'

Similar to the IAP type, *sakwa* 'apple' invokes a reference point relationship owing to its potential taxonomic identification. Another reference point relationship is then established by utilizing the reference point object creation mechanism. The newly created reference point (R_2) corresponds to the implicit reference point (R_3). In this case, however, the two relationships do not correspond to each other; the relationship invoked by *coha-ha-n-ta* 'like-do-PRS-DECL' is associated with *sakwa* 'apple', not *kwail* 'fruit'. Instead, at the higher level of organization, the whole clause invokes another reference point relationship, which is tantamount to a topic construction. The last reference point (R_1) corresponds to *kwail* 'fruit' (R_2). Since *kwail* is a landmark and is realized at the lower level, it is accusative-marked. Due to its association with R_1, however, it exhibits a higher degree of topicality. The lack of the correspondence between the two inner reference point relationships results in less object-like behaviors of R_2, such as the resistance to passivization.

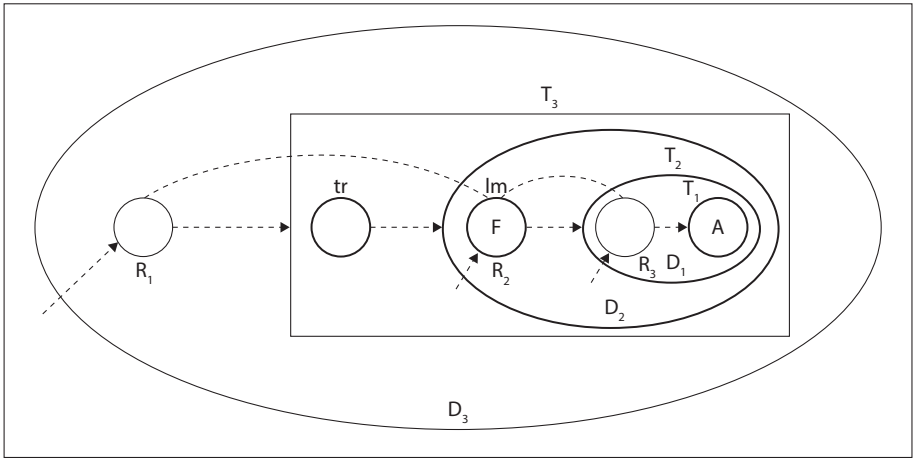

Figure 4.4 Type–Token MAC

The Modifier–Modifiee type shows essentially the same structure as Figure 4.4. The reference point in this case is invoked due to the relationship of concept to background assumption or presupposition.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to account for how the various meanings of Korean MACs arise. I argued that they stem from metonymy and the reference point phenomenon. The reference point nature of the outer NPs in MACs makes it possible to connect them with the inner NP(s). The question we can raise, then, is why such constructions are allowed to operate felicitously in grammar. In other words, what is the function of MACs? The function of the MAC is to provide mental access to its target phrase. In the given configuration [NP-NOM [NP_1-ACC [NP_2-ACC [PRED]]]], NP_1 is invoked to make mental contact with the phrase [NP_2-ACC [PRED]], which is the target of the invoked reference point. Without the reference point, accessing the target would be difficult. A multiple possession construction in English such as *John's friend's father's Porsche* exemplifies a mental bridge from reference point to target. The hearer reaches the ultimate target *Porsche* via *father* via *friend* via *John*. In fact, as discussed by Langacker (1994) and Taylor (1996), allowing the hearer to access the target is the main function of possession. The function of Korean MACs is identical to English possession in this regard: NP_1 provides the hearer with mental access to the target.

CHAPTER 5

Non-nominative subjects and case stacking

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with three types of non-nominative subject constructions in Korean that have drawn a great deal of attention in the literature for the past two decades, as illustrated below.

(5.1) sensayng-nim-hanthey chayk-i manh-usi-ta.
teacher-HON-DAT book-NOM many-HON-DECL
'(The) teacher has many books.'

(5.2) na-eykey paym-i mwusep-ta.
I-DAT snake-NOM fearsome-DECL
'I am afraid of snakes.'

(5.3) sensayng-nim-hanthey-ka chayk-i manh-usi-ta.
teacher-HON-DAT-NOM book-NOM many-HON-DECL
'As for the teacher, she has lots of books.'
'It is (the) teacher who has many books.'

In (5.1), *sensayng-nim* 'teacher' is treated as the subject of the sentence. Since the honorific affix *-usi-* agrees with *sensayng-nim* and not with *chayk* 'book', the subject of the sentence is claimed to be the dative-marked *sensayng-nim*, instead of the nominative-marked nominal *chayk-i*. This type of construction is known as a non-nominative subject construction or a dative subject construction.[1] Sentences (5.2) and (5.3) exhibit similarities to (5.1) in that dative-marked nominals function as subjects. Sentence (5.2) is a specific subtype of the non-nominative subject construction, where the dative-marked experiencer appears with a certain class of verbs that denote emotion, necessity, sensation, etc. Sentence (5.3) is identical to (5.1) except for the nominative marker *-ka*, which is attached to the already dative-marked nominal *sensayng-nim-hanthey*. This phenomenon is called case stacking.

1. To refer to this type of construction in Japanese/Korean, some scholars prefer the term *dative subject construction* (Shibatani 1990, 1999; Ura 1999; Yeon 2003), while others prefer *non-nominative subject construction* (Gerdts and Youn 1988; Yoon 2004a). Throughout this chapter, I use the term *non-nominative subject construction* to include locative subject constructions as well.

Relying on an independently established descriptive construct – reference point – I argue that the complex forms of the aforementioned constructions reflect their meanings and functions. I further argue that the reference point-based analysis of the said constructions offers a unified account of a substantial range of phenomena when it is combined with the notion of constructional and conceptual blending in the sense of Fauconnier (1994, 1997), Goldberg (1995), and Langacker (2008).

The outline of this chapter is as follows. In Section 5.2, I point out some questions left unanswered in the existing literature. Section 5.3 discusses the BE possessive construction, which exhibits a similarity to the non-nominative subject construction. In Section 5.4, the CG-based analysis of these constructions is presented with technical details. Section 5.5 is the conclusion of this chapter. In that section, after a short summary of my argument, some implications of my analyses are presented.

5.2 The subject properties and research questions

To begin this section, I first demonstrate several subject-related properties of non-nominative-marked nominals in Korean to provide readers with a necessary overview of these constructions.

5.2.1 Subject properties of non-nominative-marked nominals

It is not uncommon that non-nominative-marked nominals exhibit properties that are usually attributed to subjects. In her survey chapter of the modern approach to case, Butt (2009: 41–42) illustrates examples of non-nominative-marked nominals in several languages (Icelandic, Bengali, Urdu, Malayalam). Butt (2009: 41) states that "the assumption [that subjects must be nominative] is quite wrong." Identifying subject properties among non-nominative-marked nominals in another language, Korean, is therefore neither surprising nor unexpected. Using terms borrowed from the generative linguistics tradition, Yoon (2004a: 266) illustrates four types of subject properties associated with non-nominative-marked nominals. They include a subject-oriented reflexive, PRO control in a subject-oriented adjunct clause,[2]

2. These properties are attested in many other languages. Bhaskararao and Subbarao (2004: iii) state that in almost all languages with robust case marking, a non-nominative subject can be an antecedent of an anaphor, a controller of PRO, and can also trigger coordinate nominative or non-nominative subject reduction.

plural copying control,[3] and Subject-to-Object Raising (SOR). These types are demonstrated in (5.4)–(5.7), respectively. The (a) sentences illustrate the cases where dative-marked nominals exhibit the aforementioned subject properties. By contrast, the (b) examples show that these subject properties are not compatible with dative-marked nominals that behave as an indirect object or a recipient PP.[4]

(5.4) Subject-oriented reflexive

a. Cheli$_k$-eykey-nun [casin$_k$-uy chinkwu-tul]-i mwusep-ta.
C-DAT-TOP self-GEN friend-PL-NOM fearsome-DECL
'Cheli is afraid of his friends.'

b. *Cheli$_k$-eykey -nun casin$_k$-uy chinkwu-tul-i ku chayk-ul
C-DAT-TOP self-GEN friend-PL-NOM that book-ACC
cwu-ess-ta.
give-PST-DECL
'Intended: Cheli's friend gave Cheli the books.'

(5.5) PRO-control in a subject-oriented adjunct clause

a. [PRO$_k$ tayhakwensayng-i-myenseto] Cheli$_k$-eykey-nun sillyek-i
graduate.student-COP-COMP C-DAT-TOP ability-NOM
eps-ta.
non.exist-DECL
'Though he (Cheli) is a graduate student, Cheli's academic abilities are marginal.'

b. *[PRO$_k$ tayhakwensayng-i-myenseto] Yenghuy-nun Cheli$_k$-eykey
graduate.student-COP-COMP Y-TOP C-DAT
uycon-ha-n-ta
rely.on-do-PRS-DECL
'Intended: Though Cheli is a graduate student, Yenghuy relies on him.'

(5.6) Plural copying

a. ce haksayng-tul$_k$-eykey-nun mwuncey-ka taytanhi-tul$_k$ manh-ta.
that student-PL-DAT-TOP problem-NOM very-PL many-DECL
'Those students have a lot of problems.'

---

3. In Korean, some degree adverbs can be marked with the plural affix *-tul* as in (5.6a). This is only possible when the degree denoted by the adverb is associated with the subject.

4. While the (a) examples are directly cited from Yoon (2004a: 266), I provide the (b) examples for the purpose of comparison.

b. *ce haksayng-tul$_k$-eykey-nun ku kyoswu-ka taytanhi-tul$_k$
that student-PL-DAT-TOP that professor-NOM very-PL
nekulewe-ss-ta.
generous-PST-DECL
'Intended: The professor was very generous to the students.'

(5.7) Subject-to-Object-Raising

a. na-nun Cheli-eykey-(man)-ul kulen mwuncey-ka iss-ta-ko
I-TOP C-DAT-(only)-ACC that.kind problem-NOM exist-DECL-COMP
sayngkak-ha-n-ta.
think-do-PRS-DECL
'I think that only Cheli has that kind of problem.'

b. *na-nun Cheli-eykey-(man)-ul Yenghuy-ka ku chayk-ul
I-TOP C-DAT-(only)-ACC Y-NOM that book-ACC
cwu-ess-ta-ko sayngkak-ha-n-ta.
give-PST-DECL-COMP think-do-PRS-DECL
'Intended: I think that Yenghuy gave only Cheli the book.'

In the examples above, the dative-marked nominals in the (a) sentences appear with either the topic marker (*-nun*) or the focus particle (*-man*).[5] Note that, without the help of the topic or focus markers, the (a) sentences are already acceptable with the intended meanings. However, the topic and focus markers increase the naturalness of the sentences. This increased naturalness seems to be due to the discourse prominence manifested by dative experiencers. As Bickel (2004: 77) notes, experiencers' higher degree of topicality makes them privileged antecedents of reflexivization and other anaphora. As such, dative experiencers tend to appear in clausal topic positions. In line with Bickel's statement, in a later section (Section 5.4), I demonstrate that the topicality of dative-marked nominals is a consequence of their reference point function. The key nature of my explanation is that all the examples illustrated above are predictable byproducts of their characterization based on a reference point relationship. Identifying the reference point relationship intrinsic to these examples is therefore crucial to this chapter. In providing an analysis of non-nominative subject constructions, I discuss some less-frequently attested subject properties observed in Korean first. Then, I argue that the explanation of the examples presented thus far naturally stems from the reference point relationship inherent to the constructions.

5. The (b) examples are already unacceptable without respect to the topic or focus markers attached to the dative-marked nominals. I used the topic/focus-marked examples for the purpose of comparison with the (a) examples.

5.2.2 Honorific agreement, case alternation, and case stacking[6]

The examples illustrated in (5.4)–(5.7) exhibit rather unsurprising properties because they are commonly observed in other languages as well. What is interesting is that Korean exhibits an array of less-frequently attested constructions concerning non-nominative subjects. These are honorific agreement,[7] case alternation, and case stacking, which are illustrated in (5.8)–(5.10) respectively (Yoon 2004a: 267–268). The Korean honorific affix *-si-* is a subject-oriented marker, which allows agreement between the subject and the affix as in (5.8a). The unacceptability of (5.8b) shows that the dative-marked non-honorific nominal, *Swuni-eykey-(nun)*, behaves like a subject with the intended meaning by building an honorific relation with the predicate. Examples (5.9a)–(c) illustrate the case alternation pattern between the dative and the nominative markers. The dative marker can be replaced with the nominative marker in these examples. It is important to note that this alternation is not always possible. It is allowed when the dative-marked nominal is interpreted as an experiencer as in (5.9a)–(c). When the dative-marked nominal is interpreted as a beneficiary or recipient as in (5.9d)–(e), the alternation is not allowed. As shown in (5.10a)–(c), the nominative case marker can be attached to a dative-marked nominal.[8]

(5.8) **Honorific agreement**

a. Kim-sensayng-nim-kkey-(nun) Swuni-ka philyo-ha-si-ta.
K-teacher-HON-DAT.HON-(TOP) S-NOM necessary-do-HON-DECL
'Professor Kim needs Swuni.'

b. *? Swuni-eykey-(nun) Kim-sensayng-nim-i/kkeyse
S-DAT-(TOP) K-teacher-HON-NOM/NOM.HON
philyo-ha-si-ta.
necessary-do-HON-DECL
'Intended: Swuni needs Professor Kim.'

(5.9) **Case alternation**

a. Cheli-eykey/ka ton-i manh-ta/iss-ta/eps-ta.
C-DAT/NOM money-NOM many-DECL/exist-DECL/non.exist-DECL
'Cheli has/doesn't have (a lot of) money.'

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6. For a detailed discussion of the grammatical features of Korean, please refer to Sohn (1999).

7. Honorific agreement exists in Japanese and Maithili as well. See Shibatani (1999), Ura (1999), and Subbarao (2001) for relevant discussions.

8. The phenomenon called case stacking is attested in a number of different language groups cross-linguistically. See Plank (1995) for an extensive discussion.

b. Cheli-eykey/ka Yenghuy-ka mwusep-ta.
C-DAT/NOM Y-NOM fearsome-DECL
'Cheli is afraid of Yenghuy.
c. Cheli-eykey/ka ton-i philyo-ha-ta.
C-DAT/NOM money-NOM necessary-do-DECL
'Cheli needs money.'
d. Mia-ka Cheli-eykey/*ka ton-ul cwu-ess-ta.
M-NOM C-DAT/*NOM money-ACC give-PST-DECL
'Mia gave money to Cheli.'
e. Mia-ka Cheli-eykey/*ka senmwul-ul ponay-ss-ta.
M-NOM C-DAT/*NOM gift-ACC send-PST-DECL
'Mia sent a gift to Cheli.'

(5.10) **Case stacking**
a. Cheli-eykey-ka ton-i manh-ta.
C-DAT-NOM money-NOM many-DECL
'As for Cheli, he has a lot of money.'
'It is Cheli who has a lot of money.'
b. Cheli-hanthey-ka Yenghuy-ka mwusep-ta.
C-DAT-NOM Y-NOM fearsome-DECL
'As for Cheli, he is afraid of Yenghuy'
'It is Cheli who is afraid of Yenghuy.'
c. Cheli-hanthey-ka ton-i philyo-ha-ta.
C-DAT-NOM money-NOM necessary-do-DECL
'As for Cheli, he needs money.'
'It is Cheli who needs money.'

These types of examples have drawn a great deal of attention, and many researchers have attempted to systematically explain the properties from diverse theoretical perspectives. Representative examples include Gerdts and Youn (1988), J-M Yoon (1989), Y-J Kim (1990), Youn (1990), Hong (1991), Schütze (1996, 2001), Yeon (2003), Yoon (1996), and Yoon (2004a), among others.

5.2.3 Some questions concerning Korean non-nominative subject constructions

Despite the amount of research conducted on this topic in Korean, many questions remain unanswered or unaddressed entirely. Among them are the four questions I broach in this present chapter. The first question is why non-nominative subjects are often marked with dative or locative, instead of other possible cases. As we observed, all the examples presented above as non-nominative subjects are

dative-marked. Is there a reason for this? This question has a universal implication as well, since dative-/locative-marked subjects are not limited to Korean. Butt (2009: 42) observes that, concerning non-nominative subjects, "[v]ery often this 'non-canonical' case is dative. Less often, it might be an accusative or a genitive." If so, answering this question is a worthwhile, if not absolutely necessary, task in order to understand the functions of the constructions within the larger domain of language study.

The second question concerns the relation between these constructions and spatial semantics. Let us consider Examples (5.11) and (5.12), which are again from Butt (2009: 42). Butt points out that these non-canonical case marking patterns suggest that there is some connection to spatial semantics. Note Example (5.12), which exhibits some similarity to (5.9b) and shows the possibility that experiencer subjects can be analyzed as abstractions over historically spatial configurations. That is because fear can be seen to have metaphorically "come to someone" in Urdu. This somewhat obvious connection has not been pursued enough in the existing literature dealing with Korean.[9]

(5.11) amar tʃa bʰalo lage. [Bengali]
I.GEN tea.NOM good be.attached.PRS
'I like tea.' (Klaiman 1980: 276)

(5.12) mʊjʰe ḍar aya. [Urdu]
I.DAT fear come.PERF.M.SG
'I got scared.' (lit. 'fear came to me.') (Butt 2009: 42)

Most of the research on Korean addressed above (except Yeon 2003) adopts a formal syntactic approach, where spatial semantics plays little or no role. As a result, there was no room for spatial semantics to be incorporated into the research. By contrast, notions such as spatial metaphors and semantic extensions are viewed as primary factors underlying the distribution of case marking in CG. If we adopt the CG framework, then we naturally adopt those notions without additional mechanisms, thereby leading to a more elegant analysis of the constructions.

From a typological perspective, Lambert (2010) discusses the Korean dative with emphasis on its spatial function. Lambert (2010: 198) claims that all its uses can essentially be traced back to a basic spatial meaning. According to her, this is the crucial criterion that prevents Korean from developing an external possessor dative. Lambert's spatial analysis of the Korean dative is supported by Heine and

9. In dealing with languages other than Korean, varying types of spatial analyses of dative experiencers have been proposed from different theoretical perspectives than the one I adopt here. Please refer to Yadava (2004) for Maithili, Bickel (2004) for Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages, and Ahmed (2006) for Urdu.

Kuteva (2002: 37). These authors demonstrate that the dative markers in languages such as Tamil and Lezgian are the result of grammaticalization from a directional marker/postposition. Another relevant study on the grammaticalization of the Korean dative is Park and Lee (2009). Based on a large historical corpus, these authors illustrate the grammatical pathways for four Korean dative makers including *eykey*. Parallel to Lambert, they show the spatial origin of the Korean dative markers. For instance, *eykey* is a grammaticalized form from *-uy kungey* 'GEN there'. Though the focus of the researchers differs, what is common among them is the spatial nature and origin of the Korean dative. This spatial nature, as will be demonstrated, is systematically encoded in my analysis.

The third question concerns the choice of predicate in the non-nominative subject construction. As shown earlier, the predicate used in (5.1) is the existential[10] predicate, while (5.2) contains the emotion predicate. Yeon (2003: 58) explains that "the verbs in this construction most typically include verbs of emotion, verbs of sensation, verbs of involuntary action, and verbs of existence." However, the common properties of these verbs have yet to be explained. In answering this question, I argue that the existence verb shares similarities with the other verbs in its conceptual structure.

The last question concerns the meaning of the dative case, particularly in terms of symbolic assemblies. This is an important question when we provide a CG analysis, because if non-nominative subject constructions are a valid grammatical construct, they have to be definable in terms of symbolic assemblies. In the formal linguistics tradition, it is often claimed that grammatical cases such as nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive encode purely syntactic relations.[11] If this is the case, the constructions arise precisely for that reason, which is the assumption made in the formal linguistic research on Korean addressed above (Schütze 1996, 2001; Yoon 1996, 2004a, among others). Nonetheless, as Blake (2001: 32) explains, "it is common for a syntactic case to encode a semantic relation or role that lies outside of whatever syntactic relation it expresses." The demarcation between grammatical and semantic cases is therefore not clear cut. In any case, this widespread assumption is not relevant to the CG framework, because CG views case as a meaningful entity just like any other grammatical construct. The real question, then, is not whether the dative case marker is meaningful or not; it is rather what the meaning of the dative case is, and what motivates the constructions.

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10. *manh-ta* 'many-DECL' as an existential predicate is explained in Section 5.4.1.

11. This position, of course, is not adopted in a functional linguistic approach such as Yeon (2003). In this sense, my analysis is in line with his. The difference lies in the question of how the notion of symbolic assemblies figures in to account for this phenomenon, which is not Yeon's main concern.

I answer these questions by emphasizing the relationship between the form and function of these constructions. I argue that the solutions for the posed problems naturally become clear when we rely on one descriptive construct: reference point. Since reference point is a ubiquitous phenomenon observed in our everyday language use, I argue that my analysis is conceptually natural and empirically justifiable.

Though I develop an analysis focused on Korean from a CG perspective, it is important to recognize research on other languages from different traditions as well. In particular, research conducted from a typological perspective is worth discussing due to its compatibility with the present chapter. Because of the high volume of research on this topic from this perspective, I cannot provide an extensive summary here. Nevertheless, I would like to discuss several representative pieces relevant to my approach. For example, in surveying Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan languages of the Himalayas, Bickel (2004) demonstrates the differences of dative experiencers' syntactic pivothood. While dative experiencers in Indo-Aryan languages exhibit virtually no access to syntactic pivothood, dative experiencers in Tibeto-Burman languages have full access. In this regard, Korean shares commonalities with Tibeto-Burman languages. Bickel provides a technical analysis of experiencer constructions in these languages from a Construction Grammar perspective. Though the framework he adopts is different from my CG approach, it is worth recognizing the similarities between his analysis and mine in the sense that Korean dative subjects can be categorized as Bickel's *experience-as-goal* construction.

It is also worth noting that non-nominative morphology is not always syntactically regulated. Based on Mishra (1990), Bickel et al. (1999), and Bickel and Yadava (2000), Bickel (2004: 91) emphasizes that "it serves a pragmatic function of indexing socially important participants" in Maithili. This is an interesting and relevant fact to the present topic because it opens up the possibility to analyze the Korean non-nominative subject construction from this socio-functional perspective as well; the agreement pattern observed in Korean above might be analyzed beyond the syntax level, different from what most of the aforementioned scholars dealing with Korean have attempted. In fact, as will be discussed later, my analysis of the honorific agreement in Korean is explained in terms of symbolic assemblies coupled with conceptual saliency, as opposed to a purely syntactic mechanism.

Dative/non-nominative subjects often correspond with predicates indicating sensory and experiential states in many languages, which can be seen as evidence for the influence of semantic alignment.[12] Naturally, non-nominative subjects have

12. Wichmann (2008) and Donohue (2008) use the term *semantic alignment* broadly in opposition to *syntactic alignment*, which would describe any system based on grammatical

been discussed substantially from this perspective as well. For example, Malchukov (2008) argues that the functional pressure to promote the highly prominent experience argument to the subject position favors the development of semantic alignment from transitive impersonal constructions. In doing so, Malchukov identifies the diachronic connection among semantic alignment, experiencer subject, and transitive impersonal constructions. The present chapter does not concern the diachronic development of Korean non-nominative subject constructions. Rather, I attempt to identify the commonalities among the three constructions illustrated in (5.1)–(5.3) based on the speaker's conceptualization process. Nevertheless, examining the potential diachronic connection among these constructions would be a valuable research topic.

Mithun's (2008) work is also notable. By surveying the distribution of agentive systems in North America, Mithun (2008) argues that the distribution of non-nominative subjects is better explained as the result of areal spread rather than in terms of cognitively motivated independent innovations. Mithun emphasizes the role of areal spread in analyzing non-nominative subject constructions by arguing that these constructions are more susceptible to borrowing than may have been previously thought. Although my analysis is based on the cognitive motivation behind the Korean non-nominative subject constructions, it would be interesting to examine them from this perspective as well. In particular, examining language contact situations between Korean and Japanese would be valuable because non-nominative subject constructions are attested in these languages, and they are close both geographically and typologically.

5.3 BE possession

BE possessives exhibit a great similarity to non-nominative subject constructions. Let us consider (5.13) from Japanese (Langacker 2009: 99) to explain the conceptual affinity between locative/dative and existential constructions. Similar to Korean, the dative marker *-ni* in Japanese has various interpretations, such as spatial information glossed as 'to/at' and also as an indirect object marker.

(5.13) watashi-ni-wa mago-ga iru.
I-DAT-TOP grandchild-NOM exist
'I have a grandchild.'

relations rather than semantic roles. For a survey of semantic alignment, please refer to Bickel and Nichols (2009).

Sentence (5.13) is illustrated in Figure 5.1, where the notation – the small circle (g) with a line – represents an existential relationship. There are two component structures in the figure. The bottom left box is for *watashi-ni-wa* 'I-DAT-TOP' and the bottom right one is for *mago-ga iru* 'grandchild-NOM exist'. The bottom left box illustrates the locative schema, which is invoked by the dative marker *-ni*. Here, the reference point object (*watashi-ni*) functions as a spatial landmark.[13] The existential expression, *mago-ga iru*, shows that the entity, *g* (grandchild), is located in the domain of existence represented by a rectangle inside of the bottom right box. In the two bottom boxes, the two trajectors correspond to each other notated by the dotted line. The domain of existence in the bottom right box is also equated with the domain of search (dominion) in the top box in which the target can be found. As a result, the subject (*mago*) can be said to exist in the region anchored by the dative-marked object (*watashi*). Therefore, (5.13) is interpreted as 'a grandchild exists in the subject's domain of experience.'

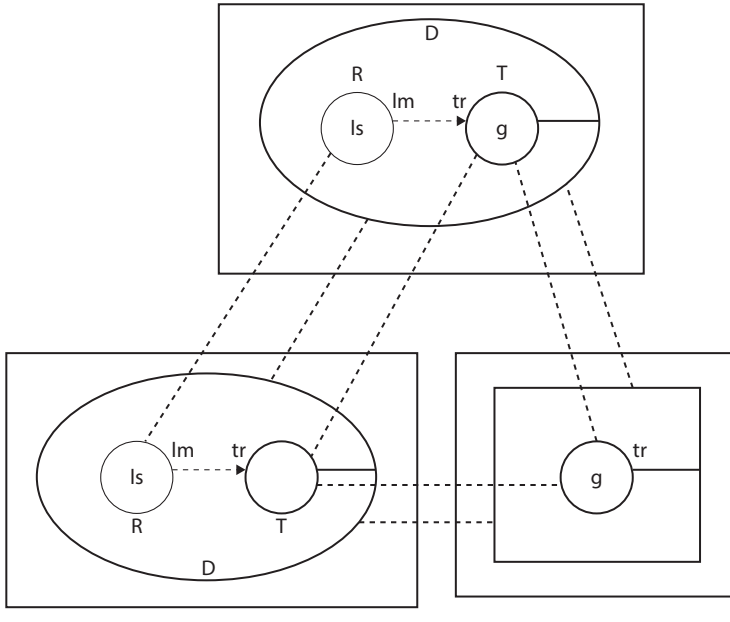


Figure 5.1 The illustration of (5.13)

13. The dative marker is equated to the landmark because the landmark is a secondary participant. In dealing with different types of participants from a typological perspective, Naess (2007) argues that major participants are distinguished in terms of semantic features, [±volitional], [±instigating], and [±affected]. Different combinations of these binary features yield different types of participants. Examining how these notions figure into the realization of the dative-marked experiencer would be an interesting subject to pursue. A similar position is also found in Kittilä (2002). Interested readers should refer to these works.

This analysis sheds light on some of the dative subject phenomena we have been discussing so far, particularly when the dative subject is used in the existential construction. However, this type of analysis alone cannot explain the non-canonical patterns of non-nominative subject constructions in Korean. How we can explain these properties is the topic of the next section.

5.4 Analysis: Reference point, locative schema, and blending

In Section 5.2, I illustrated three types of less-frequently attested examples that drew a great deal of attention in the literature dealing with non-nominative subject constructions. The goal of this section is to explain the examples in terms of symbolic assemblies.

5.4.1 Subject honorification

In this subsection, we discuss subject honorification in multiple nominative and dative subject constructions. Let us begin this section with Example (5.14), which illustrates an honorific agreement between the dative-marked nominal and the honorific-affixed predicate. While (5.14a) is felicitous, (5.14b) is not acceptable. (5.15) is different from (5.14a) in the choice of the predicate.

(5.14) a. Kim sensayng-nim-eykey ton-i manh-usi-ta.
K teacher-HON-DAT money-NOM many-HON-DECL
'Professor Kim has lots of money.'

b. *Cheli-eykey sensayng-nim-i manh-usi-ta.
C-DAT teacher-HON-NOM many-HON-DECL
'Intended: Cheli has many teachers.'

(5.15) Kim sensayng-nim-eykey ttal-i iss-usi-ta.
K teacher-HON-DAT daughter-NOM exist-HON-DECL
'Professor Kim has a daughter.'

Both predicates in (5.14) and (5.15) are similar in that they intrinsically require that the entities (notated by circles in Figure 5.2), *ton* 'money' and *ttal* 'daughter', be located in the existence domain. In this regard, the predicate *manh-ta* 'many-DECL' is essentially identical to the *exist*-verb, *iss-ta* 'exist-DECL'. Figure 5.2 illustrates the difference between *manh-ta* 'many-DECL' and *iss-ta* 'exist-DECL'. The only difference between the two is the quantity of the located entities. Note that in the left box, multiple entities are grouped as one unit notated by a dotted circle, yielding a mass-like entity. The collection of *ton* 'money' is located in the existence domain in

(5.14a), which yields the interpretation of *manh-usi-ta* 'many-HON-DECL'. In these two diagrams, the horizontal line refers to the existence relation, and the rectangle to the existence domain.

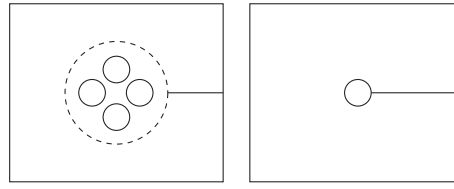


Figure 5.2 *manh-ta* 'many-DECL' vs. *iss-ta* 'exist-DECL'

The examples are also similar in that they may be switched to an MNC as shown in (5.16) and (5.17).

(5.16) Kim sensayng-nim-i ton-i manh-usi-ta.
K teacher-HON-NOM money-NOM many-HON-DECL
'Professor Kim has lots of money.'

(5.17) Kim sensayng-nim-i ttal-i iss-usi-ta.
K teacher-HON-NOM daughter-NOM exist-HON-DECL
'Professor Kim has a daughter.'

The CG diagram for (5.16) is illustrated in Figure 5.3, which shows many similarities to Figure 3.4 provided in Chapter 3. In Figure 5.3, R_1 and R_2 correspond, as do the reference point relationships and the two dominions, due to the possession-like relationship between the two nominals. As a result, two layers of reference point relations may coalesce, yielding the structure illustrated in Figure 5.4.

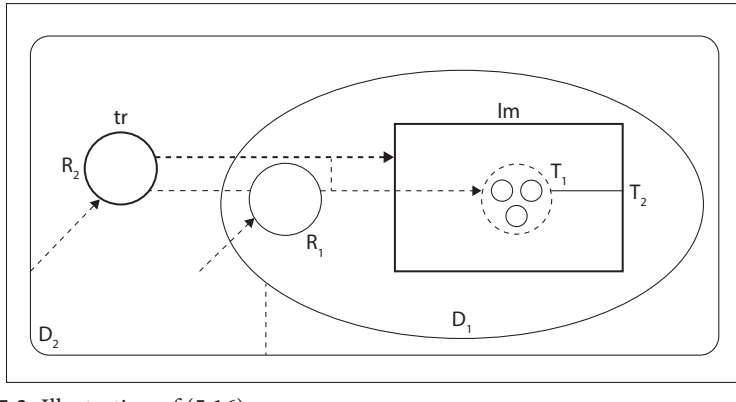


Figure 5.3 Illustration of (5.16)

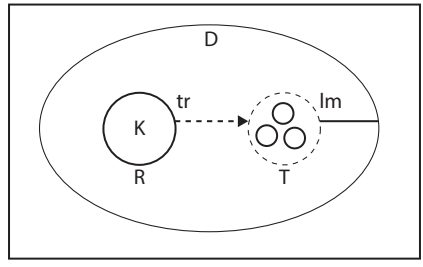


Figure 5.4 The result of coalescence

The coalesced structure is identical to the structure for the Japanese dative example provided in Figure 5.1, except for the positions of trajector and landmark. In Figure 5.4, since *Kim sensayng-nim* (K) elaborates the trajector, it is realized as a nominative-marked nominal. This explains why the subject honorific agreement occurs between *Kim sensayng-nim* and the predicate, as opposed to *ton* 'money' and the predicate; as a landmark, *ton* simply does not have subject status. This is so because a typical subject is a reference point trajector, but *ton* does not have either property.

Now, let us explain sentence (5.14a), which contains a dative-marked nominal exhibiting subject properties. The result of coalescence in Figure 5.4 and the locative schema shown in the left bottom rectangle in Figure 5.1 exhibit an almost identical conceptual structure. This conceptual affinity motivates the blending[14] of these two, which is shown in Figure 5.5. As a result of blending, *Kim sensayng-nim* elaborates the landmark in the bottom right rectangle, and is qualified to be dative-marked. As a reference point landmark, *Kim sensayng-nim* maintains a higher degree of topicality, and it exhibits a subject-like property by appearing in a structurally prominent position as a profiled entity.

It is worth discussing why the coalescence of double nominative constructions occurs. To explain the emergence of complex predicates from double nominative constructions, Kumashiro and Langacker (2003: 34) explain that a lower degree of conceptual autonomy facilitates the coalescence. The authors, however, admit that these are subtle matters of construal. For the case demonstrated in (5.16) and (5.17), though, I believe this optional coalescence is well-motivated.[15] The *exist*-type predicates such as *manh-ta* 'many-DECL' are always relative to some domain. For example, *ton* 'money' and *ttal* 'daughter' in (5.16) and (5.17) exist

14. The notion of blending I am adopting is fundamentally the same as Fauconnier's (1994, 1997). However, the technical characterizations of the process are borrowed from Goldberg (1995) and Langacker (2008).

15. In Chapter 3, I demonstrated that coalescence is purely optional, leading to systematic ambiguity between complex predicate and non-complex predicate interpretations of MNCs.

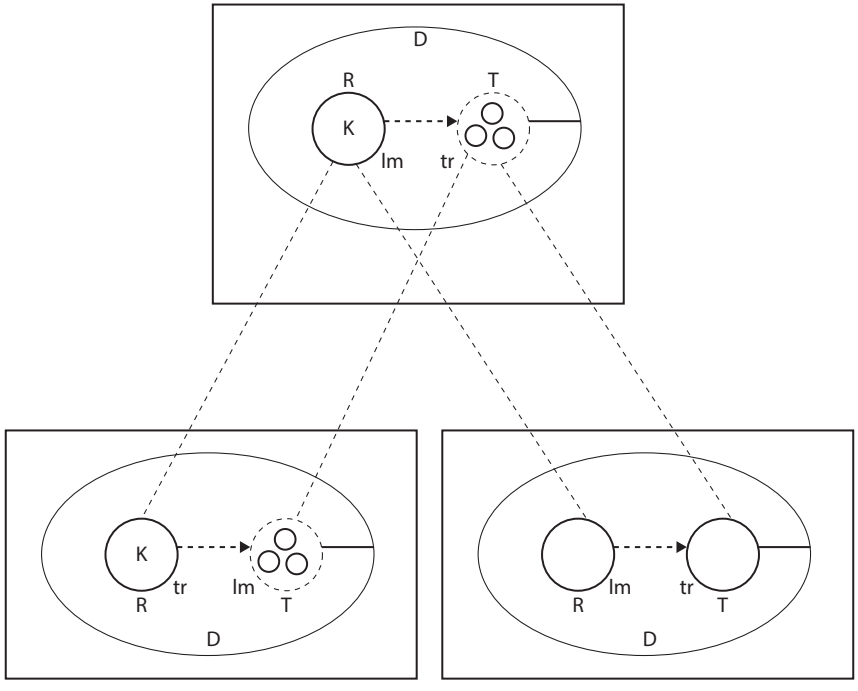


Figure 5.5 Blending of the coalesced double nominative construction and the locative schema

specifically in the region anchored by *kim sensayng-nim* 'K professor-HON'. The internal clauses in (5.16) and (5.17) (*ton-i manh-usi-ta* and *ttal-i iss-usi-ta*, respectively), without having any specified (not generalized) domain of experience, have a low degree of conceptual autonomy, thereby facilitating the coalescence of the MNC in Figure 5.4.

Let us now move on to examples that do not have *exist*-type predicates. The dative-marked nominals in (5.18) are used with emotion/sensation/necessity verbs. With these types of predicates, the honorific agreement still holds between the dative-marked nominal and the predicate as in (5.18b).

(5.18) a. halmeni-eykey ton-i philyo-ha-si-ta.
grandmother-DAT money-NOM necessary-do-HON-DECL
'Grandmother needs money./Grandmother is in need of money.'

b. na-eykey nul kwisin-i mwusep-ta.
I-DAT always ghost-NOM fearsome-DECL
'I am always scared of ghosts./I am in constant fear of ghosts.'

c. na-eykey nul kohyang-i kulip-ta.
I-DAT always hometown-NOM miss-DECL
'I always miss my hometown.'

I argue that these types of predicates also exhibit similarities to *exist*-type verbs in the sense that the entity is viewed as being located in the subject's domain of existence. The left box in Figure 5.6 illustrates a typical intransitive verb, while the right box shows a metaphorically extended meaning of an intransitive verb. The difference between the two is the degree of the entity's participation in a given event. While the entity actively participates in the typical intransitive verb construction (notated by the arrow), it passively occupies a location of the metaphorically extended variety in the domain of existence (represented by the rectangle). In Figure 5.6, the dashed arrow between the two rectangles refers to the metaphorical extension process. The dashed line in the right rectangle represents an entity's existence in a metaphorical sense.

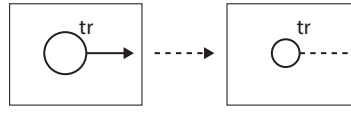


Figure 5.6 Metaphorical extension of the *exist*-type verb

It is not hard to imagine a metaphorical extension of the examples in (5.18) to a situation where an entity is conceived as spatially located in someone's domain of experience. Speakers frequently use ontological metaphors to comprehend events, actions, activities, and states. Since we are physical beings, viewing ourselves and other things as containers is readily observable in our everyday language use as shown in (5.19).

(5.19) a. I am in your debt.
b. The book is in my possession.
c. I am in love with Jane.

In fact, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 29) write "[w]e project our own in-out orientation onto other physical objects that are bounded by surfaces. Thus we also view them as containers with an inside and an outside." This is precisely the case for the sentences in (5.18). The metaphorical extension of (5.18a) is shown in Figure 5.7.

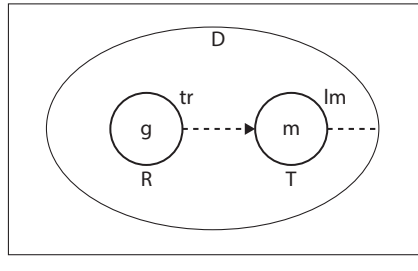


Figure 5.7 Metaphorical extension of (5.18a)

Figure 5.7 is almost identical to Figure 5.4, except that the metaphorically extended existence schema is adopted in the right circle (m) for the inner clause *ton-i philyo-ha-si-ta* 'money-NOM necessary-do-HON-DECL' in Figure 5.7. The structure in Figure 5.7 then undergoes blending with the locative schema illustrated in Figure 5.5, yielding a dative-marked subject.

5.4.2 Case alternation

Now that we have explained the problem with honorific agreement, let us consider the examples of case alternation. Oftentimes, Korean MNCs can alternate with non-nominative subject constructions as in (5.20).

(5.20) a. Cheli-ka ton-i manh-ta.
C-NOM money-NOM many-DECL
'Cheli has a lot of money.'
b. Cheli-eykey ton-i manh-ta.
C-DAT money-NOM many-DECL
'Cheli has a lot of money.'

However, not every MNC can alternate with a non-nominative subject construction. Several types of MNCs are illustrated as (a) examples in (5.21)–(5.23), while (b) examples show their potential alternations as non-nominative subject constructions. When used with the intended meanings, the (b) examples are all infelicitous.

(5.21) a. halmeni-ka meli-ka kem-usi-ta.
grandmother-NOM hair-NOM black-HON-DECL
'Grandmother's hair is black.'
b. *halmeni-eykey meli-ka kem-usi-ta.
grandmother-DAT hair-NOM black-HON-DECL
'Intended: Grandmother's hair is black.'

(5.22) a. sakwa-ka mas-i tal-ta
apple-NOM taste-NOM sweet-DECL
'Apples taste sweet.'
b. *sakwa-ey mas-i tal-ta.
apple-LOC taste-NOM sweet-DECL
'Intended: Apples taste sweet.'

(5.23) a. Bridget-i nwun-i phalah-ta.
B-NOM eye-NOM blue-DECL
'Bridget has blue eyes.'
b. *Bridget-eykey nwun-i phalah-ta.
B-DAT eye-NOM blue-DECL
'Intended: Bridget has blue eyes.'

The data presented supports the analysis provided in Section 5.4.1. The MNCs that can alternate with non-nominative subject constructions are those that contain either an *exist*-type verb or a metaphorically extended existential predicate.

The examples illustrated in (5.21)–(5.23) show the instances where the predicate's metaphorical extension is difficult or impossible to achieve. Let us consider (5.21a), where the predicate is *kem-usi-ta* 'black-HON-DECL'. Speakers cannot construe the situation as "(grandmother's) hair being located in the domain of the grandmother's experience."; the situation is construed in isolation from the grandmother's experience. The other two predicates in (5.22) and (5.23) exhibit a similar property that blocks metaphorical extension. Speakers do not construe (5.22a) as "sweet taste exists within apples' domain of experience". The same goes for (5.23a), where "having blue eyes exists within the domain of Bridget's experience" is not a possible construal.

This should not be understood as a claim that the case alternation happens more easily with an animate subject. As shown in (5.24), the alternation is natural with the inanimate subject *ku hakkyo* 'that school'. In this case, *hakkyo* is construed as an animate entity, leading to the interpretation of "the school experiences the state of having lots of money".[16]

(5.24) a. ku hakkyo-ka ton-i manh-ta.
That school-NOM money-NOM many-DECL
'The school has a lot of money.'
b. ku hakkyo-ey ton-i manh-ta.
That school-LOC money-NOM many-DECL
'The school has a lot of money.'

The animate interpretation of *hakkyo* 'school' in (5.24) is due to its metonymic construal based on INSTITUTIONS ARE PERSONS. This explanation is supported by Langacker's (1993: 30) claim that "[m]etonymy is prevalent because our reference point ability is fundamental and ubiquitous." In (5.24), *hakkyo* 'school' functions as a reference point in relation to the inner clauses. Therefore, the metonymic interpretation of *hakkyo* in (5.24) is naturally expected.[17]

16. J. J. Song (1995, 2011) argues that locative subject constructions in Korean are used to encode a situation where the referent of an organization or a document performs a human action. He argues that intentionality and responsibility must figure in to account for this type of metonymic interpretation.

17. Similar to my analysis, Kim and Sells (2010a) argue that the locative marker *-eyse* marks a subject with non-nominative oblique case, with the meaning that the subject refers to a location with organizational or agentive properties.

Case alternation, then, is explained by the MNC and the blended structure. As discussed, MNCs with *exist*-type predicates are explained by the coalesced MNC diagram provided in Figure 5.4, and the non-nominative alternation is a higher level of organization achieved by the blending of the coalesced double nominative construction with the locative schema. When a metaphorical extension is involved, we need to utilize a slightly different type of characterization. All of the examples presented exhibit one common property: one entity functions as a reference point for the other.

5.4.3 Case stacking

Although case stacking in Korean has yielded many debates among linguists without consensus (Youn 1990; Choe 1995; Schütze 1996, 2001; Yoon 2004a, among others), my CG-based analysis provides a relatively straightforward explanation of the phenomenon.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Korean permits an MNC like (5.25), where the brackets show its syntactic clausal structure. Here, the three nominative-marked nominals are subjects in different syntactic layers indicated by C_1, C_2, and C_3.

(5.25) [$_{C1}$ Cheli-ka [$_{C2}$ apeci-ka [$_{C3}$ ton-i manh-usi-ta]]].
C-NOM father-NOM money-NOM many-HON-DECL
'Cheli's father has a lot of money.'

For the sake of simplicity, let us focus on the internal clause *apeci-ka ton-i manh-usi-ta*. This double nominative construction can alternate with a non-nominative subject construction as in (5.26), which arises via the blending of the locative schema and the coalesced double nominative construction.

(5.26) apeci-eykey ton-i manh-usi-ta.
father-DAT money-NOM many-HON-DECL
'(The) father has a lot of money.'

On top of (5.26), we can create another layer of reference point structure because Korean permits MNCs. When the reference point subject creation mechanism is applied to (5.26), we are left with a sentence like (5.27), where *Cheli* functions as a reference point in relation to the internal clause *apeci-eykey ton-i manh-usi-ta*. This can be achieved by mechanically inserting the double nominative construction into the predicate slot of the reference point subject creation schema shown in Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3.

(5.27) Cheli-ka apeci-eykey ton-i manh-usi-ta.
C-NOM father-DAT money-NOM many-HON-DECL
'Cheli's father has a lot of money.'

The result of the application of the reference point creation mechanism is shown in Figure 5.8, which depicts the structure of (5.28). Instead of being specified with a new nominal as in (5.27), the newly created reference point (R_2) corresponds to R_1, where R_1 is *apeci-eykey* 'father-DAT' in this figure. Since the newly created reference point has a dual role, *lm* internally and *tr* externally, it is qualified to be nominative-marked externally, yielding the desired case-stacked structure as in (5.28).

(5.28) apeci-eykey-ka ton-i manh-usi-ta.
father-DAT-NOM money-NOM a.lot.of-HON-DECL
'As for the father, he is rich.'
'It is (the) father who has a lot of money.'

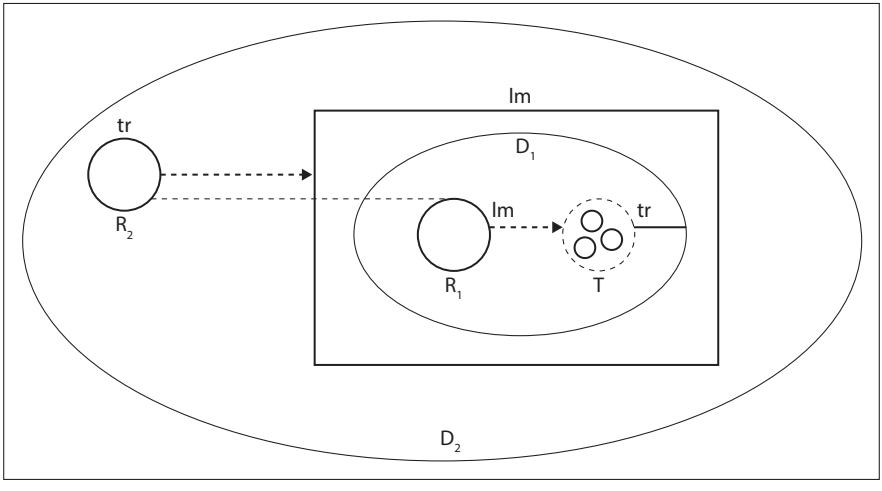


Figure 5.8 Case stacking illustrated

Note that the case-stacked nominal in (5.28) may be interpreted either as topic or focus. The various discourse notions such as topic and focus have a strong shaping influence on clauses, and exocentrically created nominals tend to have a topical interpretation. In previous chapters, I argued that reference point is essentially associated with topicality. The case-stacked nominal's topicality then is expected.

Sometimes, a reference point may gain a focus reading, which is an epiphenomenon, conditioned by a discourse context. Focus is associated with a part of a sentence that expresses the center of attention or that contributes new information. A profiled entity by definition is the center of attention, and any profiled thing can be construed as new information by being the center of attention. Since R_2 in Figure 5.8 is a trajector of the profiled reference point relationship, it naturally acquires a topical interpretation. However, its topical reading can be overridden

when R_2 is reconstrued as a participant that contributes to new information. This shift of the participant's informational status may arise when appropriate phonological information is provided. As we discussed in Chapter 3, any element in a sentence is susceptible to a focus reading if relevant contextual and phonological information is given. In the case of (5.28), the focus-like interpretation of *apeci-eykey-ka* 'father-DAT-NOM' is expected when the interlocutor can construe *apeci-eykey-ka* as a participant that carries new information in a discourse. In sum, while topicality is tightly associated with reference point, focus is not. A reference point nominal may be interpreted as focus when proper syntactic and phonological contexts are provided, such as a high pitch intonation and the use of the focus marker *-man* 'only'. Erteschik-Shir (1997) explains that the subject of a sentence is usually a topic, whereas the object is part of the focus phrase. We can see the parallelism between Erteschik-Shir's observation and my analysis. Since R_2 in Figure 5.8 corresponds to R_1, it naturally exhibits the dual properties of the subject and the object, each of which is characterized by *tr* and *lm*, respectively.

My analysis also explains why the affixal ordering of the nominative-over-dative stacked nominal is as such, and not the other way around. The newly created reference point corresponds to the landmark of the predicate internally, making it qualified to be a dative-marked nominal. The same nominal is a trajector externally, and is therefore qualified for a nominative marking. Since the nominal is a trajector in relation to the clausal landmark containing the dative-marked nominal, the nominative marker is stacked on top of the dative-marked nominal.

Before leaving this section, I would like to discuss some issues raised in the formal linguistics approach to dealing with Korean case stacking. These theoretical questions fall into broad categories (Yoon 2004a: 269) as laid out in (5.29). I explain how my analysis answers these questions.

(5.29) a. Is the stacked case particle in case stacking a genuine case marker?
b. Does grammatical subjecthood entail the possibility of nominative case marking?
c. Is case alternation a prerequisite to case stacking?

The first question stems from the debate on the status of the nominative marker. Some scholars have argued that the marker is a genuine case marker, while others have claimed that it is a focus (or topic) marker. Though it has drawn the attention of linguists in other frameworks, the question is not relevant in terms of CG. A nominal is realized as a nominative-marked entity when it elaborates a trajector. The topic-like properties are merely the byproduct of the reference point nature of the constructions. These properties can be overridden to gain a focus-like reading at the discourse level. The case markers themselves are not directly associated with topic or focus.

The second question has already been answered over the course of the discussion. Dative-marked nominals can function as subjects when a complex predicate-like structure arises due to blending. In the blended structure shown in Figure 5.8, the profiled reference point landmark appears in a structurally salient position, which yields subject properties. In other words, grammatical subjecthood does not necessarily entail nominative marking.

We have already answered the third question as well. Although there are many similarities, case alternation is not a prerequisite to case stacking. Case stacking arises when an additional reference point subject creation mechanism is in play, while case alternation arises due to a conceptual affinity between the coalesced MNC and the locative schema. In other words, without assuming case alternation, we can certainly explain case stacking. Note, however, that the case stacking we have observed occurs in the order of dative followed by nominative. Because of this ordering restriction, there should be a dative subject before the nominative affixation in the examples we have demonstrated in this chapter. Judging from these examples only, we might conclude that the requirement of the dative subject is an indication of the required case alternation for case stacking. As will be discussed in Chapter 9, however, some speakers permit Nominative-Nominative Stacking (NNS). When the limiter like *-man* intervenes between the two nominative markers, the result becomes fully felicitous to most speakers. If we assume that case alternation is a prerequisite for case stacking, we would not be able to explain the NNS type, leading to a weaker generalization. In my analysis, case alternation and stacking are independently motivated, and it does not raise an issue for both stacking phenomena.

5.4.4 Subject properties revisited

I have shown how my reference point-based account of non-nominative subjects explains the less-commonly attested phenomena discussed earlier in Section 5.2.2. In this present section, I show that the proposed structure for non-nominative subject constructions naturally accounts for the frequently attested examples cross-linguistically, illustrated in Section 5.2.1. For the sake of simple exposition, I reintroduce the same examples with new numbers. (5.30) shows that *casin* 'self' is controlled by the dative-marked nominal *Cheli-eykey*. (5.31) illustrates the association of the dative-marked nominal *Cheli-eykey* with PRO in a subject-oriented adjunct clause. (5.32) shows that the dative-marked plural nominal controls the copy of the affix in the adverb *taytanhi* 'very'. (5.33) illustrates that the dative-marked nominal *Cheli-eykey* can felicitously undergo SOR.

(5.30) Cheli$_k$-eykey-nun [casin$_k$-uy chinkwu-tul]-i mwusep-ta.
C-DAT-TOP self-GEN friend-PL-NOM fearsome-DECL
'Cheli is afraid of his friends.'

(5.31) [PRO$_k$ tayhakwensayng-i-myenseto] Cheli$_k$-eykey-nun sillyek-i
graduate.student-COP-COMP C-DAT-TOP ability-NOM
eps-ta.
non.exist-DECL
'Though he (Cheli) is a graduate student, Cheli's academic abilities are marginal.'

(5.32) ce haksayng-tul$_k$-eykey-nun mwuncey-ka taytanhi-tul$_k$ manh-ta.
that student-PL-DAT-TOP problem-NOM very-PL many-DECL
'Those students have a lot of problems.'

(5.33) na-nun Cheli-eykey-(man)-ul kulen mwuncey-ka iss-ta-ko
I-TOP C-DAT-(only)-ACC that.kind problem-NOM exist-DECL-COMP
sayngkak-ha-n-ta.
think-do-PRS-DECL
'I think that only Cheli has that kind of problem.'

Let us first take a look at (5.30). The example arises via the coalesced double nominative construction. Since the predicate *mwusep-ta* 'fearsome-DECL' is metaphorically interpreted in terms of space, it motivates blending with the locative schema. In the blended structure, *Cheli* is the profiled reference point in relation to the inner clause, and therefore functions like a subject. Nonetheless, *Cheli* elaborates the landmark and is marked as dative.

Example (5.31) is explained in a similar way. Since *eps-ta* 'non.exist-DECL' is an *exist*-type predicate, the coalescence process happens followed by the blending of the structure with the locative schema, yielding *Cheli-eykey-nun sillyek-i eps-ta*. At this level, *sillyek-i* 'ability-NOM' does not have subject properties, hence the whole clause *sillyek-i eps-ta* behaves like a complex predicate, where only *Cheli* is a subject. Since *Cheli* is the only subject, the covertly marked subject in the adjunct clause corresponds to it.

The example of plural copying shown in (5.32) is also naturally explained. Similar to (5.31), the *exist*-type predicate *manh-ta* 'many-DECL' causes a coalesced structure, which is then blended with the locative schema because of the conceptual affinity between the two. The result is the creation of a complex predicate-like structure, where *mwuncey-ka* 'problem-NOM' does not exhibit any subject properties, while *haksayng-tul* 'student-PL' behaves as a subject. Since *haksayng-tul* is the only subject, the plural copy process, which is expected from the subject to the adverb, occurs between *haksayng-tul* and *taytanhi* 'very'.

To fully explain Example (5.33), we need to recall that we briefly analyzed the Subject-to-Object-Raising phenomenon in terms of reference point and zone activation in Chapter 4. The object *haksayng* in (5.34) is related to the verb *mit-ess-ta* 'believe-PST-DECL' by way of its active zone, specified by the embedded clause *chencay-la-ko* 'genius-COP-COMP'. In other words, *haksayng* becomes a reference point in relation to *chencay-la-ko*.

(5.34) John-i ku haksayng$_i$-ul [Ø$_i$ chencay-la-ko] mit-ess-ta.
John-NOM that student-ACC [Ø genius-COP-COMP] believe-PST-DECL
'John believed the student to be a genius.'

Example (5.33) is similar to (5.34). In (5.33), the nominal *Cheli* does not directly participate in the relationship profiled by *mwuncey-ka iss-ta* 'problem-NOM exist-DECL'. As an exocentrically created reference point subject, it is related to the existential predicate *iss-ta* through the active zone specified by the clause *mwuncey-ka iss-ta*, which is the identical functional motivation for the SOR example shown in (5.34).

One might say that (5.33) is not acceptable, and thus it cannot be treated like (5.34). By contrast, (5.35), which does not involve SOR, is fully acceptable.[18]

(5.35) na-nun Cheli-eykey-(man) kulen mwuncey-ka iss-ta-ko
I-TOP C-DAT-(only) that.kind problem-NOM exist-DECL-COMP
sayngkak-ha-n-ta.
think-do-PRS-DECL
'I think that only Cheli has that kind of problem.'

This can be explained in my analysis. In order to make (5.33) acceptable, the case-stacked nominal needs to undergo SOR. As shown in Figure 5.8, the dative marking originates in the R_1 position, which then corresponds to R_2. For the SOR operation, this multiply corresponding entity needs another correspondence relationship to the object in the main clause. This multiple correspondence relationship makes sentences like (5.33) non-canonical and hard to process. Other speakers, such as Yoon (2004a), find (5.33) an acceptable example, and my analysis can explain either case because CG fundamentally accepts the fact that many grammatical phenomena are matters of degree.[19]

18. This is pointed out by a reviewer of *Studies in Language*, where an earlier version of this chapter appeared.

19. Langacker (1987: 14) states that "[m]uch in language is a matter of degree. Linguistic relationships are not invariably all-or-nothing, nor are linguistic categories always sharply defined and never fuzzy around the edges."

5.5 Conclusion

The overall conclusion from the observations I made is that non-nominative subject constructions are nothing but another reference point phenomenon ubiquitously found in our everyday language use. The technical analysis of this reference point phenomenon is provided based on the locative schema, reference point subject creation, and conceptual/constructional blending.

In Section 5.2.3, I broached four questions, which are summarized in (5.36). These are already answered through various discussions throughout this chapter. I would like to summarize my answers in this final section.

(5.36) a. Why is a non-nominative subject often dative-marked?
b. What is the role of spatial semantics in non-nominative subject constructions?
c. What is the commonality among the emotion/sensation/necessity/existence verbs?
d. What is the meaning of the dative case?

First, non-nominative subject constructions arise by way of the blending of the coalesced double nominative construction with the locative schema when there is a conceptual affinity in terms of *existence*. Since *existence* is construed as a *thing* being located in a space, the *thing* can be viewed as moving toward a target or already located in a target. The result of the former is a dative-marked nominal, and the result of the latter is a locative-marked nominal, both of which are observed in Korean.

The second question is answered in relation to the first. Spatial semantics is a crucial tool in analyzing and understanding non-nominative subject constructions. In my analysis, non-*exist*-type predicates are explained based on a metaphorical extension of the predicates. The metaphorical extension occurs when a situation is construed as a thing being located in someone's domain of experience. Based on this observation, I demonstrated that the emergence of non-nominative subject constructions can hardly be explained without recourse to conceptual metaphors and spatial semantics. According to Zlatev (2007: 327), the following seven concepts are present in almost all descriptions of spatial semantics: trajector, landmark, frame of reference, region, path, direction, and motion. Although I did not adopt all of these terms directly, the essential nature of these terms was incorporated in my analysis, leading to the conclusion that my analysis is fundamentally spatial semantics-based. In particular, since CG is equipped with these concepts in conjunction with their corresponding technical details, I have shown that CG provides a natural way to explain fundamentally spatial phenomena from a truly spatial semantic perspective.

Third, the commonality among the emotion, sensation, necessity, and existence verbs was explained in terms of metaphoric extension. Because existence verbs are schematized in one's domain of experience, they are often construed in a container–containee relationship. Through metaphorical extension, some non-existence verbs that denote emotion, sensation, or necessity can be construed similarly. This containment construal makes these types of verbs compatible with the non-nominative subject construction in which the existence relation plays a crucial role.

The last question deserves extensive research beyond the scope of this book because the issue is highly complicated. Nonetheless, we answered this question in a simplistic way by stating that the dative case is realized as a nominal that elaborates a landmark in the locative schema or locative-initiated blended structure. It is worth highlighting that notions like landmark and (indirect) objects are schematically defined in terms of focal prominence in CG, not in terms of any specific semantic role.[20]

Although not overtly addressed in this chapter, my analysis demonstrates several aspects of constructional meaning. This is because the constructional schemas I illustrated are meaningful and constitute an essential contribution to complex expressions. More specifically, in explaining blending, I have demonstrated that a constructional schema can override conceptual content, which supports the constructionist view on grammar (Tomasello 1992; Goldberg 1995, 2006; Kim and Choi 2004; Kim 2016a).

20. See Wierzbicka (1996, 2009) for a semantics-based definition of dative.

CHAPTER 6

Case-marked adverbials

6.1 Overview and proposal

The aim of this chapter is to provide an analysis of Korean adverbial case constructions from a CG perspective. Korean allows non-argument adverbials to be case-marked, particularly when they denote frequency (F) or duration (D).[1] The durative adverbial in (6.1), *han-sikan tongan* 'one-hour during', is nominative-marked, while the frequency adverbial in (6.2), *sey-pen* 'three-time', is accusative-marked.

(6.1) pi-ka han-sikan tongan-i wa-ss-ta.
rain-NOM one-hour during-NOM come-PST-DECL
'It rained for one hour.'

(6.2) John-i ku chayk-ul sey-pen-ul ilk-ess-ta.
J-NOM that book-ACC three-time-ACC read-PST-DECL
'John read the book three times.'

In some cases, F/D adverbials can take either nominative or accusative case, as illustrated in (6.3) and (6.5). This type of alternation is not permitted in other instances, such as in (6.4) and (6.6).

(6.3) inthenes-i sey-sikan tongan-i/ul twucel-toy-ess-ta.
internet-NOM three-hour during-NOM/ACC disconnect-become-PST-DECL
'The internet was disconnected for three hours.'

(6.4) John-i sam-il tongan-*i/ul aph-ass-ta.
J-NOM three-days during-*NOM/ACC sick-PST-DECL
'John was sick for three days.'

(6.5) ku pwulpich-i twu-pen-i/ul kkampak-yess-ta.
that light-NOM two-time-NOM/ACC blink-PST-DECL
'That light blinked two times.'

1. Refer to Li (1990) for Chinese, Maling (1993) for Finnish, Fowler (1987), Sullivan (1998), Przepiórkowski (1999), and Pereltsvaig (2000) for Russian.

(6.6) John-i sey-pen-*i/ul cikak-hay-ss-ta.
J-NOM three-time-*NOM/ACC be.late-do-PST-DECL
'John was late three times.'

The key nature of my analysis is that the case alternation arises when the situation can be construed either perfectively or imperfectively.[2] When the situation is construed imperfectively, the adverbial functions as a *global setting*[3] that includes a whole event. In this situation, it is nominative case-marked. By contrast, when the situation is construed perfectively, the adverbial characterizes a fragment of a setting – *location*, which is the site of a single participant. In this instance, it is accusative case-marked. I further argue that this general tendency must be understood in conjunction with the topicality and animacy of the subject; the perfective construal is associated with a higher degree of topicality.

Naturally, the theoretical starting point of the present chapter is the assumption that grammar is symbolic in nature, and constructions are symbolic assemblies. As Broccias (2013: 193) states, "grammar has to do with schematic symbolic assemblies or constructional schemas. What are traditionally known as rules are understood as schemas or patterns used to form complex expressions in CG." This quote succinctly describes my view of language in the present chapter. In line with CG's philosophy, I assume a unidimensional approach to the aspectual structure of events when dealing with the notions of perfective and imperfective (see Sasse 2002: 202–203 and Michaelis 2004: 9–10). There, the semantics of grammatical aspect is the same as the semantics of lexical aspect.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 6.2 provides a brief review of previous proposals. Section 6.3 introduces two CG notions germane to this chapter: setting and location. In this section, I demonstrate how these notions are connected to reference point subject. Section 6.4 illustrates more examples to demonstrate the relationship between the subject's animacy and the predicate's aspectual type. In Section 6.5, after discussing perfective and imperfective construals, I show how these construals are related to the degree of topicality of the subject. A similar argument is then extended to Section 6.6, which is devoted to the adverbial case construction with an animate subject. Section 6.7 concludes this chapter with a summary of my arguments.

2. Unfortunately, *perfective* and *imperfective* are vague terms, and there is a certain amount of confusion in their use (Dahl 1985, Chapter 3). Some scholars such as Binnick (2006) use these terms specifically to refer to grammatical (or viewpoint) aspect. I am using these terms in the sense of CG as conceptual categories that can be used to describe both lexical and grammatical aspects. Interested readers should refer to Langacker (2008: 147–155).

3. *Setting* and *location* are CG notions. They are explained in detail in Section 6.3.

6.2 Previous proposals

Korean F/D adverbials have drawn a great deal of attention from linguists, especially with regard to nominative-accusative alternation. Representative research on this topic includes Maling (1989), O'Grady (1991), Kim and Maling (1993), Maling, Jun, and Kim (2001: hereafter MJK), Kim and Sells (2006), B. K. Kim (2008, 2009), Kim and Sells (2010a: hereafter Kim and Sells), and Kim (2013). Of these, MJK, Kim and Sells, and Kim (2013) are particularly relevant to this chapter; they provide detailed analyses as well as valuable observations upon which I build my own research. Emphasizing the argument structure of the predicate, MJK makes several generalizations concerning case alternation, as shown in (6.7).

(6.7) MJK's generalizations
   a. Accusative is the only possible case if the verb has an external argument.
   b. Accusative and nominative are both possible if the verb has no underlying external argument.
   c. Nominative is the only possible case for simplex psychological predicates or adjectival predicates such as *silh-ta* 'dislike' or *kwiyep-ta* 'cute', in contrast to the periphrastic predicates *silh-e-ha-ta* 'dislike' and *kwiye-we-ha-ta* 'be fond of'.

Kim and Sells' and Kim's (2013) analyses explore the roles of animacy and eventuality type, and present substantial improvement from MJK's initial hypothesis. By re-evaluating MJK's data, Kim and Sells argue that two additional notions need to be considered when analyzing adverbial case marking: animacy and individual/stage-level predicates.[4] As observed in (6.4) and (6.6), when the subject is a sentient being – whether literally or metaphorically – the F/D adverbial is almost always realized as accusative if the predicate is not a pure stative. When the predicate is a pure stative, the adverbial may be nominative-marked, even if the subject is animate, as seen in (6.8).

(6.8) Chelswu-nun chinkwu-ka sip-nyen tongan-i/?ul manh-ass-ta.
C-TOP friend-NOM ten-year during-NOM/?ACC many-PST-DECL
'Chelswu had many friends over/for ten years.'

MJK also recognized the role of stative and non-stative predicates as relevant to the adverbial case marking. Going one step further, Kim and Sells elaborate MJK's stative/non-stative dichotomy using the well-known notions of individual/stage-level predicates. For example, the adverbial *tongan* 'during' cannot take an accusative marking in (6.9), while, in (6.10), it does not permit the nominative marking.

4. For a more semantic/pragmatic approach to this subject, please refer to E. Lee (2017).

Kim and Sells argue that this asymmetry in case marking must be accounted for by the sentence's eventuality type; *ppal-ass-ta* in (6.9) is an individual-level predicate, while *ppali talli-ess-ta* in (6.10) is a stage-level predicate.

(6.9) ku malathonsenswu-nun chopan tongan-i/*ul
that marathon.runner-TOP first.half during-NOM/*ACC
ppal-ass-ta. (Kim and Sells 2010a: 638)
be.fast-PST-DECL
'The marathoner was fast in the first half.'

(6.10) ku malathonsenswu-nun chopan tongan-*i/ul ppali
that marathon.runner-TOP first.half during-*NOM/ACC fast
talli-ess-ta. (Kim and Sells 2010a: 638)
run-PST-DECL
'The marathoner ran fast in the first half.'

MJK's, Kim's, and Kim and Sells' findings form the basis for the present chapter, which explores why adverbial case is inextricably linked to the animacy of the subject and also to the situation's (im)perfectivity. A detailed discussion of the aforementioned research is provided in later sections when relevant.

My analysis resembles those of MJK and Kim and Sells to the extent that the two-way distinction of aspectual properties of the predicate[5] is adopted. Note that MJK rely on the stative/non-stative[6] contrast and Kim and Sells on individual/stage-level predicate contrast. However, there are two major differences between my analysis and the two aforementioned approaches. First, while cognitive saliency plays a crucial role in explaining adverbial case in my analysis, it was not the concern of MJK or Kim and Sells. I argue that the notion of cognitive saliency accounts more systematically for the role of animacy (topicality) of the subject and the relationship between the subject and the construal of the given situation. Second, how situations are construed is an important consideration in my analysis, though it is not a theoretical assumption the previous approaches make. I argue that the case alternation permitted in case-marked adverbial constructions stems from available alternative construals of an experience.

5. As will be made clear in Section 6.5, the two-way aspectual distinction I make is that of perfective and imperfective. These, however, are not lexical properties. Instead, the distinction needs to be made holistically, based on the whole situation construed.

6. Throughout this chapter, I use *stative* to refer to a feature of lexical aspect, which is the term adopted by most of the aforementioned researchers in dealing with Korean adverbial constructions. When I describe stable relations on a more abstract level, however, I adopt the term *stable* (or *static*) *situation* to make it clear that I am not referring to Aktionsarten.

6.3 Setting, location, and reference point

This section introduces two CG notions relevant to my proposal – setting and location – and their connection to reference point. In discussing setting, the notion of setting subject is also explained.

6.3.1 Setting and location

Langacker provides an analysis of setting and location in various publications (Langacker 1991, 2008, 2011, among others). The term *setting* refers to the background against which a situation is set. *Location*, which is part of the setting, is defined similarly, but with the additional constraint that it can host only one participant. The prototypical setting and location are a spatial or temporal expanse. Langacker (2008: 355) states that "typical settings are things like rooms, buildings, and geographical regions, which are usually conceived as hosting events rather than participating in them." Langacker (1991: 300) claims that "both spatial and temporal expanses lend themselves to construal as the setting" in (6.11) and (6.12), respectively. In these examples, *In Louisiana*, *at the beach*, *In July*, and *during the last two years* are construed as settings that host participants.

(6.11) a. **In Louisiana**, a hurricane destroyed several small towns.
b. She saw many interesting people **at the beach**. (Langacker 1991: 300)

(6.12) a. **In July**, a major hurricane struck Louisiana.
b. We have made a number of important discoveries **during the last two years**. (Langacker 1991: 300)

To illustrate the interplay among participants, setting, and location, let us consider (6.13), where *Floyd* and *glasses* are participants in the scene described and are aligned with the trajector and the landmark, respectively. *In the kitchen* is a global (spatial) setting, and *on the counter* is a location, which is part of the setting *in the kitchen*. Readers should note that the participants do not interact with each other, but only occupy the location and setting.

(6.13) **In the kitchen**, Floyd was stacking glasses **on the counter**.
(Langacker 2008: 387)

Generally, participants are aligned with either the trajector or the landmark. However, this is not always the case. Trajector status can be conferred on the setting. Similarly, landmark status may be given to the location.

Langacker's illustrations of setting and location are provided in Figure 6.1 (Langacker 1991: 345). His later works (Langacker 2008, 2011) provide slightly

revised versions of these diagrams. For the purpose of simplicity, however, I present the original diagrams.

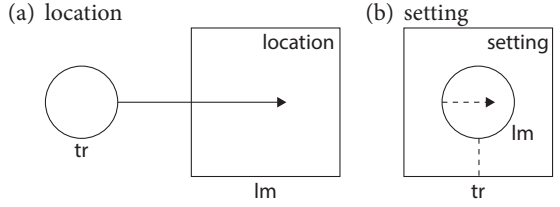


Figure 6.1 Location vs. setting, redrawn after Langacker (1991: 345)

The crucial point of these illustrations is that the location is aligned with a landmark in (a), while the setting is chosen as a trajector in (b). As a trajector, the setting is understood as a subject in (b). By contrast, the location in (a) behaves like an object by being a landmark, although it lacks participant status.

I would like to clarify my choice of terminology for the present chapter. I use *setting* and *location* to refer to both temporal and spatial expanses. Location does not exclusively refer to physical locations, although the examples of location I use in this subsection are all physical locations. The reasoning behind the choice of this terminology is straightforward. By definition, setting is a global, inclusive region within which an event unfolds. Note that both spatial and temporal expanses lend themselves to construal as settings. Location, by contrast, is any portion or fragment of the setting. Since the setting can include temporal and spatial dimensions, its fragment – location – naturally can include either as well.

6.3.2 Setting subject

A setting can be construed as a grammatical subject. The most obvious setting subject construction is illustrated in (6.14). Neither *Thursday* nor *Independence Hall* is a participant. Rather, the subject in (6.14a) is a temporal setting, whereas the subject in (6.14b) is a spatial setting.

(6.14) a. **Thursday** saw yet another startling development.
b. **Independence Hall** has witnessed many historic events.
(Langacker 1991: 346)

The notion of setting subject can be extended to an abstract setting. Langacker (2011) provides a detailed discussion of the impersonal *it* as an abstract setting subject, as shown in (6.15).[7]

7. For German impersonal subject *es* 'it', see Smith (1985).

(6.15) a. It's hard to wash a cat.
b. It's embarrassing when you can't remember someone's name.
c. It rained last night. (Langacker 2011: 179)

In terms of setting subjects, Korean and English exhibit similar patterns. In (6.16a), *Minnesota* is a physical setting, while *Jean* in (6.16b) is construed as a mental setting.

(6.16) a. Minnesota-ka nalssi-ka chwup-ta.
M-NOM weather-NOM cold-DECL
'In Minnesota, the weather is cold.'
b. Jean-i cohun sayngkak-i manh-ta.
Jean-NOM good idea-NOM a.lot.of-DECL
'Jean has many good ideas. (= In Jean's mind, there are many good ideas.)'

Korean differs from English in its tendency to case-mark setting subjects with the nominative, thereby yielding a double subject construction. Therefore, understanding the nature of the double subject construction in Korean is important for the analysis of setting subjects in Korean. In relation to the double subject construction, the notion of reference point needs to be explained. These were all discussed in detail in Chapter 3, but I will summarize the properties of MNCs and reference point within setting subjects.

6.3.3 Reference point

Langacker (1991: 351) claims that "the notion of setting subject might be generalized to that of reference point subject, a setting or container being just one kind of reference point." In support of Langacker's position, I argue that the notion of reference point is crucial in understanding Korean adverbial case constructions. As discussed in Chapter 3, the full clause *Yenghuy-ka nwun-i yeyppu-ta* in (6.17) profiles a reference point relationship, where the outer NP, *Yenghuy-ka*, is the reference point. Since the relationship is profiled, the reference point is naturally identified as a trajector, and is therefore nominative-marked. As a reference point, *Yenghuy-ka* becomes the natural starting point for presenting the content expressed in the inner clause, *nwun-i yeyppu-ta*. In (6.17), both *Yenghuy-ka* and *nwun-i* are subjects at different levels of organization. While *nwun-i* is a subject because its profile corresponds to the trajector of the profiled process, *Yenghuy* is a subject because its profile corresponds to the trajector of the profiled reference point relationship.

(6.17) Yenghuy-ka nwun-i yeyppu-ta.
Y-NOM eye-NOM pretty-DECL
'Yenghuy has pretty eyes.'

Nominative-marked adverbials like (6.18) exhibit several similarities to (6.17). Both *pi-ka* and *twu-sikan tongan-i* have some claim to subjecthood, albeit at different levels. While *pi-ka* becomes a subject by elaborating the trajector of the profiled process, *twu-sikan tongan-i* corresponds to the trajector of the profiled reference point relationship, thereby functioning as a (setting) subject in relation to the clause *pi-ka nayli-ess-ta*. (6.19) is naturally explained as well; as a reference point, *twu-sikan tongan-i* appears sentence initially to build a mental bridge between the conceptualizer and the inner clause.

(6.18) pi-ka twu-sikan tongan-i nayli-ess-ta.
rain-NOM two-hour during-NOM fall-PST-DECL
'It rained for two hours.'

(6.19) twu-sikan tongan-i pi-ka nayli-ess-ta.
two-hour during-NOM rain-NOM fall-PST-DECL
'For two hours, it rained.'

Note that not every entity appearing in the sentence initial position is guaranteed to be a reference point. This is because other factors such as scrambling and relativization can figure into the word order.

This general idea of setting subject as a reference point, however, needs to be elaborated to incorporate the case of accusative-marked adverbials. This is examined in the next section.

6.4 Animacy and the predicate's aspectual properties

In many cases, adverbials may be either nominative- or accusative-marked when they appear in a clause where the subject is inanimate. This section accounts for why this type of alternation is observed in such situations. Examples (6.20)–(6.22) show the case alternation with an inanimate subject.

(6.20) nalssi-ka yelhul tongan-i/ul chwuwe-ss-ta.
weather-NOM ten.days during-NOM/ACC cold-PST-DECL
'It was cold for ten days.'

(6.21) kikun-i samnyen tongan-i/ul kyesok-toy-ess-ta.
famine-NOM three.years during-NOM/ACC continue-become-PST-DECL
'The famine continued for three years.'

(6.22) maum-i samnyen tongan-i/ul aph-ass-ta.
heart-NOM three.years during-NOM/ACC sick-PST-DECL
'(My) heart has been broken for three years.'

When the subject is animate, the nominative marking is generally not permitted for the adverbial or is only marginally acceptable, as illustrated in (6.23)–(6.25).

(6.23) Chelswu-ka yelhul tongan-*i/ul ttwi-ess-ta.
C-NOM ten.days during-*NOM/ACC run-PST-DECL
'Chelswu ran for ten days.'

(6.24) cippaywen-i pelsse sey-pen-*i/ul wa-ss-ta ka-ss-ta.
postman-NOM already three-times-*NOM/ACC come-PST-COMP go-PST-DECL
'The postman has already come and gone three times.'

(6.25) Chelswu-ka sam-nyen tongan-?i/ul aph-ass-ta.
C-NOM three-years during-?NOM/ACC sick-PST-DECL
'Chelswu has been sick for three years.'

Although examples in (6.20)–(6.25) show the general pattern of case alternation, there are many other instances that cannot be explained by the notion of animate subject alone. For example, though the subject is inanimate in both (6.26) and (6.27), case alternation is not permitted. While only the accusative-marked adverbial is felicitous in (6.26), the opposite is true of (6.27), where only the nominative-marked adverbial is acceptable.

(6.26) matang-ey ssah-ye iss-ten nwun-i ttak sey-sikan
yard-LOC pile-CONN exist-REL snow-NOM exactly three-hour
tongan-*i/ul nok-ass-taka tasi el-ess-ta.
during-*NOM/ACC melt-PST-CONN again freeze-PST-DECL
'The snow pile in the yard melted for exactly three hours, and then froze again.'

(6.27) nay yenkwusil-i chil-phal-wel tongan-i/*ul
my office-NOM July-August-month during-NOM/*ACC
hwutepcikun-ha-ta.
hot.and.humid-do-DECL
'My office is hot and humid in July and August.'

This observation leads to the hypothesis that the predicate's aspectual type needs to be taken into consideration in addition to the animacy of the subject in identifying adverbial case marking. In fact, many researchers realize the importance of the aspectual types (Maling 1989; S. Kim and Maling 1993; Wechsler and Lee 1996; Maling, Jun, and Kim 2001; Kim and Sells 2010a, among others). Maling, Jun, and Kim (2001: 105–107) propose that pure statives may impose nominative

case on their adverbials. Kim and Sells (2010a: 640) make a similar observation incorporating Carlson's (1977) and Dowty's (1979) stage- and individual-level predications, as in (6.28).

(6.28) a. Accusative: the sentence involves a stage-level predication.
b. Nominative: the sentence involves an individual-level predication.

In explaining the observation summarized in (6.28) in conjunction with the notion of animacy, Kim and Sells (2010a: 643) state that "[t]he less agentive or less animate the subject, the more likely the predication is to be individual-level, a thetic[8] judgment, and hence to show the nominative adverbial." Kim and Sells (2010a: 640) also suggest that "it seems that any example with an animate subject strongly favors a stage-level event interpretation, for animacy can be viewed as providing a referent about which a predication can be made." Also inspired by McKoon and Macfarland (2000), Kim and Sells (2010a: 627) argue that "many predicates in Korean which appear to be stative are in fact activities of some kind in terms of eventuality."

Although Kim and Sells' observation and analyses help identify many properties in adverbial case patterns, there are two issues that need to be further clarified. First, one of their major claims – that "some statives are in fact activities" – needs to be expounded upon. Giving credit to McKoon and Macfarland, the authors claim that speakers have a certain amount of flexibility as to how they present or describe an event.[9] If so, we need to explore the question of how and why the flexibility arises. Second, the authors argue for the importance of animacy, which I believe is valid. Nevertheless, the question of why animacy is crucial is only briefly discussed, particularly when dealing with inanimate subjects. In the next section, I attempt to fill these gaps by arguing that the case alternation arises due to the different types of construals of a given situation. When an alternative construal is not available or difficult to achieve, only one case marking is permitted on the adverbial in question. I further argue that different types of construals are closely tied to the level of topicality of the subject as well as the (im)perfectivity of the predicate. Since animacy is one of the major criteria determining the level of topicality, the role of animacy becomes crucial in identifying the possible case marking patterns of the adverbial.

8. Kim and Sells' analysis also relies on the distinction between thetic and categorical judgments (Kuroda 1972), which I will not discuss in this chapter.

9. This is not a completely novel claim. MJK recognized that many predicates in Korean exhibit a certain degree of ambiguity between unaccusative and unergative uses. Outside of the Korean context, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) and Hale and Kyser (2002) demonstrate that some verbs may be used either as unaccusative or unergative.

6.5 Construals

One of the main assumptions I make is that an expression's meaning is not just its conceptual content, but also a speaker's construal of a situation. Croft (2012: 14) lists three characteristics of construal as a conceptual semantic structure in (6.29).

(6.29) a. There are multiple alternative construals of an experience available.
b. A speaker has to choose one construal or another; they are mutually exclusive.
c. No construal is the "best" or "right" one, out of context.

These characteristics precisely match the brief explanation I provided in the previous section: case alternation is permitted because there is an alternative construal of an experience. The choice is made by the speaker, and the two available construals are truth-conditionally equivalent. Case alternation in the adverbial case constructions arises due to the alternative construals available for the same situation. In the following subsection, I discuss two possible construals of the same situation.

6.5.1 Perfective vs. imperfective verbs

CG provides a binary distinction of verbs: perfective and imperfective. The typical properties of perfective and imperfective verbs[10] are summarized in (6.30) and (6.31) (Langacker 2008: 147). Perfective verbs are different from imperfective verbs in two ways. First, while a perfective verb profiles a bounded relationship that has a beginning and end, the relationship profiled by an imperfective verb does not have a beginning or an end. This does not mean that there is no beginning or end implied in the imperfective verb; rather, it is simply excluded from what it puts onstage for focused viewing. Second, while perfective verbs are internally heterogeneous because they constitute some changes, imperfective verbs are internally homogeneous in that they represent the continuation of a stable situation.[11]

10. The terms *perfective* and *imperfective verbs* should not be understood as a claim that (im) perfectivity is solely a lexical property. My analysis is based on the assumption that this needs to be understood holistically.

11. This is not just the position made in CG. Generally, scholars treat the perfective as an aspect that focuses on the end points, while the imperfective does not. Please refer to Saeed (2008: Chapter 5) for an introduction to these concepts as well as terminological choices.

(6.30) Perfective verbs
a. Bounded in time
b. Construed as internally heterogeneous; involving some kind of change in time
c. Examples: *fall*, *jump*, *kick*, *bite*, *throw*, *break*, *ask*, *tell*, *die*, *kill*, *create*, …

(6.31) Imperfective verbs
a. Not specifically bounded
b. Construed as internally homogeneous; involving the continuation through time of a stable situation
c. Examples: *know*, *doubt*, *believe*, *suspect*, *like*, *love*, *detest*, *appreciate*, …

In English, perfective verbs can occur in the progressive, while imperfective verbs occur in the simple present tense. However, this grammatical diagnosis is anything but a rigid lexical specification. One good example showing this flexibility is the posture verb *stand*. The verb *stand* is used imperfectively in (6.32a) because world knowledge tells us that the statue of the president will probably stand in the middle of the park indefinitely. This is grammatically coded with the present tense marking. However, if the speaker knows that the statue is placed in the park only temporarily, the same verb can be construed as constituting a bounded episode – perfectively – and the progressive form is employed to express the short duration. It is important to note that the progressive form indicates that the base verb *stand* is perfective, while the expression as a whole is imperfective. The whole expression in (6.32b) is grammatically coded as imperfective by *be -ing*. In this example, temporal boundedness is then introduced via pragmatic inferencing or contextual information. This means that a verb alone cannot determine the sentence's (im)perfectivity. Rather, the pragmatic context as well as grammatical coding need to be taken into consideration in determining an expression's (im)perfectivity.

(6.32) a. A statue of the president stands in the middle of the park.
b. A statue of the president is standing in the middle of the park.
(Langacker 2008: 149).

Similar to English, Korean imperfective verbs are associated with the present form, and perfective verbs can occur with the progressive form *-ko iss-ta* to yield an imperfective expression, which is translated as *be – ing* in English. As shown in (6.33), the existential verb *iss-ta* may occur only in the present form and not in the progressive form. (6.34) illustrates the same pattern with the verb *kulip-ta* 'miss'.

(6.33) a. ku tayhak-ey khun tosekwan-i iss-ta.
that college-LOC big library-NOM exist-DECL
'There is a big library in that college.'

b. *ku tayhak-ey khun tosekwan-i iss-ko iss-ta.
that college-LOC big library-NOM exist-CONN exist-DECL
'Intended: A big library is existing in the college.'

(6.34) a. na-nun wuli cip-i kulip-ta.
I-TOP our house-NOM miss-DECL
'I miss our house.'
b. *na-nun wuli cip-i kulip-ko iss-ta.
I-TOP our house-NOM miss-CONN exist-DECL
'Intended: I am missing our house.'

This general grammatical pattern, however, is not clear cut in many other cases. Many Korean verbs are compatible with both the present form and the progressive form. (6.35a) and (6.36a) illustrate the imperfective use of the verb *nok-nun-ta* 'melt-PRS-DECL' and *nayli-n-ta* 'fall-PRS-DECL'. These examples suggest that the situations described are viewed as an event that is not specifically bounded. By contrast, (6.35b) and (6.36b) show the perfective construal of the same verbs, where boundedness is provided via pragmatic or contextual information.

(6.35) a. nwun-i nok-nun-ta.
snow-NOM melt-PRS-DECL
'Snow melts.'
b. nwun-i nok-ko iss-ta.
snow-NOM melt-CONN exist-DECL
'Snow is melting.'

(6.36) a. pi-ka nayli-n-ta.
rain-NOM fall-PRS-DECL
'It rains.'
b. pi-ka nayli-ko iss-ta.
rain-NOM fall-CONN exist-DECL
'It is raining.'

One interesting fact is that when verbs occur in the past form, particularly with an inanimate subject, the situation described by the sentence can be construed either as a perfective or an imperfective, depending on the context. While the past tense-marked verb *nayli-ess-ta* in (6.37a) is construed perfectively, the same verb (*nayli-ess-nuntey*) is construed imperfectively in (6.37b).

(6.37) a. ecey Minnesota-ey camkkan pi-ka nayli-ess-ta.
yesterday M-LOC shortly rain-NOM fall-PST-DECL
'It rained shortly in Minnesota yesterday.'

b. nay-ka wuncen-hay-se kal-ttay, Minnesota-ey pi-ka
I-NOM driving-do-by go-when M-LOC rain-NOM
nayli-ess-nuntey, cikum-un ettenci molu-keyss-ney.
fall-PST-CONN now-TOP how not.know-CJT-END
'When I drove (through Minnesota), it was raining there, but I don't know (whether it still is raining there or not).'

This is not just limited to the verb *nayli-ta* 'fall-DECL'; the same property is observed in many Korean verbs particularly used with an inanimate subject. This means that many Korean past tense-marked verbs exhibit the possibility of being construed in both ways without the specific context provided. In the following subsection, I discuss how these types of alternative construals are associated with the adverbial case marking patterns.

6.5.2 The construals of adverbials with inanimate subjects

To discuss alternative construals, let us consider (6.38). With an inanimate subject, (6.38) permits the case alternation. However, when the predicate is in the "true" present tense, the nominative case is favored, as in (6.39). The true present indicates a profiled process at the time of speaking. As a result, generic and habitual uses of the present are excluded from the cases of the true present tense. Though subtle, when the predicate is in the progressive form, the nominative seems to be favored as in (6.40).

(6.38) a. pi-ka twu-sikan tongan-i nayli-ess-ta.
rain-NOM two-hour during-NOM fall-PST-DECL
'It rained for two hours.'
b. pi-ka twu-sikan tongan-ul nayli-ess-ta.
rain-NOM two-hour during-ACC fall-PST-DECL
'It rained for two hours.'

(6.39) cikum hyencay pi-ka ilpwun tongan-i/?ul nayli-n-ta.
now present rain-NOM one.minute during-NOM/?ACC fall-PRS-DECL
'Lit: It now rains for one minute.'

(6.40) cikum hyencay pi-ka ilpwun tongan-i/?ul nayli-ko-iss-ta.
now present rain-NOM one.minute during-NOM/?ACC fall-CONN-PRS-DECL
'It is now raining for one minute.'

These grammatical properties are symptomatic of how the predicate is conceptually characterized. As explained in Section 6.5.1, the present tense-marked verbs are associated with the imperfective construal in Korean. Similarly, although the progressive form *-ko iss-ta* is attached to the verb construed perfectively, the result

of the employment of *-ko iss-ta* is imperfective. When the verb is in the past form, both construals are possible. Examples (6.39) and (6.40) then suggest that the nominative marking is associated with an imperfective construal of the situation. This is not an unexpected consequence when we consider the properties of setting subjects. The nominative-marked adverbial *ilpwun tongan-i* 'one.minute during-NOM' in (6.39) and (6.40) is not a participant, but a setting, which is thought of as a container. The reason why a setting is viewed as a container is because the function of a setting is to host participants; participants merely occupy the setting. The container–containee relationship intrinsically describes a stable relationship, and it is on a par with the properties characterized by the imperfective; an imperfective verb construes the given situation statically. As a result, the occurrence of a nominative-marked setting subject with an imperfective verb is predicted.

Even without respect to the notions of setting and participants, it is not difficult to see that the durative adverbial, *ilpwun tongan*, is metaphorically interpreted as a container through the specific metaphor TIME IS A CONTAINER (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2010). This is evidenced by (6.41a), where the locative particle *-ey* is attached to *ilpwun tongan*. In (6.41a), we conceptualize the temporal duration, *ilpwun tongan*, as a container, and conceptualize what happened as being inside of it. An interesting phenomenon in Korean is illustrated in (6.41b), where *-ey* 'in (LOC)' is directly attached to *ilpwun* 'one-minute' without the help of *tongan*. Although (6.41b) is not completely impossible, it is unnatural with the intended meaning. These examples demonstrate that *tongan* indeed expresses a containment concept.

(6.41) a. ku saken-i ilpwun tongan-ey ilena-ss-ta.
that accident-NOM one.minute during-in (LOC) happen-PST-DECL
'That accident happened in one minute.'

b. ?ku saken-i ilpwun-ey ilena-ss-ta.
that accident-NOM one.minute-in (LOC) happen-PST-DECL
'Intended: That accident happened in one minute.'

The containment concept is not just limited to durative adverbials. Frequency adverbials exhibit a similar property. As illustrated in (6.42a), the frequency adverbial, *sey-pen* 'three-time' is compatible with the locative particle *-ey*, leading to the conceptualization that the finishing event occurs after 'three times'. We can also overtly mark the frequency adverbial with the lexical item *an* 'inside' followed by *-ey* as in (6.42b), which enhances the container concept of *sey-pen*. When *seys*[12] is used without *pen*, as in (6.42c), the result is not natural, at least with the intended meaning. This again shows that *pen* is related to the containment concept.

12. *seys* is an allomorphic variation of *sey*.

(6.42) a. Osunghwan, sey-pen-ey kkuthna-nta!
Osunghwan three-time-in (LOC) finish-DECL
(www.sports.donga.com, accessed Nov. 10. 2013)
'Osunghwan finishes (the game) in three turns.'
b. Osunghwan, sey-pen-an-ey kkuthna-nta!
Osunghwan three-time-inside-in (LOC) finish-DECL
'Osunghwan finishes (the game) in three turns.'
c. ?Osunghwan, seys-ey kkuthna-nta!
Osunghwan three.time-in (LOC) finish-DECL
'Intended: Osunghwan finishes (the game) in three turns.'

This perspective accounts for why adverbial case is more naturally used with F/D adverbials than with non-F/D adverbials. By expressing temporal and spatial information, the F/D-adverbial is a natural candidate for a setting or a location that contains participants. The setting or the location may acquire a trajector or a landmark status, respectively, thereby leading to a case-marked adverbial in Korean. Unlike the F/D-adverbial, the non-F/D-adverbial does not exhibit the container characteristic. As shown in (6.43a) and (6.43b), non-F/D-adverbials such as *coyonghakey* 'quietly' are compatible neither with the locative particle *-ey* nor with the lexical item *an* 'inside.'

(6.43) a. *ku il-i coyonghakey-ey mamwuli-toy-ess-ta.
that work-NOM quietly-in (LOC) finish-become-PST-DECL
'Intended: The work was finished in a quite manner.'
b. *ku il-i coyonghakey-an-ey mamwuli-toy-ess-ta.
that work-NOM quietly-inside-in (LOC) finish-become-PST-DECL
'Intended: The work was finished in a quite manner.'

This entails that non-F/D-adverbials may not be easily case-marked because they are not compatible with the general concepts of setting and location. To illustrate the unnaturalness of case-marked non-F/D-adverbials, consider (6.44) and (6.45).

(6.44) pi-ka coyonghakey-man wa-ss-ta.
rain-NOM quietly-only come-PST-DECL
'It only rained quietly (although the weather forecast said differently).'
'It rained only quietly (as opposed to loudly).'

(6.45) */??pi-ka coyonghakey-man-i/ul wa-ss-ta.
rain-NOM quietly-only-NOM/ACC come-PST-DECL
'It only rained quietly./It rained only quietly.'

(6.44) is felicitous with the delimited adverbial *coyonghakey-man*. Though case markers such as *-i* or *-ul* can be attached to *coyonghakey-man* morphologically,

(6.45) is unnatural or only marginally acceptable. This is because the adverbial *coyonghakey-man* is not directly associated with space or time. This further confirms the properties of the F/D-adverbial as setting and location.

Turning back to the distinction between perfective and imperfective, the general properties of these notions are captured in Figure 6.2, which shows the schematic structures of the past perfective and the past imperfective. In the diagrams, MS and IS refer to maximal scope and immediate scope, respectively. The squiggly line inside the rectangle near the arrowhead characterizes the speech time; the event precedes the speech time in (a) and (b) as they refer to the past events. The crucial difference between (a) and (b) is boundedness. Perfectives construe a bounded event as notated by the vertical bars marking the beginning and the end of the profiled relationship within the IS. Such bounding is not intrinsic to the characterization of imperfective verbs shown in (b). In (b), the dots indicate that the relationship extends indefinitely.

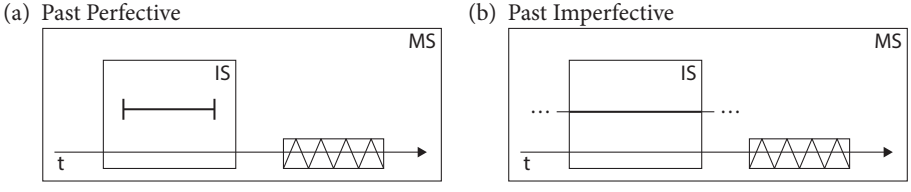


Figure 6.2 Perfective vs. imperfective, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 158)

Why is the accusative marking permitted in (6.38), then? The answer to this question is that there are two possible construals of the situation: it can be construed as a perfective or as an imperfective. When the situation is construed as an imperfective, it is understood as a continuation of an ongoing stable situation. By contrast, when (6.38) is construed perfectively, the interpretation is that the raining event was internally heterogeneous, resulting in the interpretation of undirected activity[13] in terms of Talmy (1985: 77). The reason why the perfective situation favors the accusative-marked nominal can now be explained. Since perfectives construe the profiled relationship as internally heterogeneous, the speaker no longer considers the past situation stable.

More specifically, the full clause *pi-ka twu-sikan tongan-i nayli-ess-ta* profiles a reference point relationship in (6.38a), where the reference point corresponds to the setting subject. A reference point relationship is a way of mentally scanning a static situation dynamically. The situation described in (6.38a) is stable, while it is construed dynamically via a reference point relationship. This is not the case

13. According to Croft (2012: 61), "undirected activities are typically construed as a succession of cyclic achievements."

for (6.38b). When the situation is construed perfectively, the full clause does not invoke a reference point relationship because we no longer deal with a dynamic construal of a stable situation. As a result, the adverbial is not construed as a setting subject; instead, it is construed as a location. Since the location is aligned with a landmark,[14] it is accusative-marked because of its secondary focal status.

The difference in construals between perfective and imperfective explains MJK's third generalization, introduced earlier in (6.7c), without any additional mechanisms.

> (6.7)c. nominative is the only possible case for simplex psychological predicates or adjectival predicates such as *silh-ta* 'dislike' or *kwiyep-ta* 'cute', in contrast to the periphrastic predicates *silh-e-ha-ta* 'dislike' and *kwiye-we-ha-ta* 'be fond of'.

Situations described by simplex psychological or adjectival predicates like *silh-ta* or *kwiyep-ta* are inherently homogeneous and unbounded. They are thus construed as imperfective. Situations described by periphrastic predicates like *silh-e-ha-ta* and *kwiye-we-ha-ta*[15] exhibit the opposite properties; they are internally heterogeneous and bounded. As such, they are construed perfectively. While the imperfective nature of psychological or adjectival predicates allows nominative marking as the only option, the perfective nature of periphrastic predicates allows accusative to be the only option.

Be that as it may, different from MJK's claim, I believe these predicates can also allow accusative-marked adverbials. These predicates are typically associated with imperfective construals as shown in (6.46) and (6.47). They are compatible only with the present tense, but not with the progressive form, which are typical properties of imperfective verbs.

(6.46) a. Jean-i cham kwiyep-ta.
J-NOM truly cute-(PRS)DECL
'Jean is truly cute.'

b. *Jean-i cham kwiyep-ko iss-ta.
Jean-NOM truly cute-CONN exist-DECL
'Intended: Jean is being truly cute.'

(6.47) a. na-nun twupwu-ka cengmal silh-ta.
I-TOP tofu-NOM really dislike-(PRS)DECL
'I really dislike tofu.'

---

14. As a prominent element other than the trajector, a landmark exhibits an object(-like) property, which is often realized with the accusative in Korean.

15. The function of the *-ha* verb is discussed in Chapter 7.

b. *na-nun twupwu-ka cengmal silh-ko iss-ta.
I-TOP tofu-NOM really dislike-CONN exist-DECL
'Intended: I am really disliking tofu.'

Nevertheless, these predicates can also be used perfectively in the past form as in (6.48).

(6.48) ku kangaci-ka ttak ches hantal-tongan-man-ul kwiyewe-ss-ta.
that puppy-NOM exactly first one.month-during-only-ACC cute-PST-DECL
'The puppy was cute for exactly its first month (only).'

What (6.48) describes is the situation where being cute is bounded in time, and some kind of change over time is implied. The perfective construal of (6.48) is achieved by the grammatically coded past tense marking in conjunction with the world knowledge that puppies grow fast and their puppy-age adorability is often short-lived. This again confirms my earlier observation that (im)perfectivity must be understood based on the grammatical coding as well as contextual-pragmatic information.

6.5.3 CG illustrations of setting subject constructions

Moving from an impressionistic description to a technical one, I provide a CG description of a clause with an intransitive verb in diagram (a) of Figure 6.3. The solid arrow originating from the *tr* represents a non-mental relationship. Diagram (b) illustrates the setting subject construction we have been dealing with thus far. In (b), the trajector status is shifted to the global setting, portraying that the setting hosts profiled occurrences (relationships).

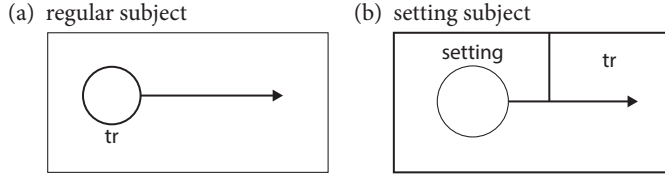


Figure 6.3 Regular- vs. setting-subjects

It is worth discussing under what conditions this shifting occurs. Shifting happens when the trajector in diagram (a) exhibits lesser topicality. In discussing the subject's tendency to assume a pivotal role in grammatical structure, Langacker (1991: 306–309) provides four characteristics of a prototypical subject. These characteristics are defining properties of topicality, which is widely recognized as being closely tied to subjecthood. In other words, the more typical a subject, the more topicality factors are associated with it. Among the four topicality factors

provided in (6.49), an entity's semantic role is the most objective factor, while the figure/ground organization is the most subjective one.

(6.49) Topicality factors
  a. An entity's semantic role, i.e., agentivity
  b. The empathy hierarchy (speaker > hearer > human > animal > physical object > abstract entity)
  c. Definiteness
  d. Figure/ground organization.

The relationship between the topicality factors and subjecthood has been recognized by other scholars as well (Dowty 1991; Kittilä 2005; J. J. Song 2011, among others). For instance, Dowty hypothesizes that the argument with the greatest number of agent-like (volitional and sentient) attributes is mapped onto the subject. Based on Dowty's hypothesis, Kittilä (2005: 388–389) argues that the decrease in agent-like properties motivates changes in case marking in the Sinhala language. The examples we have discussed thus far exhibit a similar pattern. In diagram (a) of Figure 6.3, the trajector is realized as a subject by being the only profiled participant available. When the trajector exhibits lesser topicality, however, the trajector status is likely to shift to the global setting. This is precisely the case of the nominative-marked adverbial with an inanimate subject. Figure 6.4 provides the basic structure of adverbial setting subject constructions, such as (6.50).

(6.50) pi-ka sey-sikan tongan-i wa-ss-ta.
rain-NOM three-hour during-NOM come-PST-DECL
'It rained for three hours.'

In Figure 6.4, the inside bolded rectangle represents the predicate portion of (6.50), *wa-ss-ta*. While the X in the circle denotes the subject of this predicate, it is not yet specified at this level. At a higher level, a reference point subject creation mechanism is applied,[16] where the inner bolded rectangle becomes a target. The reference point, Y, then corresponds (notated by the dotted horizontal line) to the global setting, *sey-sikan tongan*, to which the trajector status is shifted. Since the global setting acquires the trajector status, it is realized with the nominative case, yielding *sey-sikan tongan-i*. At the same time, it becomes a reference point with respect to the inner clause as indicated by the dashed arrow from Y to the inner bolded rectangle.

16. For details, please refer to Chapter 3.

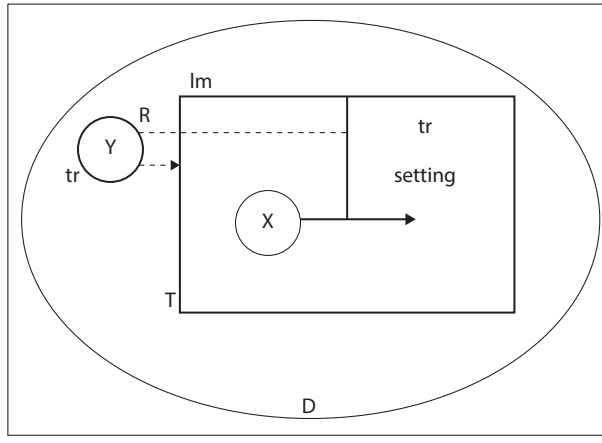


Figure 6.4 Setting-subject as a reference point

Of course, the regular subject can be integrated in Figure 6.4 to form a full clause; Figure 6.5 shows this process. In this figure, Z represents the NP *pi-ka* in (6.50), which corresponds to the secondary trajector (tr_2) in the inner clause, as notated by the dotted line between Z and X. Though the trajector status is shifted to the setting in the inner clause, the NP (*pi* 'rain') is construed as a secondary trajector by being the head in the action chain. It thus is also realized with nominative case. The solid arrow from X to Z illustrates that X is elaborated by Z. For the simplicity of exposition, Figure 6.5 does not show the resulting composite structure.

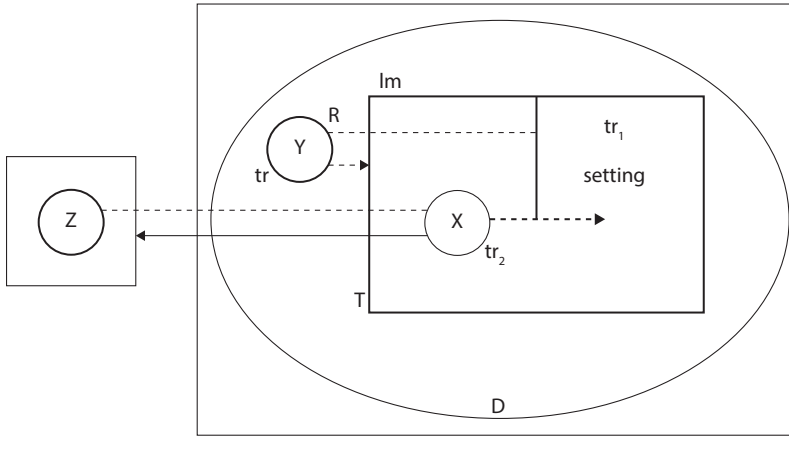


Figure 6.5 The integration of the regular subject

As discussed throughout the chapter, the basic structure of setting subject constructions exhibits great similarities to that of MNCs as shown in (6.51).

(6.51) a. Chelswu-ka khi-ka khu-ta.
C-NOM height-NOM big-DECL
'Chelswu is tall.'
b. Kim kyoswu-nim-i pwuin-i celm-usi-ta.
K professor-HON-NOM wife-NOM young-HON-DECL
'Professor Kim's wife is young.'
c. Yenghuy-ka nwun-i yeyppu-ta.
Y-NOM eye-NOM pretty-DECL
'Yenghuy has pretty eyes.'

The similarities between the two types of constructions are not coincidental. In fact, the similarities stem from the properties of reference point. The examples illustrated in (6.51) show two levels of organization. At the lower level, the inner NP and the predicate form the nucleus. At the higher level of organization, the outer NP enters into a reference point relation with the nuclear clause to form the overall composite structure. MNCs denote stable situations at both levels of organization. The full clause is stable because [1] it profiles a reference point relation, which is a way of scanning a stable situation dynamically,[17] and [2] because of the non-topicality of the subject of the nuclear clause. These properties are also observed in setting subject constructions. Setting subject constructions denote a stable situation at both levels of organization as indicated by the reference point relationship, as well as the lower topicality of the regular subject.

6.5.4 A CG illustration of location object constructions

As seen already, the nominative-accusative alternation is permitted on the adverbial when the subject is inanimate as in (6.52a) and (6.52b). However, the accusative marking is not felicitous or is only marginally acceptable when the predicate is in the progressive or true present form as shown in (6.53).

(6.52) a. nwun-i sey-sikan tongan-i wa-ss-ta.
snow-NOM three-hour during-NOM come-PST-DECL
'It snowed for three hours.'
b. nwun-i sey-sikan tongan-ul wa-ss-ta.
snow-NOM three-hour during-ACC come-PST-DECL
'It snowed for three hours.'

17. A dynamic construal of a stable situation is not unusual in the use of language. Talmy (2000) discusses a similar type of construal termed *fictive motion*, which is the construal of a static scene in dynamic terms. The same concept is also found among other scholars under different names, such as Talmy's (1983) *virtual motion*, Jackendoff's (1983) *extension*, and Langacker's (1987) *abstract motion*.

(6.53) a. ??nwun-i sey-sikan tongan-ul o-ko-iss-ta.
snow-NOM three-hour during-ACC come-CONN-PROG-DECL
'It is snowing for three hours.'
b. ??nwun-i sey-sikan tongan-ul o-n-ta.
snow-NOM three-hour during-ACC come-PRS-DECL
'It snows for three hours.'

This observation leads us to believe that (6.52b) does not profile a stable situation of indefinite duration. Rather, it describes a situation of snow falling, which changes the location of snow along the vertical axis. In other words, (6.52b) describes a situation that is construed perfectively with a bounded and heterogeneous event. In this situation, the subject, albeit inanimate, gains some degree of topicality by being a figure and a metaphorically interpreted agent. Since the subject exhibits a higher degree of topicality, it is qualified to be a profiled trajector. In this case, there is no need to shift the trajector status to the adverbial; the natural choice would be to construe the adverbial as a location. As the locationally-construed adverbial elaborates the landmark, it is realized with the accusative. Nevertheless, it does not qualify as a direct object because it lacks participant status. The basic structure of location-object constructions is illustrated in Figure 6.6, which is identical to Figure 6.1(a).

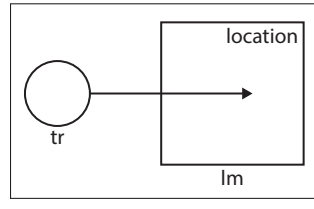


Figure 6.6 Location object

This analysis implies that the adverbial is less likely construed as a setting subject when the regular subject exhibits a higher degree of topicality. In the next section, the relationship between the degree of topicality and the setting subject is discussed in detail.

6.6 The construals of animate subjects

When the subject is animate, accusative is generally the only possible case marking for the adverbial, as attested by the examples in (6.54).

(6.54) a. Chelswu-ka twu-pen-*i/ul wul-ess-ta.
C-NOM two-time-*NOM/ACC cry-PST-DECL

'Chelswu cried two times.'

b. Chelswu-ka sey-sikan tongan-*i/ul ttwi-ess-ta.
C-NOM three-hour during-*NOM/ACC run-PST-DECL
'Chelswu ran for three hours.'

c. Chelswu-ka twu-sikan tongan-*i/ul kongpwu-lul hay-ss-ta.
C-NOM two-hour during-*NOM/ACC study-ACC do-PST-DECL
'Chelswu studied for two hours.'

The same applies to metaphorically interpreted animate subjects as shown in (6.55).

(6.55) a. ku camyengcong-sikye-ka pelsse sey-pen-*i/ul wul-ess-ta.
that alarm-clock-NOM already three-time-*NOM/ACC cry-PST-DECL
'The alarm clock rang three times.'

b. ku namwu-ka enutes samnyen-*i/ul nulhe-ka-ss-ta.
that tree-NOM already three.year-*NOM/ACC old-go-PST-DECL
'The tree grew older over three years.'

The examples illustrated in (6.54) and (6.55) are unproblematically explained. Owing to the high degree of topicality of the subject, the subject is construed as the prominent participant. As a result, the trajector status is not granted to the adverbial. By elaborating the landmark, the adverbial is realized with the accusative. The diagram for (6.54c) is provided in Figure 6.7, which is a slight modification of Figure 6.6. Figure 6.7 shows two landmarks: one (lm_1) is aligned with the direct object, and the other (lm_2) with the adverbial.

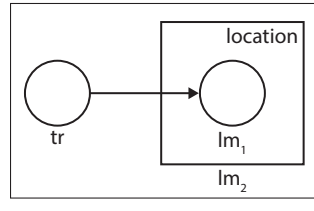


Figure 6.7 Location object with a transitive verb

Although the general tendency of an animate subject shows a strong association with the accusative, examples like (6.56) allow case alternation between nominative and accusative.

(6.56) Yenghuy-ka halwu tongan-i/ul chincel-hay-ss-ta.
Y-NOM one.day during-NOM/ACC kind-do-PST-DECL
'Yenghuy was polite for one day.'

The alternation arises due to the dispositional nature of the predicate *chincel-* 'kind'. As Croft (2012: 96) points out, there are two alternative construals for disposition

predicates. The first is a transitory undirected activity that describes a person's behavior in a given instance. The other is a constant state or an inherent trait of a person, such as a personality trait. As a disposition predicate, *chincel-hay-ss-ta* in (6.56) expresses either *Yenghuy*'s behavior on that particular day or her inherent personality trait, which is not just limited to that day. When it is associated with *Yenghuy*'s behavior on one occasion, the situation is construed perfectively. In this situation, we are dealing with a single occasion construal, which is similar to the examples in (6.54). By contrast, when the situation is understood as *Yenghuy*'s nature, the predicate simply construes a static situation that extends through time. Therefore, the construal of the adverbial as a setting subject arises.

A slightly different example is shown in (6.57). When the animate subject *halmeni* occurs with the predicate *yeypp-usi-ess-ta* 'pretty-HON-PST-DECL', the nominative marking is favored.

(6.57) halmeni-kkeyse tangsin-uy hanpyengsayng tongan-i/?ul
grandmother-NOM her.HON-GEN one.whole.life during-NOM/?ACC
yeypp-usi-ess-ta.
pretty-HON-PST-DECL
'(My) grandmother was pretty for her whole life.'

However, accusative marking is not completely impossible if a relevant context is provided. Similar to the case of (6.56), *yeypp-ess-ta* certainly exhibits a property of the disposition predicate, in that it can be associated with either a single occasion or a personal trait. For instance, the adverbial *sey-sikan tongan* is felicitously accusative marked in (6.58), where the single occasion construal is readily available.

(6.58) mapep-ey kelli-n hwu, ku kongcwu-nun ttak sey-sikan
spell-at be.caught-REL after that princess-TOP exactly three-hour
tongan-?i/ul yeypp-ess-taka tasi mossayngki-e-ci-ess-ta
during-?NOM/ACC pretty-PST-CONN again ugly-COMP-become-PST-DECL
'After the spell, the princess was pretty for exactly three hours, and then became ugly again.'

The interaction between the subject and the predicate in determining the case marking on the adverbial is also observed in Examples (6.59) and (6.60), reintroduced from Section 6.1.

(6.59) ku malathonsenswu-nun chopan tongan-i/*ul
that marathon.runner-TOP first.half during-NOM/*ACC
ppal-lass-ta. (Kim and Sells 2010a: 638)
fast-PST-DECL
'The marathoner was fast in the first half.'

(6.60) ku malathonsenswu-nun chopan tongan-*i/ul ppali
that marathon.runner-TOP first.half during-*NOM/ACC fast
talli-ess-ta. (Kim and Sells 2010a: 638)
run-PST-DECL
'The marathoner ran fast in the first half.'

These examples are explained in a similar fashion to the ones discussed thus far. The situation described in (6.59) with the predicate *ppal-lass-ta* 'fast' is construed imperfectively. This is because (6.59) describes a continuation of the property of the marathoner's being fast over time. Since an imperfective event assumes a stable situation without any change, the agentive role of the subject is downplayed. This static construal of (6.59) permits the adverbial to be shifted to a trajector. This is possible because the subject exhibits lesser topicality due to its downplayed agentive role. The opposite is true for (6.60) with the predicate *ppali talli-ess-ta* 'fast run-PST-DECL', which is construed perfectively, assuming some changes happened (via an agent). Because of the perfective construal, the subject maintains a high degree of topicality, which does not allow the adverbial to acquire trajector status. The adverbial does not need the status simply because there is a profiled trajector available. Since the location is aligned with a landmark, it is accusative marked, and the adverbial is construed as a location.

The analyses provided thus far are summarized in the chart in Figure 6.8. The chart shows that a prototypical nominative-marked adverbial is associated with an imperfective construal and a subject exhibiting a low degree of topicality. By contrast, a prototypical accusative-marked adverbial is observed when the subject exhibits a high degree of topicality and the situation is construed perfectively. However, there are alternative construals available. The perfective construal can be associated with a subject with a low degree of topicality, yielding an accusative-marked adverbial. Similarly, the imperfective construal is sometimes permitted with a subject of a high degree of topicality. Note that the chart should not be understood as a claim that topicality is always overridden by perfectivity. What this chart suggests is that topicality and (im)perfectivity interact with each other. When a verb typically associated with a perfective construal appears with a subject that exhibits a low degree of topicality, the subject's topicality tends to increase by way of metaphorical extension or alternative construals, which is notated by the upward arrow. The same is true for a verb typically used in an imperfective construal. When it occurs with a subject that shows a high degree of topicality, the subject's degree of topicality tends to be downgraded, which is notated by the downward arrow in Figure 6.8.

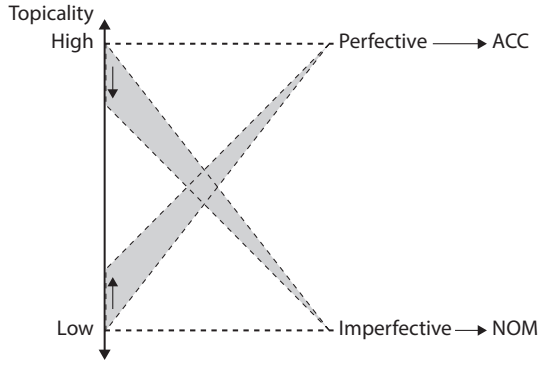


Figure 6.8 Topicality and (im)perfectivity

The chart in Figure 6.8 suggests that the accusative case is prototypically associated with perfectivity. Since the perfective verb is characterized as being bounded in time, we can infer a close connection between perfectivity and boundedness. Though many scholars (Kuryłowicz 1964; Kiparsky 1998; Kratzer 2004, among others) have observed the link between accusative-marked adverbials and boundedness, Kim and Sells (2010a: 625–626) suggest that this is not the case for Korean. Their reasoning is based on the claim that there is no apparent difference between nominative and accusative markings in their temporal or aspectual semantic contribution. As I illustrated, however, the nominative-marked adverbial exhibits different conceptual semantic structures than the accusative-marked adverbials. For this reason, the claim made in Kim and Sells needs to be reconsidered.

Before we leave this section, I would like to briefly discuss adverbial case within the context of MACs. In analyzing these constructions, I argued that the examples in (6.61) are explained by the notion of reference point object in Chapter 4. For example, *Yenghuy* in (6.61) is a reference point in relation to *phal-ul pithul-ess-ta* 'arm-ACC twist-PST-DECL'.

(6.61) Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-lul phal-ul pithul-ess-ta.
C-NOM Y-ACC arm-ACC twist-PST-DECL
'Chelswu twisted Yenghuy's arm.'

I observed that the example in (6.61) shows some similarities to (6.62), as both of them illustrate both primary and secondary landmarks.

(6.62) Chelswu-ka ku chayk-ul sey-pen-ul ilk-ess-ta.
C-NOM that book-ACC three-time-ACC read-PST-DECL
'Chelswu read the book three times.'

It is now worth noting that while the example in (6.61) involves a reference point relationship, (6.62) does not. For this reason, a possessive-like relationship between two accusative-marked nominals becomes an unviable option in (6.62).

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined Korean adverbial case constructions from a CG perspective. In providing my analysis, two notions – topicality and (im)perfectivity – played a crucial role in conjunction with setting and location. I argued that a subject with a high degree of topicality is prototypically associated with a verb that describes a perfective situation. In this case, the adverbial is construed as a location, and hence is accusative marked. By contrast, a subject with a low degree of topicality is prototypically associated with a verb that describes an imperfective situation. In this case, owing to the low degree of topicality of the subject, the adverbial acquires the trajector status. As such, it is nominative marked.

One difficulty in dealing with adverbial case is the varying degree of acceptability of the expressions in question. Oftentimes, case marking is entirely optional. When an adverbial is case-marked, sometimes the case alternation between nominative and accusative is permitted, while other times, only one case marking is allowed. More frequently, however, one case marking is favored over the other. In the analyses presented here, this does not pose any challenge. This is because the two notions on which my analyses rely, topicality and (im)perfectivity, are understood relatively depending on the speaker's choice among alternative construals available in a given situation.

I discussed the general properties shared by both MNCs and adverbial case constructions. I argued that the similarities observed in these two types of constructions stem from the nature of reference point that both types of constructions exhibit. Though structurally similar, accusative-marked adverbials behave differently from MACs proper that exhibit a certain degree of possession. This is explained by a different source for the accusative marking for each construction. The accusative marking of an MAC proper arises owing to the reference point relationship, while the accusative-marked adverbial is the result of a location-object construal.

CHAPTER 7

Case and verbal nouns

7.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to examine the construal patterns of verbal nouns[1] as illustrated in (7.1) through (7.3) from the perspective of CG. In (7.1) and (7.2), the Korean verbal noun, *yenkwu* 'research', can be used either as a noun (N-type) or a verb (V-type), as demonstrated by its case-marking patterns.

(7.1) Kim-kyoswu-nim-uy thongsalon-uy yenkwu-ka khun cinchek-ul
K-professor-HON-GEN syntax-GEN research-NOM big improvement-ACC
poi-ko iss-ta. (N-type)
show-COMP PRS.PROG-DECL
'Professor Kim's research on syntax is showing great improvement.'

(7.2) Kim-kyoswu-nim-i thongsalon-ul yenkwu-hay-ss-ta. (V-type)
K-professor-HON-NOM syntax-ACC research-do-PST-DECL
'Professor Kim did research on syntax.'

(7.3) *Kim-kyoswu-nim-i thongsalon-ul yenkwu-n/yess-ta.
K-professor-HON-NOM syntax-ACC research-PRS/PST-DECL
'Intended: Professor Kim does/did research on syntax.'

To explain the different case patterns presented, I argue that two major CG notions, grounding and reference point, provide a coherent tool to understand the mixture of the nominal and verbal properties of Korean verbal nouns.[2] I also argue that the two different categorial values of the same verbal noun result from two different types of construals. A verbal noun is construed as a noun when it is nominally grounded to yield a full nominal. By contrast, the same verbal noun is

1. Some scholars call verbal nouns process nominals. The reason why I prefer *verbal noun* over *process nominal* is to make a distinction between a noun and a nominal in terms of CG. According to Langacker (2008: 310) "[t]he term *noun* is used in CG for any expression that profiles a thing, while a full nominal expression is one that incorporates grounding and thus singles out a discourse referent." Since this distinction is crucial for my analysis, I will use the term *verbal nouns* to refer to process nominals throughout this chapter.

2. A similar analysis is found in Heyvaert (2003) with an emphasis on English.

construed as a verb when it is clausally grounded by tense. In (7.1), the genitive-marked nominal, *thongsalon-uy* 'syntax-GEN', grounds the verbal noun *yenkwu* to yield a full nominal, which explains the nominal case-marking pattern. Because verbal nouns are morphologically nouns as shown in (7.3), the tense affix cannot be directly attached to the verbal noun to ground it clausally. Therefore, the light verb *ha(y)-* needs to be affixed to *yenkwu* to make it clausally grounded by tense, as shown in (7.2). The use of the light verb is the main characteristic of the V-type verbal noun construction.

This type of interplay between *ha(y)-* and verbal nouns naturally leads to the subsequent discussions concerning the argument structures of the verbal noun and the light verb *ha(y)-*. Similar to the existing "argument transfer" approach, I argue that *ha(y)-* does not have its own argument structure when it is used as a rescue verb as in (7.2). The difference between the argument transfer analysis and the one proposed here is that the light verb is not meaningless. As a symbolic entity, it is meaningful, albeit schematic. More specifically, the function of *ha(y)-* is to lend its processual characteristic to the verbal noun, which is devoid of such a property. This allows the resulting combination to maintain the verbal noun's argument structure with the newly added processual property.

This mechanism is extended to MACs shown in (7.4).

(7.4) Kim-kyoswu-nim-i thongsalon-ul yenkwu-lul hay-ss-ta. (MAC)
K-professor-HON-NOM syntax-ACC research-ACC do-PST-DECL
'Professor Kim did research on syntax.'

Yenkwu in (7.4) is not grounded by a possessive-marked nominal, making this example different from the N-type verbal noun construction. Yet we can see that it is not clausally grounded either, because it is affixed by the accusative-case marker, instead of the light verb. Though *yenkwu* is neither nominally (by possessive) nor clausally (by the light verb) grounded in (7.4), it is argued that *yenkwu* becomes a full nominal through indirect grounding via the accusative-marked nominal *thongsalon-ul* 'syntax-ACC'. Moreover, I argue that the indirect grounding via an accusative-marked nominal is warranted because *thongsalon* functions as a reference point in relation to *yenkwu*. Note that *ha(y)-* in (7.4) is used as a heavy verb, and it is temporalized on its own without combining with *yenkwu*.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 7.2 provides a brief summary of previous research on verbal nouns and light verb constructions. After discussing the base content structure of verbal nouns in Section 7.3, the subsequent Sections, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, and 7.7 deal with the indirect and the clausal grounding methods for verbal nouns. Section 7.8 concludes this chapter, providing a brief summary of my analyses.

7.2 Issues on verbal nouns

This section provides a brief summary of the existing research on verbal nouns. After providing the four approaches to the categorial status of verbal nouns in Section 7.2.1, representative research on verbal nouns in the context of the light verb construction is discussed in Section 7.2.2.

7.2.1 Four existing approaches to verbal nouns

Argument bearing nouns (e.g. verbal nouns) have played a central role in the development of generative grammar (Lees 1960; Chomsky 1970; Grimshaw 1990, among others) in English and in other languages. It is, therefore, not surprising to see a great deal of focus on this topic. In identifying the lexical properties of verbal nouns in Korean and Japanese, scholars are divided into the four groups summarized in (7.5).

(7.5) a. Verbal nouns as verbs (Ahn 1991)
b. Verbal nouns as pure nominals (Chae 1996, 1997; Jun 2003, 2006; Sato 2008; Yoon and Park 2008;)
c. Verbal nouns as underspecified categories (Manning 1993; Sells 1995b; Pak 2001)
d. Verbal nouns as a mixed category (Kim, Yang, and Choi 2005; Kim, Lim, and Yang 2007; Kim 2016a)

(7.5a) has some advantages in explaining the verbal case marking pattern observed in (7.2). In this approach, verbal nouns' nominal case pattern can be explained by zero-derivation from a verb to a noun. Although this approach can be theoretically justified, it needs to explain the fact that a tense affix cannot be directly affixed to a verbal noun as illustrated in (7.3). If verbal nouns are verbs, why can't they host a tense affix, which is a major property of Korean verbal stems? For this reason, the (7.5a) approach needs to recategorize verbal nouns as a special type of verb, thereby leading to a weaker claim than intended.

The approach addressed in (7.5b) essentially stems from the rejection of the nominal-over-verbal approach. Borer (1999, 2003) and Fu, Roeper, and Borer (2001) are representative analyses of nominal-over-verbal, both of which are based on the following assumptions.

(7.6) a. VP PRO-forms, VP-adverbs, etc. are the lowest verbal property.
b. Argument/event structure licensing is an intermediate verbal property.
c. Case licensing is the highest verbal property.

The above authors claim that a VP is composed of three different layers. VP-adverbs such as *unintentionally* are adjoined to the verbal base at the lowest layer. Argument structures are licensed at the intermediate layer, and case is assigned at the highest layer. In this approach, the nominalization of English verbal nouns happens at the intermediate layer. In (7.7a), *removal* exhibits the lowest verbal property as evidenced by the use of the VP adverbs *unintentionally* and *purposefully* to modify *removal*. In (7.7b), the arguments of the base verb, *remove*, are fully realized. However, verbal case marking is not permitted with a verbal noun as shown in (7.7c). As a result, the nominalization should include only the lowest and the intermediate layers of the base verb *remove*.

(7.7) a. (While) the removal of evidence purposefully (is a crime), the removal of evidence unintentionally (is not).
b. John's removal of the garbage
c. * John's removal the garbage

This sort of analysis, however, has been questioned repeatedly by researchers (Yoon 1991; Chae 1996, 1997; Jun 2006; Sato 2008; Yoon and Park 2008, among others). The rationale behind the criticism is the lack of empirical justification to support the embedded VP structure within a verbal noun. By illustrating the data in (7.8)–(7.12), Yoon and Park (2008: 235–236) report that Korean verbal nouns of the N-type exhibit only the property defined in (7.6b).

(7.8) Cheli-uy uytocek-in Yenghuy-eytayhan pinan
C-GEN intentional-ADN Y-about criticism
'Cheli's intentional criticism of Yenghuy

(7.9) Mikwun-uy samil-tongan-uy/*?samil-man-uy Baghdad-uy
American.troops-GEN 3.days-during-GEN/3.days-only-GEN B-GEN
kongkyek
attack
'American troops' attack of Baghdad for three days (?* in three days)'

(7.10) Mikwun-uy Baghdad-lo-uy sinsok-*hi/han cinkyek
American.troops-GEN B-to-GEN quick-ADV/ADJ incursion
'American troops' quick (*quickly) incursion into Baghdad'

(7.11) [PRO haksayngtul-ul top-ki wihan] canghakkum-uy coseng
students-ACC help-NML in.order.to scholarship-GEN formation
'The scholarship formation to help students'

(7.12) 2003-nyen mikwun-uy Baghdad-uy kongkyek-un 1917-nyen
2003-year American.troop-GEN B-GEN attack-TOP 1917-year
yengkwukkwun-uy *kulehkey hay-ss-te-n kes/?kukes pota te
British.troop-GEN so do-PST-RET-ADN-fact/that than more
hyokwacek-i-ess-ta.
effective-COP-PST-DECL
'The American troops' attack of Baghdad in 2003 was more effective than {*the British troops' doing so in 1917/that of British troops in 1917}.

They argue that the above examples are not predicted if a verbal noun embeds a VP. Their argument is based on the notion of *phrasal coherence* put forward by Malouf (1998), which can be roughly defined as verbal properties split from nominal properties around a single point of articulation in the projection path, below which everything is verbal and above which everything is nominal. What they claim is that finding only the (7.6b) property in Korean verbal nouns does not warrant the nominal-over-verbal structure, because we cannot pinpoint the single point of articulation that sharply divides nominal from verbal. Based on this reasoning, Yoon and Park argue that Korean verbal nouns must be nominal, lacking an internal VP structure. Although Yoon and Park illustrate that nominal and verbal properties are clearly mixed in verbal nouns, they don't provide an answer for the question of how these properties are related in their examples.

Yoon and Park (2008) are not the only work that views verbal nouns as nouns. Some previous works, such as Chae (1996, 1997) and Jun (2003), have the same view on the issue in question. Chae (1997) categorizes verbal nouns as a special sub-class of nouns that is responsible for both subcategorization and case marking, and Jun (2003) supports a similar view. However, neither author clearly raises the question of why verbal nouns are "special" in terms of characteristics that are both nominal and verbal.

Similar considerations (Manning 1993; Sells 1995b; Pak 2001) extend to analyses that assume that verbal nouns belong to an unspecified category, where each instance can be categorized as a noun or a verb depending on the context. The syntactic context supplies information to fully specify the category, so when a verbal noun appears in the N-type construction, it is realized as a noun. By contrast, when a verbal noun appears in the V-type construction, it is realized as a verb.

My analysis is close to the underspecification approach in the sense that ungrounded verbal nouns are neither nouns nor verbs. My approach differs in that I argue that there is a clearly defined base content for verbal nouns, while the underspecification approach posits an unspecified category for them. In my approach, usage is determined by the language user's construal, not a syntactic mechanism.

The fourth approach is the mixed category approach supported by Kim, Yang, and Choi (2005), Kim, Lim, and Yang (2007), and Kim (2016a). The purpose of these analyses is to account for the mixed properties of verbal nouns in the cross-classification and inheritance mechanism. This means that the verbal noun type is declared to be the subtype of both verbal and nominal, implying that the verbal noun type inherits all the constraints of those super types. This approach is also different from the present analysis in that the mixed categorial nature of verbal nouns is defined in the multiple inheritance hierarchy, as opposed to originating in the construals.

At this point, I would like to clarify one of the crucial assumptions CG makes. CG advances the proposal that essential grammatical notions can be characterized semantically. Lexical categories such as noun and verb are characterized by our capacity for grouping, for reification, for apprehending relationships, and for tracking them through time. Though the noun and verb prototypes are polar opposites with regard to the billiard-ball model,[3] they still can share the same content. What makes the two categories distinct does not reside in their content, but in their construal. In this sense, the CG approach to verbal nouns is distinct from the underspecification approach, where construal and the way in which we view the world play no role in determining lexical categories.

It is common to see one form function grammatically either as a noun or a verb. In (7.13a), the *to*-infinitive is used as a nominal, while the *to*-infinitive used in (7.13b) functions as a verbal.

(7.13) a. **To study linguistics** would benefit you eventually.
b. One thing you didn't do in school **was to study linguistics**.

Although the two *to*-infinitives in (7.13a) and (7.13b) exhibit the same conceptual content, their categorial properties are different. The difference stems from how we construe the situation in question. While we construe the situation holistically in (7.13a), the same view is not imposed on (7.13b). Korean verbal nouns, I claim, can be understood in a similar way.

7.2.2 Verbal nouns in light verb constructions

Research conducted on verbal nouns frequently discusses their properties within the context of the light verb construction as in (7.14).

3. The billiard-ball model refers to the cognitive model on which CG is based. The model is described by Langacker (1991: 13) as follows: "When motion results in forceful physical contact, energy is transmitted from the mover to the impacted object, which may thereby be set in motion to participate in further interactions."

(7.14) Cheli-ka Yenghuy-eykey chayk-ul senmwul-hay-ss-ta.
C-NOM Y-DAT book-ACC gift-do-PST-DECL
'Cheli gave Yenghuy the book as a gift.'

In dealing with a construction like (7.14), researchers agree that the argument structure of the light verb *ha(y)-* 'do' interacts with that of the verbal noun, though the explanation mechanism differs from scholar to scholar. One ongoing debate is whether or not the argument structure of the light verb is empty. Scholars are largely divided into three groups in dealing with this issue.[4] The first group of scholars argues that the light verb exhibits an empty argument structure and the argument structure of the verbal noun in the construction transfers to the light verb. This type of proposal, known as argument transfer, is supported by the following representative research: Grimshaw and Mester (1988), Miyagawa (1989), Ahn (1991), Choi and Wechsler (2001), Kim, Yang, and Choi (2005), Kim, Lim, and Yang (2007), and Kim (2016a).

The second group is represented by research such as Kageyama (1991), Yoon (1991), Matsumoto (1992), J-R Kim (1993), Sato (1993), O'Grady (1995), Butt (1995, 1997), and Mohanan (1997). Such works propose that the light verb has its own argument structure, which is shared by the verbal noun. Let us call this second approach argument sharing/control.

The third approach (dubbed "the heavy verb approach") is supported by Terada (1990), Hasegawa (1991), and Uchida and Nakayama (1993). They argue that the light verb is in fact contentful and provides the argument structure of the light verb construction as a whole.

Although it is not always clearly stated, most of the aforementioned proposals are based on two major theoretical assumptions. The first assumption is that syntax is self-contained, and the second is that there is a sharp demarcation between syntax and lexicon. Under these assumptions, sentences like (7.15) pose a theoretical challenge, because the arguments of *kongpwu* 'study' receive their theta roles directly from the verbal noun, and hence satisfy the locality constraint on theta role assignment as demonstrated in (7.15a). By contrast, as far as case assignment is concerned, the arguments appear outside of the VNP (Verbal Noun Phrase) in (7.15b), as evidenced by the verbal case pattern. This is problematic with the traditional view, because the local domain of the theta marking does not match that of case marking.

(7.15) a. [$_{VNP}$ Cheli-ka swuhak-ul kongpwu]-ha-n-ta.
C-NOM mathematics-ACC study-do-PRS-DECL
'Cheli studies mathematics.'

4. Please see Jun (2006) for a more detailed summary.

b. Cheli-ka swuhak-ul [$_{VNP}$ kongpwu-ha]-n-ta.
C-NOM mathematics-ACC study-do-PRS-DECL
'Cheli studies mathematics.'

This type of problem is not raised in my analysis. The verbal noun *kongpwu* 'study' profiles a complex relationship with a trajector and a landmark. Whether it combines with *ha(y)-* first or not, *kongpwu* maintains its profiled conceptual base. The trajector of the profiled relationship then is realized as a subject and the landmark as an object. In earlier chapters, I defined the notions of subject, object, and argument structure in terms of several factors observable at the semantic pole of symbolic assemblies. As a result, issues arising from a purely structural definition become irrelevant in CG.

Although the theoretical assumptions are different from these three approaches, my analysis shares some similarities with the argument transfer analysis. The function of the *ha(y)-* verb, in my approach, is to lend a processual relationship to verbal nouns to clausally ground them. When the light verb combines with a verbal noun, its schematic processual relation corresponds to that of the verbal noun, and hence the argument structure of the verbal noun is "transferred" to the light verb. The result is a verbal noun with its original argument structure and the added temporal information from *ha(y)-*.

7.3 The base content of verbal nouns

The mixed properties of verbal nouns arise due to different types of construals ubiquitously observed in everyday language. Let us consider this observation by looking at the various senses of *yellow* in (7.16a)–(e).

(7.16) a. Yellow is a nice color. (proper noun)
b. This yellow would look good in our kitchen. (count noun)
c. The ball is yellow. (adjective)
d. Gradually the paper yellowed. (verb)
e. There's a lot of yellow in this painting. (mass noun)

(Langacker 2008: 102)

Although *yellow* in (7.16) is used in five different ways, all usages share a common property consisting of a certain region (labeled Y in Figure 7.1) in the basic color domain. The different senses of *yellow* are respectively diagrammed in Figure 7.1. In (7.16a), *yellow* profiles an abstract thing. In (7.16b), it profiles a bounded area within Y, corresponding to some particular shade of yellow. An atemporal relationship and the entire complex relationship are profiled in (7.16c) and (7.16d),

respectively. Finally, in (7.16e), an inherently unbounded thing is profiled. In each case, the conceptual base remains the same with the only difference among them being the type of construal.

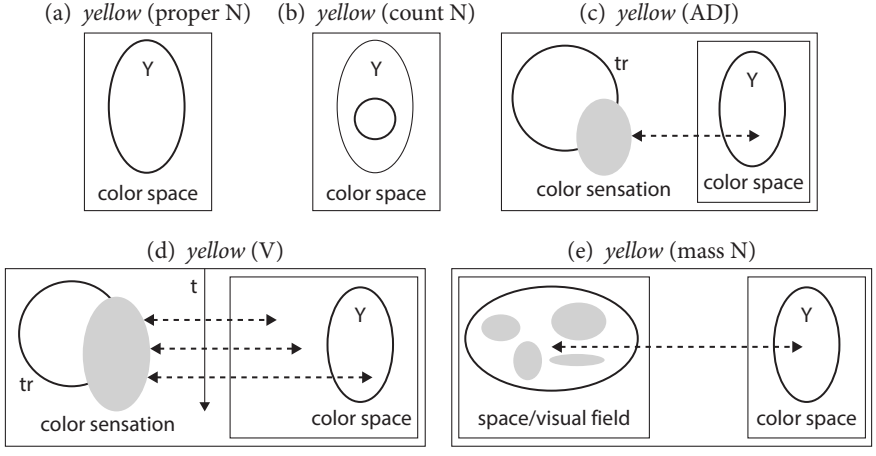


Figure 7.1 Multiple senses of *yellow*, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 102)

The noun-like and verb-like properties of verbal nouns can be explained in a similar fashion.[5] Consider the verbal noun *yenkwu* 'research'. In (7.17a), *yenkwu* is a nominal, whereas in (7.17b), it is used as a grounded verb. Although the lexical category of *yenkwu* is different in (7.17a) and (7.17b), the content of *yenkwu* is identical, which is represented in Figure 7.2.

(7.17) a. Kim-paksa-uy thongsalon-uy yenkwu-ka sengkongcek-i-ta.
K-doctor-GEN syntax-GEN research-NOM successful-COP-DECL
'Dr. Kim's research of syntax is successful.'

b. Kim-paksa-ka thongsalon-ul sengkongcek-ulo yenkwu-hay-ss-ta.
K-doctor-NOM syntax-ACC successful-ADV research-do-PST-DECL
'Dr. Kim did (his) research on syntax successfully.'

Figure 7.2 compares verbal nouns with nouns and verbs. Diagram (a) represents a process whose profile is a relationship scanned sequentially, indicated by the thick bar along the time arrow. By contrast, the verbal noun diagrammed in (c) is devoid of the profiled time arrow, thereby completely lacking a mode of sequential scanning. Diagram (b) illustrates a typical noun that profiles a thing. Although the similarity between a noun and a verbal noun is not immediately observable in

5. I chose the example of *yellow* to illustrate how diverse our construals can be. Note that this does not mean that Korean verbal nouns behave exactly the same as English *yellow*, allowing for five different types of construals.

the diagrams in Figure 7.2, they exhibit a certain similarity: both of them do not impose sequential scanning.

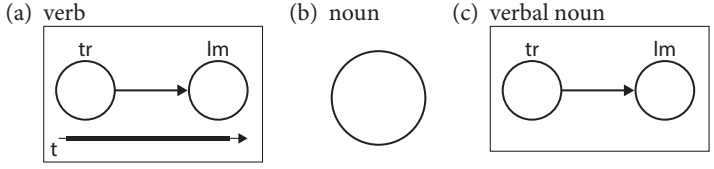


Figure 7.2 A comparison of verbal nouns with nouns and verbs

The crucial difference between nouns and verbs, then, resides not in the content, but rather in the construal. The nominal or verbal properties of a verbal noun are fully identified by the temporal or atemporal construal in a given linguistic context; in isolation of a context, a verbal noun is neither a verb nor a noun. By shifting the profile to a thing through reification, *yenkwu* becomes a noun in (7.17a), while in (7.17b), the verbal use of *yenkwu* is achieved through temporal construal by adding the light verb *ha(y)-* 'do'. When a verbal noun combines with *ha(y)-*, it takes its processual characteristic, but the combined form maintains the verbal noun's conceptual characteristics. Figure 7.3 illustrates that *ha(y)-* exhibits only a schematic relationship (notated by dotted circles and an arrow).

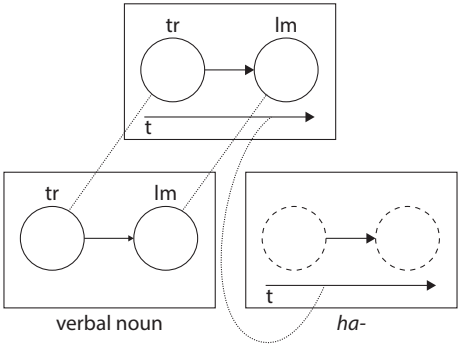


Figure 7.3 The combination of a verbal noun and *ha(y)-*

Figure 7.3 also entails that when a verbal noun is combined with *ha(y)-*, the result forms one predicate, where the verbal noun's relational nature and *ha(y)*'s processual nature are incorporated.

One might argue that verbal nouns' processual reading may be coming from their lexical properties, based on examples like (7.18), where the verbal case pat-

tern is observed without the help of the light verb.[6] Though cases like this may occur, they do so in limited contexts, such as newspaper headlines.

(7.18) kwunsa-tul-i ku yosay-lul thalhwan
soldier-PL-NOM that fort-ACC recapture
'The recapture of that fort by the soldiers'

Though I revisit this topic in following sections, I would like to clarify my position here: the verbal case marking in (7.18) is not directly connected to a processual property. In fact, the verbal case marking pattern found in (7.18) is a byproduct of the conceptual content of the verbal noun. As we discussed on several occasions throughout this book, CG defines a subject as the most prominent clausal participant, while a direct object is the second-most prominent participant. It is also claimed that the subject and the object relations are grammatical manifestations of the trajector/landmark alignment: a subject is a nominal that encodes the trajector of a profiled relationship; an object is one that encodes the landmark. More accurately, I argued that the trajector/landmark alignment is associated with case marking, and the notions of subject and object are the result of the interplay between reference point/target and trajector/landmark alignments. But the original CG definition of subject/object will suffice for the purpose of the discussion in this chapter.

As we can see in the schematic structure of verbal nouns in Figure 7.2, a complex relationship between two nominals is profiled, where the trajector/landmark alignment is manifested. From this schematic structure, a nominal that encodes the trajector is realized as a subject with the nominative case. The nominal that encodes the landmark is naturally realized as an object. This explanation entails that the verbal case marking pattern in (7.18) is not directly related to the processual construal of the verbal noun, which is achieved with the addition of the light verb. Rather, it is a result of our construal of the base content shown in Figure 7.2.

7.4 Indirect nominal grounding

CG makes a clear distinction between a noun and a nominal. A noun is any expression that profiles a thing, whereas a nominal expression is one that incorporates grounding and thus singles out a discourse referent (Langacker 2008: 310). Simple nouns provide nothing more than a type specification; they specify "the basis for

6. This was pointed out by a reviewer of *Linguistics*, where the earlier version of this chapter appeared.

identifying various entities as being representative of the same class, but are not tied to any particular instance of that class" (Langacker 1991: 53).

This section discusses how verbal nouns are indirectly grounded. To explain what indirect grounding means, let us first consider the English examples in (7.19). In (7.19a), *beer* is a conceived instance of a type of thing, thereby singling out a particular instance. For this reason, *beer* is grounded, and it functions as a nominal, as opposed to a noun. The grounding method, however, is covert. (7.19b) is slightly different from (7.19a) in that the grounding of *Minnesota* is intrinsic. Since proper nouns "imply the identifiability of their referents, they do not require a separate grounding element" (Langacker 2008: 272). (7.19c) illustrates an example of indirect grounding, where the profiled instance of *bicycle* is indirectly grounded through the intrinsic grounding of *Elle's*.

(7.19) a. They drank beer.
b. They love Minnesota.
c. Elle's bicycle broke.

Among the three examples in (7.19), the most relevant grounding method to the present chapter is (7.19c). Without the possessive nominal *Elle's*, *bicycle* is merely a lexical noun, and fails to single out any particular instance as the intended referent. The problem is resolved by adding *Elle's*, which functions as a reference point in relation to *bicycle*.

The Korean example illustrated in (7.20) exhibits a similarity to the indirect grounding in English shown in (7.19c). In (7.20), the verbal noun *yenkwu* is a lexical noun that, on its own, cannot single out a particular instance of its type. The problem is resolved by the possessive-marked nominal (notated by a black circle) *thongsalon-uy*, which concomitantly invokes a reference point relationship whereby *yenkwu* becomes the desired target in the reference point's dominion.

(7.20) Kim-paksa-uy thongsalon-uy yenkwu
K-doctor-GEN syntax-GEN research
'Dr. Kim's research of syntax'

Figure 7.4[7] illustrates the structure of (7.20). In this figure, the innermost rectangle represents the verbal noun *yenkwu*. The verbal noun is indirectly grounded (notated by a dot) by the possessive-marked nominal, which also functions as a reference point (R_1) in relation to the reified verbal noun (T_1). The reference point

7. A more accurate CG analysis would be like this: owing to the meaning of the verbal noun, an implicit reference point is invoked. At a higher level, another reference point is invoked by the possessive marker. Due to the conceptual affinity between the two reference points, they eventually may collapse, possibly yielding the structure in Figure 7.5. Nonetheless, since the implicitly invoked reference point is not pertinent to the analysis, it is omitted in the diagram.

invoked by the possessive marker motivates the full reification of the verbal noun, because this reference point relationship exists essentially to build a mental bridge between two nominals. At this level, the reference point (R_1) corresponds to the landmark of the verbal noun. At a higher level of organization, another reference point relationship is invoked by the genitive marker. The second reference point (R_2) then corresponds to the trajector of the verbal noun.

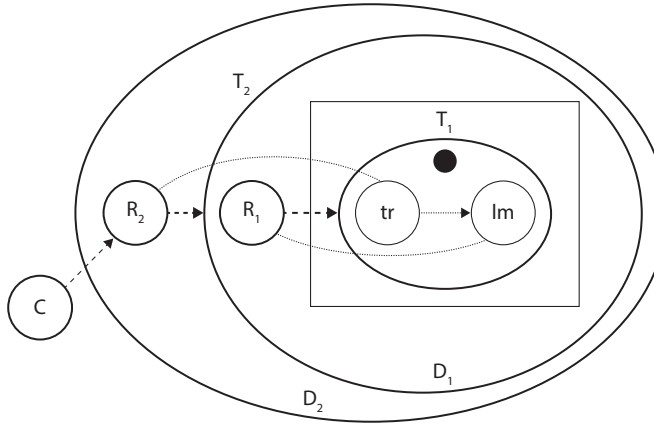


Figure 7.4 The structure of (7.20) depicted

(7.21a) and (7.21b) are slightly different from (7.20) in that they only have one genitive-marked argument nominal, which is modifying the verbal noun. This is not a problem for my analysis, because the essential motivation of the required genitive-marked nominal is to ground the verbal noun in question. Figure 7.5 illustrates the bolded part of (7.21b), where R corresponds to *lm*, and *tr* remains unspecified. In this case, the verbal noun *yenkwu* is indirectly grounded by *thongsalon-uy* 'syntax-GEN'. The bolded expression in (7.21a) is essentially identical to that of (7.21b) except that the invoked reference point corresponds to *tr*, instead of *lm*, in (7.21a).

(7.21) a. **Kim-paksa-uy yenkwu-ka** hakkye-ey khun yenghyang-ul
K-doctor-GEN research-NOM academia-LOC big influence-ACC
michi-ess-ta.
affect-PST-DECL
'Dr. Kim's research had a big influence on academia.'

b. **Thongsalon-uy yenkwu-ka** sip-nyen tongan khukey
syntax-GEN research-NOM ten-year during significantly
palcen-hay-ss-ta.
develop-do-PST-DECL
'The research of syntax has significantly improved for the (past) 10 years.'

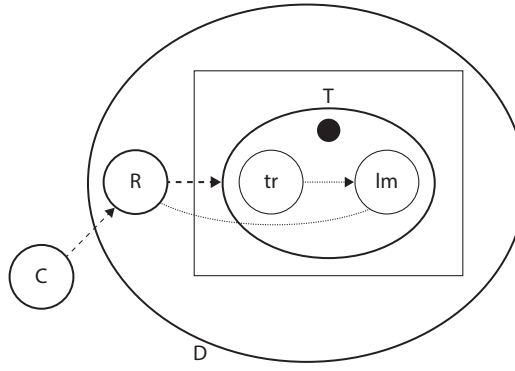


Figure 7.5 Verbal noun modified by one genitive-marked nominal

7.5 Common noun uses of verbal nouns

Korean verbal nouns exhibit a systematic ambiguity between a complex relational meaning and a fully reified thing. A similar type of ambiguity is observed in English derived nominals as well. Grimshaw (1990: 49) demonstrates that derived nominals in English are largely ambiguous between process and result meanings. In (7.22a), the derived nominal *examination* can have a result meaning, interchangeable with *exam*. By contrast, in the context provided in (7.22b), *examination* can be used only as a process nominal, where the complement of *examination* is obligatory.

(7.22) a. The {examination/exam} was {long/on the table}.
b. John's examination/*exam *(of the patient) took a long time.

Korean shows a bit more complicated ambiguity than English in that it demonstrates three-way distinctions, as shown in (7.23). Although *yenkwu* in (7.23a) is neither overtly grounded nor indirectly grounded, it is acceptable. By contrast, *yenkwu* in (7.23b) sounds unnatural when used on its own without the modification of the accusative-marked (MAC type) or possessive-marked (N-type) nominal[8] *thongsalon* 'syntax'. Either *thongsalon-ul* or *thongsalon-uy* is obligatory in (7.23b) to be pragmatically felicitous. *Yenkwu* in (7.23c) is similar to *yenkwu*

8. The requirement of a genitive-marked nominal in N-type constructions may be also viewed from a pragmatic perspective. In explaining obligatory adjuncts, Goldberg and Ackerman (2001) argue that adjuncts are just one of several ways in which the focal requirement (every utterance should have a focus that serves to convey new information in the discourse) can be satisfied. Although the genitive-marked nominals are not adjuncts, the unacceptability of the ungrounded verbal nouns seems to be further explained by the pragmatic maxim in conjunction with the grounding requirement.

in (7.23b) because it is not acceptable without the possessive-marked nominal, *sipnyen tongan-uy* '10.years during-GEN'. It differs, however, in that *yenkwu* in (7.23c) refers to the result of research, not the process.

(7.23) a. Ikos-eyse-nun motun tayhak-i yenkwu-lul
this.place-at-TOP every university-NOM research-ACC
canglye-ha-n-ta.
encourage-do-PRS-DECL
'Every university encourages research here.'

b. Kim-paksa-ka #?(thongsalon-ul/thongsalon-uy) yenkwu-lul
K-doctor-NOM syntax-ACC/syntax-GEN research-ACC
ponkyekcek-ulo hay-ss-ta.
serious-ADV do-PST-DECL
'Dr. Kim did (his) research (on/of) syntax seriously.'

c. Kim-paksa-ka *(sipnyen tongan-uy/ku) yenkwu-lul
K-doctor-NOM ten.years during-GEN/that research-ACC
pwunsil-hay-ss-ta.
lost-do-PST-DECL
'Dr. Kim lost (his) ten years' worth of research.'

While *yenkwu* in (7.23b) is a verbal noun proper exhibiting a complex relational property, *yenkwu* in (7.23a) and (7.23c) demonstrate two different common noun uses of a verbal noun. The difference between (7.23a) and (7.23c) is the possibility of overt grounding. While a zero grounded noun in (7.23a) is used to convey a general statement, a result use of a common noun in (7.23c) requires either an overt grounding element or an indirect grounding nominal. This is so because result nouns refer to a specific instance of a type as opposed to a generalized case.

In fact, all verbal nouns may be used as a zero-grounded common noun, if used to refer to a generalized situation. In (7.24), *kongpwu* 'study' and *senmwul* 'gift' are used as common nouns without any relational interpretation. Both (7.24a) and (7.24b) convey the meanings of "Cheli's disliking studying" and "Cheli's liking gifts" in a general sense. This does not mean that overt grounding is not allowed for common nouns. As shown in (7.25), *kongpwu* and *senmwul*, used as common nouns, can be overtly grounded by *ku* 'that'. The examples in (7.24) are different from those in (7.25). While *kongpwu* and *senmwul* in (7.24) are used in a generalized situation, (7.25) shows two cases in which the words refer to specific instances.

(7.24) a. Cheli-nun kongpwu-ka silh-ta.
C-TOP study-NOM dislike-DECL
'Cheli does not like studying.'

b. Cheli-nun senmwul-ul coha-ha-n-ta.
C-TOP gift-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL
'Cheli likes gifts.'

(7.25) a. Cheli-nun ku kongpwu-ka silh-ta.
C-TOP that study-NOM dislike-DECL
'Cheli does not like studying that (subject).'
b. Cheli-nun ku senmwul-ul coha-ha-n-ta.
C-TOP that gift-ACC like-do-PRS-DECL
'Cheli likes that (kind of) gifts.'

The question, then, is why overt grounding is permitted for common nouns but not for verbal nouns. This is systematically answered by the notion of maximal extension. The maximal extension of a type is a virtual entity and is conceived as a mass. Take, for example, the English mass noun *water*. It exhibits both contractibility and expansibility; any subpart of an instance is itself an instance of the type, as is the union of two instances. The maximal extension of a type is therefore its maximal instance as well. In the case of a mass like *water*, the grounding element is zero and imposes no restriction on the size of the instance. Langacker (2008: 291) states that "[d]ue to its unrestricted nature, zero grounding lends itself to making general statements" and "reference to the maximal extension should perhaps be considered the default interpretation."

Through reification, the conceived instances of *kongpwu* are viewed as a unitary entity in (7.24a), which is virtual, not something found in the world. This virtual entity is now grounded by zero, thereby leading to the interpretation of a general statement of *kongpwu*. As a result, (7.24a) does not undermine the assumption that the modification of possessive-marked nominals in verbal noun constructions is motivated by the need for grounding. In fact, albeit through zero, *kongpwu* is indeed grounded and this is how we get the general interpretation of *kongpwu* in (7.24a).

To explain my claim in more detail, let us take a look at Figure 7.6, which illustrates a grounding strategy. In particular, this shows the combination of deictic, descriptive, and quantificational strategies. In this figure, the large circle represents the maximal pool of candidates. Grounding, notated by G, employs the deictic strategy by focusing attention on a candidate identified in terms of its discourse status. The pool can shrink by either a simple type specification, notated by *t*, or the more elaborate characterization afforded by a complex expression, which Langacker calls *selection*. Of the three strategies depicted in Figure 7.6, the most pertinent to this chapter is the quantificational strategy, in which the profiled instance is related to the maximal extension of the certain type *t* (notated by E_t) in terms of quantity (Langacker 2008: 280). Maximal extension is "the set of eligible

candidates, e.g. everything conforming to the basic or elaborated type description" (Langacker 2008: 279). Langacker further elaborates a maximal extension as "a virtual entity, a product of concept, not something found in the world." At the same time, it is "conceptualized as a mass of indefinite extension" (Langacker 2008: 279). The virtuality of the maximal extension naturally leads to a general statement, since, as fictive referents, they can map onto any number of actual individuals. This is precisely the case of common noun use of Korean verbal nouns as shown in (24a).

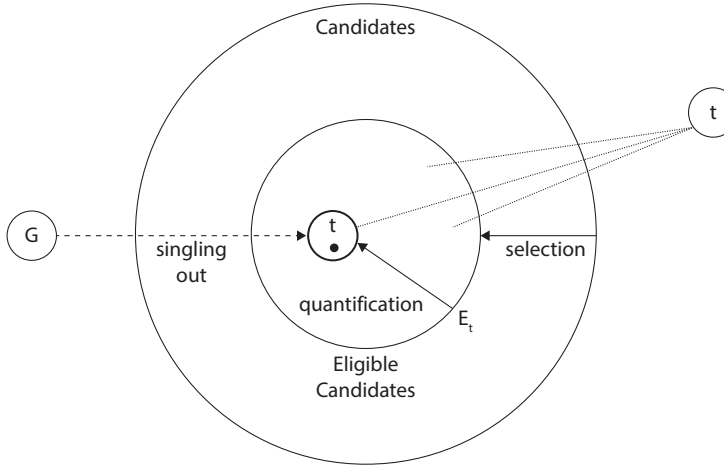


Figure 7.6 Nominal referent in relation to maximal extension, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 280)

Verbal nouns used in this sense exhibit both count- and mass-noun properties. As a count noun, they can be viewed as limited in their extent by being construed as a bounded entity. They also exhibit a mass noun property in that no particular mass of *yenkwu* can ever be the largest one possible. *Yenkwu* in (7.23a) behaves exactly like the maximal extension of a type by being construed as a mass-noun-like entity.

7.6 Verbal nouns in MACs

Verbal nouns used in the MAC seem to pose a problem with regard to the explanations provided thus far. In (7.26), *yenkwu* is neither directly grounded by an overt grounding element nor indirectly grounded by a possessive-marked nominal. It does not exhibit the mass-like virtual property illustrated in (7.23a), nor is it interpreted as a general statement.

(7.26) Cheli-ka enehak-ul yenkwu-lul hay-ss-ta.
C-NOM linguistics-ACC research-ACC do-PST-DECL
'Cheli did research on linguistics.'

This concern is superficial. As argued in Chapter 4, the outer accusative-marked nominal (*enehak*) plays the role of a reference point to the inner accusative-marked nominal (*yenkwu*). The function of *enehak* is to build a mental bridge between the conceptualizer and the target, *yenkwu*. In this respect, the case for the MAC is not different from the grounding method observed in the N-type construction. Just like the N-type verbal nouns, the verbal noun in the MAC is indirectly grounded by a reference point. The only difference is the implicit nature of the reference point invoked in the MAC. This explains the similarity between (7.26) and (7.27), the latter of which shows *enehak* 'linguistics' with the genitive affix.

(7.27) Cheli-ka enehak-uy yenkwu-lul hay-ss-ta.
C-NOM linguistics-GEN research-ACC do-PST-DECL
'Cheli did research of linguistics.'

In both cases, *enehak* plays the role of a mental address to access *yenkwu*, executing its role as a reference point.

Moving on to the technical details, the CG illustration of the bolded part in (7.28) is provided in Figure 7.7, where Y stands for *yenkwu* 'research' and T for *thongsalon* 'syntax'.

(7.28) Kim-paksa-ka **thongsalon-ul yenkwu-lul hay-ss-ta**.
K-doctor-NOM syntax-ACC research-ACC do-PST-DECL
'Dr. Kim did research on syntax.'

First, *yenkwu* combines with the heavy verb *ha(y)-* by elaborating its landmark; then, *yenkwu* is realized as an accusative-marked nominal. Owing to the meaning of *yenkwu*, it invokes an implicit reference point, yielding a structure that would look like [*R-yenkwu-lul hay-*], where R stands for a reference point. The noun *yenkwu* is now grounded by the implicitly invoked reference point R. At a higher level, another reference point relationship is exocentrically[9] created, where the reference point functions as a landmark in relation to [*R-yenkwu-lul hay-*]. Since *thongsalon* 'syntax' specifies this landmark, [*thongsalon R-yenkwu-lul hay-*] arises. Here, *thongsalon* elaborates the landmark of [*R-yenkwu-lul hay-*], and hence is realized as an accusative-marked nominal. In Figure 7.7, the correspondence between R_1

9. Although the mechanism is not shown here, what the mechanism does is straightforward; it creates the second level reference point (R_2) which is a landmark in relation to the inner complex predicate-like structure, [*R-yenkwu-lul hay-*], in this case

and R_2 is indicated, because the two reference points denote the same relationship. The verbal noun in (7.29) is grounded by the outer accusative-marked nominal.[10]

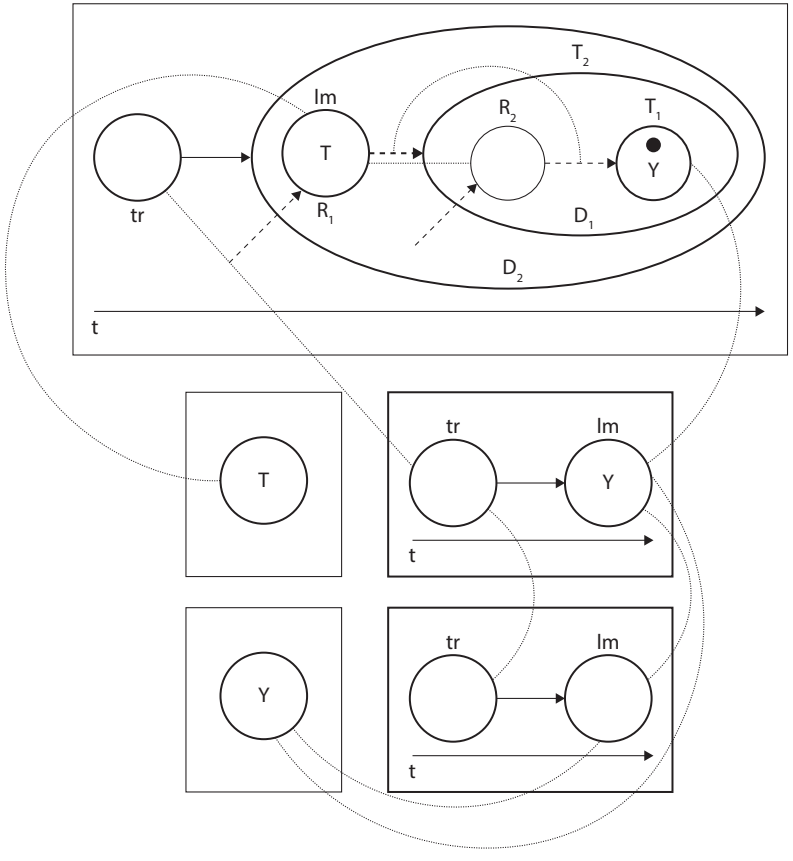


Figure 7.7 Implicit reference point grounding depicted

Though the process involved in (7.28) is somewhat complicated when compared to the other examples discussed, the crucial property of the grounding mechanism remains the same. In the N-type verbal noun constructions, the verbal noun needs to be grounded either by an overt grounding element or indirectly via a reference point.

Verbal nouns' indirect grounding by a reference point is further supported by their syntactic behaviors in MACs. Kim, Lim, and Yang (2007: 211–212) illustrate several syntactic properties of verbal nouns used in the double accusative con-

10. As discussed, a reference point can be realized either as a genitive-marked nominal or as an accusative-marked nominal.

struction. As demonstrated in (7.29a) through (7.29f), the verbal noun *senmwul* 'present' resists movement-related operations.

(7.29) a. John-i Bill-eykey tocaki-lul senmwul-ul hay-ss-ta.
J-NOM Bill-DAT china-ACC present-ACC do-PST-DECL
'John gave china to Bill as a present.'

b. *John-i Bill-eykey tocaki-lul ha-n senmwul (relativization)
J-NOM B-DAT china-ACC do-REL gift
'The gift that John gave china to Bill'

c. *John-i senmwul-ul Bill-eykey tocaki-lul hay-ss-ta. (scrambling)
J-NOM present-ACC B-DAT china-ACC do-PST-DECL
'Intended: John gave china to Bill as a present.'

d. *John-i Bill-eykey tocaki-lul ha-n kes-un
J-NOM B-DAT china-ACC do-REL thing-TOP
senmwul-i-ta. (clefting)
present-COP-DECL
'It is the present that John gave china to Bill.'

e. *John-i Bill-eykey tocaki-lul ku-kes-ul
J-NOM B-DAT china-ACC that-thing-ACC
hay-ss-ni? (pronominalization)
do-PST-Q
'Intended: Did John give china to Bill as that thing?'

f. *John-i Bill-eykey tocaki-lul mwues-ul hay-ss-ni? (*wh*-question)
J-NOM B-DAT china-ACC what-ACC do-PST-Q?
'Intended: As what did John give china to Bill?

By contrast, when the verbal noun is used in a regular object construction, the syntactic operations yield acceptable results as in (7.30a) to (7.30f).

(7.30) a. John-i Bill-eykey senmwul-ul hay-ss-ta.
J-NOM Bill-DAT present-ACC do-PST-DECL
'John gave Bill a present.'

b. John-i Bill-eykey ha-n senmwul (relativization)
J-NOM B-DAT do-REL gift
'The gift that John gave to Bill'

c. John-i senmwul-ul Bill-eykey hay-ss-ta. (scrambling)
J-NOM gift-ACC B-DAT do-PST-DECL
'John gave a gift to Bill.'

d. John-i Bill-eykey ha-n kes-un senmwul-i-ta. (clefting)
J-NOM B-DAT do-REL thing-TOP present-COP-DECL
'It is the present that John gave to Bill.'

e. John-i Bill-eykey ku-kes-ul hay-ss-ni? (pronominalization)
J-NOM B-DAT that-thing-ACC do-PST-Q
'Did John give that one to Bill?'

f. John-i Bill-eykey mwues-ul hay-ss-ni? (*wh*-question)
J-NOM B-DAT what-ACC do-PST-Q?
'What did John give to Bill?

Kim, Lim, and Yang explain these discrepancies based on the categorial difference between the two types (verbal noun proper vs. common noun). Progressing from their observations, my analysis further provides the conceptual motivation behind the (un)acceptability of the examples in (7.29) and (7.30). As a verbal noun, *senmwul* in (7.29) needs to be grounded, which is achieved indirectly through the accusative-marked reference point, *tocaki-lul*. Because the reference point is invoked to make mental access with the target (*senmwul*) possible, separating it from its target yields unacceptable results. Different from the examples in (7.29), *senmwul* in (7.30) is used as a covertly grounded common noun. Since there is no overt or indirect grounding entity related to *senmwul*, it can undergo the syntactic operations seen in (7.30a)–(f).

7.7 Verbal nouns in the light verb construction

In terms of symbolic assemblies, the CG analysis provides us with some clues to understand what motivates the light verb construction. The verbal noun *yenkwu* is similar to a regular verb in that its profile is a complex relationship. Different from a regular verb, a summary scanning is imposed on *yenkwu* by the atemporal construal of the relationship. To function as a finite clause, a grounded instance of a process must be profiled. Since no process is profiled in (7.31), it becomes infelicitous when we try to use it as a grounded clause.

(7.31) *Kim-paksa-ka thongsalon-ul yenkwu.
K-doctor-NOM syntax-ACC research
'Intended as a sentence: Dr. Kim does research on syntax.'

The rescue method is obvious: we need to temporalize (7.31) by adding *ha(y)-* as shown in (7.32). The affixed light verb *ha(y)-* 'do' in (7.32) profiles a process, albeit a highly schematic one. When *ha(y)-* is added to an atemporal expression, it lends its processual profile to the latter's more substantial content. Since *ha(y)-* functions as a clausal head, it incorporates the temporality by sequentially scanning the relationship through time, which is a characteristic of verbs and clauses. In other words, the light verb construction exists to temporalize a summarily

scanned complex relationship. (7.32) is a clausally grounded version of (7.31) for a sentential use.

(7.32) Kim-paksa-ka thongsalon-ul yenkwu-ha(y)-n/ss-ta.
K-doctor-NOM syntax-ACC research-do-PRS/PST-DECL
'Dr. Kim does/did research on syntax.'

Constructions similar to (7.31) are sometimes seen in newspaper headlines. While they may be possible, a search on the popular news website (joongang.joinsman.com, Dec. 11, 2012) did not return any (7.31)-type constructions. Rather, the search yielded a substantial amount of examples like (7.33). The significant difference between (7.31) and (7.33) is that case markers do not appear in the latter. What *swusang* 'reception' does in (7.33) is that it iconically connects its trajector to *Chang*, and its landmark to *koltunkulepu* 'golden.glove', leaving the verbal noun *swusang* ungrounded.

(7.33) Chang koltunkulepu swusang
Chang golden.glove reception
'Chang receives the Golden Glove award'

Ungrounded nouns are not unusually found in headlines, like the English example in (7.34), which is from the New York Times (nytimes.com, Dec. 11, 2012). When it appears as an ungrounded noun, *town* is not acceptable in normal speech/writing contexts. Nevertheless, it is fully acceptable in the context of news headlines.

(7.34) Town mourns a mayor who had staying power.

Returning to the *ha(y)-* rescue method in non-news headline contexts, a similar mechanism is observed cross-linguistically. Langacker (2008: 125) argues that the so-called English affix hopping is, in fact, motivated by the same need for temporalization. In (7.35), the attachment of the passive participle *-ed* to the verbal stem makes the verb atemporal, because the affix scans the component state in a summary fashion. As a result, (7.35) requires the copula *be* to be inserted to provide the profiled process needed to ground the expression clausally.

(7.35) The child **was** frighten**ed** by a loud noise.

This explanation of English affix hopping parallels the *ha(y)-* rescue method of Korean. In both, the form of the language reflects its underlying function.

The CG illustration of (7.32) in the past tense is provided in Figure 7.8, where K stands for Dr. Kim and T for *thongsalon* 'syntax'.

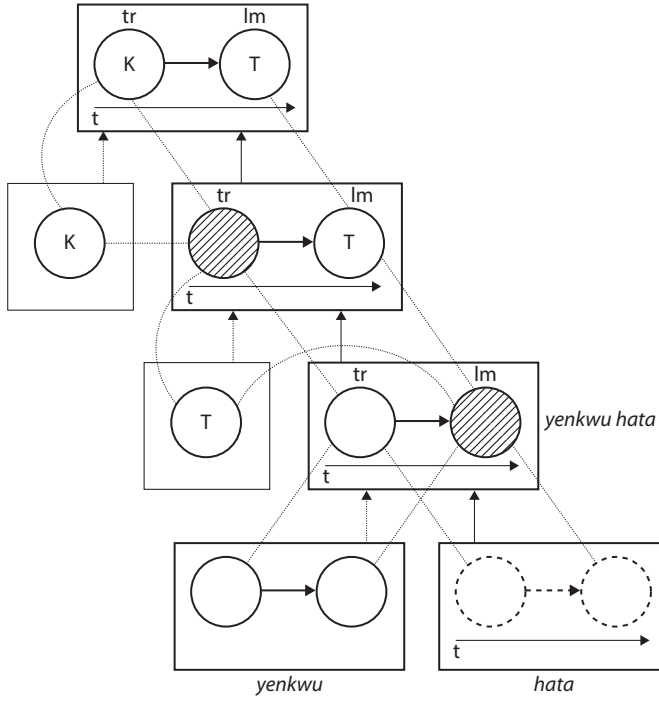


Figure 7.8 The CG illustration of (7.32)

Let us explain Figure 7.8 step by step. As a verbal noun, *yenkwu* exhibits a non-processual relationship. To be used as a verb, however, it needs to be temporalized. The temporalization of *yenkwu* is achieved by combining it with the schematic verb *ha(y)-* 'do'. At a higher level, *yenkwu-ha-ta* 'research-do-DECL' functions like a complex predicate, which combines with the nominal *thongsalon* 'syntax'. Since *thongsalon* elaborates the landmark of *yenkwu-ha-ta*, it is realized as an accusative-marked nominal, yielding *thongsalon-ul yenkwu-ha-ta* 'syntax-ACC research-do-DECL'. At the next level, the nominal *Kim-paksa* 'Kim-doctor' combines with *thongsalon-ul yenkwu-ha-ta* by elaborating the trajector, thereby being realized as a nominative-marked nominal. At the highest level, the whole structure is clausally grounded by temporalization (not shown in the figure), yielding (7.32). In this configuration, since *yenkwu* is not used as a noun, it does not need nominal grounding. Instead, clausal grounding is required, because the event is what must be grounded. This explains why *yenkwu* can be used felicitously without the modification of a genitive-marked argument nominal in that particular construction.

7.8 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to provide a uniform analysis of seemingly unrelated phenomena observed in Korean verbal noun constructions. I have demonstrated that the CG-based analysis not only provides a systematic account of the discussed phenomena, but also answers questions rarely addressed in the literature dealing with Korean verbal nouns. The fundamental starting point of my arguments was to treat Korean verbal nouns as entities exhibiting a nonprocessual relationship. This nonprocessual relationship can be construed as a thing through reification and grouping. To be a full nominal, however, the noun needs to be grounded.

Korean verbal nouns adopt three nominal grounding methods for this purpose. One is to ground a reified thing indirectly with a genitive-marked nominal. Since the genitive-marked nominals often correspond to the trajector or the landmark of the relation profiled by the verbal noun, argument nominals often occur as genitive-marked modifiers.

The second nominal grounding method Korean verbal nouns adopt is zero grounding, which is utilized when the verbal nouns are construed as the maximal extension of a certain type. In this case, the verbal nouns behave like English mass nouns, where they exhibit potential contractibility and expansibility.

The third nominal grounding method I discussed is indirect grounding via an accusative-marked nominal that plays a reference point role in an MAC. Since, due to the meaning of a verbal noun, a reference point is implicitly invoked, it also corresponds to the excocentrically created reference point. As a result, the outer accusative-marked nominal functions as a reference point in relation to the inner predicate containing the verbal noun. Therefore, the verbal noun in question is grounded by this external reference point. Because possessive-marked nominal modifiers of a verbal noun are functioning as a reference point to the verbal noun, the implicit reference point grounding in MACs is essentially identical to the case of indirect nominal grounding.

The last grounding method covered in this chapter is clausal grounding. Verbal nouns can be construed as verbs too. In this case, they need to be clausally grounded. Because verbal nouns in themselves do not have a temporal property, they need to be temporalized to be grounded, which is achieved by combining verbal nouns with the schematic verb *ha(y)-* 'do'. In other words, the Korean light verb construction is motivated by the need for clausal grounding of verbal nouns.

CHAPTER 8

Subject-to-object raising

8.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the Subject-to-Object Raising (SOR) construction in Korean as in (8.1), demonstrating how the said construction's conceptual structure is analyzed with the notion of reference point.

(8.1) John-un **ku haksayng-tul-ul** kaceng-i cohta-ko mitnun-ta.
John-TOP that student-PL-ACC family-NOM good-COMP believe-DECL
'John thinks (that) those students come from good families.'

Korean SOR sentences contrast with their English counterparts in three ways. First, unlike the English example in (8.2), SOR is permitted from either an infinite or a finite clause in Korean, which is shown in (8.3a) and (8.3b), respectively.

(8.2) a. John wants Mary/her to start.
b. * John wants Mary$_i$ that t$_i$ started.

(8.3) a. Chelswu-ka apeci-lul pwuca-lako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM father-ACC rich-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes (his) father to be rich.'
b. Chelswu-ka apeci-lul pwuca-yess-tako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM father-ACC rich-PST-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes that his father was rich.'

Second, SOR is optional in Korean. Example (8.4), where *apeci* 'father' stays as the subject in the embedded clause, is fully felicitous in Korean. By contrast, SOR is required in English as shown in (8.2a), where *Mary* or *her* is not in the original subject position as indicated by its accusative case pattern.

(8.4) Chelswu-ka [apeci-ka pwuca]-lako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM father-NOM rich-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes that his father is rich.'

Third, as discussed in detail in Yoon (1987, 2007), even locational expressions can undergo SOR in Korean. In (8.5a), the raised object *Seoul* is interpreted as a location like 'in Seoul' in the pre-raising structure (8.5b) despite its nominative marking.

(8.5) a. Chelswu-nun Seoul-ul [keli-ka pokcaphata]-ko mitnun-ta.
C-TOP S-ACC street-NOM crowded-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes Seoul to be crowded in its streets.'
b. Chelswu-nun [Seoul-i keli-ka pokcaphata]-ko mitnun-ta.
C-TOP S-NOM street-NOM crowded-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes that the streets in Seoul are crowded.'

Based on this observation in conjunction with other related descriptions, Yoon proposes that *Seoul* in (8.5b) is a Major Subject[1] (MJS), while *keli* 'street' is a Grammatical Subject (GS). What undergoes SOR is then an MJS. The general idea of my analysis to be presented in this chapter is similar to Yoon's MJS approach. But I also address some theoretical and empirical weaknesses of Yoon's proposal. These weaknesses, I demonstrate, turn out to be either irrelevant to or more systematically accounted for in my CG-based analysis.

One intriguing observation, which cannot be paired with English, is some resemblance between SOR constructions and MNCs. While (8.6a) is the result of the SOR of *Yenghuy*, (8.6b) is the pre-SOR structure, where the embedded clause is a typical MNC discussed in Chapter 3.

(8.6) a. Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-lul [apeci-ka pwuca]-lako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM Y-ACC father-NOM rich-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes Yenghuy's father to be rich.'
b. Chelswu-ka [Yenghuy-ka apeci-ka pwuca]-lako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM Y-NOM father-NOM rich-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes that Yenghuy's father is rich.'

The described similarity naturally led to the debate concerning whether SOR requires an MNC. I discuss this issue in the following section.

Another noteworthy characteristic of Korean SORs concerns idiomatic expressions. It is well-known that raising preserves idiomatic meanings. The English idiomatic expression *the cat is out of the bag* in (8.7a) is maintained in the SOR Example (8.7b).

(8.7) a. I believe that the cat is out of the bag.
b. I believe the cat to be out of the bag.

Korean behaves differently from English regarding idioms. The Korean idiom *nay kho-ka sek-ca* roughly means "my own situation requires help first before I can help others." While the idiomatic meaning is prominent in (8.8a), it becomes significantly less prominent in the SOR Example (8.8b).

1. Heycock and Doron (2003) make very similar arguments in dealing with Japanese.

(8.8) a. na-nun [nay kho-ka sek-ca]-lako mitnun-ta.
I-TOP my nose/snot-NOM three-feet-COMP believe-DECL
'I believe my own situation requires help first before I can help others.'

b. na-nun nay kho-lul [sek-ca]-lako mitnun-ta.
I-TOP my nose/snot-ACC three-feet-COMP believe-DECL
'I believe my snot to be three feet long.'

The loss of original idiomatic meanings in SOR led to a substantial amount of debates about whether the construction really involves raising or the object in the construction is base-generated in Korean and Japanese. This issue is discussed in Section 8.2. If the raising-based analysis is correct, which is the view I also support, then my CG-based analysis faces another layer of challenge, because CG does not pose movement or derivation from underlying structures. How this challenge is overcome is demonstrated in the technical CG analysis portion. Throughout this chapter, I demonstrate how CG handles SOR examples that pose theoretical and empirical challenges to the extant research. Furthermore, I suggest that many independently viewed characteristics of SORs, such as their similarity to MNCs and the lack of idiomatic readings, are actually part of a larger picture. If SORs are viewed as instances of a reference point phenomenon, then all less-completely understood phenomena associated with them fall out naturally.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 8.2 discusses several major issues oft-discussed in the SOR literature. Then, formal CG analyses are provided in Section 8.3. This section also discusses how my CG analysis predicts the properties the SOR construction – interpretive properties – exhibits. After discussing the shared properties between SOR and other related constructions in Section 8.4, Section 8.5 concludes this chapter.

8.2 Issues

As briefly discussed in the introduction section, SOR in Korean has been a well-examined topic for linguistic research over the past several decades. In this section, I discuss three major debates in the literature concerning SORs in Korean. The first issue is whether the matrix object is a raised NP from the embedded clause or is based-generated in the matrix clause. The second issue is whether the SOR sentence is derived from its supposed base MNC construction. The third issue is whether the processing approach to SOR properly captures the behaviors the Korean SOR construction exhibits, as it claims.

8.2.1 Raising or base-generation

One view on the case alternation pattern between NOM and ACC of *Yenghuy* in (8.6a) and (8.6b) is to assume that the matrix object in (8.6a) is indeed a raised object from a subject position in the embedded clause (8.6b). This view, as far as I am aware, was first proposed by Kuno (1976), and has been supported by many scholars in dealing with Korean and/or Japanese with different terminology such as SOR, Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), or Long-Distance Agreement Construction.[2] For Korean, Yoon (1987, 2007), S-M Hong (2005), Hong and Lasnik (2015), and J-M Yoon (2015) belong to this group. Representative research on Japanese includes Hiraiwa (2002) and Tanaka (2002). The details these scholars employ in their analyses are drastically different, but the larger assumption – that there is a raising operation involved in the examples we discussed in Section 8.1 – is shared among these scholars. Hence, I call this approach the Raising Approach (RA), although this might be viewed as an overly generalized grouping.

A set of alternative approaches to the RA also exists, in which the matrix object is analyzed as base-generated in the matrix clause. This view is particularly supported by researchers dealing with Japanese, such as Saito (1983), Oka (1988), Sells (1990), Hoji (1991, 2005), and Takano (2003). For Korean, K-S Hong (1990, 1997), P. Y. Lee (1992), J-G Song (1994) take on this view. One major reason these scholars refuse the RA is based on the classic idiom test. When an idiom includes a subject in an embedded clause, that subject cannot appear as the matrix object without losing the original idiomatic reading. Consider the example in (8.9) from J-S Lee (1992), recited from Yoon (2007: 619). The Korean idiomatic expression *cakun kochwu-ka maypta* 'small pepper is spicy' means 'we should not judge people/things based on their small appearance.' According to J-S Lee, the idiomatic reading is not available in (8.9), and therefore the matrix object *kochwu* 'pepper' did not originate in the embedded clause.

(8.9) Chelswu-nun cakun kochwu-lul maypta-ko mitnun-ta.
C-TOP small pepper-ACC spicy-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes the small pepper to be spicy.'

It is worth noting that not all researchers share J-S Lee's judgement. E-J Lee (1990), for instance, states that the idiomatic reading is still preserved in (8.9). Yoon (2007) shares J-S Lee's (1992) judgment concerning (8.9), but he argues that the unavailability of the idiomatic reading in (8.9) stems from the categorical subject nature of

2. I use the term SOR to refer to the examples described above.

the raised nominal. In Yoon's analysis,[3] the raised nominal is an MJS (categorical[4] subject) that denotes or sets conditions on reference. If the subject of the idiom, *cakun kochwu-ka* 'small pepper-NOM' were in the MJS position in the embedded clause, it would have been used to describe a situation. But the subject of the idiom is not interpreted in that way. Rather, it predicates a property of an individual, i.e., the small pepper's being spicy. Therefore, in Yoon's analysis, the subject of the idiom is generated in the lower subject position as GS (thetic subject). Since it is located in the GS position, it cannot undergo SOR directly. In order for the subject to undergo SOR, it should move to the MJS position first. In that position, the subject is reinterpreted as a categorical subject, meaning "As for peppers, small ones are spicy."

Yoon (2007) provides astute observations and robust analyses concerning the issue with idioms. Be that as it may, he seems to completely disregard a different judgment like E-J Lee's. Perhaps there might even be more researchers who accept (8.9) with the idiomatic reading. More importantly, I believe the reason (8.9) is unnatural with the idiomatic reading to some researchers has nothing to do with raising. In Korean, idiomatic expressions often include case/topic/delimiter markers as components of the idioms. When the markers are replaced with others than the fixed ones in idioms, the results often don't preserve the idiomatic meanings, or the original idiomatic meanings become significantly less prominent, as shown in (8.10)–(8.11). The (a) examples are idiomatic expressions, whereas the (b) examples replace the case/topic markers with other semantically-close markers. The idiomatic readings in the (b) examples are not readily available, particularly when taken out of the blue. Note that we can rescue the idiomatic meanings in the (b) examples with contextually relevant information. For example, if the speech context for (8.10b) was about who sides with whom, (8.10b) might be interpreted idiomatically when accompanied with some prosodic changes.

(8.10) a. kajay-nun key phyen-ita.
lobster-TOP crab side-DECL
'Lit: The lobster sides with the crab.'
'Idiom: Those that are similar, stay together.'

b. kajay-ka key phyen-ita.
lobster-NOM crab side-DECL
'Lit: The lobster sides with the crab.'
'? Idiom: Those that are similar, stay together.'

3. His analysis is based on Basilico (2003). According to Basilico, there are always two subject positions in a sentence: a higher (MJS) position and a lower (GS) position.

4. For the distinction between categorical and thetic judgment, please refer to Kuroda (1972) and Ladusaw (1994).

(8.11) a. sachon-i khun cip-ul sa-se, pay-ka aphu-ta.
cousin-NOM big house-ACC -because stomach-NOM hurt-DECL
'Lit: Since my cousin bought a big house, my stomach hurts.'
'Idiom: I am extremely jealous that my cousin bought a big house.'

b. sachon-i khun cip-ul sa-se, pay-man aphu-ta.
cousin-NOM big house-ACC -because stomach-only hurt-DECL
'Lit: Since my cousin bought a big house, only my stomach hurts.'
'? Idiom: I am extremely jealous that my cousin bought a big house.'

The point I want to make here is that the lack of the idiomatic meaning in examples like (8.9) should not be used as evidence against raising. Nevertheless, the raised object, *kochwu* 'pepper' indeed displays properties of the categorical subject in relation to the embedded clause. In this regard, Yoon's (2007) analysis is particularly attractive, because the ambiguity between the idiomatic and the literal meanings can be systematically accounted for at the lower level: the embedded clause. In his analysis, if the subject of the idiom stays *in situ* in the embedded clause, then we get the idiomatic reading. If it moves to the MJS position, it gets the literal interpretation only. In other words, the source of the ambiguity of idioms like (8.9) is the different location of the subject of the expression, and the ambiguity already exists before SOR.

8.2.2 MNC-based generation

Most raising-based research in Korean treats Korean SOR similar to English in a larger sense. The differences such as the possibility of raising out of a finite clause in Korean can be accounted for by parameterizing the case properties of Infl. For example, Hong and Lasnik (2010: 285) state that "[a]t a most abstract level, [Korean and English] are parallel, (at least in the relevant contexts); raising is optional from full clauses and obligatory from small clauses in both languages."

Hong and Lasnik analyze examples like (8.5), where an initial expression that the rest of the clause can be predicated of undergoes raising to the matrix object position. Their solution for this issue is, however, simplistic: nominative case [in Korean] is independent of Infl, which is the view argued by Saito (1985) for Japanese. Hong and Lasnik do not go deeper than that, leaving interpretive properties (IP) of Korean SOR constructions unexplained. Let us consider several of these properties addressed by Yoon (2007: 637) and Yoon (2004b).

(8.12) a. IP1: An individual-level predicate is preferred for the lexical predicate within the Sentential Predicate.[5]
b. IP2: Raised bare plural subjects are interpreted generically.
c. IP3: Raised nominals do not reconstruct into the Sentential Predicate for scope.
d. IP4: Raised nominals do not reconstruct into the Sentential Predicate for variable binding.
e. IP5: Raised indefinites prefer to be interpreted specifically and as presupposed in SOR contexts.
f. IP6: Raised nominals are interpreted *de re* in SOR contexts.

The properties listed in (8.12) are theory-neutral observations, and they are germane to my analysis. So, I would like to discuss them in detail using Yoon's original examples in the following subsection.

8.2.2.1 *Interpretive properties of Korean SOR constructions: Yoon (2004b, 2007)*

First, the predicate in the embedded clause tends to be individual-level as in (8.13a). When it is stage-level as shown in (8.13b), SOR is generally not permitted.

(8.13) a. Cheli-nun tolkolay-lul **phoyutongmwul-ilako**
C-TOP dolphin-ACC mammal-COMP
sayngkakhan-ta. (Yoon 2007: 629)
think-DECL
'Cheli considers dolphins to be mammals.'
b. Cheli-nun tolkolay-*lul/ka **poin-tako** sayngkakhan-ta.
C-TOP dolphin-ACC/NOM visible-COMP think-DECL (Yoon 2007: 629)
'Intended: Cheli considers dolphins to be visible.'

Second, the raised bare plural *tolkolay* 'dolphin(s)' in (8.14) is interpreted generically as opposed to existentially.

(8.14) Cheli-nun **tolkolay-lul** yeki-se cal poin-tako sayngkakhan-ta.
C-TOP dolphin-ACC here-from easily visible-COMP think-DECL
'Cheli believes dolphins can be easily seen from here.'

Third, using Oka's (1988) Japanese examples, Yoon indicates that a relative scope of quantifiers differs in raised and unraised structures. The unraised structure (8.15a) is ambiguous concerning the quantifiers' scope; either *every* or *three* can

5. Sentential Predicate, in Yoon's analysis, is the predicate constructed with GS and Lexical Predicate. That is, in the schematic MNC structure, [MJS [GS Lexical-Predicate]], the inner set of brackets indicate a Sentential Predicate.

take a wide scope. By contrast, the raised structure (8.15b) blocks the reading in which *every* has a wider scope than *three*.

(8.15) a. Mary-wa sannin-no gakusei-**ga** subete-no sensei-ni
M-TOP three-GEN student-NOM all-GEN teacher-to
syookais-are-ru bekida-to omotteiru (Yoon 2007: 621)
introduce-PASS-DECL should-COMP thinks
'Mary thinks that three students should be introduced to all the teachers.'
three > every, every > three

b. Mary-wa sannin-no gakusei-**o** subete-no sensei-ni
M-TOP three-GEN student-ACC all-GEN teacher-to
syookais-are-ru bekida-to omotteiru (Yoon 2007: 621)
introduce-PASS-DECL should-COMP thinks
'Mary thinks that three students should be introduced to all the teachers.'
three > every, * every > three

Fourth, the bound reading of the anaphor *caki* 'self' is marginally acceptable in the unraised structure as in (8.16a), while the bound reading is not felicitous in the raised structure (8.16b).

(8.16) a. ?na-nun caki sensayng-uy chwuchense-**ka** citohaksayngtul-eykey kakkak
I-TOP self teacher-GEN letter-NOM advisees-DAT each
kongkay-toy-eyahanta-ko sayngkakhan-ta. (Yoon 2007: 621)
release-PASS-MUST-COMP think-DECL
'I believe that their teacher's letters of recommendation should be released to each advisee.'

b. *na-nun caki sensayng-uy chwuchense-**lul** citohaksayngtul-eykey kakkak
I-TOP self teacher-GEN letter-NOM advisees-DAT each
kongkay-toy-eyahanta-ko sayngkakhan-ta. (Yoon 2007: 621)
release-PASS-MUST-COMP think-DECL
Intended: 'I believe that their teacher's letters of recommendation should be released to each advisee.'

Yoon's fifth property is from J-M Yoon's (1989) and Takano's (2003) observation. According to J-M Yoon, the raised nominal in (8.17a) is interpreted partitively as indicated by its translation. The interpretation of the non-raised nominal – (8.17b) – contrasts with raised nominal in that it is interpreted in a non-specific cardinal way.

(8.17) a. kyengchal-i meys-myeng-uy namca-**lul** peminila-ko
police-NOM how.many-CL-GEN man-ACC culprit-COMP
tancenghayssni? (Yoon 2007: 620)
conclude.INT
'How many of the men do the police consider to be culprits?'

b. kyengchal-i meys-myeng-uy namca-**ka** peminila-ko
police-NOM how.many-CL-GEN man-ACC culprit-COMP
tancenghayssni? (Yoon 2007: 620)
conclude.INT
'How many men do the police consider to be culprits?'

Yoon's final property is based on O'Grady's (1991) observation.[6] Though similar, sentences (8.18a) and (8.18b) describe different situations. O'Grady points out that the raised structure (8.18a) is associated with a *de re* reading. That is, *John* mistakenly thought that his wife was the one who was making the noise in the kitchen, leading to the "mistaken identity" reading. (8.18b) is different in that *John* was aware that the one making the noise in the kitchen was his wife, which is the property of a *de se* reading.

(8.18) a. John-un caki anay-**lul** totwuk-ila-ko sayngkakhay-ss-ta.
J-TOP self wife-ACC thief-COP-COMP think-PST-DECI(Yoon 2007: 620)

'John thought that his wife was a thief.'

b. John-un caki anay-**ka** totwuk-ila-ko sayngkakhay-ss-ta.
J-TOP self wife-ACC thief-COP-COMP think-PST-DECI(Yoon 2007: 620)

'John thought that his wife was the thief.'

These properties, according to Yoon, are systematically accounted for if we adopt the view that SOR is a derivational operation from an MNC. In the following subsection, I discuss how Yoon's MNC-based derivation analysis explains the interpretive properties.

8.2.2.2 *Major subjects*

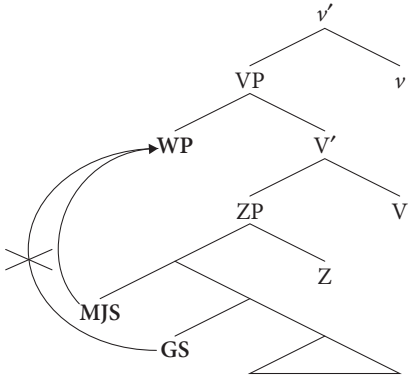
The big assumption Yoon's analysis makes is that SOR requires MNC as its base. The interpretive properties addressed in the previous subsection are already observed in the MNC, and SOR in Korean is completely optional. Put differently, SOR does not add additional interpretive properties to those already predicted in the MNC. J-M Yoon (2015) points out three larger issues with Yoon's approach. First, she accurately pinpoints that SOR does not require an MNC as shown in

6. P. Y. Lee (1992) makes a similar observation to O'Grady.

(8.19). The SOR structure (8.19a) is possible from the non-MNC embedded clause in (8.19b).

(8.19) a. Chelswu-ka salam-ul thamyoksulep-tako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM people-ACC greedy-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes people to be greedy.'
b. Chelswu-ka [salam-i thamyoksulep]-tako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM people-NOM greedy-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes that people are greedy.'

J-M Yoon's criticism, however, can be easily disputed in Yoon's analysis. In Yoon's analysis, as schematically depicted in Figure 8.1, there are always two subject positions in a clause: MJS and GS. WP is the landing site of the MJS in the matrix clause, and GS and the predicate form a Sentential Predicate.



MJS: Major Subject = Categorical Subject or Event Argument
GS: Grammatical Subject = Thetic Subject
WP: Landing site of SOR

Figure 8.1 A schematic structure of SOR, redrawn after Yoon (2007: 633)

The subject of the embedded clause, *salam* 'people' is base-generated as GS in the lower subject position. The GS may then undergo raising to the MJS position. Next, the MJS optionally undergoes SOR, yielding the structure in (8.19a).

Granted, Yoon's analysis faces non-trivial challenges concerning the said ambiguity. The non-raised and non-MNC embedded clause in (8.20) must be ambiguous too, where *apeci-ka* 'father-NOM' is interpreted either a categorial or a thetic subject. Having two different readings of the subject does not seem too far-fetched, but to do so, we need heavy contextual information with relevant prosodic patterns. In Yoon's analysis, the locus of the ambiguity is two different subject positions without necessarily making refence to the information structure, which makes his analysis incomplete.

(8.20) Chelswu-ka [apeci-ka pwuca]-lako sayngkakhan-ta
C-NOM father-NOM rich-COMP think-DECL
'Chelswu considers (his father) rich.'

Yet, a more serious problem comes from the "mistaken identity" example in (8.18). If we adopt Yoon's analysis, the unraised structure (8.18b) is expected to be ambiguous between the *de re* and the *de se* readings. This is so because the *de re* reading is one property of MJS in Yoon's analysis. However, it is very difficult to have the *de re* reading from (8.19b). These observations lead us to believe that SOR is independent of MNC; SOR is not derived from MNC; SOR does not require MNC as its base structure. But there is no denying that SOR constructions share many properties with MNCs. As will be demonstrated later, I argue that these shared properties are expected consequences of the conceptual similarities between two constructions. Both of them employ a reference point or zone activation in this particular case.

J-M Yoon's second criticism of Yoon (2007) concerns the inability of accounting for the degrees of the unacceptability. For example, Yoon's interpretive property (8.12a) cannot be blindly applied. Examples like (8.21), where the lexical predicate is stage-level, are acceptable, contra Yoon's description.

(8.21) na-nun Yenghuy-lul [yocum swuep-ey cacwu poin]-tako
I-NOM Y-ACC recently class-LOC frequently be.present-COMP
sayngkakhan-ta.
think-DECL
'I think that, as for Yenghuy, she is frequently present in class recently.'

Furthermore, transitive verbs are also possible in embedded clauses like (8.22).

(8.22) nay-ka Yenghuy-lul [ku chayk-ul ceyil mence ilk-ess]-tako
I-NOM Y-ACC that book-ACC very first read-PST-COMP
sayngkakhan-ta.
think-DECL
'I think that, as for Yenghuy, she is the one who finished the book first (among other people).'

Yoon is aware of this type of flexibility and states that an embedded clause like (8.22) needs to be interpreted as denoting a characteristic property of the raised nominal, *Yenghuy*. Similarly, in (8.21), the embedded clause is interpreted as predicating a characteristic property of *Yenghuy*. This Characteristic Property Condition holds for Sentential Predicates in MNCs. If Yoon's assumption is right, the embedded clauses with the unraised nominals should also exhibit the same properties without the matrix clauses. Taken out of (8.21) and (8.22), respectively, neither (8.23) nor (8.24) satisfies the Characteristic Property Condition. Rather, (8.23) is a perceptual report, which is a typical property associated with stage-level predicates, and (8.24) is a description of an event in which *Yenghuy* is an agent participant.

(8.23) Yenghuy-ka yocum swuep-ey cacwu poin-ta.
Y-NOM recently class-LOC frequently be.present-DECL
'Yenghuy is frequently seen in class these days.'

(8.24) Yenghuy-ka ku chayk-lul ceyil mence ilk-ess-ta.
Y-NOM that book-ACC very first read-PST-DECL
'Yenghuy finished the book the first (among other people).'

These examples show that the Characteristic Property Condition needs to be viewed in conjunction with matrix predicates, which is lacking in Yoon's analysis.

In English, as Langacker observes, SOR predicates, such as *believe*, *expect*, *think*, *assume*, *know*, etc., imply a conceptualizer. He states:

> Strikingly, all of these verbs [SOR predicates] imply a conceptualizer who conceives of a situation and assumes some stance or attitude in relation to it. More importantly, they do not specify any direct interaction between the conceptualizer and a participant in that situation – the profiled relationship links the conceptualizer to the conceived situation *per se*. (Langacker 1995: 48)

The same is true in Korean. The raised nominal *Yenghuy* in (8.21) and (8.22) does not directly interact with the conceptualizer *nay* 'I'.[7] Rather, the SOR predicate, *sayngkakhan-ta* 'think-DECL' connects *nay* 'I' with the conceived situation in which *Yenghuy* is identified as the person who finished the book first. What (8.21) and (8.22) convey is the conceptualizer's evaluation of a state. To fully understand the properties of raised nominals in the SOR construction, we thus need to ascertain how the conceptualizer is linked with the (focal) participant through the raising verb. Yoon's MNC-based analysis cannot capture the link because the interpretive properties stem from the MJS position within the embedded clause.

J-M Yoon's third criticism is on the lack of generalization of Yoon's analysis. J-M Yoon points out that Yoon's analysis cannot handle constructions related to SOR. The phenomena J-M Yoon mentions are Topic Constructions (TCs) and Double Relative Clauses (DRCs) as illustrated in (8.25) and (8.26), respectively.[8]

(8.25) ku sisna$_i$-nun [[e$_i$ e$_j$ ip-ko iss-nun] os$_j$]-i
that gentleman-TOP wear-CONN PRS.PROG-ADN clothes-NOM
mesci-ta. (J-M Yoon 2015: 384)
stylish-DECL
'As for that gentleman, the clothes he is wearing are stylish.'

7. In this particular case, the implied conceptualizer is identical to the subject.

8. Kim (2016b) also provides a uniform analysis of a family of TCs from a construction-grammar perspective.

(8.26) [[[e_i e_j ip-ko iss-nun] os_j]-i pissa-n]
wear-CONN PROG-ADN clothes-NOM expensive-ADN
ai_i (J-M Yoon 2015: 384)
child
'the $child_i$ [who_i the clothes [$which_i$ e_j is wearing e_j] are expensive]

In the following subsection, I discuss J-M Yoon's rationale for arguing that the constructions shown in (8.25) and (8.26) share similar properties to SORs.

Before that, however, I would like to draw attention to why her criticism is unfair. I agree with J-M Yoon in that SOR constructions exhibit conceptual similarities[9] not only to MNCs but also to TCs and DRCs, but Yoon's article does not intend nor pretend to provide a higher-level generalization that encompasses all the aforementioned constructions. Yoon's (2007) aim is much narrower than what J-M Yoon describes in her criticism. What Yoon (2007) attempts is to develop an analysis based on his argument that SOR is derived from the MNC. For this reason, this particular criticism made by J-M Yoon is not justifiable.

8.2.3 Processing-based analysis

The reason J-M Yoon (2015) treats TC and DRC as related to SOR is that all three constructions are subject to three conditions described in (8.27), which are identified as the interpretive properties of MNCs. Out of the three conditions, we already discussed the Characteristic Property Condition (8.27c) in Section 8.2.2.2.

(8.27) a. Predicate Type Restriction (J-M Yoon 2009)
b. Subject Preference Condition (J-M Yoon 2011)
c. Characteristic Property Condition (Yoon 2007)

The Subject Preference Condition (8.27b) indicates that the MJS generally is related to the subject position of the embedded clause, if it exists. The MNC (8.28) sounds awkward with the intended meaning, because the subject of the matrix clause is related to the object position of the embedded relative clause that modifies the GS, *ai* 'child'.

(8.28) ?* ku os_j-i [e_i e_j ip-ko iss]-nun ai_i-ka
that clothes-NOM wear-CONN PRS.PROG-ADN child-NOM
yeppu-ta. (J-M Yoon 2015: 381)
pretty-DECL
'Intended: As for those clothes, the child who is wearing them is pretty.'

9. The conceptual similarities are identified in Section 8.3.

The Predicate Type Restriction (8.27a) states that the predicate of MNCs strongly prefers non-agentivity. For J-M Yoon, examples like (8.29) are not acceptable because the predicate *masi-ess-ta* 'drink-PST-DECL' denotes agentivity.[10]

(8.29) *? Inho-ka hyeng-i maykcwu-lul yel pyeng
I-NOM brother-NOM beer-ACC ten bottle
masi-ess-ta. (J-M Yoon 2015: 380)
drink-PST-DECL
'As for Inho, (his) brother drank ten bottles of beer.'

Based on the three conditions, J-M Yoon argues that MNCs like (8.30) are a filler-gap construction, which requires a heavy processing load. The matrix subject, *ku sinsa* 'that gentleman' is extracted from the embedded relative clause, which is an apparent violation of a Complex NP (CNP) Island constraint in the sense of Ross (1967). Nevertheless, (8.30) is felicitous. It is because the processing load got "lighter" by fulfilling the aforementioned conditions: the matrix predicate is non-agentive; the matrix subject is related to the subject position of the embedded relative clause; and the lexical predicate *mesci-ta* 'stylish-DECL' is individual-level. The CNP constraint violation is thus tolerated with the "unloading" mechanism such as the conditions identified in (8.27).

(8.30) ku sisna$_i$-ka [[e$_i$ e$_j$ ip-ko iss-nun] os$_j$]-i mesci-ta.
that gentleman-NOM wear-CONN PRS.PROG-ADN-NOM stylish-DECL
'As for that gentleman, the clothes he is wearing is stylish.'

J-M Yoon does not provide an analysis of SOR; her interest is to identify the similarities among SOR, MNC, TC, and DRC from a processing perspective. To her, the reason the SOR construction tends to maintain the conditions in (8.27) is that it is also a heavy load process and needs to utilize an unloading mechanism to tolerate the movement. Crucially, she argues that the SOR process involved in (8.31) is difficult in processing because the movement is an A-movement and the matrix object, *Yenghuy*, is extracted out of a finite clause; to J-M Yoon, a finite clause is another syntactic island.

(8.31) Chelswu-ka Yenghuy$_i$-lul [e$_i$ ttokttokhay-ss]-tako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM Y-ACC smart-PST-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes that Yenghuy was smart.'

10. J-M Yoon's Predicate Type Restriction needs to be carefully reexamined. As discussed in Section 8.2.2.2, examples like (8.29) are fully felicitous if the conceptualizer evaluates a situation in which his brother is a focal participant. Yoon (2007) provides similar observations regarding this type of example.

In making her arguments, J-M Yoon relies on Kluender (1992) who argues that the processing load increases due to the referential specificity denoted by finite tense. Gibson (1998) also states that finite clauses tend to be more difficult to process than non-finite clauses because tensed verbs introduce referents tracked in the discourse. In CG terms, the noticeable difference between the finite clause and the non-finite clause is the existence of grounding. While non-finite clauses are an ungrounded type, finite clauses profile a grounded instance of a process type. The grounding becomes available through tense.

There is no denying that finite clauses contrast with non-finite clauses in their referentiality. As a grounded process, a finite clause is a profiled instance of a process. The formation of a finite clause through grounding is a type of construal that requires a certain type of focus of attention, while maintaining the same semantic content.[11] Perhaps, because of this special type of construal, finite clauses might be more difficult to process than non-finite clauses. However, claiming that finite clauses function similar to other syntactic islands such as CNP based on the higher processing load seems to be problematic. Goldberg (2006: Chapter 7) discusses in depth the context-dependent nature of island constraints. While CNPs and Subject Islands are more robust and less context dependent, others (Complements of Manner-of-Speaking Verbs and Adjunct Clauses) are more discourse/context-dependent. Citing Kuno (1987) and Erteschik-Shir (1981), J-M Yoon admits that there are some discourse or semantic factors invovled in evaluating the acceptability of Island Constraint violations. In reality, nonetheless, she creates another type of island – finite clause – with an additional syntactic condition, the ban of A'-movement.

J-M Yoon's proposal faces some empirical challenges too. Let us recall the example in (8.22), which is reintroduced as (8.32) here. As discussed, (8.32) is fully acceptable, particularly when the conceptualizer, *Chelswu*, makes a link between the participant *Yenghuy* and the situation in which *Yenghuy* is identified as the person who finished the book first. In J-M Yoon's analysis, (8.32) is predicted to be unacceptable because it is certainly a case of triple violation. The matrix object is extracted out of a finite clause; there is clearly A-movement; and the predicate of the embedded clause is agentive.

11. In his treatment of English Raising Constructions, Langacker (1995: 37) does not make a semantic distinction between finite and non-finite clauses, other than conceptual import. While *to* imposes holistic construal, modals like *will* place an event in the projected path of its future evolution. Similarly, the tense marking indicates a location of an event.

(8.32) nay-ka Yenghuy-lul [ku chayk-ul ceyil mence ilk-ess]-tako
I-NOM Y-ACC that book-ACC very first read-PST-COMP
sayngkakhan-ta.
think-DECL
'I think that, as for Yenghuy, she is the one who finished the book the first (among other people).'

Overall, the processing-based approach to SOR is an interesting attempt with great potential. In order to make the analysis more convincing, however, it needs to be accompanied by experiments that support the alleged processing difficulties. How to incorporate the context dependency into the processing load rank would be something worth delving into as well.

8.3 SOR in CG

Thus far, I pointed out several weaknesses in previous research on SOR. In doing so, I provided relevant CG analyses at a conceptual level. This section provides technical CG analyses of the examples discussed.

8.3.1 Raising in CG

To help the reader understand how the raising phenomenon is handled in CG, I start out by discussing Langacker's article on English raising (Langacker 1995). The article deals with three types of raising constructions in English (SSR, SOR, and OSR), but I focus on the English SOR construction as shown in (8.33).

(8.33) I expect John to leave.

One of the major goals of Langacker's article is to explain the transparency of the raising construction; any element is permitted to occur in the raised position in the matrix clause if it occurs in an appropriate position in the embedded clause. That is, the structural motivation comes from the raised NP's role in the embedded clause, not from the matrix clause. In analyzing a typical SOR example like (8.33), Langacker provides a schematic structure as illustrated in Figure 8.2.

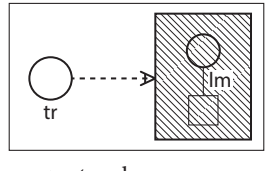


Figure 8.2 English SOR with the *expect* verb

Figure 8.2 captures the nature of SOR precisely. It is worth noting that the trajector does not directly interact with the profiled landmark. Rather, it interacts with the landmark through the process, exhibiting a typical case of active-zone/profile discrepancy; the landmark is the profile and the entire process (the inner rectangle) is the active zone. The landmark plays a dual role, one as the landmark at a higher-level of organization, and the other as the trajector in the embedded clause. The trajector-hood is entirely determined within the embedded clause, although the process profiled in the embedded clause constitutes someone's expectation. Hence, transparency is naturally accounted for in this schematic structure.

Though I demonstrated the conceptual similarity between reference point and active-zone/profile discrepancy in Chapter 2 and elsewhere, it is worth re-emphasizing it here to show that SOR also falls within the realm of a reference point phenomenon. Let us consider Langacker's descriptions of reference point and active-zone/profile discrepancy as in Figure 8.3, with emphasis on active-zone/profile discrepancy this time. In Figure 8.3(b), the conceptualizer accesses the target through the reference point. This is identical to Figure 8.3(a). The difference comes from the role of the target in Figure 8.3(b). What the conceptualizer really accesses is the profiled entity – the bold circle outside the dominion. However, the target is not the profiled entity; it is the active zone of the profiled entity. One example, *the cigarette in his mouth*, can be illustrated with Figure 8.3(b). In this example, what the conceptualizer accesses is the whole cigarette (profile), but the profile is accessed through its active zone (the tip of the cigarette), thereby leading to the active-zone/profile discrepancy.

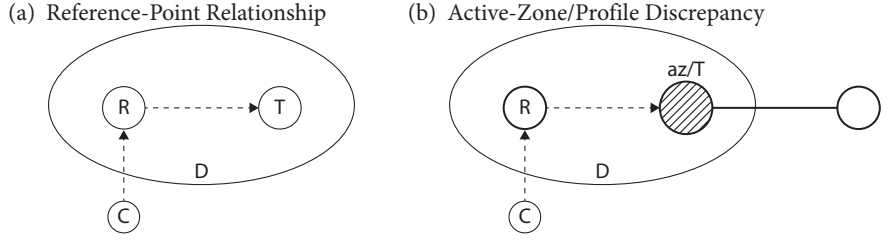


Figure 8.3 Reference point vs. active-zone/profile discrepancy, redrawn after Langacker (1995: 27)

We can straightforwardly extend this schematic structure to some of the Korean examples we discussed earlier. In (8.34), *apeci* 'father' is the trajector of the process profiled by the embedded clause, but it also has landmark status in the matrix clause. The matrix clause trajector *Chelswu* accesses the profiled entity *apeci* 'father' through the process profiled in the embedded clause. In other words, *apeci* is the profile, and the embedded pre-raising clause *apeci-ka pwuca* 'father-NOM rich'

is the active zone. The interaction between *Chelswu* and *apeci* 'father' is mediated by the process profiled in the embedded clause: *Chelswu's father being rich*.

(8.34) Chelswu-ka apeci-lul pwuca-lako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM father-ACC rich-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes (his) father to be rich.'

This analysis does not require an MNC for its base. The MJS properties the raised nominal exhibits are due to the reference point nature of the NP. In Langacker's words:

> In a case of active-zone/profile discrepancy, a profiled participant functions as a reference point for the entity that most directly and crucially engages in the designated relationship – its active zone with respect to that relation.
>
> (Langacker 1995: 37)

In the case of (8.34), *apeci* 'father' functions as a reference point for the process identified by '(Someone's) father is rich', which directly engages in the relationship profiled by the raising verb *mitnun-ta* 'believe-DECL'. The full CG diagram for (8.34) is provided in Figure 8.4, where the subject of the embedded clause (the right box) has the trajector status but corresponds to the profiled landmark in the matrix clause (the middle box). The hatched circle and rectangle, as usual, indicate e-sites. The hatched circle is elaborated by the subject nominal, and the hatched rectangle is elaborated by the embedded clause. For the sake of simplicity, I omitted the compositional steps as well as the subject elaboration. In this figure, C stands for *Chelswu* and F for *father*.

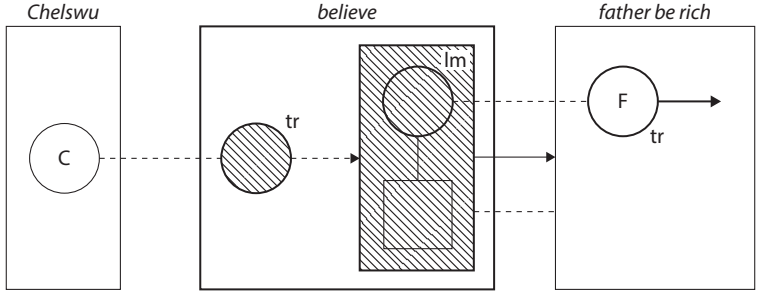


Figure 8.4 Korean SOR depicted

SOR from a finite clause as in (8.35) is diagrammed in Figure 8.5, where the temporal information – the arrow at the bottom in the right box – is provided.

(8.35) Chelswu-ka apeci-lul pwuca-yess-tako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM father-ACC rich-PST-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes that his father was rich.'

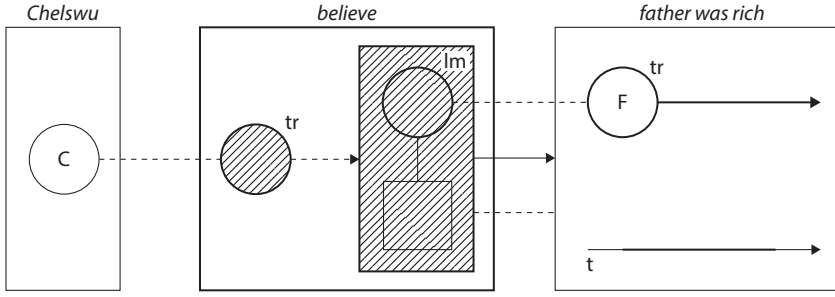


Figure 8.5 SOR from a finite clause

Examples like (8.32), which was identified as a rare case, are straightforwardly understood in my analysis. As described in the quote above from Langacker, a profiled participant, *Yenghuy* in (8.32), functions as a reference point. Then, it is not at all surprising that the raised nominal has a property of local topic. Here, local topic refers to "a topic for purposes of ascertaining the actual (or direct) participant in the profiled main–clause relationship" (Langacker 1995: 38). In (8.32), the purpose of *Yenghuy* is to make out the actual participant in the matrix clause: the embedded clause, which in turn is the active zone.

Granted, it is true that SOR constructions are much more natural and frequently used with intransitive state verbs with non-agentivity. This property is symptomatic of a reference point relationship, which is intrinsically non-active. The second reason is the function of the SOR construction. What the embedded clause of the construction does is to express a characteristic of the raised nominal. It is natural that states expressed by non-agentive predicates are more readily construed as characteristics than actions. The third reason transitive verbs are rarely used in the SOR construction is the conceptual nature of transitivity. The typical transitive verb expresses a relationship where two participants actively interact with each other. By contrast, many intransitive verbs express a situation where the participant merely occupies a location. In (8.36), for instance, *Yenghuy* is construed as a participant that occupies a space of being dejected, as opposed to an entity actively participating in that space.

(8.36) Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-lul sangsim-ey ppaci-ess-tako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM Y-ACC dejected-LOC fall-PST-COMP believe-DECL
'Literal: Chelswu believes that Yenghuy fell into a depression.'

The same holds for the stage-level predicate *apha-ss* 'sick-PST' in (8.37). In (8.37), *Yenghuy* does not actively participate in a relationship profiled by *apha-ss* 'sick-PST'. Instead, *Yenghuy* is construed as an entity that merely exists in a space of "being sick".

(8.37) Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-lul samil-tongan apha-ss-tako mitnun-ta.
C-NOM Y-ACC three.days-during sick-PST-COMP believe-DECL
'Chelswu believes that Yenghuy was sick for three days.'

In general, this type of construal is not readily available with a transitive verb, where an agent participant is expected. If so, the claim that non-agentivity and intransitivity are required conditions for the SOR construction is not tenable. These are indeed expected by-products of the SOR construction, which exhibits a profile/active-zone discrepancy and a reference point relationship.

8.3.2 SOR and MNC

Earlier, I discussed Yoon's (2007) proposal that SOR is derived from a relevant MNC. I also showed examples that do not seem to require an MNC as SOR constructions' base structure. The natural question I need to address then is how my analysis handles SOR examples in which the raised nominals are indeed extracted from an embedded MNC. Another important question is how my analysis captures the common properties, whether they be syntactic or interpretive, between non-MNC-based SOR and MNC-based SOR constructions. It turns out that my analysis answers these questions straightforwardly.

MNC-based SOR constructions are widely observed in the literature, and some of the representative examples are illustrated in (8.38)–(8.40). The embedded clauses in these examples are typical MNCs as we discussed in Chapter 3, and the reference point subject undergoes raising.

(8.38) Chelswu-ka ku chayk-ul selon-i hungmilop-tako
C-NOM that book-ACC introduction-NOM interesting-COMP
sayngkakhan-ta.
think-DECL
'Chelsuw believes that the introduction of the book is interesting.'

(8.39) nay-ka Yenghuy-lul nwun-i yeppu-tako mitnun-ta.
I-NOM Y-ACC eye-NOM pretty-DECL believe-DECL
'I believe that Yenghuy has pretty eyes.'

(8.40) na-nun kwuwueltal-ul nay yenkwusil-i tep-tako sayngkakhan-ta.
I-TOP September-ACC my office-NOM hot-COMP think-DECL
'I think that my office is hot in September.'

I already discussed the MNC in detail in Chapter 3, but I reintroduce the CG diagram of MNC with the example in (8.39) as Figure 8.6. Recall that the inner reference point (R_1) is invoked by *nwun* 'eye', and the outer reference point (R_2) was exocentrically created by the refence point subject creation mechanism. These

two reference points might coalesce to yield a complex predicate-like structure in this particular example.

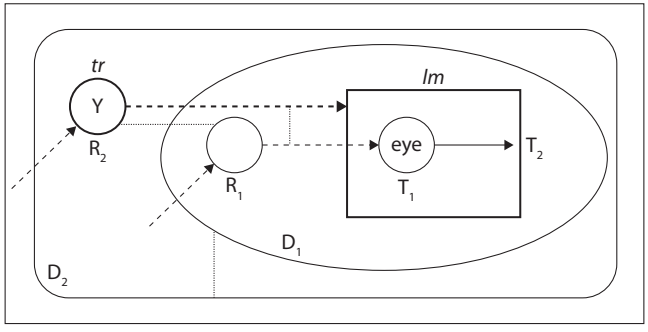


Figure 8.6 Multiple subject construction

If we combine the structure in Figure 8.5 with the one in Figure 8.6, we get the diagram in Figure 8.7. In this figure, the profiled landmark in the higher-level organization (the upper rectangle), *Yenghuy* (Y), corresponds to R_2 in the embedded clause. The whole embedded clause corresponds to the inner clausal relationship in the upper rectangle.

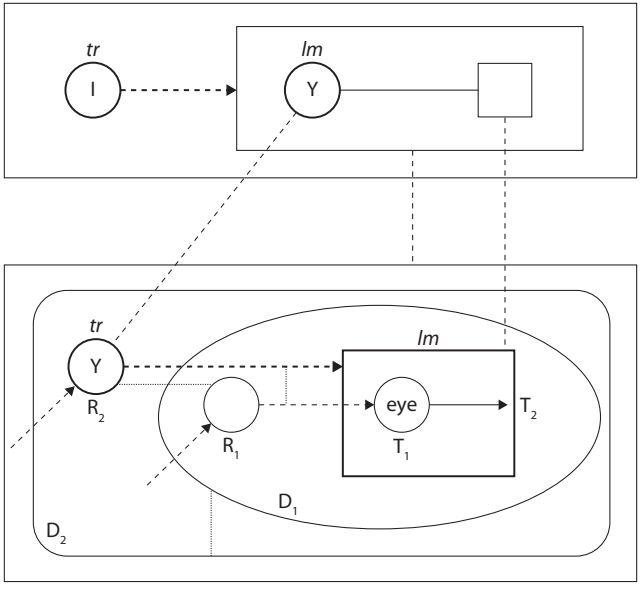


Figure 8.7 The CG diagram for (8.39)

Perhaps, the most important part of this diagram is the relationship between the trajector and the landmark in the upper rectangle. Just like the case of Figure 8.4, the trajector *nay* 'I' does not directly access the landmark *Yenghuy*. It accesses

Yenghuy through the embedded clause, which functions as the active zone of the profiled landmark. As the profile, *Yenghuy* exhibits a reference point property. This is so, because the active zone – the embedded clause – is accessed by the explicitly identified profile, *Yenghuy*. At the same time, *Yenghuy* is also a reference point in relation to the lowest clause *nwun-i yeyppu-ta* 'eye-NOM pretty-DECL', thereby maintaining a double reference point status. *Yenghuy*, however, is not a primary participant in the matrix clause, as indicated by its landmark status; hence it is marked with accusative. Note that the dual reference point assignment is not problematic here, because the two roles are ultimately identical. At the lower level, the conceptualizer accesses the process '(someone's) having pretty eyes' through *Yenghuy*. The same type of mental scanning occurs at the higher level; the conceptualizer accesses the active zone (the process indicated above) through the profiled entity (*Yenghuy*).

In my analysis, whether the embedded clause is an MNC or not is not relevant. Without respect to the presence of an MNC as an embedded clause, SOR constructions exhibit a profile/active-zone discrepancy, therefore making them another reference phenomenon. If so, we expect to find properties in SOR constructions that also manifest in reference point constructions. The interpretive properties of SOR constructions discussed in (8.12) are related to those of a reference point. In this sense, Yoon's (2007) analysis is generally correct because his major claim is that raised nominals demonstrate the properties of MJSs, if we interpret his MJS as a reference point. Nonetheless, his analysis is incomplete in that he cannot explain why raised nominals in non-MNC-based SOR constructions share the same properties with those in MNC-based SOR constructions. As I discussed already, his potential solution that every raised nominal needs to acquire an MJS status in the embedded clause is not tenable for various reasons. Contra Yoon's analysis, I argue that the MJS status (the reference point status) is conferred to the raised nominal in the matrix clause, and this is why the raised nominal also exhibits MJS properties, not the other way around.

8.3.3 Interpretive properties redux

It is imperative to discuss how and why the interpretive properties of SOR in (8.12) are understood as symptoms of a reference point phenomenon. For the sake of convenience, I am repeating (8.12) with a new number below.

(8.41) a. An individual-level predicate is preferred for the lexical predicate within the Sentential Predicate.
b. Raised bare plural subjects are interpreted generically.

c. Raised nominals do not reconstruct into the Sentential Predicate for scope.
d. Raised nominals do not reconstruct into the Sentential Predicate for variable binding.
e. Raised indefinites prefer to be interpreted specifically and as presupposed in SOR contexts.
f. Raised nominals are interpreted *de re* in SOR contexts.

IP1 is already discussed. A reference point relationship is a way of dynamically scanning a stative situation, and stativity is best described with individual-level predicates. IP2 is also an expected property of SOR if the raised nominal behaves like a reference point. In the SOR construction, a raised nominal functions like a local topic. According to Cohen and Erteschik-Shir (2002), English bare plurals are interpreted generically when they are topics, and existentially otherwise. C. Lee (2011) supports this view, dealing with Korean data. Since raised nominals show greater topicality than their unraised counterparts, and topicality correlates to genericity, generic interpretation of raised nominals is naturally expected. In order to discuss IP3, let us consider Examples (8.42) and (8.43). The original examples used to identify this property are Japanese, but the same property holds for the almost identical examples translated into Korean. The raised NP has a wider scope than the indirect object NP in the embedded clause in their quantification, but not the other way around as shown in (8.43). Before raising, however, both readings are possible as in (8.42).

(8.42) Chelswu-ka sey-myeng-uy haksayng-tul-i motu-uy sensayngnim-tul-eykey
C-NOM three-CL-GEN student-PL-NOM all-GEN teacher-PL-DAT
sokay-toy-ecie-ya-han-tako sayngkakhan-ta.
introduce-become-PST-should-do-COMP think-DECL
'Chelsw thinks that three students should be introduced to all the teachers.'
three > every, every > three

(8.43) Chelswu-ka sey-myeng-uy haksayng-tul-ul motu-uy sensayngnim-tul-eykey
C-NOM three-CL-GEN student-PL-ACC all-GEN teacher-PL-DAT
sokay-toy-ecie-ya-han-tako sayngkakhan-ta.
introduce-become-PST-should-do-COMP think-DECL
'Chelsw thinks that three students should be introduced to all the teachers.'
three > every, * every > three

These examples should be understood within the context of topicality. The idea that topicality is closely related to quantifier scope interpretation is nothing new. In discussing the ditransitive construction's distribution and scope properties, Goldberg (2014) emphasizes the importance of information structure. Based on

the proposals by Ioup (1975) and Kuno (1991), Goldberg reiterates the topicality hierarchy like (8.44), where the > symbol indicates that the left-side element of > has a wider scope than its right-side element. Examples (8.42) and (8.43) illustrate this tendency. (8.42), where the subject of the embedded clause is not raised, the subject and the indirect object can take a wide scope, because the hierarchical distance between them is close. Example (8.43) does not permit the reading where the indirect object in the embedded clause takes a wider scope than that of the raised nominal, because the raised nominal, *sey-myeng-uy haksayng-tul-ul* 'three-CL-GEN student-PL-ACC', exhibits a greater topicality than its unraised version. The distance in the topicality hierarchy between the raised nominal and the indirect object, therefore, is farther than the example in (8.42). Due to this distance, the wide scope reading of the indirect object is not available.

(8.44) (fronted) topic > subject > IO > Obl/DO

(Goldberg 2014: 5)

Goldberg (2014: 5) also summarizes other researchers' observations as "fronted topic strongly tends to express referents that have already been under discussion." (see Chafe 1976; Lambrecht 1994; Michaelis and Gregory 2001, among others), Put differently, as Chafe (1976: 50) notes, topics set up "a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds." Since a topic functions as a "frame builder", reconstructing the raised nominal into the sentential predicate (embedded clause) is not permissible.[12]

As for variable binding, IP4 states that reconstruction for bound variable readings is not allowed in the SOR construction. This property needs some explanation. In Yoon's analysis, this property is also related to the property of MJS. Let us consider non-raising examples with and without an MJS in (8.45a) and (8.45b), respectively. According to Yoon, while (8.45a) is marginally acceptable, (8.45b) is completely infelicitous. The reason is that the MJS in (8.45b), *chwuchense-lul* 'letter-ACC' is directly merged with the sentential predicate in the surface position. Then, naturally, the MJS cannot reconstruct into a sentential predicate for variable binding.

(8.45) a. ?caki sensayng-uy chwuchense-ka citohaksynagtul-eykey kakkak
self teacher-GEN letter-NOM advisee-DAT each
kongkay-toy-eyahay-ss-ta. (Yoon 2007: 638)
release-become-MUST-PST-DECL
'Their teachers' reference letters had to be released to each student.'

12. Abusch (1994), Kratzer (1998), and Reinhart (1997) also deal with the specific reading of indefinites, but they don't discuss the direct relationship between the reading and topicality (topical domain).

b. * caki sensayng-uy chwuchense-ka wenpon-i citohaksynagtul-eykey
self teacher-GEN letter-NOM original-NOM advisee-DAT
kakkak kongkay-toy-eyahay-ss-ta. (Yoon 2007: 638)
each release-become-MUST-PST-DECL
'Intended: The originals of their teachers' reference letters had to be released to each student.'

In my analysis, the degraded acceptability of (8.45b) is not surprising. The raised nominal in the SOR version of (8.45b) is a reference point in relation to the embedded clause, and it is construed as a topic in relation to that clause. In other words, the embedded clause is construed as a proposition "about" the raised nominal, as opposed to a relationship where the raised nominal actively participates. Since the reconstruction for variable binding like (8.45b) forces an active participant reading of the raised nominal, the result becomes infelicitous.

IP5 concerns specificity of the raised nominal. Based on data from Mandarin Chinese, Portner (2002) hypothesizes that specific interpretations of indefinites arise when the domain of quantification for the indefinite is a topic. He argues that "sentences containing specific indefinites will be understood as involving ordinary existential quantification in combination with a topical domain function" (Portner 2002: 276). Using formal semantic notions and mechanisms, he successfully demonstrates that the specific reading of indefinites tends to arise when the topical domain is narrow.[13] Portner's analysis and method are very different from my CG analysis, but his observation is relevant to the data I present in that it also shows a connection between a narrow topical domain and the specific reading of indefinites, where a narrow topical domain is parallel to my notion of local topic. Let us compare (8.46a) and (8.46b), which show a contrast between a sentential topic and a local topic. In (8.46a), *etten salam-un* 'some person-TOP' is a sentential topic, and the raised nominal *etten salam-ul* 'some person-ACC' in (8.46b) is, as we have discussed thus far, a local topic. While the most natural interpretation of (8.46a), without an elaborated context, is about an unspecified someone who has lots of money, *someone* in (8.46b) is interpreted as *someone specific in my mind*. The raised nominal, with its narrow topical domain (local topic), tends to have increased specificity.

(8.46) a. etten salam-un ton-i manh-ta.
some person-TOP money-NOM much-DECL
'Someone has lots of money.'

b. na-nun etten salum-ul ton-i manh-tako mitnun-ta.
I-TOP some some-ACC money-NOM much-COMP believe-DECL
'I believe that someone (specific) has lots of money.'

13. Portner notes that specificity is a matter of degree.

IP5 also identifies that the raised indefinite NP is presupposed in SOR context. This is expected because what is assumed to be presupposed is familiarity with a discourse entity (Gundel 1985). As a topic, the raised NP is assumed to be familiar to interlocutors.[14]

The association between topicality and the *de re* reading is not surprising either. Let us consider the Spanish example in (8.47) from Uriagereka (2004). Uriagereka provides a technical analysis from a generative linguistics viewpoint, but his observation and judgement are relevant to my analysis. According to him, (8.47) is ambiguous depending on whether the *wh*-phrase is a true interrogative *wh*-phrase or a topicalized *wh*-phrase. In the latter case, the *de re* reading is expected, because topicalization forces the *de re* reading. This type of ambiguity is not observed in (8.48), because the nominal *las novelas de Javier Marías que están a la venta* 'the novels by Javier that are on sale' is not a topicalized NP (or DP).

(8.47) Ya sé que las novelas de Javier Marías están a la venta.
already know-1.SG what the novels of Javier Marias be-3.PL to the sale
'I already know what novels by Javier Marías are on sale.'

(8.48) Ya sé las novelas de Javier Marías que están a la venta.
already know-1.SG the novles of Javier Marias that be-3.PL to the sale
'I already know the novels by Javier Marías that are on sale.'

Though the above Spanish examples are not directly related to SOR, it is not difficult to make a connection between the raised nominal and the *de re* reading in our "mistaken identity" Example (8.18a), which is reintroduced below as (8.49).

(8.49) John-un caki anay-lul totwuk-ila-ko sayngkakhay-ss-ta.
J-TOP self wife-ACC thief-COP-COMP think-PST-DECL
'John thought that his wife was a thief.'

In (8.49), *John* has someone specific in his mind – *his wife* in this case – and *John* believed that that specific person (his wife) was a thief. The important component of this *de re* interpretation is "someone specific". I demonstrated that the raised nominal *anay* 'wife' is a local topic, and specificity and topicality are intimately related. The *de re* reading that requires "someone specific" therefore is something we can naturally expect from the reference point nature of the raised nominal.

All of these properties boil down to the reference point nature of the raised nominal in the SOR construction. Yoon attributes the properties to the raised nominal's MJS status in the pre-raising structure, and in my analysis of MNC, the

14. Considering this, we need some clarification about IP5. It does not state that the presupposition effect is not limited to indefinites alone. Since the presupposition effect with regard to definite nominals is naturally expected, it is not listed as an interpretive property.

outer subject (MJS) is created as a reference point. That is, Yoon's observation is accurate, if we reinterpret MJS as a reference point nominal. There is a noticeable difference between my reference point analysis and Yoon's MJS analysis, however. In my analysis, the reference point status of the raised nominal is not a legacy of its original MJS position in the embedded clause; it is newly acquired at the higher-level organization (in the matrix clause) as an outcome of profile/active-zone discrepancy. SOR is thus fully possible from a non-MNC embedded clause. We also do not need to posit a superfluous operation such as a movement from GS to MJS for a single subject embedded clause.

8.4 SOR and related constructions

Earlier, in discussing J-M Yoon's processing approach to SOR, I introduced her observation that there are shared properties between SOR and other related constructions: TCs and DRCs. J-M Yoon's observation is accurate in that these two constructions exhibit similarities to SOR. Let us first consider the TC.

(8.50) Kim-sensayng-nim-un neykthai-ka mecci-ta.
K-teacher-HON-TOP necktie-NOM looking.sharp-DECL
'As for Professor Kim, his necktie is looking sharp.'

According to J-M Yoon, the TC in (8.50) meets the three conditions identified in (8.27): Predicate Type Restriction, Subject Preference Condition, and Characteristic Property Condition. In the SOR construction, these properties are expected owing to the reference point nature of the raised nominal. It is not surprising that the topic-marked nominal in (8.50) also exhibits a reference point property. As mentioned several times in other chapters, both topic or left-dislocation constructions can be viewed as a reference point phenomenon. Since English does not have a topic marker, the topic relationship is expressed constructionally. In (8.51), for example, *The Oval Office* is external to the target clauses, because the target clauses are complete without the topicalized nominal.

(8.51) a. The Oval Office, I always thought it was going to have really cool phones and stuff.
[President Obama's remarks at a DNC fundraiser, Chicago, April 15, 2011] (Topic)
b. The Oval Office, it's full of really cool phones and stuff that I never would have expected.
(Left-dislocation)

Both (8.51a) and (8.51b) can then be illustrated as Figure 8.8(a), where the reference point relationship is established between a nominal and a clause.[15] This means that the proposition expressed by the clause can be interpreted in R's dominion if the proposition is about R. In (8.51a) and (8.51b), the reference point, *The Oval Office*, carries the aboutness information in the content expressed by the clauses, thereby showing cases of the clause-external topic construction. For the purpose of comparison, let us consider Figure 8.8(b), which illustrates an intrinsic reference point relationship. In this case, the reference point is equated with a clausal subject, and R's dominion is the set of all potential processes, as opposed to propositions. In other words, while T is independent in Figure 8.8(a), it is dependent in Figure 8.8(b).

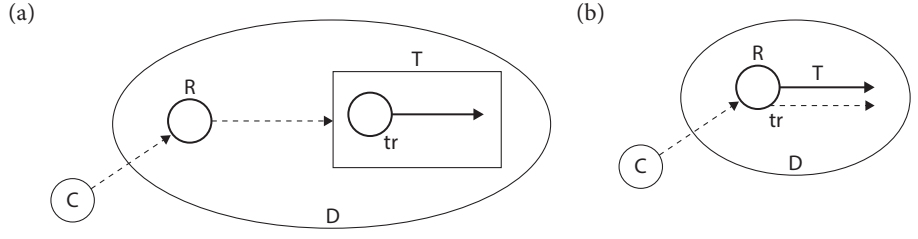


Figure 8.8 Extrinsic vs. intrinsic reference point, redrawn after Langacker (2008: 517)

Though the Korean example in (8.50) shows great similarities to the English examples in (8.51), there is a noticeable difference. In Korean, the topic nominal takes an overt marker, and the morphological pattern needs to be taken into account. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, a topic-marked nominal exhibits the same structure as Figure 8.8(a). As a reference point, the topic-marked nominal, *Kim sensayng-nim-un* 'Kim teacher-HON-TOP' naturally shares properties with the raised nominal in SOR constructions.

Let us now consider an example of DRCs as in (8.52). Here the nominative-marked nominal *neykthai* 'necktie' has a semantic role in both the relative clause *mey-ko iss-nun* 'tie-CONN exist-TOP' and the matrix clause, which is termed a pivot in CG. There is another pivot observed in (8.52): the accusative-marked nominal, *sensayng-nim-ul* 'teacher-HON-ACC', which is modified by the bigger relative clause *mey-ko iss-nun neykthai-ka mecci-n* 'tie-CONN exist-TOP necktie-NOM looking.sharp-ADN'.

15. Figure 8.8 is identical to Figure 2.14 but is reintroduced here with a new number for convenience.

(8.52) ecey mey-ko iss-nun neykthai-ka mecci-n
yesterday tie-CONN exist-TOP necktie-NOM looking.sharp-ADN
sensayng-nim-ul man-ass-ta.
teacher-HON-ACC meet-PST-DECL
'Yesterday, I met a teacher whose tie looked sharp.'

J-M Yoon demonstrates that the DRC also tends to meet the three conditions addressed in (8.27). For the same reason, some scholars, such as Han and Kim (2004), attempt to derive (8.52) from its corresponding MNC as shown in (8.53). I will not discuss the technical details of their analysis, but it is undeniable that the two constructions also share some properties.

(8.53) sensayng-nim-i mey-ko iss-nun neykthai-ka mecci-ta.
teacher-HON-NOM tie-CONN exist-TOP necktie-NOM looking.sharp-DECL
'As for the teacher, his tie looks sharper.'

Careful examination of the DRC reveals that both relative clauses and topic constructions utilize pivots, although there is some difference. Concerning the use of pivot, Langacker (2008: 514ff) states that "a relative clause is part of the nominal expressing R, and it helps identify its referent, whereas a topic is a separate nominal whose reference is established independently." This description accurately captures the nature of (8.52), where both relative clauses contain a pivot to identify the referents being considered. In this sense, a pivot is identical to a clause-internal topic. The inner relative clause of (8.52) is depicted in Figure 8.9, in which N stands for *necktie*.

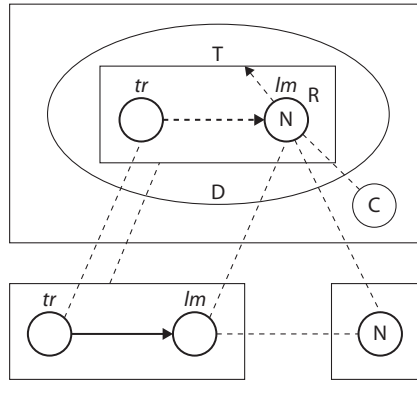


Figure 8.9 Pivot as a reference point in a relative clause

Figure 8.9 describes the relative clause *mey-ko iss-nun neykthai* 'tie-CONN exist-TOP necktie', translated as 'the necktie someone is wearing.' The noticeable portion of this diagram is the reference point role of *necktie* in the upper box. This reference

point is a landmark of the profiled process, and its target is a set of propositions. As a reference point, it naturally exhibits topic-like properties, and expecting shared properties between (double) relative clauses and MNC or SOR is natural. That said, I would like to recapitulate that the shared properties do not mean one construction is derived from the other, or that different constructions are closely related syntactically. As discussed throughout this chapter, the shared properties among these constructions stem from a conceptual-level similarity: reference point.

8.5 Conclusion

Just like many case-related phenomena, SOR is a well-researched topic. The majority of the research, however, has been conducted from a formal linguistics perspective, especially from a generative linguistics viewpoint. The goal of this chapter was to show how this well-examined phenomenon is analyzed within the context of CG, which does not utilize the notion of movement. It turns out that the CG analysis not only yields descriptively and explanatorily successful outcomes but also provides a higher level of generalization, which has been largely ignored in the literature. More specifically, I demonstrated that the interpretive properties of SOR constructions are mere symptoms of the reference point nature of the raised nominal and the higher degree of topicality it exhibits. I pointed out that the attempt (Yoon 2007) that attributes those properties to a certain syntactic position such as MJS is not successful without carefully examining the semantic and conceptual properties of MJS. Due to the lack of this type of investigation, Yoon (2007) mistakenly proposes a tight syntactic connection between SOR and MNC, such as a derivation of SOR from MNC. As I demonstrated, the connection between the two constructions is much more "loose" than many researchers assumed. In my analysis, the source of the similarities between the two construction is identified as reference point. Both constructions utilize reference point whether it be "reference point proper" or through profile/active-zone discrepancy. Other scholars (such as J-M Yoon 2015) attempted to identify the similarities among SOR, MNCs, TCs, and DRCs based on the degree of violation of several island constraints. Though this type of approach ascribes the violations to semantic or discourse properties, the assumption is predominantly syntactic in the sense that the interpretive properties we observed in SOR are the result of the speaker's endeavor to not violate the syntactic constraints or a mechanism to "lighten" the processing burden. I discussed the theoretical and empirical weaknesses of this approach. More importantly, this approach does not provide an explanation of many of the interpretive properties we discussed throughout this chapter, leaving it incomplete and unsatisfactory.

CHAPTER 9

Nominative-nominative stacking

9.1 Introduction

The last construction I deal with in this book is Nominative-Nominative Stacking (NNS) as in example (9.1), where *sensayng-nim* 'teacher-HON' is marked twice with nominative markers: once with the honorific nominative marker *-kkeyse*, and once with the regular nominative marker, *-i*.

(9.1) sensayng-nim-tul-**kkeyse**-man-**i** i selmwunci-ey
teacher-HON-PL-NOM.HON-only-NOM this survey-to
tap-ha-sil-swuissta.
answer-do-HON-be.able.to
'Only teachers can answer this survey.'

This phenomenon poses some challenges to almost all syntactic theories, because the common wisdom concerning case marking is that nominals need to be marked with a structural case once and only once. Researchers note that the two nominative markers in (9.1) behave like structural markers, and that observation led to various types of proposals, whether they be a revision of an existing theory or a different treatment of the two nominative markers.

A more challenging example is shown in (9.2), where the postposition (or delimiter) *-man* 'only' is removed from (9.1). (9.2) is not acceptable to most native speakers of Korean. However, Levin's (2017) analysis treats (9.2) as a (marginally) acceptable example as indicated by the % sign, based on his survey of 22 native speakers of Korean from Seoul or the Gyeonggi-do area. In my dialect, (9.2) is not acceptable, but we need to include (9.2) as a marginally acceptable sentence if Levin's observation turns out to be statistically reliable in the future. Note that he didn't conduct any statistical analysis of his survey, nor were the raw rating values provided in his article.

(9.2) % sensayng-nim-tul-**kkeyse-ka** i selmwunci-ey
teacher-HON-PL-NOM.HON-NOM this survey-to
tap-ha-sil-swuissta.
answer-do-HON-be.able.to
'Teachers can answer this survey.'

That being said, almost all researchers, including Levin (2017), observe that (9.1) is much more natural than (9.2). This issue has not been discussed in Levin's article nor in other researchers' works. In this chapter, I attempt to explain what makes (9.1) more natural than (9.2).

There are a couple of other issues that are not addressed nor fully understood in the literature regarding the construction as in (9.1). The first issue concerns the morpho-syntactic status of *-kkeyse*; is *-kkeyse* really a structural case marker devoid of any kind of semantic content? From the CG perspective, this claim is not tenable, because all linguistic elements are essentially meaningful. The same position applies to the other case maker *-i*, which is often viewed as a "pure" structural case marker without ascribing to any semantic content. From an empirical viewpoint as well, the claim is not fully supported. The example in (9.3a) shows that *-kkeyse* can be used as a "non-structural" postposition marker with the meaning of origin/source. In this case, (9.3a) is almost identical to (9.3b). Since *-kkeyse* is ambiguous between a case marker and a postposition, identifying the property of *-kkeyse* in (9.1) and (9.2) becomes an important task to fully understand the NNS phenomenon.

(9.3) a. ku centhong-un Kim-sensayng-nim-kkeyse sicak-toy-ess-ta.
that tradition-TOP K-teacher-HON-ABL.HON begin-become-PST-DECL
'The tradition started from Professor Kim.'

b. ku centhong-un Kim-sensayng-nim-ulo-pwute
that tradition-TOP K-teacher-HON-from-from
sicak-toy-ess-ta.
begin-become-PST-DECL
'The tradition started from Professor Kim.'

It is not surprising to see different treatments of *-kkeyse* in the literature. While Cho and Sells (1995), Sells (1995a), and Levin (2017) identify *-kkeyse* as a structural case marker, Yoon (2005) argues that *-kkeyse* is a postposition. The assumption these researchers make is that there must be a sharp demarcation between a case marker and a postposition, which I consider erroneous. As will become clear later, I demonstrate that *-kkeyse* exhibits both postpositional and case-marker properties. As for the glosses in the examples thus far, I used the gloss ABL.HON for the *-kkeyse* in (9.3a) and NOM.HON for the *-kkeyse* in (9.1) and (9.2).[1] Note, however, that I am

1. In order to demonstrate that *-kkeyse* has more restrictions than *-i* and *-ka*, Yoon states that *-kkeyse* marked nominals are not allowed or are only marginally acceptable in a non-subject position like (9.3a) with the example in (i).

(i)?? phyenci-ka apenim-kkeyse o-ass-ta.
letter-NOM father.HON-ABL.HON come-PST-DECL
'The letter came from (my) father.'

not claiming that there are two distinct versions of *-kkeyse*; this is just a notational convenience. In Section 9.5, I identify the morpho-syntactic property of *-kkeyse* as a marker that exhibits both structural case and postposition-like properties.

Second, let us compare (9.4) with (9.5), where the regular nominative case maker *-i* is followed by the topic marker *-nun*. Unlike the *-kkeyse* example in (9.4), (9.5) is not felicitous. If *-kkeyse* is a full structural case maker as some of the researchers argue, then why is (9.5) not acceptable, while (9.4) is?

(9.4) sensayng-nim-tul-**kkeyse-nun** i selmwunci-ey tap-ha-sil-swuissta.
teacher-HON-PL-NOM.HON-TOP this survey-to answer-do-HON-be.able.to
'Teachers can answer this survey.'

(9.5) *haksayng-tul-i-nun yelsimhi kongpwu-ha-n-ta.
student-PL-NOM-TOP hard study-do-PRS-DECL
'Students study hard.'

Of course, there is a solution for those researchers. Scholars who view *-kkeyse* as a structural case marker tend to adopt templatic morphology. They argue that while *-kkeyse* is a structural case marker syntactically, it belongs to the postposition morphological slot. The topic marker *-nun* and the case marker *-i*, by contrast, belong to the last slot in the template as shown in Table 9.1. Since they are "closing" markers, other affixes cannot be attached when these markers already exist.

Table 9.1 Korean nominal template, Yang (1972), recited from Levin (2017: 482)

N_{root}	Postposition		Conjunctive		X-lim		Z-lim	
	-eykey	DAT	*-(k)wa*	'and'	*-man*	'only'	*-ka*	NOM
	-hanthey	DAT	*-pwuthe*	'from'	*-kkaci*	'even'	*-i*	NOM
	-kkey	H.DAT	*-hako*	conjunctor	*-mace*	'even'	*-(l)ul*	ACC
	-ey	DAT/LOC	*-pota*	comparator	*-cocha*	'even'	*-(n)un*	TOP
	-eyse	LOC	*-(i)na*	disjunctor	*-pakkey*	'only'	*-uy*	GEN
	-(u)lo	DIR	*-chelem*	'like'			*-to*	'also'
	-kkaci	GOAL					*-(i)lato*	'even'
	-kkeyse	H.NOM						

This mechanism works. But I am not sure if templatic morphology really does count as explanation, because it is a mere description of affix ordering. An even more problematic situation arises when we consider *-kkeyse* as an allomorphic

It is true that *-kkeyse* is used in a limited way when compared to *-i* and *-ka*, but the example in (i) may be improved with a more ablative-oriented verb *sicak-toy-ta* 'begin-become-DECL' etc., as in (9.3a).

variation of *-i* (or *-ka*), which is the view adopted by Levin (2017). The general consensus concerning templatic affix order is that "[templatic affix order] is form-governed in the sense that the different slots of a template are not semantically related" (Manova and Aronoff 2010: 113). It also assumes that morphemes that occupy the same slot never co-occur. In Levin's analysis, *-kkeyse* must occupy the same slot as *-i*/*-ka*, and *-kkeyse* should never co-occur with *-ka*, because *-kkeyse* is an allomorphic variation of *-i*/*-ka*. I examine Levin's (2017) template-related predictions more carefully in the next section. The upshot, however, is that Levin's template-based analysis is not only theoretically weak, but also empirically inaccurate. I provide some answers for the issues addressed above, but I don't intend to provide an alternative analysis to the template-based approach regarding affix ordering in this book. I do point out, however, that the affix ordering demonstrated in the template in Table 9.1 is motivated, and my CG-based analysis sheds some light on a cognitive motivation of *-kkeyse*-related affixal ordering.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. In Section 9.2 through Section 9.4, I provide a critical survey of previous research on NNS and/or *-kkeyse*-marked nominals by addressing that the three major approaches pose theoretical and empirical challenges. Section 9.5 discusses the status of *-kkeyse*, which exhibits both structural case and postposition properties. I address that the challenges with the previous approaches often stem from the erroneous assumption that there is a clear demarcation between a structural case marker and a postposition. Section 9.6 provides CG analyses of NNS. The analyses include examples in which the particle *-man* 'only' appears between the two nominative markers *-kkeyse* and *-i*, which substantially increase the acceptability of the NNS. Other related phenomena concerning the particle *-to* 'also' and case dropping are addressed in this section too. Section 9.7 concludes this chapter by providing a summary as well as some implications of my analyses.

9.2 Previous research and criticism: Cho and Sells (1995) and Sells (1995a)

In this section and the following two sections, I provide a survey of the three proposals on NNS: Cho and Sells (1995)/Sells (1995a), Yoon (2005), and Levin (2017). Koopman (2005) deals with a similar issue, but case stacking does not fall within her aim, so I do not include her research in my survey. Cho and Sells (1995) and Sells (1995a) present a similar approach to the issue, so I group them together. The aforementioned researchers have different theoretical persuasions, but they all work under the formal linguistic assumptions. Since very little research has been carried out on this topic from a cognitive or functional linguistics perspective, my

survey does not include proposals from this viewpoint. In providing the survey, I point out theoretical and/or empirical challenges that each proposal faces.

Cho and Sells's (1995) and Sells's (1995a) articles were published more than two decades ago, but in my evaluation, the two articles combined are still one of the finest analyses of NNS and affix ordering in Koran and Japanese. They provide many insightful and accurate observations followed by meticulous analyses of the given data. The goal of their proposal is to provide a lexical (as opposed to syntactic) account of inflectional suffixes in Korean and Japanese. The crucial assumption that Cho and Sells (1995) and Sells (1995a) make is that there are only two types of dependent elements,[2] affix and clitic, and Korean particles are affixes. Since Korean particles are affixes, they are not visible to syntax, and syntactic principles cannot account for the affix ordering phenomenon. Cho and Sells (1995) and Sells (1995a) argue against the head movement analysis of inflectional affixes – the syntactic view. Instead, they propose that the inflectional suffixes are all attached in the lexicon – the lexicalist view. Their evidence is coming from examples like (9.6).

(9.6) Swuni-hanthey-kkaci-nun cwu-ess-ta. (Sells 1995: 285)
S-DAT-even-FOC give-PST-DECL
'At least, I gave it to Swuni.'

Though the dative case on *Swuni* is determined by the verb *cwu-ta* 'give', the delimiting particles *-kkaci* 'even' and *-nun* 'FOC' intervene. If these particles are heads, as if often assumed in the syntactic head movement analysis, the verb, *cwu-ta* 'give', is separated from its argument. As a result, they become transparent for selection, thereby leading to the violation of the idea that selection is local.[3] The same violation is observed in the NNS Examples (9.1) and (9.2).

As for the information flow in inflectional structures, Cho and Sells propose the inheritance pattern in Figure 9.1.

2. That is, they deny the existence of phrasal affixes. This view, called the Lexicalist Hypothesis, is supported by Lapointe (1980), Di Sciullo and Williams (1987), Bresnan and Mchombo (1995), among others. The alternative approach – the syntactic approach – is found in Baker (1988), Pollock (1989), Yoon (2005), and Levin (2017).

3. Sells (1995a: 285) points out that this idea was also violated by some proposals such as Ernst (1992) and Grimshaw (1991) to expand the number of functional projections. Note that this problem is not a real issue for other proposals such as Sportiche (1998) and Kayne (1998), because the affixes are heads at the point in the derivation where selection is locally satisfied before they are merged; they are merged in a later stage.

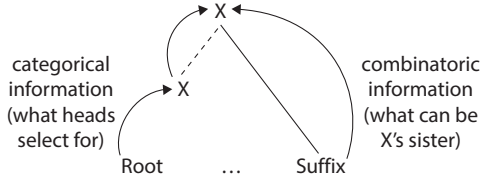


Figure 9.1 Information flow, redrawn after Cho and Sells (1995: 139)

While the initial member determines the category of the whole word, the final member determines the [TYPE], which is an attribute that includes values like [V-SIS] and [N-SIS]. If the [TYPE] is specified with [V-SIS], for instance, it can select an element marked with [V-SIS] at the X'-level. The structure of (9.7) is then illustrated in Figure 9.2.

(9.7) Kim-uy chinkwu-ka wus-ess-ta (Cho and Sells 1995: 135)
K-GEN friend-NOM smile-PST-DECL
'Kim's friend smiled.'

In Figure 9.2, the [N-SIS] value is passed up from the genitive marker *-uy* for the nominal *Kim-uy* 'Kim-GEN'. The value in *Kim-uy* indicates that its sister must be a projection of N. Since its sister, *chinkwu-ka* 'friend-NOM', is a projection of N, the combination of *Kim-uy* with *chinkwu-ka* 'friend-NOM' becomes successful. The [V-SIS] value in *chinkwu-ka* 'friend-NOM' is inherited from the nominative marker *-ka*, and hence the nominal *Kim-uy chinkwu-ka* 'Kim-GEN friend-NOM' can combine with its sister *wus-ess-ta* 'smile-PST-DECL', which is a projection of V.

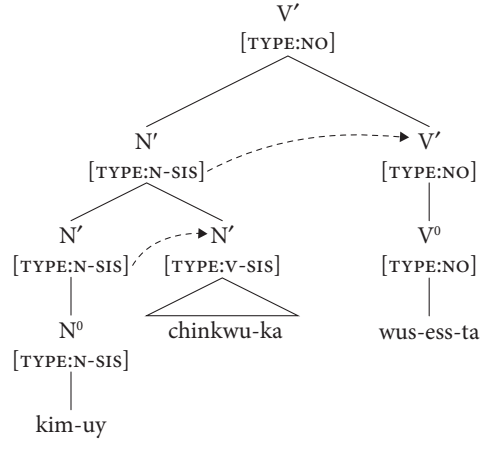


Figure 9.2 Structure for (9.7), redrawn after Cho and Sells (1995: 136)

In addition to the combinatorial attribute, [TYPE], Cho and Sells (1995) utilize a template as illustrated in (9.8). (9.8), which characterizes the nominal morphology,

is an elaboration of the template introduced in Table 9.1. Nroot refers to a nominal root, Post to postposition, and CONJ* are conjunctives that can have more than one element from the slot.

(9.8) a. Nominal: Nroot – Post – CONJ*
b. Xdlim: <{TYPE:V-SIS> – X-LIM – Z-LIM
(if there is an element specified as [TYPE:V-SIS], it may be followed by an X-LIM and a Z-LIM. (Cho and Sells 1995: 138)

Based on these preliminaries, the case-stacked nominal in (9.9) is illustrated in Figure 9.3.

(9.9) sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse-man-i
teacher-PL-HON-HON.NOM-only-NOM
'Only teachers'

In Figure 9.3, the value for [PRED] is passed up from the root, and the values for other attributes, [CASE] and [X-LIM] are inherited from non-root elements. The value for [TYPE] is inherited successfully from the right element, yielding the value [TYPE: V-SIS] for the whole phrase due to the rightmost element's TYPE value.

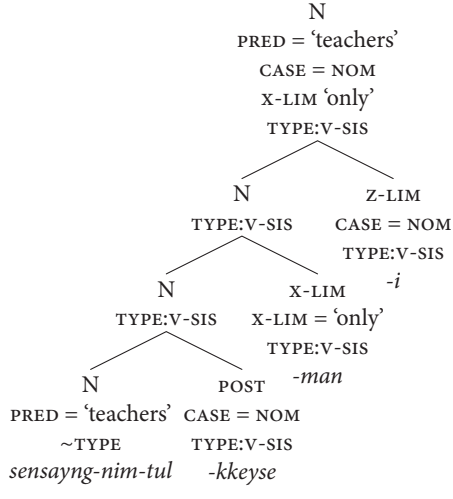


Figure 9.3 Structure for (9.9), redrawn after Cho and Sells (1995: 141)

Attractive as it is, Cho and Sells's proposal faces some challenges. The first challenge is their reliance on morphological template. Yoon (1995: 330) provides detailed criticism of their template-based analysis, stating that:

> "[w]here possible, one should attempt to reduce the template-like ordering restrictions (in derivation or inflection) to better-motivated theoretical devices whether they be categories or phrase structure rules below the level of word (Selkirk 1982), morphological subcategorization, and feature percolation principles (Lieber 1980, 1992)."

I fully agree with Yoon in that Cho and Sells's templatic morphology is highly stipulative. Putting aside the issues with the idea of template, Yoon points out that the Korean nominal affix template is different from a typical morphological template in which the absence of an affix in a certain slot is as significant as its presence. The Korean verbal affixation pattern exhibits this typical property. When the verbal honorific affix, *-usi-*, is present as in (9.10b), the sentence receives an honorific interpretation. The lack of the honorific marker in (9.10a) indicates that sentence (9.10a) is plain speech without honorification. In other words, the zero marking itself is meaningful in (9.10a). The same is true for (9.11). The lack of the zero marking in (9.11a) indicates that the tense is present, while the past tense is overtly marked with *-ess* in (9.11b).

(9.10) a. Chelswu-ka chayk-ul ilk-Ø-ess-ta.
C-NOM book-ACC read-Ø-PST-DECL
'Chelswu read the book.'

b. sensayng-nim-kkeyse chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta.
teacher-HON-HON.NOM book-ACC read-HON-PST-DECL
'The teacher read the book.'

(9.11) a. Yenghuy-ka yeyppu-Ø-ta.
Y-NOM pretty-Ø-DECL
'Yenghuy is pretty.'

b. Yenghuy-ka yeyppu-ess-ta.
Y-NOM pretty-PST-DECL
'Yenghuy was pretty.'

The nominal affix template exhibits a different behavior than that of the verbal affix template. In the nominal template provided in Table 9.1, almost all affixes are optional. Therefore, the lack of an affix does not have any significance; the lack of an affix is literally the lack of the affix. If so, adopting a template for an analysis of nominal affixation becomes even more problematic due to its atypical behavior for a templatic affixation process.

Another odd behavior of the Korean nominal affix template is that the affixes in the nominal template often occupy more than one slot. This characteristic is observed by Yoon (1995) and other scholars who publish in Korean. Their observation is based on examples like (9.12). In (9.12), the plural marker *-tul* 'PL' is

attached to *kongpwu-pakkey* 'study-only'. In the template Table 9.1, *pakkey* 'only' occupies the X-LIM slot. Though not indicated in the table, *-tul* 'PL' belongs to the postposition slot. As for the order of the slots, as we can see in Table 9.1, the postposition slot precedes the X-LIM slot. If so, *-tul* should be included in the slots before and after the X-LIM.

(9.12) nehuy kongpwu-pakkey-tul hal-key eps-ni?
you study-only-PL do-ADV non.exist-Q?
'Don't you guys have anything else to do other than studying?'

This type of example is not just limited to *-tul*. Yoon (2005) also observes examples like (9.13). While *-man* (XLim) precedes *-ulo* (Post) in (9.13a), the order is switched in (9.13b). These examples demonstrate that the order provided in the template Table 9.1 is far from being rigid.[4]

(9.13) a. sokum-man-ulo kimchi-lul hay-la! XLim > Post (Yoon 2005: 255)
salt-only-INST kimchi-ACC do-IMP
'Make kimchi using only salt (and no other ingredients).'
b. Cheli-poko-man ola-ko hay-la! Post > XLim (Yoon 2005: 255)
C-DAT-only come-COMP do-IMP
'Tell only Cheli to come.'

Cho and Sells's approach faces several technical problems too. In their analysis, affixes play a crucial role in combination. Case makers such as *-i*/*-ka* and *-ul*/*-lul* establish a combinatorial relationship between a nominal and a verbal. In a simple example like (9.14), the case marker *-ka* builds a connection between the noun *Chelswu* and the verbal *ca-n-ta* 'sleep-PRS-DECL', as indicated by the value [V-SIS] that *-ka* exhibits. Non-case-marker delimiters such as *-man* 'only' and *-cocha* 'even' function exactly like the case-marker in that they too carry the [V-SIS] value for the [TYPE] attribute; the case marker in (9.14) and the delimiters in (9.15) are required elements for the sentence building process.

(9.14) Chelswu-ka ca-n-ta.
C-NOM sleep-PRS-DECL
'Chelswu sleeps.'

(9.15) a. Chelswu-man o-ass-ta.
C-only come-PST-DECL
'Only Chelswu came.'

4. Yoon provides more examples showing the flexibility of the ordering. For details, please refer to Yoon (2005: 255–256).

b. Chelswu-cocha o-ass-ta.
C-even come-PST-DECL
'Even Chelswu came.'

In Korean, however, neither case markers nor delimiters should be present to make sentences acceptable. Sentence (9.16), which does not contain any nominal affixes, is fully acceptable in a conversational setting. In Sells' system, the combinatorial process of the sentence is expected to fail due to the lack of the "builders", i.e., nominal affixes.

(9.16) Chelswu wenswungi coha-hay.
C monkeys like-ending
'Chelswu likes monkeys.'

One way to dodge the issue is to claim that case or delimiter deletion is a purely surface level post-syntactic operation. Morpho-syntax completes its job first, then the affixes may be deleted at a later stage. The problem with this solution is that it is impossible to reconstruct the pre-deletion structure from (9.16). (9.16) can be interpreted in multiple ways as demonstrated in (9.17), depending on the context as well as intonation patterns. Since many affixes express the meanings of 'even' and 'only' in the X-LIM and Z-LIM, we don't know which affixes really took part in the sentence building process before they underwent deletion.

(9.17) a. Only Chelswu likes monkeys.
b. Even Chelswu likes monkeys.
c. As far as Chelswu is concerned, he likes monkeys.

Another technical problem concerns the combinatorial prediction Cho and Sells (1995) make. In their system, (9.18) is expected to be fully acceptable, since it is not filtered out either by the combinatorial system or by the template.

(9.18) % sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse-ka
teacher-HON-PL-HON.NOM-NOM
'teachers'

Cho and Sells deal with examples like (9.9) only, where *-man* intervenes between *-kkeyse* and *-ka*. It is therefore unclear whether they treat (9.18) as unacceptable or not. If they do, they need to devise an additional mechanism to filter out examples like (9.18), which would make their system weaker. If they don't, they need to explain why (9.18) is much less desirable than (9.9), although it meets all the combinatorial and templatic requirements.

9.3 Previous research and criticism: Yoon (2005)

Yoon (2005) devotes a substantial amount of space to the criticism of Cho and Sells (1995), Sells (1995a), and Sells' later work on the copula construction (Sells 1996, 1997). One of the major goals of Yoon (2005) is to demonstrate that *-kkeyse* is a postposition, which marks inherent case.[5] Since it is a postposition, it can be doubled by the case marker. In this sense, Yoon (2005) treats *-kkeyse* similar to the dative marker *-eykey*. Yoon's technical analysis of *-kkeyse* as a postposition is illustrated in Figure 9.4 for the example in *kyoswu-nim-tul-kkeyse-man-i* 'professor-HON-PL-HON.NOM-only-NOM'. As a postposition, *-kkeyse* projects a PP, and the case marker *-i* projects a KP.

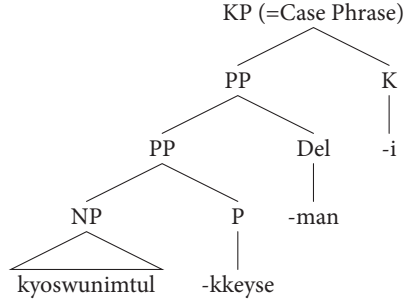


Figure 9.4 *-kkeyse* as a postposition, redrawn after Yoon (2005: 265)

Yoon (2005) also provides a detailed criticism of the template-based analysis, but I will not discuss it here, because it is already addressed in the previous subsection.

Yoon's claim that *-kkeyse* is a postposition is based on a set of examples that show a limited distribution of *-kkeyse* compared to the regular nominative markers *-i* and *-ka*. Yoon provides six tests that show that *-kkeyse* behaves like a postposition as opposed to a structural case marker, as shown in (9.19). Regular nominative markers are permitted in the subject position of the *become* verb; floated quantifiers may be marked regular nominative when there is another nominal with a regular nominative marker; regular nominative markers, of course, may occur in the MNC; the tough nominal (a non-subject constituent of an embedded clause) may be marked regular nominative; subjects can be marked with the ablative marker; structural case markers cannot stack on top of another structural case maker. According to Yoon, *-kkeyse*-marked nominals do not exhibit any of these properties demonstrated by regular nominative marked nominals.

5. The same view is supported by Martin (1992) who categories *-kkeyse* as an honorific ablative marker.

(9.19) a. Subject of the *become* verb
b. Floated quantifier
c. Multiple Nominative
d. Tough construction
e. Ablative subject
f. Case stacking

As will be illustrated, Yoon's argument can be relatively easily falsified with more carefully crafted examples and closer examination. I agree with Yoon that tests (9.19a) and (9.19d) fail with *-kkeyse*-marked nominals. But tests (9.19b) and (9.19c) are not conclusive. As for (9.19e), I show that there is an independent reason Yoon's examples for ablative subjects with *-kkeyse* are not acceptable. (9.19f) concerns the availability of case stacking with *-kkeyse*. Although Yoon illustrates an example of the case staking of *-kkeyse* with *-i*, he does not discuss the type of stacking in which *-kkesye* is directly followed by *-i*, without an intervening particle like *-man*.

9.3.1 Subject of the *become* verb

When *-kkeyse* marks a second nominal – a nominative object – after also marking the first, as in (9.20), the sentence is not acceptable. By contrast, it becomes fully acceptable when it is replaced with the regular nominative marker, *-i*, as in (9.21).

(9.20) * Kim-kyoswu-nim-kkeyse chongcang-nim-kkeyse
K-professor-HON-HON.NOM president-HON-HON.NOM
toy-si-ess-ta. (Yoon 2005: 259)
become-HON-PST-DECL
'Professor Kim became the President (of the university).'

(9.21) Kim-kyoswu-nim-kkeyse chongcang-nim-i
K-professor-HON-HON.NOM president-HON-NOM
toy-si-ess-ta. (Yoon 2005: 258)
become-HON-PST-DECL
'Professor Kim became the President (of the university).'

One possible explanation of the unacceptability of (9.20) is to adopt Dowty's (1991) proto-role properties. While the *toy-* 'become' verb strongly prefers a nominal with Patient-oriented (Proto-Patient) properties such as "undergoes change of stage", "causally affected by another participant", "stationary", etc., the *-kkeyse*-marked nominal often exhibits Proto-Agent properties, such as "volitional involvement in the event", "sentient", "causing an event or change of state in another participant", "movement", etc. Unlike *-kkeyse*, regular nominative markers *-i* and *-ka* are not

sensitive to these properties, and they can occur in either context. If so, *-kkeyse* is semantically less schematic than *-i* and *-ka*, which is in fact a property of postpositions, not structural case markers. Note that the inner clause in (9.20) *chongcang-nim-kkeyse toy-si-ess-ta* 'president-HON-HON.NOM become-HON-PST-DECL' is already not acceptable, while the parallel structure *chongcang-nim-i toy-si-ess-ta* 'president-HON-NOM become-HON-PST-DECL' in (9.21) is. The observation supports the idea that *-kkeyse* is not semantically compatible with the *become* verb, which is a highly schematic verb similar to *be* or *do*. Semantically schematic markers, like *-i* and *-ka*, are fully felicitous with semantically schematic verbs.[6]

9.3.2 Floated quantifiers

Yoon's second test concerns floated quantifiers, which may agree in case with nominative subjects as shown in (9.22a). When the regular nominative marker *-i* is replaced with *-kkeyse*, it becomes unacceptable or marginally acceptable as shown in (9.22b).

(9.22) a. kyoswu-nim-i twu-pwun-i o-si-ess-ta. (Yoon 2005: 259)
professor-HON-i two-HON.CL-NOM come-HON-PST-DECL
'Two professors came.'

b. ??kyoswu-nim-kkeyse twu-pwun-kkeyse
professor-HON-HON.NOM two-HON.CL-HON.NOM
o-si-ess-ta. (Yoon 2005: 259)
come-HON-PST-DECL
'Two professors came.'

Yoon then concludes that *-kkeyse* behaves like a postposition or an inherent case maker such as *-eykey*, because *-eykey* does not show this type of agreement either as in (9.23).

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6. *-kkeyse* is not compatible in the nominative object position with other predicates as well. In (ii) and (iii), only regular nominative marking is permitted for the nominative objects. The reason seems to be due to the *-kkeyse*-marked nominals' semantic restrictions, such as a higher degree of topicality.

(ii) Chelswu-ka sensayng-nim-i/*-kkeyse ani-ta.
C-NOM teacher-HON.NOM/*-HON.NOM NEG-DECL
'Chelsuw is not a teacher.'

(iii) Chelswu-ka sensayng-nim-i/*-kkeyse silh-ta.
C-NOM teacher-HON-NOM/*-HON.NOM dislike-DECL
'Chelswu does not like (his) teacher.'

(9.23) ??haksayng-tul-eykey twu-myeng-eykey ton-i
student-PL-DAT two-CL-DAT money-NOM
manh-ta. (Yoon 2005: 260)
a.lot-DECL
'Two (of the) students are rich.'

I believe Yoon's observation is accurate concerning the examples in (9.21)–(9.23). However, with the addition of contextual information as in (9.24), the acceptability substantially increases. To me, (9.24) seems to be fully felicitous. If this is true, the low level of acceptability of (9.22b) is not because of the morpho-syntactic property of *-kkeyse*, but is due to the usage of *-kkeyse*, which is independent of whether it is a structural case marker or a postposition.

(9.24) ecey kyoswu-nim-tul-kkeyse tases-pwun-tul-kkeyse(-na)
yesterday professor-HON-PL-HON.NOM five-HON.CL-PL-HON.NOM(-even)
ilen kos-kkaci o-si-ess-e.
like.this place-even come-HON-PST-END
'Even five (of the) professors came to a place like this yesterday!'

More importantly, the same type of revision does not improve the acceptability of (9.23), where the non-refutable inherent case marker is used, as shown in (9.25).

(9.25) ??wuli hakkyo-ey haksayng-tul-eykey tases-myeng-eykey(-na) ton-i
our school-LOC student-PL-DAT five-CL-DAT(-even) money-NOM
mahn-a.
a.lot-END
'In our school, even five (of the) students are rich.'

Examples (9.24) and (9.25) indicate that the floated quantifier test is not reliable. As Yoon himself admits, examples like (9.22b) are not completely unacceptable; they are acceptable to some speakers. Therefore, reaching a conclusion based on these types of examples would be hard to justify.

9.3.3 MNCs

Yoon's third test states that *-kkeyse* is marginal when it occurs on more than one nominal in MNCs. While (9.27) is fully acceptable, (9.26), where both nominals are marked with *-kkeyse*, is somewhat awkward.

(9.26) ??Kim-sensayng-nim-kkeyse twulccay atu-nim-kkeyse
K-professor-HON-HON.NOM second son-HON-HON.NOM
chencay-i-si-ta. (Yoon 2005: 260)
genius-COP-HON-DECL
'Professor Kim's second son is a genius.'

(9.27) Kim-sensayng-nim-i twulccay atu-nim-kkeyse
K-professor-HON-NOM second son-HON-HON.NOM
chencay-i-si-ta. (Yoon 2005: 260)
genius-COP-HON-DECL
'Professor Kim's second son is a genius.'

The MNC test faces a similar challenge to the floated quantifier test; the examples used here are not unacceptable; rather, they reflect the speaker's preference. In addition, as Yoon admits, some examples like (9.28) are awkward, although *-kkeyse* occurs only once.

(9.28) ?Kim-sensayng-nim-kkeyse twulccay atu-nim-i
K-professor-HON-NOM second son-HON-HON.NOM
chencay-i-si-ta. (Yoon 2005: 260)
genius-COP-HON-DECL
'Professor Kim's second son is a genius.'

If this is the case, once again, the test does not provide a conclusive piece of evidence for the postpositional status of *-kkeyse*.

9.3.4 Tough construction

Let us consider an example of the Tough Construction in (9.30), which is derived from (9.29). The accusative-marked nominal *Kim-kyoswunim* 'K-professor' in the underived structure (9.29) is marked with nominative in (9.30). When *-i* is replaced with *-kkeyse*, it becomes unacceptable as in (9.31).

(9.29) hakpwusayng-eykey-nun [PRO Kim-kyoswu-nim-ul manna-ki]-ka
undergraduates-DAT-TOP K-professor-HON-ACC meet-NMLZ-NOM
swip-ci anh-ta. (Yoon 2005: 260)
easy-COMP NEG-DECL
'It is not easy for undergraduates to meet Professor Kim.'

(9.30) Kim-kyoswu-nim-i_i (hakpwusayng-eykey-nun) [PRO e_i manna-ki]-ka
K-professor-HON-NOM undergraduates-DAT-TOP meet-NMLZ-NOM
swip-ci anh-ta. (Yoon 2005: 261)
easy-COMP NEG-DECL
'Professor Kim is not easy for undergraduates to meet.'

(9.31) *?Kim-kyoswu-nim-kkeyse$_i$ (hakpwusayng-eykey-nun) [PRO e_i
K-professor-HON-HON.NOM undergraduates-DAT-TOP
manna-ki]-ka swip-ci anh-ta. (Yoon 2005: 261)
meet-NMLZ-NOM easy-COMP NEG-DECL
'Intended: 'Professor Kim is not easy for undergraduates to meet.'

I agree with Yoon's judgment regarding these examples; *-kkeyse* indeed behaves differently from the regular nominative markers, *-i* and *-ka*, concerning the Tough Construction.

9.3.5 Ablative subject construction

The Ablative Subject Construction refers to a construction in which the case of the subject can alternate between *-i*/*-ka* and *-eyse*. (9.32) and (9.33) show the alternation pattern without changing the meaning as indicated by the translation. In these examples, I used the gloss 'side' for *ccok*, different from Yoon's PART. I also provided a more accurate translation 'My side (people representing me) made the offer.', different from Yoon's 'I made an offer (first)'.

(9.32) nay-ccok-eyse ceyuy-lul mence hay-ss-ta. (Yoon 2005: 261)
I-side-ABL offer-ACC first do-PST-DECL
'My side (people representing me) made the offer first.'

(9.33) nay-ccok-i ceyuy-lul mence hay-ss-ta. (Yoon 2005: 261)
I-side-NOM offer-ACC first do-PST-DECL
'My side (people representing me) made the offer first.'

The same does not hold for *-kkeyse*. While *apenim-ccok-i* 'father.HON-side-NOM' is fully acceptable, *-i* cannot alternate with *-kkeyse* as shown in (9.34) and (9.35). In this sense, Yoon's observation is correct.

(9.34) apenim-ccok-i mence ceyuy-lul ha-si-ess-ta. (Yoon 2005: 261)
father.HON-side-NOM first offer-ACC do-HON-PST-DECL
'The father's side (people representing (someone's father)) made the offer first.'

(9.35) *apenim-ccok-kkeyse mence ceyuy-lul ha-si-ess-ta. (Yoon 2005: 261)
father.HON-side-NOM first offer-ACC do-HON-PST-DECL
'The father side (people representing (someone's) father) made the offer first.'

However, the unacceptability of (9.35) has nothing to do with the Ablative Subject Construction. The nominal *apenim-ccok-kkeyse* is already unacceptable without relation to the said construction. This is because *-kkeyse* requires that its morphological host be an animate nominal. The host, *apenim-ccok* 'father.HON-side', is inanimate, and hence the result is not acceptable. One immediate question we can raise here then is the availability of the metonymic reading of the subject nominals in these examples. As the translations of the examples indicate, the subject nominals are construed as a group of people. In (9.32) and (9.33), *nay-ccok* 'I-side'

does not mean the literal 'my side'; it refers to 'people representing me'. Similarly, in (9.34) and (9.35), *apenim-ccok* 'father.HON-side' refers to people representing someone's father; therefore, *apenim-ccok* in (9.35) acquires an animate meaning through metonymy. Then, why is (9.35) still unacceptable? It is because *-kkeyse* has another restriction; *-kkeyse* requires a honorified nominal as its host as well. Examples in (9.36), where *-kkeyse* is attached to non-honorific nominals, are all infelicitous, unless they are used sarcastically or humorously.

(9.36) a. *salam-tul-kkeyse
person-PL-HON.NOM
'People'

b. *Chelswu-kkeyse
C-HON.NOM
'Chelswu'

c. *wuli-kkyese
we-HON.NOM
'We'

In (9.35), after undergoing a metonymic shift, *apenim-ccok* 'father.HON-side' is construed as a group of people, which is not associated with any type of honorification. Therefore, (9.35) becomes infelicitous, just like the examples in (9.36).

It is clear that the examples discussed thus far demonstrate several restrictions on *-kkeyse* that are not shared with *-i* and *-ka*. With these examples and others, we can conclude that *-kkeyse* has a more concrete semantic content than *-i* and *-ka*.

9.3.6 Case stacking

Yoon (2005) argues that structural case markers cannot stack on top of another structural marker. (9.37) is not acceptable because the structural case marker *-ka* is stacked on *chayk-i*, another nominal that is marked with a structural case marker.

(9.37) *ku chayk-i-ka ilk-ki-ka swip-ta.
that book-NOM-NOM read-NMLZ-NOM easy-DECL
'That book is easy to read.'

Using a similar example to Sells' (1995a), Yoon demonstrates that the same does not hold for *-kkeyse* as in (9.38). In (9.38), *-i* is stacked on the *-kkeyse*-marked nominal. To Yoon, (9.38) is a piece of evidence for the postpositional status of *-kkeyse*.

(9.38) kyoswunim-kkeyse-man-i ilen il-ul ha-si-lswu-iss-ta.
professor-HON.NOM-only-NOM this.kind work-ACC do-HON-MODL-be-DECL
'Only professors can do this kind of work.'

However, as I mentioned earlier, when the two case markers are adjacent as in (9.39), the result is not acceptable or marginally acceptable to some people like Levin (2017).

(9.39) */??kyoswunim-kkeyse-ka ilen il-ul ha-si-lswu-iss-ta.
professor-HON.NOM-NOM this.kind work-ACC do-HON-MOD-be-DECL
'Intended: Only professors can do this kind of work.'

(9.39) contrasts with the examples in (9.40), where the structural case markers occur on top of the inherent case marker *-hanthey*. Without respect to the existence of the delimiter *-man*, both (9.40a) and (9.40b) are fully acceptable. This means that the existence of *-man* becomes crucial in (9.38); *-kkeyse* can be more naturally stacked by *-i*, when *-man* intervenes.

(9.40) a. Chelswu-hanthey-man-i ku il-i himtul-ta
C-DAT-only-NOM that work-NOM difficult-DECL
'Only to Chelswu, that work is difficult.'
b. Chelswu-hanthey-ka ku il-i himtul-ta
C-DAT-NOM that work-NOM difficult-DECL
'To Chelswu, that work is difficult.'

This also means that examples like (9.38) alone cannot be used as direct evidence for postpositional status of *-kkeyse* without careful examination of the function of *-man*. Since the existence of *-man* does not make any difference in the acceptability with other postpositions, Yoon's stacking test needs to be reconsidered.

9.3.7 Not enough evidence for *-kkeyse* as a structural case marker

Yoon discusses some of the structural case marker properties *-kkeyse* exhibits by introducing two tests oft-used to check the properties of structural case markers: [1] a variety of theta roles *-kkeyse*-marked nominals exhibit; [2] the possibility of the *-kkeyse* marking of the subject in Passive and SSR (Subject-to-Subject Raising). These two tests appear to demonstrate that *-kkeyse* is a structural case marker. For the first property, Yoon states that "the fact that a *-kkeyse*-marked subject can have a number of distinct theta roles does not argue against it being a marker of inherent case (a postposition)" (Yoon 2005: 263). Yoon's statement is similar to the fact that being a structurally case-marked nominal does not entail that it must have one and only one theta role. This property, therefore, does not necessarily support the view that *-kkeyse* is a structural case marker.

The second property is more relevant to us. In (9.41a), the subject of the passive construction, *Kim-kyoswu-nim* 'K-professor-HON' is marked with *-kkeyse*. This seems to be a strong indication that *-kkeyse* is indeed a structural case marker,

because inherent case markers are retained under A-movement but the original case marking is not preserved in (9.41a). *Kim-kyoswu-nim* 'K-professor-HON' is a derived subject and *-kkeyse* is attached to the derived subject, which is a property of a structural case marker. (41b) illustrates an example of an SSR construction. Similar to the passive example, *-kkeyse* is attached to the derived subject here.

(9.41) a. Kim-kyoswu-nim$_i$-kkeyse e$_i$
K-professor-HON-HON.NOM
cap-hi-si-ess-ta. (Yoon 2005: 262)
catch-PASS-HON-PST-DECL
'Professor Kim was captured.'

b. Kim-kyoswu-nim-kkeyse [e$_i$ cichi-si-nkes] kath-a
K-professor-HON-HON.NOM tired-HON-COMP seem-COMP
poi-(?si)-n-ta.
appear-(?HON)-PRS-DECL
'Professor Kim appears to be tired.'

In support of his view, Yoon further states that there is no strong evidence that the subjects in (9.41) are derived subjects because verb-object idioms do not retain their idiomatic reading under passive as in (9.42), which is a classical diagnosis for a derived subject. While (9.42a) permits both literal and idiomatic readings, the passivized sentence (9.42b) allows only the literal meaning. So, Yoon doubts that the subject of the passive sentence is a derived subject in Korean. Since the *-kkeyse*-marked nominals in (9.41) are not derived subjects, they do not say anything about the structural case marker status of *-kkeyse*.

(9.42) a. swuhak-sihem-eyse Cheli-ka cwuk-ul
math-exam-LOC C-NOM rice.porridge-ACC
sswu-ess-ta. (Yoon 2005: 263)
make-PST-DECL
'Literal: During the math exam, Cheli made rice porridge.'
'Idiomatic: Cheli messed up his math exam.'

b. swuhak-sihem-eyse cwuk-i (Cheli-eyuyhay)
math-exam-LOC rice.porridge-NOM C-by
sswu-eci-ess-ta. (Yoon 2005: 263)
make-PASS-PST-DECL
'During the math exam, rice porridge was made by Cheli.'

Yoon's idiom-based statement, however, is not convincing. As already discussed in Chapter 8, Korean idiom chunks often include case/topic/delimiter markers. For example, the accusative marker *-ul* is frequently used in the idiom *cwuk-ul sswu-ta* 'rice.porridge-ACC make-DECL', replacing *-ul* with other markers makes

the expression noticeably less natural. (9.43), although both *-man* and *-to* are interpreted like an accusative-marker, is marginally acceptable. The unacceptability or degraded acceptability of (9.43) has nothing to do with the subject status of a passive sentence; it is the level of entrenchment of the idiomatic expression including the accusative case marker. If so, *-kkeyse* indeed exhibits a certain degree of structural case marker properties.

(9.43) ?motun-sihem-eyse Cheli-ka cwuk-man/-to sswu-ess-ta.
all-exam-LOC C-NOM rice.porridge-only/-even make-PST-DECL
'Intended: Cheli meses up all exams.'

Yoon's position regarding the SSR construction is that *-kkeyse* could have been marked in the unraised position in (9.41b). As argued in Yoon (1996), and Sigurðsson (1989), and Chapter 8 of this book, case does not seem to be the motivation for raising in Korean. If so, we cannot verify that *-kkeyse* is marked in the raised position; the *-kkeyse*-marked nominal in the embedded clause could have undergone SSR. I believe Yoon's position is well-taken here; SSR does not provide rigid proof for *-kkeyse* as a structural case marker. In Section 9.5.2, I revisit these tests to demonstrate that they need to be used with great caution.

9.4 Previous research and criticism: Levin (2017)

At the time this book is being written, Levin (2017) is the most recent work on Korean NNS. The major aim of his research is to compare two competing theories: the Agree model (Chomsky 2000, 2001) and the Dependent Case model (Yip, Maling, and Jackendoff 1987; Marantz 1991; Bittner and Hale 1996). Levin argues that the Korean NNS phenomenon supports the Dependent Case model when we modify it. To explain a now well-known example like (9.44), Levin proposes a set of case assignment rules shown in (9.45). Following Levin, I used the % symbol to refer to the marginal acceptability of (9.44).

(9.44) %sensayng-nim-kkeyse-ka manhi il-ul
teacher-HON-HON.NOM-NOM a.lot work-ACC
ha-si-pnita. (Levin 2017: 457)
do-HON-DECL
'The teacher does a lot of work.'

The rules in (9.45) are assumed to be ordered. All DPs in a spell-out domain are evaluated for (9.45a), (9.45b), and (9.45c) in that order. The rules also apply upon phasal spell-out to PF à la Baker (2015).

(9.45) Korean case assignment rules (Levin 2017: 453)
- a. If a DP is (c-)selected by a functional head (F_0) which specifies idiosyncratic case morphology, assign that morphology to the DP.
- b. If there are two distinct DPs in the same phrase such that DP_1 (asymmetrically) c-commands DP_2, assign accusative morphology to DP_2 if and only if DP_1 is caseless.
- c. If a DP does not receive lexical or dependent case, it is caseless (realized as nominative case).[7]

In addition to these rules, Levin modifies the Dependent Case model by allowing a nominal to be eligible for case marking more than once as in (9.46).

(9.46) Case-stacking in a Dependent Case model:
Evaluate a nominal for case in every phase it occupies.

Based on the rules and the revision, (9.44) is accounted for. The nominal *il* 'work' is marked accusative by (9.45b) in the *v*P phase. The nominal *sensayng-nim* 'teacher-HON' originally occupies a position within the *v*P phase. In this position, however, *sensayng-nim* is caseless, because it cannot receive either lexical (9.45a) or dependent case (9.45b) assignment. By (9.45c), then, it is realized as nominative upon *v*P spell-out. Now, the *-kkeyse*-marked nominal *sensayngnim-kkesey* 'teacher-HON.NOM' must enter the CP phase. In this phase, there is only one element remaining, the *-kkeyse*-marked nominal, and it is again realized with nominative by (9.45c). Levin's analysis is straightforwardly illustrated in Figure 9.5, which shows that the *-kkeyse*-marked nominal undergoes movement into a higher phase, thereby evaluating both copies of the nominal in different phases.

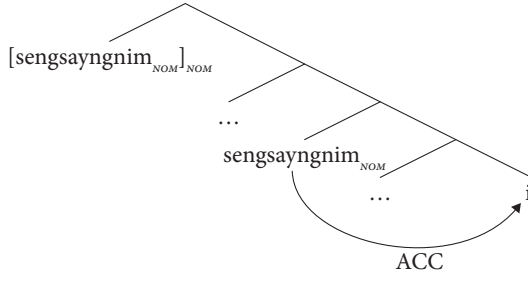

Figure 9.5 The derivation of NOM-NOM stacking, redrawn after Levin (2017: 457)

Another major claim of Levin (2017) is to demonstrate that *-kkeyse* is a structural case marker. More specifically, Levin claims that *-kkeyse* is an allomorphic variant of the regular nominative markers *-i* and *-ka*. The only difference between

7. This rule originates in Preminger (2011, 2014) and Kornfilt and Preminger (2015).

-kkeyse and *-i*/*-ka* is their realization context. While *-kkeyse*'s realization is limited to [+ honorific] nominal, *-i* and *-ka* are not sensitive to their host nominal's honorific property.

9.4.1 On overgeneration

In Levin's revised Dependent Case model, all caseless nominals are expected to be marked with nominative twice: one upon vP spell-out, the other in the CP phase. Therefore, Levin's system generates the three unacceptable forms[8] as in (9.47) in addition to the acceptable forms *sensayng-nim-kkeyse* 'teacher-HON-HON.NOM' and *sensayng-nim-i* 'teacher-HON-NOM'.

(9.47) a. % sensayng-nim-kkeyse-ka
teacher-HON-HON.NOM-NOM
'teacher'

b. * sensayng-nim-i-ka
teacher-HON-NOM-NOM
'teacher'

c. * sensayng-nim-i-kkeyse
teacher-HON-NOM-HON.NOM
'teacher'

Levin then utilizes the notion of syntactic haplology following Neeleman and Van de Koot (2006). When haplology applies as a syntactic filter, the stacked nominatives are filtered out in the syntax – after all, it is called "syntactic" haplology by Levin (2017). When haplology does not apply, all three forms in (9.47) pass the syntactic operation with successful double nominative markings. After syntax, the morphological template as shown in Table 9.1 filters out (9.47b) and (9.47c). Put differently, the heavy lifting is performed by the template, not the syntax.

One interesting fact of Levin's analysis concerning examples in (9.47) is that his system is not necessarily superior to other models, such as the Agree model. Most models do not allow double nominative markings, and they do not need the filtering process. Actually, the two models (Agree vs. Dependent Case) are equally problematic in capturing double nominative markings. While the Agree model does not generate any form of the stacking, the Revised Dependent Case model generates all possible forms. The former is an example of under-generation, while the latter is an example of over-generation. Arguing that over-generation is far superior to under-generation is not a sustainable tactic. Unfortunately, however, that is what Levin is strongly implying throughout his article.

8. Once again, I gave the % mark following Levin, although (9.47a)'s acceptability is questionable.

In his template-based analysis, he puts *-kkeyse* in the postposition slot, although he clearly argues that "*-kkeyse* is an allormorphic variant of the canonical case marker *-i*/*-ka*, whose realization is limited to the [+ honorific] nominals" (Levin 2017: 483). In a traditional template-based analysis, allomorphic variations are assumed to occupy the same slot, because they are different realizations of the same form. Unfortunately, in his argument and analysis, I don't see reasonable justification for categorizing *-kkeyse* in the postposition slot, while *-i* and *-ka* occupy the ZLim slot. If he is treating *-kkeyse* as a postposition morphologically, but a structural case marker syntactically, his analysis would turn out to be similar to Cho and Sells (1995) and Sells (1995a). However, since he is treating *-kkeyse* as an allomorphic variation of *-i*/*-ka*, that type of treatment would not be tenable. Even more disappointing is the lack of discussion on how and when (at what level of derivation) haplology applies and when the morphological template is accessed. To make his argument more rigorous, this issue should have been clearly addressed.

Levin attempts to account for the improved acceptability of (9.9), where *-man* intervenes between *-keysse* and *-i*. The example is reintroduced as (9.48) below.

(9.48) sensayng-nim-kkeyse-man-i
teacher-HON-HON.NOM-only-NOM
'Only teachers'

In his analysis, the appearance of *-man* fully blocks the possibility of syntactic haplology, making (9.48) much more natural than the one without *-man*, where two case markers appear adjacently. His attempt, however, is not successful. The nominals in (9.49) are all blocking syntactic haplology, and they fully conform to the ordering provided in the template in Table 9.1. Nonetheless, none of the nominals[9] are acceptable in (9.49).

(9.49) * sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse-kkaci-ka
teacher-HON-PL-HON.NOM-even-NOM
'Intended: even teachers'
* sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse-mace-ka
teacher-HON-PL-HON.NOM-even-NOM
'Intended: even teachers'
* sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse-cocha-ka
teacher-HON-PL-HON.NOM-even-NOM
'Intended: even teachers'

9. I included the plural marker *-tul* in the examples in an attempt to make them more natural. In general, when the plural marker is included, the stacking seems to sound somewhat better (at least to me). Note that the examples without *-tul* are equally unacceptable.

* sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse-pakkey-ka
teacher-HON-PL-HON.NOM-only-NOM
'Intended: only teachers'

Another challenge for Levin is a simple *-kkeyse*-marked nominal in (9.50). Since Levin's system allows a nominal to be evaluated for case in every phase, the nominal in (9.50) cannot be directly generated. This is because *sensayng-nim* 'teacher-HON' needs to be checked for case twice.

(9.50) sensayng-nim-kkeyse
teacher-HON-HON.NOM
'teacher'

What Levin's system does is to generate a double-nominative-marked nominal *sensayng-nim-kkeyse-ka* 'teacher-HON-HON.NOM-NOM' followed by the deletion of the regular case maker *-ka*. The process then becomes superfluous without further robust justification. In addition, which case marker undergoes deletion through syntactic haplology remains unclear. Since the two case markers are (almost) identical in their distribution as well as their functions except for honorification in Levin's analysis, the choice becomes fully arbitrary.

9.4.2 *-kkeyse* as a structural case marker

In arguing that *-kkeyse* is a true structural case marker, Levin uses very similar examples to those of Yoon's (2005) often with a contradictory judgement of the data. This different judgment of the data is somewhat expected, because some speakers resist case stacking and its related phenomena. These types of examples are not easily found in corpora either. However, completely ignoring the previous researchers' intuition and judgment does not seem to be an acceptable practice.

Let us discuss Levin's observations and arguments in detail. Levin uses several criteria to argue for *-kkeyse* as a structural case marker as described in (9.51). All criteria except for (9.51e) were used by Yoon to support his position: *-kkeyse* as a postposition.

(9.51) a. Passive and SSR constructions
b. Nominative object
c. Multiple Nominative Construction
d. Floated quantifiers
e. Subject agreement and Plural copying
f. Case stacking

As I discussed in Section 9.3, (9.51b), which I catalogued as "subject of the *become* verb" in (9.19), supports Yoon's position. But Levin excludes Yoon's examples

and does not explain why examples like (9.20) are not acceptable. He (Levin 2017: 485ff) states that "I leave explanation of these facts for future research." The other criterion I identified as one that supports Yoon's view is the Tough Construction. But Levin does not discuss this criterion. In other words, the two criteria that I identified as evidence for *-kkeyse*'s postpositional status are not considered in Levin's discussion. Concerning (9.51c) and (9.51d), I also identified that these criteria seem to be tied with the speaker's preference, which is shared with Levin's sentiment. Levin uses examples like (9.48) to support his view of *-kkeyse* as a structural case marker. But I already pointed out the problems with his argument in Section 9.4.1. (9.51e) is based on Kim's (2013) argument against the PP analysis of Korean experiencer subjects. Kim argues that experiencer subjects are DPs introduced in Spec-AppIP following Pylkkänen (2008). According to Kim, unambiguous PPs can control neither subject agreement morphology nor plural copy as in (9.52).

(9.52) a. *sensayng-nim-hanthey chayk-i tochakha-si-ess-e.
teacher-HON-DAT book-NOM arrive-HON-PST-END (Levin 2017: 487)
'Intended: The book arrived to the teacher.'

b. *ai-tul-eykey mwul-tul-i tochakhay-ss-e. (Levin 2017: 488)
child-PL-DAT water-PL-NOM arrive-PST-End
'Intended: To the children, water arrived.'

By contrast, dative-marked nominals in (9.53a) and (9.53b) can control honorification and plural copying, respectively. Since these are properties of subjects, Levin (following Kim) concludes that the dative-marked nominals are DPs.

(9.53) a. sensayng-nim-hanthey ton-i manh-usi-ta.
teacher-HON-DAT money-NOM a.lot-HON-DECL
'The teacher has lots of money.'

b. ku ai-tul-hanthey mwul-tul-i sil-ess-e.
that child-PL-DAT water-PL-NOM hate-PST-END
'Those children hate water.'

Levin then extends the test to *-kkeyse*-marked nominals. Just like the *-hanthey* examples, the *-kkeyse*-marked nominals control honorific agreement as well as plural copying as shown in (9.54a) and (9.54b), respectively.

(9.54) a. apenim-kkeyse mence ka *(-si)-ess-ta. (Levin 2017: 488)
father.HON-HON.NOM first leave (-HON)-PST-DECL
'(My) father left first.'

b. kyoswu-nim-tul-kkeyse ppali-tul
professor-HON-PL-HON.NOM quickly-PL
ka-si-ess-ta. (Levin 2017: 488)
leave-HON-PST-DECL
'The professors left quickly.'

While I believe (9.54b) is a reasonable piece of evidence to support the subject status of *kyoswu-nim-tul* 'professor-HON-PL', (9.54a) is not conclusive. Note that the regular non-honorific nominative-marked nominal, *apenim-i* 'father-HON.NOM' also triggers the honorific agreement in (9.55). Therefore, we do not have strong evidence that *-kkeyse* triggered the agreement in (9.54a). Just like (9.55), the lexical property of *apenim* might have triggered the agreement.

(9.55) apenim-i mence ka *(-si)-ess-ta.
father.HON-NOM first leave (-HON)-PST-DECL
'(My) father left first.'

Let us consider an example without the explicit honorific marker *-nim* 'HON'. (9.56) is perfectly acceptable without *-kkeyse* or *-nim*. That is because the name *Yeyswu* itself has the honorific property. This means the *-si-* honorific agreement does not presuppose *-kkeyse*, different from what Levin (2017) assumes.

(9.56) selo salangha-lako, Yeyswu-ka malssum ha-si-ess-ci.
each.other love-QUOT Jesus-NOM word.HON do-HON-PST-END
'Jesus said "love each other".'

Levin further argues that "the distribution of *-i*/*-ka* and *-kkeyse* is (often) identical" (Levin 2017: 483). This is a disappointing statement, because near-identical distribution is not identical distribution. As I demonstrated thus far, there are some instances where we cannot freely alternate *-i*/*-ka* with *-kkeyse*. These few instances of non-overlapping distributions may be the key to the function of *-kkeyse*, rather than the many instances where the two overlap in distribution. Treating *-kkeyse* identical to *-i*/*-ka*, without these considerations, would be unquestionably an overgeneralization.

9.4.3 Additional comments on the revised dependent case model

So far, I have discussed technical and empirical issues Levin's analysis raises. In addition to these issues, his approach poses some conceptual challenges too. Levin compares two competing models: the Agree model and the Dependent Case model. Using the Korean NNS examples, he concludes that the Revised Dependent Case model is superior to the Agree model, because the latter cannot

capture the NNS phenomenon. However, this is an unfair judgement, because the Dependent Case model, as he admits, cannot capture the phenomenon either, without modification. In order to make his argument convincing, he should have given the same level of revision opportunity to the Agree model, which I believe is a completely manageable task. For example, as James H. Yoon (personal communication) states, we can make the revision stated in (9.45) in the Agree model. In this revision, when the subject moves out of *v*P to the next phase, it becomes available for case marking again, thereby yielding the desired case stacking. In this type of revised Agree model, the nominal counts as caseless in a new phase, and should be available for case valuation again – a case of "multiple Agree". The modified Agree model also makes a central prediction of Levin's Dependent Case model – that the case stacking correlates with movement. This is because, although the subject is accessible from T in its base position, unless it moves out of *v*P, it will not lose its case. For this reason, I believe Levin's evaluation of the two competing models is incomplete at best.

9.5 On the morpho-syntactic status of *-kkeyse*

Though the detailed approaches are drastically different, the three representative examples of research discussed above have one thing in common: all of the researchers assume that the demarcation between lexical (or inherent) case and structural case is non-negotiable. Woolford's (2006) survey of the case system also addresses that structural and nonstructural cases are different in their behavior and manner of licensing, and she assumes that the distinction between the two is rigid. She further categorizes nonstructural case into lexical and inherent cases, demonstrating that these two cases show complementary distribution; that is, these two cases are sharply distinguishable. In this section, I provide a brief discussion of Icelandic case based on Barðal (2011) to illustrate that this dichotomy is not tenable in Icelandic. I then show that the criteria often used to identify structural or lexical case are not cut and dry, using Icelandic cited from Barðal (2011) and Korean.

9.5.1 Icelandic structural/lexical case

Although the attempt to distinguish structural case from lexical case is observed among traditional linguists such as Kuryłowicz (1964), the sharp opposition between lexical and structural case emerged more prominently with the generative linguistics tradition. Chomsky (1981) makes a clear distinction between structural and lexical (inherent) case in the sense that the latter is assigned based on a specific

thematic role, while the former is assigned based on the position. Zaenen, Maling, and Thráinsson (1985) further develop this notion into three categories of cases: functional, lexical/idiosyncratic, and semantic. Their functional case is identical to structural case, and semantic case refers to adverbial and instrumental cases. Yip, Maling, and Jackendoff (1987) essentially provide the same type of categorization as Zaenen, Maling, and Thráinsson (1985), although in Yip, Maling, and Jackendoff's classification, thematic and idiosyncratic case are grouped together as lexical case. As briefly mentioned above, Woolford (2006) provides a similar classification based on structural vs. non-structural case, where non-structural case is further divided into lexical and inherent case. Though the details are different, the researchers' classification of case can be summarized as in (9.57), which is from Barðal (2011: 623).

(9.57) a. Structural case is assigned on the basis of the structure or the position in the sentence.
b. Lexical case is word-bound, i.e., tied to specific lexical items.

Barðal points out problems with this polar opposition based on Icelandic dative marking. In Icelandic, dative on subjects has been treated as a lexical case because it is assigned based on a thematic role: experiencer or beneficiary. However, dative case can be thematically assigned based on other types of thematic roles such as theme and patient. More importantly, nominative case is also assigned on the basis of the thematic roles: experiencer, beneficiary, patient, or theme. The only difference between nominative and dative in Icelandic turns out to be agentivity; only nominatives are assigned to agents.

The same type of phenomenon is not found in Korean. But Barðal's discussion on Icelandic case gives us an opportunity to rethink the boundary between structural and lexical case. Barðal also provides three predictions concerning the behaviors of structural and lexical case, partially based on Pinker (1999).

(9.58) a. Only structural case and not lexical case should be productive when new verbs enter a language, as structural case is assigned on the basis of the syntactic structure.
b. Structural case should increase in frequency over time while lexical case should decrease in frequency, as only structural case should be productive.
c. Children should overuse structural case at the cost of lexical case, as the mapping of lexical case with the relevant lexical entries needs to be learned specifically, while structural case does not need to be mapped with any lexical entries. (Barðal 2011: 627)

The predictions formulated in (9.58) are reasonable, considering the properties of lexical and structural case discussed in the literature. Nevertheless, Barðal observes that the three predictions based on the lexical vs. structural case dichotomy are not borne out in Icelandic, thus claiming that the dichotomy does not work in Icelandic.

Let us now turn back to Korean *-kkeyse*. As far as the frequency is concerned, *-kkeyse* is used noticeably less frequently than its competing nominative markers *-i* and *-ka*. While the frequency of *-i* and *-ka* is 558,909 and 354,384 respectively, the frequency of *-kkeyse* is only 2,294.[10] Even when we take into consideration the fact that *-kkeyse* is used in a limited context, its level of productivity is extremely low when compared to *-i* and *-ka*. In addition, *-kkeyse* seems to be gradually replaced with *-i* or *-ka* in contemporary Korean. While the search result for *sensayng-nim-kkeyse* returns only 170 instances in SJ-RIKS corpus, the frequency of *sensayng-nim-i* is 749. Although we need a more robust diachronic investigation of these markers, the corpus search results indicate that *-kkeyse* is not as productive as *-i* or *-ka*, and its frequency might have been decreasing. If *-kkeyse* is a pure structural case marker, as Sells (1995a) and Levin (2017) argue, the low (and possibly decreasing) frequency of *-kkeyse* would remain a difficult task to explain.

9.5.2 On the tests for structural/lexical case status

In Section 9.3.7, I discussed Yoon's position concerning passivization and SOR in identifying the structural case. I revisit the issue here with more examples to demonstrate that these tests should be used with great caution.

Both Yoon (2005) and Levin (2017) adopt the well-known test that structural case is not maintained under a structure-changing operation, while lexical case is. In particular, as discussed in Butt (2006), both SOR and passives are taken to be the most robust constructions to check whether the case marking is structural or lexical. Since these two constructions are *prima face* structural changing operations, the cases are not expected to be preserved after the operations. As shown in Examples (9.59) and (9.60), both nominative and accusative markers in (9.59a) are not preserved in the passivized sentence (9.59b). Korean SOR illustrates a similar pattern. The raised nominal *Yenghuy-lul* 'Y-ACC' in (9.60b) does not maintain its original nominative marker in the pre-raising construction in (9.60a).

(9.59) a. Chelswu-ka ku kikye-lul tul-ess-ta.
C-NOM that machine-ACC lift-PST-DECL
'Chelswu lifted the machine.'

10. These frequencies are checked using SJ-RIKS Corpus (Sejong – Research Institute of Korean Studies). SJ-RIKS contains 15 million *ecels*. Here, ecel is similar to a fully inflected word form.

b. ku kikye-ka Chelswu-eykey tul-li-ess-ta.
that machine-NOM C-by lift-PAS-PST-DECL
'The machine was lifted by Chelswu.'

(9.60) a. Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-ka ttokttokhata-ko mit-nun-ta
C-NOM Y-NOM smart-COMP believe-PRS-DECL
'Chelswu believes that Yenghuy is smart.'
b. Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-lul ttokttokhata-ko mit-nun-ta
C-NOM Y-ACC smart-COMP believe-PRS-DECL
'Chelswu believes Yenghuy to be smart.'

These examples seem to strongly demonstrate that both *-i*/*-ka* and *-ul*/*-lul* are indeed structural case markers. However, applying this test blindly is problematic.[11] Let us consider the MAC in (9.61a). When passivized, both *Yenghuy* and *ton* 'money' may be nominative-marked as in (9.61b), which is expected if the accusative case is structural. A somewhat unexpected example is (9.61c), where *ton* 'money' can take the accusative marker instead of the nominative one. The accusative marker survives the structural changing operation: passivization.

(9.61) a. Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-lul ton-ul ttut-ess-ta.
C-NOM Y-ACC money-ACC extort-PST-DECL
'Chelswu extorted money from Yenghuy.'
b. Yenghuy-ka Chelswu-eykey ton-i ttut-ki-ess-ta.
Y-NOM C-by money-NOM extort-PAS-PST-DECL
'Yenghuy's money was extorted by Chelswu.'
c. Yenghuy-ka Chelswu-eykey ton-ul ttut-ki-ess-ta.
Y-NOM C-by money-ACC extort-PAS-PST-DECL
'Yenghuy was extorted by Chelswu.'

A similar type of case alternation in passivization is observed in other MAC examples as in (9.62).

(9.62) a. Yenghuy-ka Chelswu-lul phal-ul pithul-ess-ta.
Y-NOM C-ACC arm-ACC twist-PST-DECL
'Yenghuy twisted Chelswu's arm.'
b. Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-eykey phal-i pithul-li-ess-ta.
Y-NOM Y-by arm-NOM twist-PAS-PST-DECL
'Chelswu's arm was twisted by Yenghuy.'
c. Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-eykey phal-ul pithul-li-ess-ta.
Y-NOM Y-by arm-ACC twist-PAS-PST-DECL

11. In Section 9.3.7, I discussed that Yoon questions the derived subject status of the subject in passive sentences like (9.59b).

'Chelswu's arm was twisted by Yenghuy.'

The case-marked adverbials in (9.63) behave similarly. While the passive sentence (9.63b) is nominative-marked as expected, the accusative marking is permitted as shown in (9.63c). As I discussed in Chapter 6, this type of alternation is due to the interplay among animacy, topicality, and (im)perfectivity.

(9.63) a. Yenghuy-ka ku chayk-ul twu-pen-ul ilk-ess-ta.
Y-NOM that book-ACC two-times-ACC read-PST-DECL
'Yenghuy read the book two times.'
b. ku chayk-i Yenghuy-eykey twu-pen-i ilk-hi-ess-ta.
that book-NOM Y-by two-times-NOM read-PAS-PST-DECL
'The book was read by Yenghuy two times.'
c. ku chayk-i Yenghuy-eykey twu-pen-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
that book-NOM Y-by two-times-ACC read-PAS-PST-DECL
'The book was read by Yenghuy two times.'

In certain situations, the passivization of an MAC is not permitted, let alone the case alternation as shown in (9.64), which is a Type–Token MAC.

(9.64) a. Yenghuy-ka paci-lul kkaman-sayk-ul ip-ess-ta.
Y-NOM pants-ACC black-color-ACC wear-PST-DECL
'Yenghuy is wearing black pants.'
b. *paci-ka Yenghuy-eykey kkaman-sayk-i/-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
pants-NOM Y-by black-color-NOM/-ACC wear-PAS-PST-DECL
'Intended: The black pants were worn by Yenghuy.'

In Chapter 4, I discussed that the reference point property of the outer accusative-marked nominal plays an important role in determining the acceptability of passivization. Explaining why the alternation between nominative and accusative in the passive constructions shown above is possible in a certain situation is beyond the scope of this chapter. But I want to emphasize that the tests adopted by many researchers to distinguish structural case from lexical case should be used carefully, and the choice of case markers may also be affected by semantic properties and different types of construals, not just by syntactic properties.

Barðal (2011: 640) makes a similar argument in dealing with Icelandic. According to her, with the raising verbs like *sýnast* 'seem/appear', the case of the lower subject is maintained after the raising, without respect to its original case (nominative, accusative, or dative). She further argues that the preservation or alternation of case is highly construction-specific. Her view contrasts with the mainstream position on Icelandic case, where the nominative case in the pre-raising construction and the accusative-case in the post-raising construction are viewed as structural cases. She also demonstrates that the so-called "lexical" dative

objects change into structural nominatives in Icelandic, different from the general prediction regarding lexical case. She thus concludes that "case preservation is not a general property of lexical case but is a construction-specific property of individual constructions" (Barðal 2011: 643). Although Barðal exclusively deals with Icelandic, and her solution is somewhat radical,[12] I agree with her that whether a case marking is preserved or not needs to be carefully reassessed against the specific constructions in which the marking appears in conjunction with relevant semantic factors.

9.6 CG analysis

This section provides CG analyses of the NNS construction we have discussed thus far. Based on the observations and discussions provided in previous sections, I propose the following, summarized in (9.65). (9.65a) and (9.65b) sound like contradictory statements from a traditional viewpoint. However, one entity that exhibits two seemingly contrasting properties is unproblematic in CG. More importantly, the two cases are not mutually exclusive; structural cases are fully grammaticalized markers, while lexical cases are not. If so, we naturally expect that some markers show in-between properties, which I argue is precisely the case of *-kkeyse*.

(9.65) a. *-kkeyse* is a nominative structural case marker in the sense that it appears on the (highly schematic) reference point trajector.
b. *-kkeyse* is a postposition (lexical case marker) in the sense that it provides additional content to the base nominal, instead of just marking a trajector.

Based on the generalization on *-kkeyse* in (9.65), I provide technical CG analyses for unstacked *-kkeyse*, *-kkeyse* with *-man*, and NNS with *-kkeyse* constructions. Then, *-kkeyse* with other affixes, particularly *-to* 'both' is discussed.

9.6.1 NNS with *-kkeyse*

Before we start the discussion on NNS with *-kkeyse*, let us illustrate unstacked *-kkeyse* first. As far as the trajector–landmark relationship is concerned, unstacked *-kkeyse* in (9.66a) is identical to (9.66b), which replaces *-kkeyse* with the regular nominative marker *-i*. Note that the honorific affix *-usi-* does not require *-kkeyse* in the subject; the lexical item, *apenim* 'father.HON', already has an honorific property, and *-usi-* 'HON' agrees with *apenim* 'father.HON' without the help of *-kkeyse*.

12. She argues that all morphological case marking in Icelandic is lexical.

(9.66) a. apenim-kkeyse chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta.
father.HON-HON.NOM book-ACC read-HON-PST-DECL
'(My) father read the book.'
b. apenim-i chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta.
father.HON-NOM book-ACC read-HON-PST-DECL
'(My) father read the book.'

Both (9.66a) and (9.66b) can be illustrated by Figure 9.6. Since *apenim* 'father.HON' is the trajector, it is either *-kkeyse-* or *-i*-marked. In this sense, *-kkeyse* indeed behaves like a pure structural case marker. In Figure 9.6, there is only one relationship and only one trajector, and marking the trajector twice with a nominative marker becomes spurious or infelicitous for most speakers.

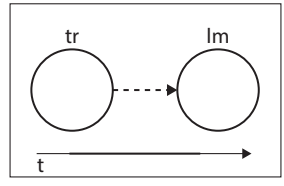

Figure 9.6 A plain *-kkeyse*-marked subject in a sentence

For some speakers, *-kkeyse* not only marks the trajector in a relationship, but also it performs an additional function. Though *apenim* 'father' is already lexically honorific-marked, *-kkeyse* enforces the speaker to construe the target nominal as a (more) honorified entity, which yields a doubly honorified nominal *apenim-kkeyse*, once lexically and then again by the honorific marker. The honororific marker invokes a hyper-honorific dimension on which honorific entities contrast with non-honorific ones, as shown in the left elliptic circle in Figure 9.7. The trajector status is given to the honorified entity in this space, *apenim-kkeyse*. The trajector in the right rectangle is also eligible for case marking because it exists in a separate space than the one invoked by *-kkeyse*. It is thus realized with the regular nominative marker. This dual marking eventually yields an NNS structure. In Figure 9.7, NH refers to non-honorified entity, and H refers to an honorified entity.

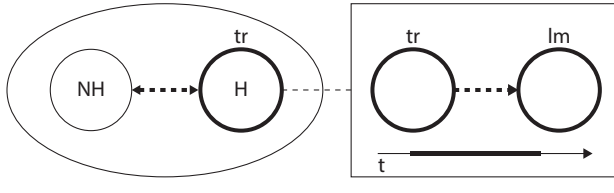

Figure 9.7 NNS illustrated

This type of construal is not available for all speakers, and only a limited group of speakers accept the double nominative-marked nominal.

Unlike the double nominative marking *-kkeyse-ka*, *-kkeyse-man-i* is fully acceptable for Korean speakers. Not surprisingly, the acceptability is ascribed to the function of *-man* 'only', then. As a postposition, the function of *-man* is to select a specific entity from an implied group of entities. In this sense, *-man* behaves like a quantifier.[13] This selectional function of *-man* is illustrated in Figure 9.8 with example (9.67).

(9.67) apeci-kkeyse-man-i ku chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta.
father-HON.NOM-only-NOM that book-ACC read-HON-PST-DECL
'Only my father read the book.'

In Figure 9.8, *apeci* 'father' is marked with the nominative marker *-kkeyse*, through the process depicted in Figure 9.7. When *-man* is attached, a particular individual is selected from a group of individuals. That is, *-man* reflects the strategy of selecting one particular individual from a group of eligible candidates, which are evoked in a discourse. The selected individual becomes another trajector, and it is available for the nominative marking, yielding doubly nominative-marked nominal, *apeci-kkeyse-man-i* 'father-HON.NOM-only-NOM'. In this case, nothing prevents the double nominative marking because the two markers are attached at different levels to different trajectors.

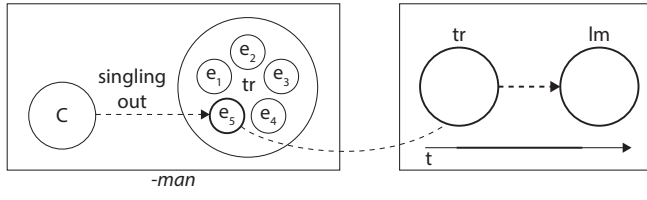

Figure 9.8 NNS with the intervening *-man* illustrated

In the next subsection, I discuss the other particle, *-to* 'COR', which is often compared with *-man*. Note that I glossed *-to* as 'COR', roughly translated as 'both A and B' instead of 'even', which is a common translation of *-to* in the extant literature.[14]

13. As indicated in Choe (1996) and Y. Lee (2005), *-man* is ambiguous concerning its scope. For example, Example (iv) is ambiguous between 'Chelswu is only good at math' and '(Different from what I heard), Chelswu is good at math.' Here, we focus on the first meaning only.

(iv) Chelswu-ka swuhak-man cal-ha-n-ta.
C-NOM math-only well-do-PRS-DECL
'Chelswu is only good at math.'
'(Different from what I heard), Chelswu is good at math.'

14. Lee (2007) treats *-man* and *-to* as coordinators. However, the examples of *-man* in his discussion are different from the usage of *-man* that we have discussed in this chapter. So, I will not discuss those examples.

Here, COR refers to correlative coordinator in the sense of Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985).[15]

9.6.2 *-kkeyse* with other affixes

Let us consider examples in (9.68). While (9.68a) is fully felicitous, (9.68b) is not acceptable.

(9.68) a. apeci-kkeyse-to ku chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta.
father-HON.NOM-COR that book-ACC read-HON-PST-DECL
'Both (my) father (and someone else) read that book.'

b. *apeci-kkeyse-to-ka ku chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta.
father-HON.NOM-COR-NOM that book-ACC read-HON-PST-DECL
'Both (my) father (and someone else) read that book.'

The particle *-to* behaves similarly to the coordinator *-wa* 'and' in the sense that both *-wa* and *-to* exhibit complementary distribution with a case marker. Examples like (9.69a) and (9.69f) pose another challenge to the approaches that treat *-kkeyse* as a pure structural case marker like *-i*/*-ka*. While *-wa* cannot be attached to the nominative-marked nominal *apeci-ka* as in (9.69a), it can be attached to *-kkeyse*-marked nominals as shown in (9.69f). If *-kkeyse* is an allomorphic variation of *-i*/*-ka*, as Levin (2017) argues, the different behaviors of *-kkeyse* and *-ka* in (9.69a) and (9.69f) cannot be explained. (9.69f) and (9.69g) show that *-to* is similar to *-wa* in that *-to* also can be attached to the *-kkeyse*-marked nominal, while the affixation is not permitted with the *-ka*-marked nominal.

(9.69) a. *apeci-ka-wa Chelswu-ka o-ass-ta.
father-NOM-CONJ C-NOM come-PST-DECL
'Intended: (My) father and Chelswu came.'

b. *apeci-ka-to Chelswu-ka o-ass-ta.
father-NOM-COR C-NOM come-PST-DECL
'Both (my) father and Chelswu came.'

c. apeci-wa Chelswu-ka o-ass-ta.
father-CONJ C-NOM come-PST-DECL
'(My) father and Chelswu came.'

d. *apeci-to Chelswu-ka o-ass-ta.
father-COR C-NOM come-PST-DECL
'Intended: Both (my) father and Chelswu came.'

15. Huddleston and Pullum (2002) adopt the same term to refer to the expressions like 'both A and B'.

e. apeci-to Chelswu-to o-ass-ta.
father-COR C-COR come-PST-DECL
'Both (my) father and Chelswu came.'

f. apeci-kkeyse-wa halmeni-kkeyse-ka ton-i
father-HON.NOM-CONJ grandma-HON.NOM-NOM money-NOM
mahn-usi-ta.
a.lot-HON-DECL
'(My) father and grandmother are rich.'

g. apeci-kkeyse-to emeni-kkeyse-to yeki-ey
father-HON.NOM-COR mother-HON.NOM-COR here-LOC
o-si-ess-ta.
come-HON-PST-DECL
'Both (my) father and mother came here.'

Despite the similarity, (9.69c)–(9.69e) demonstrate that *-to* is not used in a regular coordination structure like (9.69d). Rather, it is used in two different ways. (9.70a), in which *-to* is attached to *Chelswu*, is interpreted as 'Both Chelswu and someone came home', in which 'someone also came home' is implied. In (9.70b), *-to* is attached to *Chelswu* as well as to *Yenghuy*, both of which are the participants in the event described.[16]

(9.70) a. Chelswu-to cip-ey o-ass-ta.
C-COR home-LOC come-PST-DECL
'Both Chelswu (and someone else) came home.'

b. Chelswu-to Yenghuy-to cip-ey o-ass-ta.
C-COR Y-COR home-LOC come-PST-DECL
'Both Chelswu and Yenghuy came home.'

---

16. The particle *-na* shows some similarities to *-to*. Different from *-to*, *-na* has three distinct usages. As in (v), it can be used as a regular coordinator. (vi) illustrates its usage as a correlative coordinator with the meaning of 'either A or B'. In a highly colloquial expression as in (vii), it can be used rhetorically to mean 'everybody does X' or 'anyone can do X'.

(v) Chelswu-na Yenghuy-ka ku il-ul hay-ss-ta.
C-CONJ Y-NOM that work-ACC do-PST-DECL
'Chelswu or Yenghuy did the work.'

(vi) Chelswu-na Yenghuy-na koyngchiash-ta.
Chelswu-COR Y-COR fine-DECL
'Either Chelswu or Yenghuy would be fine.'

(vii) kay-na so-na hyuka kan-ta.
dog-COR cow-COR vacation go-DECL
'Literal: Both dogs and cows go on vacation.'
'Intended: Everybody goes on vacation.'

Armed with this background information on *-to*, let us turn back to *-kkeyse* examples. The simplest solution to the unacceptability of (9.71a) would be to rely on the template we introduced earlier in Table 9.1. Since both *-to* and *-ka* belong to the Z-LIM slot, they cannot cooccur. However, I questioned if the template-based explanation is really valid other than its descriptive values.

(9.71) a. *apeci-kkeyse-to-ka khephi-lul tu-si-ess-ta.
father-HON.NOM-COR-NOM coffee-ACC eat.HON-HON-PST-DECL
'Intended: Both (my) father (and someone else) drank coffee.'

b. apeci-kkeyse-to khephi-lul tu-si-ess-ta.
father-HON.NOM-COR coffee-ACC eat.HON-HON-PST-DECL
'Both (my) father (and someone else) drank coffee.'

c. apeci-kkeyse khephi-lul tu-si-ess-ta.
father-HON.NOM coffee-ACC eat.HON-HON-PST-DECL
'(My) father drank coffee.'

I believe my CG-based analysis provides a more reasonable explanation of the (un) acceptability of (9.71a) and (9.71b). To illustrate the acceptable Example (9.71b), let us consider Figure 9.9. The bottom rectangle shows the conceptual structure of (9.71c). What *-to* does here is to implicitly invoke[17] a relation that is identical to that of *apeci-kkeyse kephi-lul tu-si-ess-ta* 'father-HON.NOM coffee-ACC eat.HON-HON-PST-DECL' except for the trajector. Note that the two relationships are connected by the correspondence notation, and the two objects correspond to each other as well. The function of *-to* is to invoke the same relationship in which a different trajector participates. However, *-to* does not profile any trajector nor update the existing trajector. As a result, an additional trajector marking becomes unavailable, making examples like (9.71a) unacceptable.

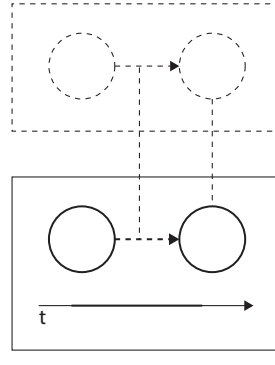

Figure 9.9 The delimiter *-to* 'COR' illustrated

17. This is notated by the dotted circles and the dotted line in the upper rectangle of Figure 9.9.

A simpler example like (9.72) is accounted for by the same mechanism. In (9.72) as well, *-to* invokes the same relationship as the process already profiled, in which someone else other than *apeci* participates as a trajector. By stacking *-ka* on top of the *-to*-marked nominal in (9.72), we attempt to confer the trajector status to the relationship invoked by *-to*. This is certainly not a viable option.

(9.72) *apeci-to-ka kephi-lul tu-si-ess-ta.
father-COR-NOM coffee-ACC eat.HON-HON-PST-DECL
'Intended: Both (my) father (and someone else) drank coffee.'

When we consider the functions of *-man* 'only', we can reasonably explain why a nominal marked with *-kkeyse* and *-man* in this order is also available for another nominative case marking. I believe this explanation is superior to the template-based analysis because the unacceptability of (9.72) is conceptually motivated, not simply blocked by the unmotivated template shown in Table 9.1.

9.6.3 Case dropping

There is another question that needs to be answered: how is a trajector identified in a sentence like (9.73), which is devoid of nominative marking?

(9.73) apeci-to khephi-lul tu-si-ess-ta.
father-COR coffee-ACC eat.HON-HON-PST-DECL
'Both (my) father (and someone else) drank coffee.'

My answer for this question is that the trajector status does not require a nominative case marker, although the nominative case maker is associated with a trajector. In (9.73), there is no denying that *apeci* 'father' functions as a subject, because it agrees with the predicate as seen in the honorific affix (*-si-*) as well as the lexical honorification (*tu* 'eat.HON'), without the help of the nominative marker. The possible interpretation of *apeci* 'father' as a subject is due to its trajector status conferred iconically; *apeci* 'father' acquires the trajector status by appearing in that particular position. In extreme cases, both nominative and accusative markers can be omitted as shown in (9.74) in Korean.

(9.74) apeci khephi tu-si-ess-ta.
father coffee eat.HON-HON-PST-DECL
'(My) father drank coffee.'

In fact, many (if not all) affixes shown in Table 9.1 can be used without case markers. A few examples of the so-called "case drop" are illustrated in (9.75a)–(9.75f). In all of these examples, *sensayng-nim* 'teacher-HON' functions as a subject as indicated by the honorific affix in the predicate. But none of the examples mark

the subject with a nominative marker. The nominal *sensayng-nim* 'teacher-HON' in all examples is construed as a trajector by being the only active participant in profiled relationships.

(9.75) a. sensayng-nim-kkaci o-si-ess-ta.
teacher-HON-even come-HON-PST-DECL
'Even (my) teacher came.'
b. sensayng-nim-mace o-si-ess-ta.
teacher-HON-even come-HON-PST-DECL
'Even (my) teacher came.'
c. sensayng-nim-pwuthe sicakha-si-ess-ta.
teacher-HON-from begin-HON-PST-DECL
'(My) teacher started (it).'
d. sensayng-nim-ilado kuli ha-si-ess-keyss-ta.
teacher-HON-even like.that do-HON-PST-CJT-DECL
'Even (my) teacher would have done that.'
e. sensayng-nim-cocha phokiha-si-ess-ta.
teacher-HON-even give.up-HON-PST-DECL
'Even (my) teacher gave up.'
f. sensayng-nim-pakkey an o-si-ess-ta.
teacher-HON-only NEG come-HON-PST-DECL
'Only (my) teacher came.'

As I addressed earlier, this type of case drop phenomenon poses challenges to Cho and Sells (1995) and Sells (1995a) because case markers are functors that actively establish a connection between two entities in their analyses. Nominative markers establish a relationship between a nominal and an intransitive predicate.[18] The only possible solution for the case drop phenomenon for these researchers is to assume that case drop is a purely phonological phenomenon, which happens after all morpho-syntactic combinations. Albeit reasonable, it is worth noting that case dropping happens only when subjects and objects are clearly identifiable without the case markers. Perhaps, case markers are needed to enhance our conceptualization of the trajector-landmark alignment: trajector is marked with nominative, while landmark is marked with accusative. When the identification of the alignment is obvious, the case makers become optional. This is precisely what I presented here.[19]

18. It is intransitive because the transitive verb combined with its object is also regarded as an intransitive verb in Cho and Sells (1995) and Sells (1995a).

19. From a Cognitive Grammar perspective, Kumashiro (2016) entertains the same idea, where the Japanese nominative *-ga* is the profile determinant in relation to the nominal to which it is attached. His approach also cannot clearly account for the case drop phenomenon. For detailed discussion on the case ellipsis phenomena, please refer to H. Lee (2015).

9.7 Conclusion

This chapter examined the NNS construction in Korean. I have attempted to find a solution to the question of why a nominal can be marked twice by nominative, if the stacking is indeed felicitous. Before demonstrating my solutions to the phenomenon, I reviewed three major approaches to *-kkeyse*: Cho and Sells (1995)/ Sells (1995a), Yoon (2005), and Levin (2017). Upon close examination, I argued that all of these approaches face both empirical and theoretical challenges. I then discussed that the problems raised in the literature concerning the stacking phenomenon stem from the erroneous assumption that there is a sharp delineation between structural and lexical (or inherent) cases. If we relax this assumption, the heavy discussion on the status of *-kkeyse* found in the literature becomes less important. Rather, we can focus our attention on a more important question: why does the stacking phenomenon exist? I demonstrated that the NNS construction arises as an alternative construal of *-kkeyse*, where the *-kkeyse*-marked nominal invokes a space where hyper-honorified entities contrast with non-honorified ones.

One interesting phenomenon, which has been rarely discussed in the literature, is the attachment of *-man* 'only' after *-kkeyse*. In this case, the case marker *-i* is readily available for the *-kkeyse*-marked nominal, thereby yielding an irrefutably acceptable doubly nominative-marked nominal. I have argued that this stacked nominative case is nothing but expected due to *-man*'s selectional function. Similar to a quantifier, *-man* selects a particular individual from a group of eligible candidates. The selected individual then becomes a newly updated trajector, which in turn is available for another case marking. I also examined why the particle *-to* 'also', which is oft-compared with *-man* 'only', does not exhibit the same behavior. To answer this question, I have shown that while *-man* 'only' behaves like a quantifier, *-to* 'also' has the property of a correlative coordinator. As a coordinator, it invokes a relationship in which another (implied) entity participates as the profiled trajector. Since the trajector is not updated, additional case marking becomes superfluous.

Finally, I have discussed case drop. In Korean, case markers are not required, particularly when a particle is present in a nominal. To account for the absence of a case marker, most extant research should assume that case drop is a purely phonological process; after completing all syntactic combinatorial processes, case markers drop for phonological reasons. This assumption is needed because of the role of the (structural) case markers. In some researchers' analyses such as Cho and Sells (1995), Sells (1995a), and Kumashiro (2016), the nominative case marker actively combines the subject nominal and the predicate. In these analyses, without the case marker, component structures cannot be combined to produce a composite structure. Opposing this assumption, I suggested that (structural) case markers overtly mark trajector and landmark in a profiled relationship. The identification

can take place without the help of the case markers, if the subject and the object can be clearly identified in a given relationship; the process is possible iconically. My suggestion has an interesting implication: the main function of (structural) case markers is to help identify which entity is a primary focus (trajector) and which entity is a secondary focus (landmark). In other words, case markers are meaningful entities just like any linguistic expression, which of course is not surprising at all when we view case-related phenomena from a CG perspective.

Overall, I demonstrated that my CG-based account of the NNS construction in Korean overcomes the challenges the previous research faces. More importantly, case stacking is not a surprising phenomenon when we treat case assignment as an interlocutor's conceptual struggle to find the best alignment between trajector and landmark. It is just one of the many ways to construe the primary and the secondary participants in a relationship.

CHAPTER 10

Conclusion

This book was a small attempt to analyze various case phenomena in Korean from a CG perspective. Throughout, I demonstrated that the independently motivated construct of reference point plays a crucial role in understanding said phenomena, and that case is realized as an outcome of an interplay between reference point and focal prominence, as summarized in (10.1).

(10.1) a. A reference point exhibits a higher degree of topicality than its target.
b. A trajector is manifested as nominative marking and a landmark as accusative/dative marking in Korean.
c. A typical subject is a reference point trajector, and a typical object is a target landmark.
d. A reference point can be associated with a landmark, which is manifested either as a dative/locative-marked subject or a secondary object.

Under this general claim, I analyzed eight different types of case-related phenomena: MNCs, MACs, Non-nominative subjects, Dative-Nominative stacking, Adverbial case, verbal noun, SOR, and NNS constructions. All of these constructions exhibit a common nature, in which a conceptualizer accesses a target through a mental bridge – reference point. When viewed from this rather unorthodox perspective, I argued that we can explain a substantially wider range of data and answer questions previously unanswered or unaddressed in research.

For MNCs, I argued that different types of Korean MNCs are uniformly explained by two well-known notions in cognitive linguistics: metonymy and domain highlighting. While there is no consensus on the semantic interpretation of Korean MNCs, the discussion thereof is still a popular topic. Nonetheless, many previous approaches that deal with the semantic interpretations of the constructions in Korean are based on several fixed categorizations of semantic interpretations, such as POSSESSION and PART-WHOLE. These approaches cannot capture the flexibility of the constructions that exhibit various types of semantic interpretations. Contra previous approaches, I argued that the flexibility of the semantic interpretations of these constructions is deeply rooted in their metonymic nature. I further argued that, when coupled with the notion of *domain*

highlighting, my approach sheds light on the nature of these constructions with reasonable generalization.

In analyzing MACs, I argued that these various meanings are systematically explained when we adopt the notion of reference point. I claimed that the accusative-marked nominals in the constructions are metonymically connected; outer accusative-marked nominals function as reference points. More specifically, NP_1, in the schematic configuration [NP-NOM [NP_1-ACC [NP_2-ACC [PRED]]]], functions as a reference point in relation to the complex verb [NP_2-PRED], where NP_1 provides access to the target. In other words, the function of Korean MACs is to provide mental access to a target, similar to English possessive constructions. I also demonstrated that the Type–Token MAC exhibits a different conceptual structure than the IAP construction, though both of them invoke a reference point relationship.

Next, I examined case stacking and two types of non-nominative subject constructions. I argued that the complex forms of these constructions reflect their meanings and functions. I further argued that the reference point-based analysis of these constructions offers a unified account of a substantial range of phenomena when it is combined with the notion of conceptual and constructional blending. In justifying the choice of the theoretical framework of my analysis, I examined the crucial role of spatial semantics in the said constructions, which is viewed as the primary factor underlying the distribution of case marking in CG. I then demonstrated that my CG-based analysis yields a natural explanation of the constructions both intuitively and theoretically.

I also provided an analysis of Korean adverbial case constructions, arguing that nominative-marked adverbials are the result of the setting subject construal of the adverbial. Accusative-marked adverbials, then, are construed as a location, which is part of the setting. I also argued that the notion of setting subject is associated with the imperfective construal of a given situation in conjunction with the subject's lower degree of topicality. Conversely, the locational interpretation of an adverbial is tied to the perfective construal of a situation and a higher degree of topicality of the subject.

In analyzing the case realizations of verbal nouns, I argued that Korean verbal nouns are construed as either a noun or a verb in a given context. I demonstrated that the two types of case patterns arise due to different construals of the same content. More specifically, when a verbal noun is construed as a thing, it needs to be nominally grounded to be a full nominal. The genitive-case pattern in the verbal noun construction is motivated by the need for this grounding. By contrast, when the same verbal noun is construed as a process, it needs to be clausally grounded by tense to be a full clause. For the purpose of grounding, the schematic verb *ha(y)-* 'do' must combine with verbal nouns to lend its processual characteristic

to them, since verbal nouns profile a nonprocessual complex relationship. The verbal case pattern arises due to this processual nature of the temporalized verbal nouns. I further argued that a verbal noun in a double accusative construction is indirectly grounded by an implicitly invoked reference point, which is realized as an accusative-marked nominal.

Throughout this book, I pointed out the relevance of SOR to many case-related phenomena. I argued that my CG analysis not only yields descriptively and explanatorily successful outcomes but also provides a higher level of generalization, which has been largely ignored in the literature. After providing weaknesses of previous proposals, I demonstrated that the interpretive properties of SOR constructions are mere symptoms of the reference point nature of the raised nominal and the higher degree of topicality it exhibits.

The last construction I dealt with was Nominative-Nominative Stacking. This construction is highly marked, and my native dialect does not allow the stacking. But due to the existing research on that construction, I provided my analysis under the assumption that some speakers might accept the stacking. In doing so, I provided critical evaluations of the three major works on the topic. I then provided my CG analysis, demonstrating that the analysis answers questions unanswered or incompletely answered in the extant research.

The last thing I want to discuss in this section is the relationship among metonymy, reference point, and zone activation.[1] Metonymy is an extensively researched subject in recent cognitive linguistics, covering a wide range of data.[2] I do not intend nor pretend to review the large body of research on metonymy here. What I am interested in is ascertaining the difference between metonymy and zone activation, which I used interchangeably throughout this book for the sake of simplicity. But there seems to be some noticeable differences between the two notions.

Zone activation and metonymy are frequently discussed notions in Langacker's CG-related publications. These notions, seen in (10.2) and (10.3), seem to be intricately connected. While (10.2) is a typical instance of zone activation, (10.3) is a clear example of metonymy. In the former, we observe the profile/active-zone discrepancy because the profiled portion of *your dog* is actually *your dog's teeth*. Instead of *your dog's teeth*, however, *your dog* (active zone) plays the trajector role in the relationship, leading to a discrepancy between the two; *your dog's teeth* is cognitively activated by virtue of linguistic context. (10.3) is a case of metonymy,

1. The majority of this discussion is taken from Park and Park (2017) with some modification.

2. Some examples include Croft (1993), Kövecses and Radden (1998), Dirven (1999), Radden and Kövecses (1999), Panther and Radden (1999), and Littlemore (2015).

where *the red shirts* exhibits a reference shift from a physical entity to another characteristic associated with it, i.e., a sports team.

(10.2) *Your dog bit my cat*.
(Langacker 1984: 177)

(10.3) *The red shirts won the match*.
(Geeraerts and Peirsman 2011: 94)

The concept of metonymy becomes more prominent in Langacker's later work. Langacker (2009: 41) claims that "[…], grammar is basically metonymic, in that the information explicitly coded does not itself establish the precise connections apprehended by the speaker and hearer in using an expression." He then emphasizes the connection between zone activation and metonymy in multiple publications. Overall, Langacker (2000: 67) argues that "profile/active-zone discrepancy is a special case of metonymy." Unfortunately, Langacker does not always clearly distinguish between metonymy and zone activation, and other scholars interpret these notions differently. Paradis (2004), for example, argues that some of Langacker's zone activation examples must be situated somewhere between metonymy and zone activation, positing a new categorization called facetization. By contrast, Ruiz de Mendoza (2011: 106) describes facetization as "another level for what Croft (1993) called domain highlighting." Because of the different uses and definitions of the notion, Geeraerts and Peirsman (2011: 91) describe zone activation as "[maybe] one of the least homogeneous concepts of Cognitive Linguistics."

I believe the view of Geeraerts and Peirsman (2011) is workable and perhaps most relevant to my analyses provided in this book. They argue that zone activation is a completely different phenomenon than metonymy based on the observation that there is a lack of necessity of the reference shift in zone activation, while this is required for typical metonymy, such as (10.3). Additionally, in zone activation, the profiled portion and its active zone may not be interchangeable in a certain grammatical context, while a metonymically shifted expression is almost always interchangeable with its original expression. As shown in (10.4), the profiled thing, *your dog's teeth*, is incompatible with the verb *bite*, because it requires a volitional subject. The predicate *bit the cat* is only compatible with the active zone, *your dog*. By contrast, (10.3) and (10.5) show that both *the red shirts* and *the team* are compatible with the same predicate. Barcelona (2011: 51) maintains a similar position by stating that "some instances like *your dog bit me* are doubtfully metonymic,[3] since it is difficult to claim that the dog's teeth are perspectivized from the dog."

3. Kövecses and Radden (1998: 70) view this as WHOLE FOR PART metonymy.

According to him, (10.4) shows a contrast with (10.6) in which *United States* is clearly perspectivized from *America*.

(10.4) **Your dog's teeth bit my cat*.
(Barcelona 2011: 32)

(10.5) *The team won the match*.

(10.6) *America will prevail over terrorism*.
(Barcelona 2011: 32)

Although there are some borderline cases, I believe the observations and claims made by the aforementioned scholars are valid. Following their elaborated definitions of zone activation and metonymy, I believe we need to provide even finer-grained definitions of metonymy and zone activation. That is, metonymy is when there is a reference shift, and the shifted sense is still compatible with the predicate. Zone activation, by contrast, does not require a reference shift, and active zone and profile are not always interchangeable. I believe this type of separation between the two notions is parallel to Paradis's definitions of metonymization and zone activation: "metonymization is a construal that operates *between senses*, while active zone operates *within senses*" (Paradis 2011: 81). These refined definitions would help us understand why some phenomena discussed in this book are metonymic and others, such as SOR, are a type of zone activation. Reference point, then, can be interpreted as a higher level concept that includes both.

I have demonstrated that reference point is intricately related to topicality. However, the topicality can be overridden by a focus reading in a discourse context. I didn't delve into when and how this focus reading arises and overrides the topical interpretation. This is an interesting issue that deserves a whole monograph in the larger context of information structure. It is a limitation of the present research, and I leave it for my future research.

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Index

This monograph answers the rarely discussed questions of why complicated grammatical case phenomena exist in Korean and what the connection is between the case forms and their functions. The author argues that the case forms in Korean reflect patterns of the human cognitive process. While this approach may seem rather obvious to non-linguists, it is indeed a novel claim in contemporary linguistic theory. In order to provide technical analyses of Korean case phenomena such as multiple nominative/accusative, non-nominative subject, and adverbial case constructions, this book adopts an independently established descriptive construct known as reference point in the framework of Cognitive Grammar. The author demonstrates that the notion of reference point not only explains a substantially wider set of data, but also leads to a more reasonable generalization. The intended readership of this book are researchers who are interested in case phenomena, irrespective of their theoretical orientation..

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