

**THE SYNTAX OF LEXICAL DECOMPOSITION OF PREDICATES:
WAYS OF ENCODING EVENTS AND MULTIDIMENSIONAL MEANINGS**

by

Lan Kim

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

Summer 2014

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to thank my thesis and academic advisor, Dr. Satoshi Tomioka. I am deeply indebted to him as his guidance and encouragement have helped me in all stages of my study and in writing this thesis. I am also grateful to Dr. Benjamin Bruening for helping me with every aspect of this dissertation. It was my great privilege to interact with him and learn from his knowledge and ingenious suggestions and advice. I also want to thank Dr. Gabriella Hermon for her supportive advice and encouragement and my committee member, Dr. Marcel den Dikken for reading my thesis and providing valuable comments. Special thanks go to Tow Arikrit, Oath Ka, Apichaya Wongsuwan for the data and judgments on Thai reported in this dissertation.

I extend my thanks to the faculty members, fellow graduate students, and Jane Creswell at UD. I would also like to thank my teachers in Korea and Simon Fraser University, Dr. Youngjun Jang, Dr. Booeung Koh, Dr. Haeyeon Kim, and Dr. Chung-hye Han. I especially thank Dr. Youngjun Jang and Dr. Jeffrey Heinz for their help and very useful advice throughout my Ph.D. years. I am also happy to thank Manex Agirrezabal, Eunyoung Lee, Yugyeong Park, Jooyoung Kim, Youngeun Kim who made my life in Delaware delightful and encouraged me and supported me on many occasions. I also thank Darrell Larson and Regin Yee-King Lai for our enjoyable discussions on linguistics as well as life. Special thanks also go to Jane Chadlee, Adam Jardin, and Anne Peng for proofreading. So many others have contributed to my graduate life in different ways that I cannot mention them all here.

Finally, I wish to thank my family, especially my parents Kyoungin and Dongkeun. Thank you for your support, endless love, and for always being there for me.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acc	Accusative
Adn	Adnominal
Appl	Applicative
C	Complementizer
Caus	Causative
Cl	Classifier
Cop	Copula
Dat	Dative
Dec	Declarative
Evi	Evidential marker
Foc	Focus
Fut	Future
Gen	Genitive
Hon	Honorific marker
Imp	Imperative
Mod	Modal
Neg	Negation
Nml	Nominalizer
Nom	Nominative
Poss	Possessive
Pss	Passive

Pres	Present
Pst	Past
Q	Question
Rel	Relative marker
Sg	Singular
Top	Top

ABSTRACT

The expression of possessive, benefactive, and adversative meanings is a central part of languages that is generally and universally relevant to the description of languages. The usual means for expressing these meanings in Korean, Japanese, and Thai, the three languages under consideration, is with a verbal morpheme. The primary goal of this dissertation is to examine the different argument structures that encode these meanings, namely ditransitive constructions, benefactive constructions, and adversity (passive) constructions, and provide additional empirical support for the syntactic approach to predicate decomposition using event semantics. I shall propose that each construction can be decomposed into different syntactic verbal heads, each of which contributes a subpart of the meaning of the sentences, an analysis from which the syntactic and the semantic properties follow quite straightforwardly. I shall also show that not all of the meanings that are discussed in this dissertation behave uniformly, such that some elements of meaning are projected as not-at-issue meaning, like an implicature or a presupposition in multidimensional semantics. The thesis shows that the observed syntactic and semantic properties converge neatly with the theory of syntactic decomposition using event semantics, and certain linguistic phenomena such as ditransitives, benefactives, and adversity (passive) constructions can only be explained by making explicit the complex event structure of a verbal predicate at the level of syntax.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Goal

One typical way of explaining the meaning of a word is to identify it with the meaning of a more complex expression. For example, when a native speaker is asked to describe what the English word *break* means, s/he would probably answer that *break* is *cause to separate into pieces*. This way of explaining meaning is common and deeply rooted in our common sense. Linguistically, this has led many researchers to systematically think about the semantic structure of lexical items, in particular, of verbs. The primary goal of the dissertation is to follow this tradition and elaborate on the idea that the meaning of a verbal morpheme is analyzable into smaller parts, and this has a structured representation in terms of event structure, by providing empirical evidence from Korean, Japanese, and Thai. I shall also show that not all components of meaning belong to the same meaning category; some elements of meaning are projected independently of the main assertion of the sentence.

1.2 The Theoretical Basis of the Theory of Lexical Decomposition

In the sections to follow I will introduce the essential theoretical tools used throughout this dissertation: the lexical decomposition of events in syntax, Neo-Davidsonian event semantics, and not-at-issue meaning.

1.2.1 Lexical Decomposition of Events in Syntax

Human language can make references to events and states in utterances. The relation between events and the grammar is far less clear, however. The main question is whether, and how, events play a role in grammatical structures. With a brief sketch of the decomposition theory of event semantics that bears on this question, the central assumption to be made is that events are grammatical entities that represent the core of a verb's meaning and also receive a structural explanation at the level of syntax.

First, the notion that events can be used to analyze verb meanings traces back to Vendler's (1967) classification of event types. Vendler, building on Ryle (1949) and Kenny (1963), suggests a four-fold division of verb meaning based on the type of event it denotes, as summarized in (1).

(1) Vendler (1967)

- a. Stative: know, believe, have
- b. Activity: run, walk, swim
- c. Accomplishment: paint a picture
- d. Achievement: recognize, spot

Since Vendler (1967), various researchers have proposed (slightly) different hypotheses for the internal configuration of verb meanings by means of basic event predicates like CAUSE, BE, BECOME, and DO (e.g., Carter 1976; Dowty 1979; Jackendoff 1987, 1990; Pustejovsky 1988, 1991, 1995; Croft 1988; Parsons 1990). For example, Dowty (1979) suggests a three-fold division of verb meanings to express Vendler's semantic classification of verbs; state predicates are the basic elements from which non-state predicates are formed via the three abstract predicates DO, BECOME,

and CAUSE. Consider further (2), which exemplifies the lexical representations of predicates like *darken* and *butter* from some of the representative works.¹

(2) a. *darken*: x CAUSE ((y BE DARK) CHANGE)) (Carter 1976 Ex. 9b)

b. *darken*: [x CAUSE [BECOME [y DARK]]] (Levin and Rappaport 1995, 1998)

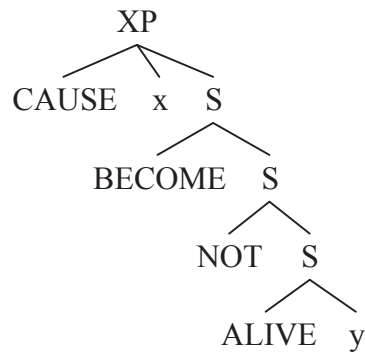
c. *butter*: [_{Event} CAUSE ([_{Thing}]i, [_{Event} ([_{Thing} BUTTER], [_{Path} TO ([_{Place} ON ([_{Thing}]j)))]])]] (Jackendoff 1990 Ex. 15a)

Based on these early insights, a more recent version of the lexical decomposition of verb meanings inspired by the Generative Semantics tradition assumes predicate decomposition not only in the semantics but also in the syntax, a core assumption underlying my analyses. This idea has been taken up from McCawley (1968), who suggests that *kill* is decomposed into several primitive predicates, and by means of a syntactic rule like predicate raising they combine into a larger predicate and get replaced by a lexical item.

(3) a. *kill*: [CAUSE[BECOME[DEAD]]]

¹ The notion of event sometimes excludes states in the literature, so following Bach (1981) I will use what he dubs “eventuality” as a more neutral term to include both stative and non-stative.

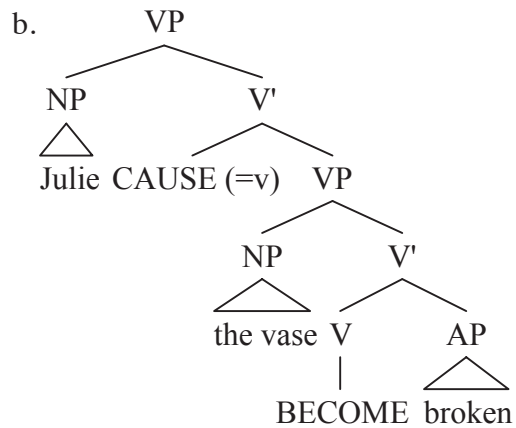
b.



McCawley (1968), Figure 3

McCawley's (1968) idea of representing the lexical semantics directly in the syntax has been considerably developed in modern grammatical theory (Baker 1988; Larson 1988; Hale and Keyser 1993, 1998; Borer 1994; Travis 1994; Harley 1995; Kratzer 1996, van Hout 1996; Marantz 1997; Ritter and Rosen 1998; Arad 1998; Harley and Noyer 2000; Folli 2001; Ramchand 2003; Lin 2004; Son 2006; among many others). For example, Baker (1988) focuses on morphemes which affect the argument structure of words and argues for a connection between the morphological structure of words and their decompositional representations. Notably, Hale and Keyser (1993), building on McCawley (1968), argue that the representation of a verb's basic meaning and argument structure is itself syntax, namely l-syntax, which occurs within the lexicon and is subject to the basic principles that are operative in the syntax. For example, in a sentence like (4) below, the verb *break* is decomposed into two syntactic verbal heads, CAUSE and BECOME, as represented in (4), each of which contributes to a subpart of the meaning of the verb. From there, they incorporate into a lexical verb, for example, by means of head movement. The meaning of the verb *break* can thus be paraphrased as *cause to become broken*.

(4) a. Julie broke the vase.



In this framework, one important point to note is that the thematic roles of the arguments are defined by the structural positions they occupy. For example, the specifier of a higher VP that takes another VP as its complement is interpreted as the agent argument by virtue of being in that position (the higher V corresponds to *v* (read ‘little *v*’) in Chomsky’s term and Voice in Kratzer’s).

Along this line of lexical decomposition, Marantz (1993), extrapolating from Bantu languages, suggests that a verb occurring in double object constructions (e.g., benefactive sentences and sentences with ditransitive verbs) contains a morpheme in the syntax, whether phonologically realized or not. This morpheme is overt in Chaga and covert in English. Based on Larson’s (1988) VP-shell theory, (5c) gives a schematic representation of the benefactives (5a) and (5b).

(5) a. Elmer baked Hortense some cookies.

(Marantz 1993)

b. N-a-i-lyi-i-a

m-ka k-elya.

Chaga

Foc-Sp-Pres-eat-Appl-fv

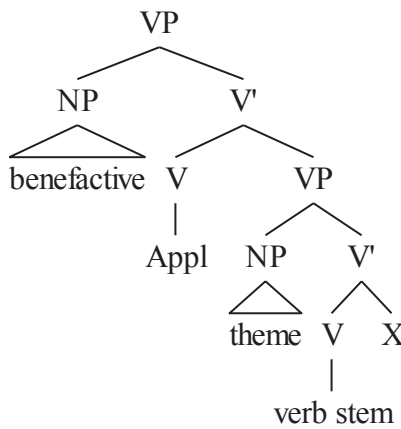
wife food

‘He is eating food for his wife.’

(Bresnan and Moshi 1993)

c.

(Marantz 1993, Ex. 20a)



The above structure is extended by Harley (1995), Bruening (2001, 2010), and Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), some of which will be discussed in detail in the chapters to follow.

The theory of lexical decomposition has non-trivial consequences, making it possible to tackle various lexical phenomena at the syntax-semantics interface. In addition, by treating events as having an internal structure, this theory accounts for the scope ambiguities of adverbial phrases like *almost* and *again*; these modifiers can target subevents (McCawley 1968, 1971; von Stechow 1995, 1996). This lexical decomposition approach is also adopted in Chomsky (1995), in which transitive verbs are analyzed as involving two verbal heads.

A lexical decomposition analysis also has consequences for my analyses of ditransitive, benefactive, and adversity (passive) constructions. First of all, it is a main theoretical tool I will make use of throughout the chapters to follow in which argument structures associated with the meaning of possession, benefactivity, and adversity are analyzed. A verbal morpheme is decomposed into separate syntactic

heads, each of which contributes a subpart of the meaning of the verb and of the sentence, and the semantics is read off of the parts of the extended structure of the verb in a compositional way. This is then united in the morphological component via systems such as Late Insertion of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994; Embick and Noyer 2007). In this way, the decomposition theory captures the relationship between the syntax and the semantics of ditransitive, benefactive, and adversity (passive) constructions, by making explicit the complex event structure of verbal predicates at the level of syntax.

1.2.2 Neo-Davidsonian Event Semantics

Defending the theory of the lexical decomposition of events in the syntax, the following chapters will assume the semantic system developed in Heim and Kratzer (1998) in which the interpretation of sentences is compositional and type-driven, with only a limited set of interpretational rules.

(6) Terminal Nodes (TN)

If α is a terminal node, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket$ (the semantic value of α) is specified in the lexicon.

(7) Non-Branching Node (NN)

If α is a non-branching node, and β is its daughter node, then $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket = \llbracket \beta \rrbracket$.

(8) Functional Application

If α is a branching node, $\{\beta, \gamma\}$ is the set of α 's daughter's, and $\llbracket \beta \rrbracket$ is a function whose domain contains $\llbracket \gamma \rrbracket$, then $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket = \llbracket \beta \rrbracket (\llbracket \gamma \rrbracket)$. Heim and Kratzer 1998: 43-44

Syntactic heads combine with their complements and specifiers by means of these modes of semantic composition.

In addition, I will use Neo-Davidsonian event semantics as a semantic framework in the chapters to follow (Parsons 1990, building on work by Davidson 1967 and Castaneda 1967). According to this framework, the verb denotes a property of an eventuality and is associated with its arguments through the use of thematic roles. Also, the event variable is existentially quantified, because event arguments do not have syntactic correlates, which is different from other thematic arguments of a verb that are realized as overt NPs or DPs. A sentence like (9) is thus represented as (9a) and (9b).

(9) a. Tommy hugged Julie.

b. $\lambda e. [\text{hug}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(\text{Tommy},e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{Julie},e)]$

c. $\exists e. [\text{hug}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(\text{Tommy},e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{Julie},e)]$

The existential quantifier binds the event variable and takes scope over the entire sentence; the sentence is thus changed to a proposition. So, in event semantics (9a) can be paraphrased as ‘there is an event of hugging, and Tommy is the agent and Julie is the theme of this event.’

Marantz (1984) shows that external arguments are different from internal arguments in that they do not trigger a special interpretation of the verb as internal arguments do. For instance, the external argument, unlike the internal arguments of the VP, does not form idioms with V to the exclusion of the object.

(10) Idioms of English

a. throw support behind the candidate

b. throw a party

c. throw a fit (Marantz 1984)

Building on Marantz (1984), Kratzer (1996) proposes that the external argument is not a true argument of the verb, but an argument of a syntactic head Voice. That is, the external argument has been “severed” and is an argument of Voice, outside the domain of predication.

(11) a. $\llbracket \text{Voice} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{Agent}(x, e)$ (Kratzer 1996)

b. Event Identification: $\text{Voice} \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \langle s, t \rangle \rightarrow \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$

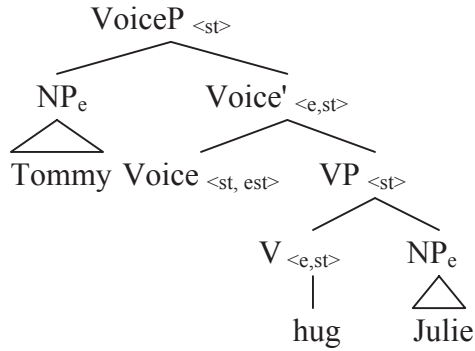
(The basic types are e for individuals, t for propositions, and s for eventualities.)

As formalized in (11), Voice denotes a thematic relation that holds between the agent (or any other arguments that one considers as possible thematic roles) and the event described by its complement, such as a VP. Crucially, Voice combines with VP by what she dubs Event Identification, a new operation by which the event variable of the thematic relation and that of the VP denotation are identified. In this way, one makes sure that the agent introduced by Voice is a participant in the same event denoted by the verb.

(12) is a sample syntactic structure with the semantic denotation. I assume that the final computation adds the information about tense, aspect, and mood. I abstract

away from these projections for the sake of simplicity, unless otherwise indicated for explanatory purposes.

(12) a. Tommy hugged Julie.



b. $\llbracket \text{Julie} \rrbracket = \text{Julie}$

$\llbracket \text{hug} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda e. [\text{hug}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(x,e)]^2$

$\llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket = \lambda e. [\text{hug}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{Julie},e)]$

$\llbracket \text{Voice} \rrbracket = \lambda y. \lambda e. \text{Agent}(y,e)$

$\llbracket \text{Voice}' \rrbracket = \lambda y. \lambda e. [\text{Agent}(y,e) \ \& \ \text{hug}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{Julie},e)]$ *Event Identification*

$\llbracket \text{Tommy} \rrbracket = \text{Tommy}$

$\llbracket \text{VoiceP} \rrbracket = \lambda e. [\text{Agent}(\text{Tommy},e) \ \& \ \text{hug}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{Julie},e)]$

$\llbracket \text{VoiceP} \rrbracket = \exists e. [\text{Agent}(\text{Tommy},e) \ \& \ \text{hug}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{Julie},e)]$ *Existential*

Closure

² The Neo-Davidsonian representation of a theme is treated as a thematic predicate (Kratzer 1996), but I assume that the event predicate of a theme is part of the lexical meaning of transitive verbs.

The interpretation of the VP is fulfilled by functional application of the verb *hug* to the NP *Julie* and by combining Voice with the VP via Event Identification. The event variable is existentially quantified by existential closure, with the result that the sentence (12a) is a set of eventualities such that there was a hugging event *e* with Tommy as the agent and Julie as the Theme.

1.2.3 Multidimensional Semantics

Based on the lexical decomposition analysis, I further assume that a variety of meaning associated with verbal predicates can be separated into two tiers of meaning in multidimensional semantics, the main assertion of a sentence (i.e., at-issue meaning) and not-at-issue meaning like an implicature or presupposition (Karttunen 1973, Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 1990, Potts 2005, *inter alia*). This means that a sentence may involve secondary material that adds some content to an utterance but in a way that is independent of the main assertion of the sentence (e.g., Bosse 2011; Bosse et al. 2012; Bruening and Tran 2013).

The idea of having two tiers of meaning in the semantics is advanced by Grice (1967, 1975) who proposed the existence of conventional implicature (henceforth, CI), and this has been subsequently developed by Karttunen and Peters (1979) who take the conventional implicature to describe conventionally triggered presuppositions. More recently, Potts (2005) advances the semantics of CIs by taking Grice's (1975) notion as a departing point in terms of a standard generative grammar and offers a formal analysis of how they contribute to the meaning of a sentence in which they are used. Specifically, he identifies a diverse class of CIs involving supplements (e.g., as-parentheticals, nominal appositives, and non-restrictive relatives) and expressives

(e.g., epithets and honorifics), and offers the following four characteristics of CIs that they all share.

- (13) a. CIs are part of the conventional meaning.
- b. CIs are commitments, and thus give rise to entailments.
- c. These commitments are shared by the speaker of the utterance by virtue of the meaning of the words he chooses.
- d. CIs are logically and compositionally independent of what is said (in the favored sense), i.e. independent of the at-issue entailments.

(Potts 2005: 11, Ex. 2.10)

The first characteristic as stated in (13a) is the conventionality in which a specific lexical item/construction has the not-at-issue meaning. (13b) says that CIs are not deniable. (13c) says that CIs have speaker-orientations, except in direct quotations. According to (13d), CIs are not part of the main, at-issue content of the utterance, although they take parts of the at-issue content as their arguments. This means that CIs take wide scope with regard to many truth-conditional operators, a property he dubs scopelessness.

A general characteristic of elements of not-at-issue meaning including CIs is that they may project out of various semantic operators such as yes/no questions, negation, and conditionals, the so-called “family of sentences” tests (Langendoen and Savin 1971, Karttunen 1973, dubbed by Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 1990), a term that refers to the family of standard presupposition holes. Consider a nominal

appositive as discussed in Potts (2005), in which the content of the appositive adds a comment of the speaker, but is not affected by the scope of negation.

(14) a. Chris did not adopt Tommy, the smartest cat in NYC.

b. It is not the case that Chris adopted Tommy, the smartest cat in NYC.

The sentences in (14a) and (14b) both receive the interpretation that Chris did not adopt Tommy. They cannot mean that Tommy is not the smartest cat in NYC, in which negation targets only the content of the nominal appositive.

The second characteristic of not-at-issue content is that it projects past yes/no questions.

(15) A: Did Chris adopt Tommy, the smartest cat in NYC?

B: No.

A sentence like (15) asks whether Chris adopted Tommy. Answering *no* cannot mean that Tommy is not the smartest cat in NYC, indicating that this not-at-issue meaning is outside of the question operator.

Third, not-at-issue meaning does not add a condition to a conditional.

(16) a. If Chris adopts Tommy, the smartest cat in NYC, I will give you five hundred dollars.

b. If Chris adopts Tommy, I will give you five hundred dollars.

In (16a), the condition under which you get fifty dollars is that Chris adopts Tommy; whether or not Tommy is the smartest cat in NYC does not make any difference in you getting the money. The condition stated in (16b) is exactly the same condition stated as the condition stated in (16a), which has no nominal appositive.

Fourth, elements on the not-at-issue tier may not be questioned using a *wh*-word; only at-issue meaning is available for a *wh*-question (Bosse et al. 2012). For example, multiple *wh*-questions in which a *wh*-phrase is inside an island are often possible, as shown in (17a). In contrast, the nominal appositive is ruled out in multiple *wh*-questions, as shown in (17b).

- (17) a. Which linguist will be offended if we invite which philosopher? (Dayal 2002)
b. *Who adopted Tommy, the smartest cat in which city?

Taken all together, these are the tests I will use in the current dissertation as diagnostic tools to identify that certain lexical items/constructions have elements of meaning on the not-at-issue tier.

One important point to note is that elements on the not-at-issue tier, as exemplified above with supplements (Potts 2005), are distinguished from what are standardly viewed as presupposition triggers. As for not-at-issue meaning, even if it is judged to be false, a truth-value of the main assertion can be determined.

(18) A: Did Chris adopt Tommy, the smartest cat in NYC?

B: Yes, he adopted Tommy finally. But just so you know, Tommy is not actually the smartest cat in NYC.

This is not true with what are standardly viewed as presupposition triggers. As shown in (19), when the proposition taken to be true is false (i.e., presupposition failure), this causes the sentence to be infelicitous.

(19) A: Did Tommy stop chasing Julie?

B: #Yes. But just so you know, he has not been a chaser.

In addition, unlike not-at-issue content, presupposition does not always project. The relevant contrast is manifested in (20).

(20) a. If Eddie has a dog, then his dog is a ferocious man-eater. (Potts 2005 Ex. 3.45)

b. *If Armstrong did win the 2002 Tour, then Lance Armstrong, the 2002 Tour winner, is training. (Potts 2005 Ex. 3.44)

As shown in (20a), when the presupposition triggered by *his dog*, namely *he has a dog*, is the antecedent of the conditional, it does not project; the presupposition can be entailed readily by the antecedent of the conditional. This contrasts sharply with the nominal appositive, the class of CIs discussed above. As shown in (20b), if the antecedent of the conditional entails the meaning contributed by the appositive *the 2002 Tour winner*, the result is strongly infelicitous. It should be noted that the background literature on distinction between CIs and presuppositions is not unified, and the tests introduced above may not work due to other constraints. I, however, assume with Potts (2007) that there are still fairly essential differences between not-at-

issue content and presupposition and only apply these tests when the distinction between the two is clear.

While Potts's (2005) characterization of CIs has been influential in the empirical domains, a growing amount of recent work (e.g., Bach 2006; Williamson 2009; Kubota and Uegaki 2011; McCready 2010; Bosse et al. 2012) shows that not all lexical items/constructions associated with conventionally implicated content are fully independent of the main assertion of a sentence; in other words, some elements can contribute to the at-issue tier and the not-at-issue tier at the same time. This mixed contribution is not expected in Potts's system, as CIs are a distinct type of meaning that has no interaction with the at-issue content. For example, Kubota and Uegaki (2011) show that *morau* benefactives, the *receive*-type benefactives in Japanese, contribute both to the level of ordinary assertion and the not-at-issue meaning, as illustrated in (21).

- (21) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni piano-o hii-te morat-ta.
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat piano-Acc play receive-Pst
 At-issue meaning: 'Taro made Hanako play the piano.'
 Not-at-issue meaning: 'Hanako's playing the piano was for the benefit of Taro.'
 (Kubota and Uegaki 2011, Ex. 9)

As indicated in the glosses, the benefactive sentence involves a causative event (the at-issue content), from which the beneficiary *Taro* receives some benefit (the not-at-issue meaning). Since this benefactive meaning is shown to survive various truth-

conditional operators, *morau*-type benefactives are argued to be mixed-type contributors.

A more recent approach by Bosse et al. (2012) has shown that the affected experiencer in German, an element with a mixed contribution, passes only some of the family of sentences tests introduced above; they show that the affected meaning has properties of both at-issue and not-at-issue tiers.

Therefore, the projection phenomenon is much more widespread and heterogeneous than Potts's (2005) initial insight revealed in his defining features of CIs. That is, it extends to cases which are not only non-presuppositional and projected but also interact with ordinary at-issue content. Moreover, it has been pointed out (e.g., Amarel et al. 2008) that speaker-orientation, one of the central features of CIs presented in Potts, is often not straightforward in many sentences in which CIs are implicated (see Amarel et al. 2008 for relevant discussion of speaker-orientation). Thus, I will assume in accordance with Roberts et al. (2009) and Simons et al. (2010) that the notion of "projective meaning" embodies both what is traditionally viewed as presupposition and phenomena that are projected but not-presuppositional, for example Potts's CIs or an implicature that is projected but may have only some of Potts's defining features of CIs.

1.3 Objectives

The primary goal of this dissertation is to provide additional empirical support for the syntactic approach to predicate decomposition, by investigating different argument structures that encode the meaning of possession, benefactivity, and adversity. I shall show that a verbal morpheme is decomposed into separate syntactic heads denoting possessive meaning in ditransitives (Chapter 2), possessive meaning and benefactive

meaning in *give*-type benefactives (Chapter 3), and adversative meaning in adversity constructions (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5), and, as a result, the semantics under consideration is made explicit in the proposed morpho-syntactic structure. I will also show how the associated syntactic phenomena converge quite neatly under the proposed theory of syntactic decomposition. I further argue, drawing on multidimensional semantics, that not all components of meaning belong to the same meaning category. It will be shown that in benefactive and adversity (passive) constructions the proposed syntactic verbal heads are directly related to two tiers of meaning in the semantics, at-issue content and not-at-issue meaning, by showing that the benefactive and adversative meanings behave like an implicature.

1.4 Structure of the Dissertation

Below, I give a brief description of each of the constructions under consideration, ditransitives, benefactives, and adversity (passive) constructions, in the order in which they will be discussed in the dissertation.

I begin with ditransitive constructions. First establishing that two patterns, the [Dative-Accusative] pattern and the [Accusative-Accusative] pattern, correspond to the prepositional dative construction (the PDC) and the double object construction (the DOC), respectively, in English, I then argue for the availability of two distinct (i.e., asymmetric) structures for ditransitives: in the DOC, unlike in the corresponding PDC, the Goal is introduced by a phonologically null syntactic head that encodes the meaning of possession.

- (22) a. Hana-ka Chelswu-eykey keyiku-lul cwu-ess-ta. [Dat-Acc]
 Hana-Nom Chelswu-Dat cake-Acc give-Pst-Dec

‘Hana gave a cake to Chelswu.’

b. Hana-ka Chelswu-lul keyiku-lul cwu-ess-ta. [Acc-Acc]

Hana-Nom Chelswu-Acc cake-Acc give-Pst-Dec

‘Hana gave Chelswu a cake.’

The proposed analysis has desirable consequences for the semantic and the syntactic properties of ditransitives. First, by decomposing ditransitive verbs that occur in the DOC as having an abstract morpheme, the meaning of possession is made explicit in the syntactic structure. Second, the proposed analysis allows us to capture straightforwardly the asymmetric properties of nominalization and ditransitive idioms, asymmetries that have not received a principled account in the study of Korean ditransitives. In discussing ditransitive idioms, in particular, I connect the Korean facts to ditransitive idioms in Japanese, another language that has been shown to have asymmetric structures (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004; Miyagawa 2012), which gives additional support to the asymmetric theory.

In Chapter 3, I turn to benefactive constructions in Korean and Japanese in which the prototypical ditransitive verb like *cwu-* ‘give’ discussed in the previous chapter is used as a benefactive marker. The verbs *cwu-* ‘give’ in Korean and *ageru-* ‘give’ in Japanese form a complex predicate with the preceding lexical verb, and the sentence implicates a benefactive meaning.

(23) Yumi-ka Hana-eykey pap-ul mantul-e-cwu-ess-ta.

Yumi-Nom Hana-Dat meal-Acc make-e-give-Pst-Dec

‘Yumi made Hana the meal.’

- (24) Yumi-ga Hana-ni gohan-o tukutte-age-ta. JP
 Yumi-Nom Hana-Dat meal-Acc make-give-Pst
 ‘Yumi made Hana the meal.’

Shibatani (1994, 1996) presents puzzling properties of *give*-type benefactives in Korean and Japanese, which leads him to abandon a formal syntactic account and instead choose a cognitive approach. I shall show that Shibatani’s characterization of *give*-type benefactives can be handled by decomposing the benefactive marker *cwu-/age-* ‘give’ into separate syntactic heads, the benefactive head and the possessive head, based on event semantics. Specifically, I shall argue that the benefactive meaning is encoded as an implicit beneficiary, and the benefactive morpheme is the morphological realization of the benefactive head or of a complex head consisting of the benefactive head and the possessive head. I further demonstrate that the benefactive meaning associated with *give*-type benefactives is projected on the not-at-issue tier.

Chapter 4 turns to the adversity passive construction (the APC) in Korean that encodes adversity semantics, the opposite meaning of benefactivity, and gives additional empirical support for the theory of event decomposition in the syntax.

- (25) Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey ilum-ul cek-hi-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat name-Acc write.down-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Chelswu’s name was written down by Yuna.’

One interesting fact is that unlike in the APC the adversative meaning is not present in some related sentences, like ordinary passives or double object constructions. Establishing that the APC is derivationally related to a particular type of double object construction³, I shall show that the APC is decomposed into different syntactic heads that encode a part-whole possession meaning and the adversative meaning. I then demonstrate that the adversative meaning is projected on the not-at-issue tier, which directly accounts for why it is present only in the APC. One novel argument in support of the proposed analysis is drawn from the scope ambiguity of *tasi* ‘again’ in Korean. I will show that the different interpretations created by the adverb can only be explained under the proposed syntactic decomposition approach that builds on the derivational account.

Finally, Chapter 5 investigates the *doon* construction in Thai, another construction that encodes adversity semantics using a verbal morpheme.

- (26) Nít *doōn* Àchārā càp.
 Nit *doon* Achara catch
 ‘Nit was caught by Achara.’

Thai is interesting because it offers another pertinent source of semantic evidence for the hypothesis that the adversative meaning that is pervasively found in other

³ Note that the double object constructions that are discussed in Chapter 4 are different from those discussed in Chapter 2, such that the former involves an inalienable possession relation between the two objects whereas the latter involves ditransitive verbs which takes the two objects as the Goal and the Theme. See Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 for detailed discussions.

languages is a level of meaning that is projected on the not-at-issue tier (Korean, in this dissertation; German and Japanese in Bosse et al. 2012; Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese in Bruening and Tran 2013). I shall show that the *doon* construction is decomposed into several verbal heads including a functional head that introduces the adversative meaning on the not-at-issue tier, in a fashion similar to the passive head in Korean. Nonetheless, I shall show that Thai is distinguished from Korean in that in Thai what is affected adversely is a pragmatically salient entity that is not syntactically overt but is relevant to the context, whereas in Korean the entity being adversely affected is overtly expressed by the referent denoted by the surface subject NP. Another important part of this chapter is a syntactic account of the structure of the *doon* construction. I shall show that the *doon* construction is formed through A'-movement of a null operator based on Sudmuk (2003). I further explain why this movement is not possible from a local subject position (but is possible from a local object and embedded subject and object positions) due to an anti-locality condition on movement and extend this to other, Chinese *bei*-type constructions discussed in the literature.

Chapter 2

DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

2.1 Introduction

Numerous languages have two distinct ways of encoding a relation between a Goal and a Theme with ditransitive verbs. Some of the relevant examples are illustrated in (27) for English and (28) for Greek.

(27) a. Tommy gave an iPod to Julie. PDC

b. Tommy gave Julie an iPod. DOC

(28) a. O Orestis edhose s-ti Lena ena vivlio. PDC

the Orestis.Nom gave to-the Lena a book.Acc

‘Orestis gave a book to Lena.’

b. O Orestis edhose tis Lenas ena vivlio. DOC

the Orestis.Nom gave the Lena.Gen a book.Acc

‘Orestis gave Lena a book.’ (Georgala and Whitman 2009)

In English, as shown in (27a), the first type of ditransitives consists of a direct object (DO, Theme) and an indirect object (IO, Goal) introduced by the preposition *to*. I will call this type the prepositional dative construction (henceforth, PDC). In the second type of ditransitives, as shown in (27b), the IO (Goal) precedes the DO (Theme), which I refer to as the double object construction (henceforth, DOC). As shown in

(28), Greek is another language that participates in an alternation between the PDC and the DOC.

Parallel to English and Greek, Korean exhibits two distinct patterns with ditransitive verbs. Relevant sentences in Korean differ by case marking, the [Dat-Acc] pattern and the [Acc-Acc] pattern as in (29) and (30), respectively. Note that the [Acc-Acc] pattern is limited to a small number of ditransitive verbs, such as *cwu*- ‘give’ and *kaluchi*- ‘teach’ (Jung and Miyagawa 2004).

(29)	Hana-ka	Chelswu-eykey	keyiku-lul	cwu-ess-ta.	[Dat-Acc]
	Hana-Nom	Chelswu-Dat	cake-Acc	give-Pst-Dec	
	‘Hana gave a cake to Chelswu.’				

(30)	Hana-ka	Chelswu-lul	keyiku-lul	cwu-ess-ta.	[Acc-Acc]
	Hana-Nom	Chelswu-Acc	cake-Acc	give-Pst-Dec	
	‘Hana gave Chelswu a cake.’				

In the [Dat-Acc] pattern, as in (29), the IO (Goal) *Chelswu* is marked with the dative marker *-ey(key)*⁴ and the DO (Theme) *keyiku* ‘cake’ is indicated by the accusative case *-(l)ul*.⁵ In the [Acc-Acc] pattern, as in (30), the IO (Goal) *Chelswu* and the DO (Theme) *keyiku* ‘cake’ are both marked with the accusative case *-(l)ul*.

⁴ The allomorphs of the dative marker depend on the animacy of the complement NP: if the NP encodes an inanimate entity, *-ey* is used, and if the NP encodes an animate entity, *-eykey* is used.

⁵ The allomorphs of the accusative-case marker are phonologically conditioned: if the NP ends with a consonant, *-ul* is used, while if the NP ends with a vowel, *-lul* is used.

Given these two patterns, I shall argue that the [Dat-Acc] pattern corresponds to the PDC in English and the [Acc-Acc] pattern is parallel to the DOC in English, by showing that the two patterns have different semantic implications concerning the case alternation and an animacy restriction (Jung and Miyagawa 2004). Establishing that the two distinct constructions exist in Korean, the central question I ask is, should the two ditransitives receive a uniform structural analysis such that they share some syntactic structure (for example, in the form of a small clause), or alternatively does each have its own syntactic structure? One representative view of the former approach is in Harley's (1997, 2002) approach to ditransitives in English, which has been modified by Jung and Miyagawa (2004) for Korean. I will refer to this line of approach as a symmetric theory since under this view the PDC and the DOC both involve a small clause that is only different by semantic components. For the latter, I will introduce Bruening's (2010) asymmetric theory (based on Marantz 1993) which posits a different syntactic structure for each construction (i.e., the Goal argument in the DOC, unlike that in the PDC, is introduced by a phonologically null verbal predicate), and shall argue that this asymmetric structure is applicable to the data in Korean. Supporting arguments are drawn from two types of asymmetric properties regarding nominalization, and idiom patterns, the asymmetries that have not received a principled account in the study of the Korean ditransitives. In discussing ditransitive idioms, in particular, I connect the Korean facts to ditransitive idioms in Japanese, another language that has been shown to have the asymmetric structure (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004; Miyagawa 2012), and make my points stronger.

It should be noted that I share with Harley (1997, 2002) and Jung and Miyagawa (2004) the assumption that there is a difference in meaning between the

PDC and the DOC. However, I will contend that such an assumption is not sufficient to indicate what the correct structure is for each construction. Mainly problematic is that the symmetric theory makes the incorrect prediction that the PDC and the DOC pattern uniformly regarding syntactic distributions, as they are distinguished only by semantic contents. I will discuss in detail that there are a wide range of phenomena that distinguish the PDC from the DOC, and these facts cannot be independently captured by purely semantic notions like possession meaning that is only available in the DOC.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. In Section 2.2, I show adopting Jung and Miyagawa (2004) that the [Dat-Acc] pattern corresponds to the PDC and the [Acc-Acc] pattern to the DOC in English. Section 2.3 introduces the two approaches proposed in the literature. In Section 2.4, I argue for the asymmetric theory. In Section 2.4.1, I offer evidence involving nominalization and show how the asymmetric theory is successful in explaining a wide body of data in Korean; Section 2.4.2 provides idioms and show why the symmetric theory cannot be maintained. In Section 2.4.3, I present ditransitive idioms in Japanese as additional support for the proposed asymmetric theory. Section 2.5 concludes this chapter, with some implications for the asymmetric theory of ditransitives.

2.2 Two Types of Ditransitive Constructions in Korean

This section shows how the [Dat-Acc] and the [Acc-Acc] patterns correspond to the PDC and the DOC, respectively. Central support for this argument is drawn from semantic differences between the two patterns. As noted in Jung and Miyagawa (2004), the Goal in the [Acc-Acc] pattern receives a possessor interpretation, whereas the salient reading for the Goal in the [Dat-Acc] pattern is a location meaning.

Specifically, the [Acc-Acc] pattern observes an animacy constraint, whereas the corresponding [Dat-Acc] pattern does not. As shown in (31), the Goal in the [Acc-Acc] pattern is restricted to animate entities, but the corresponding argument in the [Dat-Acc] pattern has no such restriction (Jung and Miyagawa 2004).

- (31) a. Yuna-ka sitayk-ey/si.tayk sikkwu-eykey ton-ul
 Yuna -Nom in-laws.home-Dat/in-laws.home family.member-Dat money-Acc
 cwu-ess-ta.
 give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yuna gave money to the home of her in-laws/the family members of her in-laws.’
- b. #Yuna -ka sitayk-ul ton-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 Yuna -Nom in-laws.home-Acc money-Acc give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yuna gave the home of her in-laws money.’
- c. Yuna -ka sitayk sikkwu-lul ton-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 Yuna -Nom in-laws.home family.member-Acc money-Acc give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yuna gave the family members of her in-laws money.’

As shown in (31a), the inanimate NP *sitayk* ‘home of in-laws’ in the [Acc-Acc] pattern yields a degraded reading, because inanimate entities cannot be interpreted as possessors in general. As shown in (31b), instead, the sentence improves if the inanimate NP is replaced with the animate NP *sitayk sikkwu* ‘the family members of her in-laws’, in which the sentence has a strong implication that the members of the family own the money, as a voluntary possessor. By contrast, the [Dat-Acc] pattern

has no animacy requirement. In (31c), the most salient interpretation is that the money is located at the home of her in-laws or at the family members of her in-laws.

The contrast between the [Dat-Acc] and the [Acc-Acc] patterns is further presented below, which is analogous to the PDC and the DOC in English, respectively (Oehrle 1976; Larson 1988). In English, the DOC in (32b), in comparison with the PDC in (32a), carries the implication that the students indeed acquired some knowledge of the French language.

(32) a. John taught French to the students.

b. John taught the students French.

Turning to Korean, the [Acc-Acc] pattern in (33b) has much stronger implication that the students possess knowledge of French, while this implication is relatively weaker in the [Dat-Acc] pattern in (33a).⁶

(33) a. Hana-ka haksayngtul-eykey pwule-lul kaluchi-ess-ta. [Dat-Acc]

Hana-Nom students-Dat French-Acc teach-Pst-Dec

‘Hana taught French to the students.’

b. Hana-ka haksayngtul-ul pwule-lul kaluchi-ess-ta. [Acc-Acc]

Hana-Nom students-Acc French-Acc teach-Pst-Dec

⁶ The nature of the possession meaning is often unclear, as *actual* possession of the Goal can be cancelled in the DOC. This is not surprising, however. As noted in pertinent literature, there are often lexical variations regarding the possession entailment. The DOC is nonetheless distinguished from the PDC in terms of *intended* or *prospective* possession (e.g., Gropen et al. 1989; Beavers 2011; inter alia).

‘Hana taught the students French.’

Another piece of empirical evidence that the [Acc-Acc] pattern has the possession meaning is drawn from quantifier scope in Korean. In Korean and Japanese, distinct from English, scope is frozen in the canonical word order.

In English, the canonical [Subject-Verb-Object] order displays scope ambiguity: as illustrated in (34), ‘some’ can take scope over ‘every’ or vice-versa.⁷

(34) Some student read every book.

‘some > every’: ‘A particular student read all the books.’

‘every > some’: ‘For each book, a possibly different student read it.’

In Korean, however, the corresponding sentence in (35), the canonical [Subject-Object-Verb] order, does not exhibit the scope ambiguity (Joo 1989; Ahn 1990; Sohn 1995; Hagstrom 1998; inter alia).

(35) etten haksayng-i motun chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 some student-Nom every book-Acc read-Pst-Dec

‘Some student read every book.’

‘some > every’: ‘A particular student read all the books.’

‘*every > some’: ‘For each book, a possibly different student read it.’

⁷ I assume that the scope of quantifiers can be explained with quantifier raising (e.g., Chomsky 1976; May 1985).

Different from English, the only available reading in Korean is ‘there is a particular student who read all the books’, the reading under the ‘some > every’ scope.

However, the scope ambiguity becomes available if the object precedes the subject through scrambling, as shown in (36).

- (36) a. motun chayk-ul₁ etten haksayng-i t₁ ilk-ess-ta.
 every book-Acc some student-Nom read-Pst-Dec
 ‘Some student read every book.’
 ‘every > some’: ‘For each book, a possibly different student read it.’
 ‘some > every’: ‘There is a particular student who read all the books.’
- b. etten chayk-ul₁ motun haksayng-i t₁ ilk-ess-ta.
 some book-Acc every student-Nom read-Pst-Dec
 ‘Every student read some book.’
 ‘some > every’: ‘There is a particular book that all the students read.’
 ‘every > some’: ‘Each student read a possibly different book.’

In (36a), the scrambled sentence reveals the scope ambiguity: ‘some’ takes scope over ‘every’ or vice-versa. The same is true of (36b).

Hence, scope rigidity is attested in the [Subj-Obj] order, the canonical word order in Korean, as in (35), but not in the [Obj-Subj] order, a scrambled word order, as in (36), which has been described as the ‘scope freezing effect’ (i.e., scope is frozen in the canonical word order).

Turning to ditransitives, the [Dat-Acc] pattern displays scope ambiguity under scrambling: scope is frozen in the [Dat-Acc] pattern, but flexible in the scrambled [Acc-Dat] order, as shown in (37).

- (37) a. Hana-ka etten ai-eykey motun chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta. [Dat-Acc]
 Hana-Nom some kid-Dat every book-Acc give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Hana gave every book to some kid.’
 ‘some > every’: ‘Hana gave all the books to a particular kid.’
 ‘*every > some’: ‘For every book, Hana gave it to a possibly different kid.’
- b. Hana-ka motun chayk-ul_i etten ai-eykey t_i cwu-ess-ta. [Acc-Dat]
 Hana-Nom every book-Acc some kid-Dat give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Hana gave every book to some kid.’
 ‘some > every’: ‘Hana gave all the books to a particular kid.’
 ‘every > some’: ‘For every book, Hana gave it to a possibly different kid.’
- c. Hana-ka etten chayk-ul_i motun ai-eykey t_i cwu-ess-ta. [Acc-Dat]
 Hana-Nom some book-Acc every kid-Dat give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Hana gave some book to every kid.’
 ‘some > every’: ‘There is a particular book that Hana gave to all the kids.’
 ‘every > some’: ‘For every kid, Hana gave a possibly different book to him.’

In (37a), in the [Dat-Acc] order ‘some’ only takes scope over ‘every’, whereas in (37b), the scrambled [Acc-Dat] order is ambiguous between the two readings, since ‘some’ can take scope over ‘every’ or vice-versa. In (37c), similarly, scope ambiguity

occurs in the scrambled [Acc-Dat] order, where the Theme consists of the existential quantifier ‘some’ and the Goal contains the universal quantifier ‘every’.⁸

But, unlike what I find in the [Dat-Acc] order, scope is frozen in the corresponding [Acc-Acc] order, in which the second accusative object (Theme) is unable to take scope over the first accusative object (Goal) in the scrambled order.

(38) a. Hana-ka etten ai-lul motun chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta. [Goal-Theme]

Hana-Nom some kid-Acc every book-Acc give-Pst-Dec

‘Hana gave some kid every book.’

‘some > every’: ‘Hana gave a particular kid all the books.’

‘*every > some’: ‘For every book, Hana gave it to a possibly different kid.’

b. Hana-ka motun chayk-ul_i etten ai-lul t_i cwu-ess-ta. [Theme-Goal]

Hana-Nom every book-Acc some kid-Acc give-Pst-Dec

‘Hana gave some kid every book.’

‘some > every’: ‘Hana gave a particular kid all the books.’

‘*every > some’: ‘For every book, Hana gave it to a possibly different kid.’

⁸ I do not provide the corresponding [Dat-Acc] order like below because the data are not appropriate for testing scope ambiguity. (1) below has the ‘every > some’ reading: this covers both the situation in which ‘each kid received a different book’ and the situation in which ‘each kid received the same book’. Hence, (1) illustrates an issue of vagueness, not ambiguity.

(1) Hana-ka motun ai-eykey etten chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
Hana-Nom every kid-Dat some book-Acc give-Pst-Dec
‘Hana gave every book to some kid.’

In (38a), the [Acc-Acc] order receives only the surface scope reading, in which ‘some’ takes scope over ‘every’. In a similar vein, in the scrambled order in (38b), we get only the ‘some>every’ reading, ‘Hana gave a particular kid all the books’.

From these observed facts, we see that inverse scope is available in the [Dat-Acc] pattern, but unavailable in the [Acc-Acc] pattern. It is surprising, then, why scrambling of the DO across the IO does not alter the scope relation in the [Acc-Acc] pattern (but it does in the [Dat-Acc] pattern). This difference in scope is attributable to the possession meaning in which the possession meaning in general bans the inverse scope reading. For example, sentences with *have* display no scope ambiguity: as illustrated in (39), the subject takes scope over the object, and the object may not take scope over the subject.

(39) One student had every textbook.

‘one > every’: ‘One student had all the textbooks.’

*‘every > one’: ‘Each student had one textbook.’

Also, sentences like (40) which involve the possession meaning represented as lexical words like *soyuha-* ‘own’ or *kac-* ‘have’ disprefer an inverse scope reading in the scrambled order.

(40) a. *twu salam-i motun cip-ul soyuha-yess-ta/kac-ko iss-ess-ta.*

two people-Nom every house-Acc own-Pst-Dec/have-ko exist-Pst-Dec

‘Two people had every house.’

‘two > every’: ‘Two people had all the houses.’

*‘every > two’: ‘For every house, two people had it.’

b. motun cip-ul₁ twu salam-i t₁ soyuha-yess-ta/kac-ko iss-ess-ta.

every house-Acc two people-Nom own-Pst-Dec/have-ko exist-Pst-Dec

‘Two people had every house.’

‘two > every’: ‘Two people had all the houses.’

*‘every > two’: ‘For every house, two people had it.’

As shown in (40a), scope is frozen in the [Subj-Obj] order: the available reading is that two people had all the houses, the reading under the ‘two > every’ scope. Note that (40a) receives two interpretations due to the nature of plural subjects that is not available with singular subjects: there are two people who are the collective owners of every house (e.g., every house is co-owned by the same two people) and there are two people and they together own every house (e.g., one person owns 70% of the houses and the other 30% of them). Notably, in the corresponding scrambled [Obj-Subj] order, which contrasts with (36) in which scope is usually flexible in the scrambled order, the inverse scope reading is unavailable: the object is unable to take scope over the subject because of the possession meaning that is lexically represented by verbs meaning ‘have’.

Therefore, the observed facts follow straightforwardly if the [Dat-Acc] pattern is parallel to PDC and the [Acc-Acc] pattern to the DOC. Given that the PDC and the DOC receive location and possessor readings, respectively, for their Goal argument in English, that in Korean the [Acc-Acc] pattern has the possessor reading and the [Dat-Acc] pattern has the location reading reveals that in Korean these case markings are

crucial to determine the type of ditransitive construction, as pointed out by Jung and Miyagawa (2004).⁹

Finally, I need to point out that the two arguments (the IO and the DO) can be fairly freely reordered within the [Dat-Acc] and the [Acc-Acc] patterns, because Korean, as a scrambling language, permits word-order alternation, as represented schematically in (41) and (42). Note, however, that the scrambling operation does not change the animacy constraint or the possessor interpretation.

(41) PDC: [Dat-Acc] pattern

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| a. [Indirect Object-Dat | Direct Object-Acc] |
| Goal | Theme |
| b. [Direct Object-Acc | Indirect Object-Dat] |
| Theme | Goal |

(42) DOC: [Acc-Acc] pattern

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a. [Indirect Object-Acc ₁ | Direct Object-Acc ₂] |
| Goal | Theme |
| b. [Direct Object-Acc ₂ | Indirect Object-Acc ₁] |
| Theme | Goal |

⁹ Note that Korean has a very limited number of lexical causative verbs, *mek-i* ‘feed’, *sin-ki* ‘put shoes on someone’, and *mwul-li* ‘suckle’, that behave like ditransitive verbs (e.g., *cwu-* ‘show’, *ponay-* ‘send’, *kaluchi-* ‘teach’, *tenci-* ‘throw’, and *noh-* ‘put’) in terms of case alternation and animacy requirement (Jung and Miyagawa 2004).

What this means is that both the [Dat-Acc] and the [Acc-Dat] orders are available in the PDC, and the DOC also permits the [Acc₁-Acc₂] and [Acc₂-Acc₁] orders. I assume following the standard approach to word order in the Korean literature that the [Goal-Theme] order is the underlying order and the [Theme-Goal] order is derived from the corresponding [Goal-Theme] order by scrambling the Theme across the Goal: that is, the [Acc-Dat] order in the PDC and the [Acc₂-Acc₁] order in the DOC are derived from the [Dat-Acc] and the [Acc₁-Acc₂] orders, respectively (e.g., Lee 1991, 1993; Cho 1994; Choi 1999; Lee 2004; Kim 2008; Oh and Zubizarreta 2009). Note that I will return to this issue and present some evidence illustrating the standard view in Section 2.3.1, where I also note that a Harley-type structure cannot be directly extended to the data in Korean.

2.3 An Analysis of the Ditransitive Construction in Korean

Now that the [Dat-Acc] pattern corresponds to the PDC and the [Acc-Acc] pattern to the DOC, I will make the claim that the structures of the PDC and the DOC in Korean are asymmetric, namely the DOC, unlike the corresponding PDC, is introduced by an applicative head which encodes a possessor reading. In order to do so, I first outline two approaches suggested in the literature: Harley's (1997, 2002) symmetric theory and Bruening's (2010) asymmetric theory. I then turn to various phenomena in Section 2.4, and motivate an asymmetric theory of the Korean ditransitives.

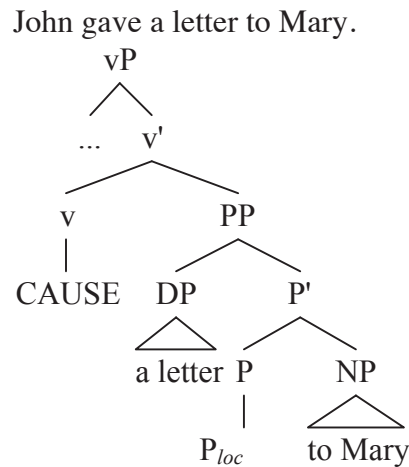
2.3.1 Symmetric Theory

One influential work in the study of ditransitives is in Harley's (1997, 2002) symmetric approach according to which the PDC and the DOC both involve a PP small clause, as illustrated in (43a) and (43b), respectively. Following Bruening's

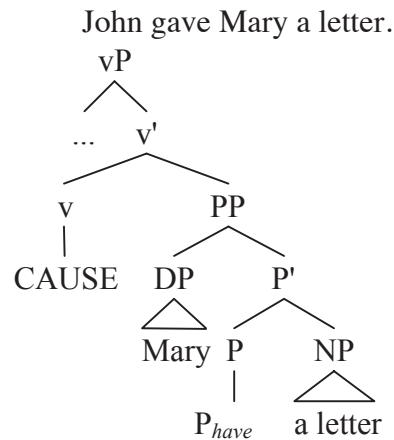
(2010) terminology, I refer to Harley's approach as a symmetric theory because it postulates a symmetric structure for the two constructions.¹⁰

(43) Harley's structure (Harley 2002, Ex. 3)

a. PDC



b. DOC



In Harley's symmetric theory, the PDC has a locative structure introduced by P_{loc} as in (43a) and the DOC has a possessive structure headed by P_{have} as in (43b). In this way, ditransitive verbs are a combination of $[v_{cause} + P_{loc}]$ and $[v_{cause} + P_{have}]$ in the PDC and the DOC, respectively. Also, notice here that the relative hierarchy of the two objects differs between the PDC and the DOC: in the PDC the Theme asymmetrically c-commands the Goal, whereas in the DOC the Goal asymmetrically c-commands the Theme (see Larson 1988 for detailed discussion of the syntactic asymmetries observed in English ditransitives). These structures are an important aspect of Harley's theory,

¹⁰ Harley (2007), in her talk given at the ABRALIN Congress in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, modifies her structure of the PDC based on Larson's split-VP proposal.

for example, to account for idioms: the PDC has [P_{loc} + Goal] idioms and the DOC has [P_{have} + Theme] idioms.

It appears, however, that extending Harley's structure to the relevant data in Korean is not straightforward. In particular, if the Korean internal fact regarding word order as noted in Section 2.2 is taken into consideration, the standard analysis is that the [Goal-Theme] order is basic, and the [Theme-Goal] order is derived by scrambling (e.g. Lee 1991, 1993; Cho 1994; Choi 1999; Lee 2004; Kim 2008; Oh and Zubizarreta 2009).

One piece of evidence illustrating this analysis is the chain condition effect concerning *kucasin* 'himself' as reported in Kim (2008), where she duplicates arguments from Japanese based on Yatsushiro (2003). The chain condition effect (Rizzi 1986) shows up when the trace of the moved R-expression is locally c-commanded by the anaphor within a chain (the chain is formed after an R-expression has raised across the anaphor), and this causes the sentence to be ungrammatical.

Turning to the ditransitive constructions, the [Goal-Theme] order does not exhibit the chain condition effect, but the [Theme-Goal] order does, indicating that the Goal is base-generated higher than the Theme. Consider (44).

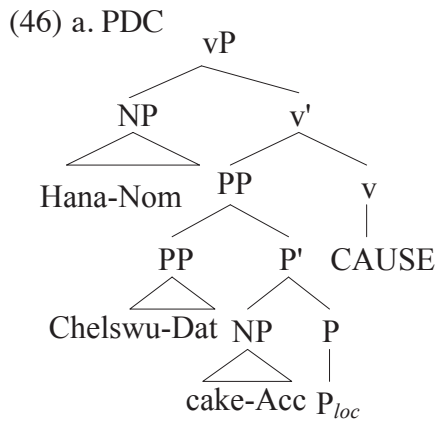
- (44) a. (kewul-ul sayonghay-se) Hana-ka Chelswu₁-eykey kucasin₁-ul
 mirror-Acc use-while Hana-Nom Chelswu-Dat himself-Acc
 poyecwu-ess-ta.
 show-Pst-Dec
 '(Using the mirror) Hana showed himself to Chelswu.'

- b. *(kewul-ul sayonghay-se) Hana-ka Chelswu-lul_i kucasin_i-eykey t_i
 mirror-Acc use-while Hana-Nom Chelswu-Acc himself-Dat
 poyecwu-ess-ta.
 show-Pst-Dec
 ‘(Using the mirror) Hana showed Chelswu to himself.’

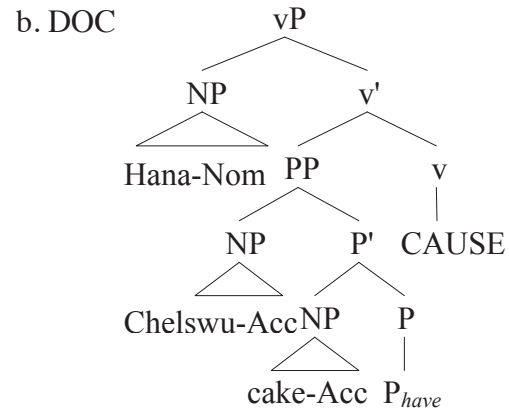
In (44a), in the [Goal-Theme] order the Theme is c-commanded by the Goal in the base-generated position. If one posits that the [Goal-Theme] order is derived from the [Theme-Goal] order, (44a) should be ungrammatical because the trace of the R-expression (the Goal) would be c-commanded by the anaphor (the Theme) within a chain. But in fact it is the [Theme-Goal] order in (44b) that shows the chain condition effect: the trace of the moved R-expression (the Theme) is c-commanded by the anaphor (the Goal). It thus follows that the Goal must be base-generated higher than the Theme, indicating that the [Goal-Theme] order is basic and the [Theme-Goal] order is derived by scrambling.

Now, if the standard view is correct, Harley’s symmetric structure is not directly applicable to the data in Korean, and this leads us to revise her original mechanism in such a way that it correctly captures the syntactic relation between the Goal and the Theme. Jung and Miyagawa (2004), assuming that this standard view is on the right track, have revised Harley’s original mechanism in a way that correctly captures the syntactic relation between the Goal and the Theme, as illustrated in (46). In the rest of the chapter, I will assume these modified structures for the symmetric theory.

- (45) a. Hana-ka Chelswu-eykey keyiku-lul cwu-ess-ta. PDC
 Hana-Nom Chelswu-Dat cake-Acc give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Hana gave a cake to Chelswu.’



‘Hana caused a cake to go to Chelswu.’



‘Hana caused Chelswu to have a cake.’

As shown in (46), the modified structures in the spirit of Harley show that the PDC and the DOC are only different in the flavor of P as the Goal always asymmetrically c-commands the Theme in Korean. The empirical question then is, do the PDC and the DOC pattern uniformly with respect to syntactic distributions? Clearly, the answer is ‘no’, as I will find asymmetric distributions between the PDC and the DOC. Importantly, I agree that Harley’s structure makes a convincing case for the meaning difference between the two frames, and it has been advocated in a number of works for other languages (Bleam 2003 on Spanish, Rimrott 2007 on German, among others). In this paper, I also make the assumption with Harley and Jung and Miyagawa that there are slightly different semantics between the PDC and the DOC as discussed in Section 2.2. Nevertheless, what I am arguing is that these modified structures are

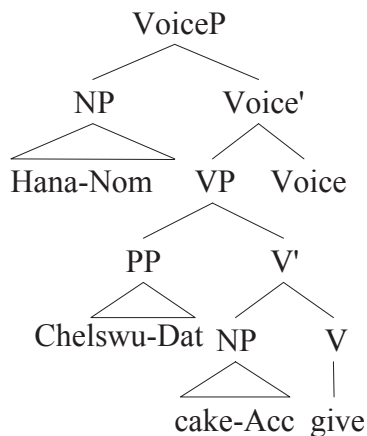
too strong to maintain: it wrongly predicts that only semantic content plays into the distinction between the PDC and the DOC when different syntactic patterns are also apparent. In Section 2.4, I offer empirical evidence from the data in Korean as well as relevant evidence from the ditransitives in Japanese (based on Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004, Miyagawa 2012), and shall argue that these facts cannot be independently captured by purely semantic notions like a possession meaning that is only available in the DOC.

2.3.2 Asymmetric Theory

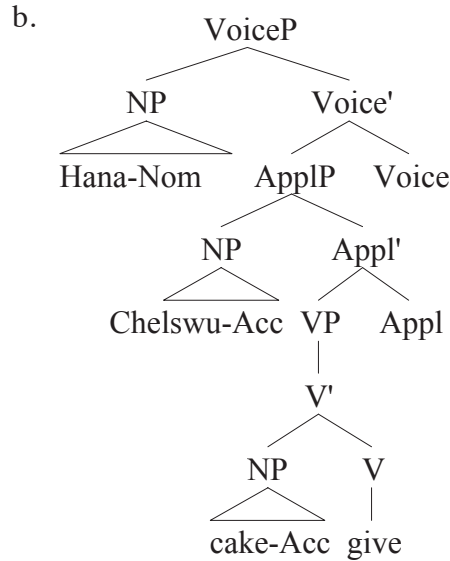
Alternatively, I propose an asymmetric theory (Bruening 2010, building on ideas in Marantz 1993), which posits a distinct structure for each construction, as illustrated in (47) for the PDC and (48) for the DOC. Adopting Kratzer (1996), I assume, as noted in the introductory chapter, that the external argument of the sentence is introduced by a functional head, Voice.

- (47) a. Hana-ka Chelswu-eykey keyiku-lul cwu-ess-ta. PDC
 Hana-Nom Chelswu-Dat cake-Acc give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Hana gave a cake to Chelswu.’

b.



- (48) a. Hana-ka Chelswu-lul keyiku-lul cwu-ess-ta. DOC
 Hana-Nom Chelswu-Acc cake-Acc give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Hana gave Chelswu a cake.’



According to the asymmetric structure in (47), the IO (Goal) and the DO (Theme) in the PDC are the arguments of the ditransitive verb within the VP. In the DOC, in contrast, the first accusative object (the IO) is an argument of a phonologically null applicative morpheme, while the second accusative object (the DO) is the argument of the ditransitive verb, as in (48) (Marantz 1993, Bruening 2010).

Semantically, the applicative head (henceforth, Appl) is responsible for the meaning of possession, the meaning that is absent in the corresponding PDC discussed earlier, as formalized in (49).

(49) Semantics of Appl(icative)

$\llbracket \text{Appl} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda e. \text{HAVE}(e) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{possessor}(e, y)$ (Bruening 2010)

This head takes the possessor (realized as the accusative IO) and the possessee (realized as the accusative DO) and denotes a possession relation between the Goal and an event described by the verb (see Bruening 2010 for detailed computations). Note that I will revisit this notion of possession in Chapter 3, where I discuss the semantics of *give*-type benefactives in Korean and Japanese.

Therefore, the ditransitive structures under Bruening's (2010) approach are asymmetric: the DOC has an additional layer of applicative structure with the meaning of possession, whereas the PDC takes a simpler structure involving only a VP.

2.4 Asymmetric Distributions in Korean

Having outlined the two competing theories for ditransitives, I proceed to demonstrate that the asymmetric theory can explain a wide range of data in Korean. In the subsequent sections I offer two pieces of evidence, nominalization (in Section 2.4.1) and idioms (in Section 2.4.2) and discuss in detail that the proposed asymmetric structure satisfactorily accounts for the facts in Korean, whereas Harley's symmetric structure advocated by Jung and Miyagawa (2004) does not. In Section 2.4.3, I will extend the asymmetric analysis into ditransitive idioms in Japanese as further support for the asymmetric theory.

2.4.1 Nominalization

In English, the PDC can undergo nominalization, whereas the corresponding DOC cannot. This is illustrated in (50) and (51), respectively.

(50) a. The gift of a statue to Mary

b. The sale of a defective car to us (Bruening 2010, Ex. 19)

(51) a. *The gift of Mary (of) a statue (Bruening 2010, Ex. 17a)

b. *Mary's gift of the letter by her teacher (Kayne 1984, Ex. 62)

Bruening (2010) explains this by citing Pesetsky's (1995) argument that the affixation of a null morpheme to a verbal root prevents further derivations like nominalization (presented initially by Myers 1984). That is, a null applicative morpheme presented in the DOC, in combination with a ditransitive verb, prevents nominalization, whereas this null morpheme is absent in the PDC, and thereby the PDC can be nominalized.

Turning to Korean, Korean patterns like English: $-(u)m$ nominalizations are possible in the PDC, but not in the DOC. Note that the nominalizer $-(u)m$ 'the act or fact of being/doing' attaches to the base of the verb (Sohn 2005). In the $-(u)m$ nominalization, the DO, the accusative-marked object, bears only the postnominal genitive case marking $-uy$, while the IO must maintain its dative marker, and the entire PP must bear the genitive case marking. Let us first consider the PDC data with $-(u)m$ nominalization.

(52) a. Thim-i Chelswu-eykey mapep-ul kaluchi-ess-ta.

Tim-Nom Chelswu-Dat magic-Acc teach-Pst-Dec

'Tim taught magic to Chelswu.'

b. Chelswu-eykey-uy mapep-uy kaluchi-m.

Chelswu-Dat-Gen magic-Gen teach-Nml

'The teaching of magic to Chelswu'

(53) a. Chelswu-ka yeca chinkwu-eykey ku hyangswu-lul senmwul-ha-yess-ta.

Chelswu-Nom female friend-Dat that perfume-Acc gift-do-Pst-Dec

‘Chelswu gave the perfume to his girlfriend (as a gift).’

b. yeca chinkwu-eykey-uy ku hyangswu-uy senmwul(-ha-m).

female friend-Dat-Gen that perfume-Gen gift(-do-Nml)

‘The gift of the perfume to his girlfriend’

(52) shows that the PDC can be nominalized: the sentence receives the meaning of ‘the teaching of magic to Chelswu’ with an implicit agent implied. The same holds for (53), meaning ‘give something as a gift’, and again an implicit agent is implied.

However, nominalization is not licit in the corresponding DOC, as illustrated in (54) and (55).

(54) a. Thim-i Chelswu-lul mapep-ul kaluchi-ess-ta.

Tim-Nom Chelswu-Acc magic-Acc teach-Pst-Dec

‘Tim taught Chelswu magic.’

b. *Chelswu-uy mapep-uy kaluchi-m.

Chelswu-Gen magic-Gen teach-Nml

‘Chelswu’s teaching of magic’¹¹

¹¹ The sentence in (54) is grammatical under a different reading, ‘the teaching of magic by Chelswu’, where the source sentence is as follows.

(2) a. Chelswu-ka mapep-ul kaluchi-ess-ta. b. Chelswu-uy mapep-uy kaluchi-m.

Chelswu-Nom magic-Acc teach-Pst-Dec Chelswu-Gen magic-Gen teach-Nml

‘Chelswu taught magic.’ ‘The teaching of magic by Chelswu.’

(55) a. Chelswu-ka yeca chinkwu-lul ku hyangswu-lul senmwul-ha-yess-ta.

Chelswu-Nom female friend-Acc that perfume-Acc gift-do-Pst-Dec

‘Chelswu gave his girlfriend the perfume (as a gift).’

b. *yeca chinkwu-uy ku hyangswu-uy senmwul(-ha-m).

female friend-Gen that perfume-Gen gift(-do-Nml)

‘The girl friend’s present of perfume’¹²

In order to explain this nominalization asymmetry, however, Myers’ generalization is not at work, given that nominalizations in Korean seem to permit a null morpheme like Voice.¹³ As illustrated in (56), the subject of the sentence may also undergo nominalization.

(56) a. sensayngnim-kkeyse Chelswu-eykey mapep-ul kaluchi-si-n-ta.

¹² Similar to (54), (55b) is grammatical under a different reading of ‘the gift of the perfume by the girlfriend’. See the following source sentence.

(3) a. yeca chinkwu-ka ku hyangswu-lul senmwul-ha-yess-ta.

female friend-Nom that perfume-Gen gift-do-Pst-Dec

‘The girl friend gave the perfume (as a gift).’

b. yeca chinkwu-uy ku hyangswu-uy senmwul.

female friend-Gen that perfume-Gen gift

‘The gift of the perfume by the girlfriend.’

¹³ Benjamin Bruening (p.c.) also points out that many nominalizations in English clearly have Voice, indicating that Myers’ generalization would require modifications to handle the PDC in English.

(4) The sale of a defective car to us by John.

Such a fact may tell us that only a thematic argument of a verb may undergo nominalization in English, as pointed out in Bruening (2010, Page 528, Footnote 9).

teacher-Hon.Nom Chelswu-Dat magic-Acc teach-Hon-Pres-Dec

‘The teacher taught magic to Chelswu.’

b. sensayngnim-kkeyse-uy Chelswu-eykey-uy mapep-uy kaluchi-si-m.

teacher-Hon.Nom-Gen Chelswu-Dat-Gen magic-Gen teach-Hon-Nml

‘The teaching of magic to Chelswu by the teacher.’

Therefore, applying Myers’ generalization to the data in Korean would make the incorrect prediction that the PDC cannot be nominalized, as the null head Voice would block the nominalization.¹⁴ Instead, based on the idea from Beck and Johnson (2004, Footnote 2) and Bruening (2010, Footnote 9), I suggest by drawing data from resultatives and ECM constructions that there is an independent reason why the DOC cannot nominalize: non-selected arguments generally may not nominalize, but selected arguments may. In this account, then, the nominalization in the DOC should be

¹⁴ While Myers’ generalization has been arguably accepted as the standard view for dealing with the asymmetric distribution in nominalizations, many authors have also noted a weakness associated with this generalization, and there have been two approaches to overcoming the weakness in the literature. One approach is to reject the idea and to offer a different kind of analysis (e.g., Marantz 1997 on English; Anagnostopoulou 2005 on Greek). The other approach is to maintain Myers’ generalization such that it is a restriction only on specific derivational morphology such as the nominalizers *-ion* in English and *-kata* in Japanese (Miyagawa 2012).

Admittedly, different approaches may be at work across languages to explain the asymmetric distribution in nominalization. Regardless of the type of alternative, however, what is crucial here is that a Harley-type theory runs into difficulty anyway: since it posits a symmetric structure for the PDC and the DOC, the only argument to maintain the theory is to hypothesize that the possession meaning has a special status for some reason, and that this meaning blocks the nominalization. While this approach might be plausible at first glance, it turns out to be incorrect once I take into consideration the data, as illustrated in (56) in the text.

excluded because the Goal in the DOC is not a thematic argument of a verb, but of Appl.

Let us first observe two types of resultatives in Korean, selected resultatives (e.g., *Tim wiped the table clean*) and non-selected resultatives (e.g., *Jane screamed her throat hoarse*) from Wechsler and Noh (2001) and Son (2008), and their nominalized sentences.

- (57) a. Inho-ka pyek-ul ppalkah-key chilha-ess-ta. Selected resultative
 Inho-Nom wall-Acc red-key paint-Pst-Dec
 ‘Inho painted the wall red’ (Son 2008: 91, Ex. 3c)
- b. Kim-un meli-lul ccalp-key cala-ass-ta.
 Kim-Top hair-Acc short-key cut-Pst-Dec
 ‘Kim cut her hair short.’ (Wechsler and Noh 2001:16, Ex. 30b)

- (58) a. pyek-uy ppalkah-key chilha-m. Nominalization
 wall-Gen red-key paint-Nml
 ‘The painting of the wall red (by someone)’
- b. meli-uy ccalp-key cal-um.
 hair-Gen short-key cut-Nml
 ‘The cutting of the hair short (by someone).’

- (59) a. Chelswu-ka mok-i swi-key solichi-ess-ta. Non-selected resultative
 Chelswu-Nom throat-Nom get.hoarse-key scream-Pst-Dec
 ‘Chelswu screamed his throat hoarse.’

b. Yenghi-ka sonswuken-i cec-key wul-ess-ta.
 Yenghi-Nom handkerchief-Nom get.wet-key cry-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yenghi cried her handkerchief wet.’ (Son 2008: 91, Ex. 4c)

- (60) a. *mok-uy swi-key solichi-m. Nominalization
 throat-Gen get.hoarse-key scream-Nml
 ‘The screaming of the throat hoarse (by someone).’
 b. *sonswuken-uy cec-key wul-um.
 handkerchief-Gen get.wet-key cry-Nml
 ‘The crying of the handkerchief wet (by someone).’

As shown above, in selected resultative like (57) and (58) the selected object can undergo nominalization, whereas in non-selected resultatives like (59) and (60) the non-selected object cannot.

In a similar vein, in ECM constructions the non-selected objects do not undergo nominalization, as illustrated in (61).¹⁵

- (61) a. Mina-ka Chelswu-lul/ka ttokttokha-ta-ko mit-nun-ta.
 Mina-Nom Chelswu-Acc/Nom smart-Dec-C believe-Pres-Dec
 ‘Mina believes Chelswu to be smart.’

¹⁵ I assume that ECM constructions in general have a non-selected object. It should, however, be noted that ECM constructions in Korean may differ from those in English because of the possibility for a non-selected object to also alternate with a nominative case. Much debate has taken place on the case alternation in the Korean ECM constructions, and I refer readers to Yoon (2007) and references cited there.

- b. ??*Chelswu-uy ttokttokha-ta-ko-uy mit-um.
 Chelswu-Gen smart-Dec-C-Gen believe-Nml
 ‘The belief of Chelswu being smart (by someone).’

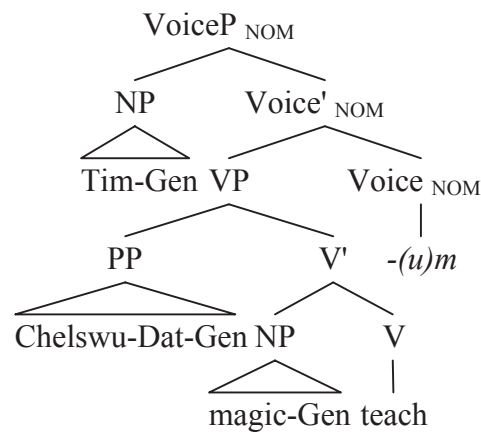
Turning to the ditransitives, then, the proposed asymmetric structure, with independent evidence that only a thematic argument of a verb may nominalize, makes the right prediction that the DOC cannot be nominalized because the Goal is not a thematic argument of a verb but of Appl, as shown in (63). However, the PDC can be nominalized because the Goal is a thematic argument of a verb, as illustrated in (62). Note that the subject can participate in the nominalization, although it is not a thematic argument of a verb. This is not unexpected, however, with Kratzer’s (1996) observation that the genitive subject may be associated with a more general notion of ‘relatedness’, unlike the nominative subject, and the agent role is one case of the relatedness role.¹⁶ With this assumption, I make the hypothesis that the nominalized

¹⁶ I thank Shigeru Miyagawa (p.c.) for pointing this out to me. Similar to Kratzer’s (1996) argument, the genitive subject in (5a), in addition to the agents of the drawing event, can be understood as the attenders of the drawing event, and (5b) is compatible with Yuna or someone else reading Shakespeare’s Sonnet.

- (5) a. kim.kica-uy phikhaso-uy kuli-m-un pak.kica-uy
 Kim.journalist-Gen Picasso-Gen draw-Nml-Top Park.journalist-Gen
 kohu-uy kulim-pota hwelssin cohta-nun phyengka-lul pat-ass-ta.
 Gogh-Gen draw-than far.much good-Adn evaluation-Acc receive-Pst-Dec
 ‘The journalist Kim’s drawing of Picasso received an evaluation that was far
 much better than the journalist Park’s drawing of Gogh.’
 b. Yuna-nun Shakespeare-uy Sonnet-uy ilk-um-ul culki-n-ta.
 Yuna-Top Shakespeare-Gen Sonnet-Gen read-Nml-Acc enjoy-Pres-Dec
 ‘Yuna enjoys a reading of Shakespeare’s Sonnet’

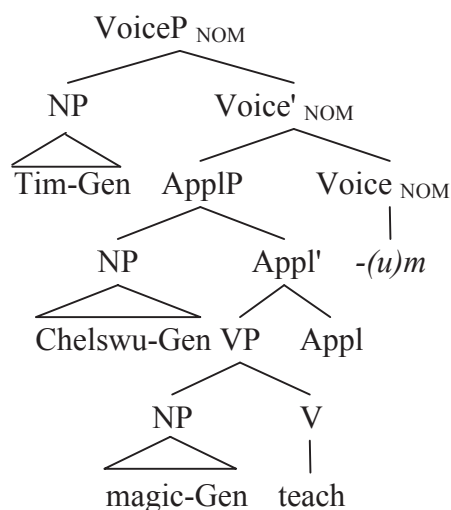
constituent embeds a defective VoiceP such that unlike Voice in an ordinary sentence it does not necessarily introduce an agent.

- (62) (Thim-uy) Chelswu-eykey-uy mapep-uy kaluchi-m. PDC
 Tim-Gen Chelswu-Dat-Gen magic-Gen teach-Nml
 ‘The teaching of magic to Chelswu by Tim.’



- (63) *Thim-uy Chelswu-uy mapep-uy kaluchi-m. DOC
 Tim-Gen Chelswu-Gen magic-Gen teach-Nml
 ‘Chelswu’s teaching of magic by Tim.’

The judgments could be complicated by the fact that some speakers disprefer the nominalization. Most speakers (8/10) I have consulted, however, find some contrast between the genitive subject in the *-(u)m* nominalization with various types of verbs and the nominative subject. Thus, the data seem to suggest that the genitive subject may implicate a more general notion of ‘relatedness’ and the agent role is one case of this role (Kratzer 1996), although the notion of ‘relatedness’ needs further refinements.



Therefore, the nominalization asymmetries can be captured straightforwardly under the argument that only a thematic argument of a verb may undergo nominalization.¹⁷

¹⁷ A reviewer points out that the impossibility of nominalization of the non-selected resultatives and ECM constructions could be attributed to some other factors. For example, nominalization is not allowed across a clause boundary, especially when the clause embedded between the matrix subject and the matrix predicate is finite. Although it might be plausible at first glance, I do not adopt this view, because such a view makes the incorrect prediction that the DOC, like the PDC, should be able to nominalize as the nominalization of the DOC does not take place across a clause boundary; it occurs within a single clause. Next, native speakers of Korean I have consulted find that the *-(u)m* nominalization is possible across a clause boundary. One such example is shown in (6).

- (6) a. Chelswu-ka masa-ka ttena-ss-nun-ci kwungkumha-yss-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom Masa-Nom leave-Pst-Adn-C wonder-Pst-Dec
 ‘Chelswu wondered whether Masa left.’
 b. Chelswu-uy masa-uy ttena-ss-nun-ci-uy kwungkumha-m.
 Chelswu-Gen Masa-Gen leave-Pst-Adn-C-Gen wonder-Nml
 ‘Chelswu’s wondering of Masa leaving.’

However, these nominalization asymmetries pose a problem for the symmetric theory. This is because in the symmetric structure both the Goal and the Theme are arguments of P_{have} , which makes the incorrect prediction that the DOC should be able to be nominalized. Alternatively, one could say that some semantic constraint like a possession meaning by itself might block the nominalization of the DOC; in this, the symmetric approach is maintained. However, this does not seem to be a plausible option, as a typical instance involving a possession meaning can be nominalized in Korean. Consider (64) and (65).

(64) a. Thomi-ka ton-ul kac-ko iss-ta.
 Tommy-Nom money-Acc have-ko exist-Dec
 ‘Tommy has money.’

b. Thomi-uy ton-uy kac-ko iss-um.
 Tommy-Gen money-Gen have-ko exist-Nml
 ‘The having of the money by Tommy.’

(65) a. motun pwuca-ka kenmwul-ul soyuha-n-ta.
 every rich.people-Nom building-Acc own-Pres-Dec
 ‘Every rich person owns a building.’

b. motun pwuca-uy kenmwul-uy soyuha-m.
 every rich.people-Gen building-Gen own-Nml
 ‘The owning of the building by every rich person.’

In (64) and (65), the sentences contain the lexical possessive verbs *kac*- ‘have’ and *soyuha*- ‘own’, respectively, and their nominalizations are possible.

Another alternative analysis would be to say that the symmetric theory could be maintained by establishing the hypothesis that a special type of possession meaning present only in the DOC, that is part of the meaning of ditransitive verbs decomposed into [P_{have} + CAUSE], is unable to assign genitive case to the Goal. Apparently, such a special type of possession meaning would be at work to accommodate the nominalization in Korean. I reject, however, this alternative view, primarily because I see no empirical motivation behind this line of reasoning. I contend that a more desirable approach is to have access to a broader range of data and to receive independent motivation. This, in my analysis, is that only a thematic argument of a verb may undergo nominalization. In this, the current argument is more promising without a stipulation: it has independent justification from empirical facts that are previously unnoticed about why resultative and ECM constructions disallow the *-(u)m* nominalization. If successful, the current argument can be used as a test for distinguishing selected arguments from non-selected arguments in general in Korean. I therefore draw the conclusion that the restriction on nominalization in the DOC is a consequence of the independent fact that only a thematic argument of a verb may undergo nominalization.

To recapitulate so far, I have shown that nominalization asymmetries can be more clearly analyzed under the proposed asymmetric theory. At the same time, I have argued against an analysis that appeals to a particular type of possession meaning like [P_{have} + CAUSE]. By offering counterarguments to this alternative view, I have asserted that the argument that semantics make a crucial contribution to the

asymmetries does not go through, suffering from empirical problems. In what follows, I turn to another type of asymmetric distribution with respect to ditransitive idioms. It will once again emerge that ditransitive idioms in Korean and Japanese lend further support to the asymmetric theory.

2.4.2 Ditransitive Idioms

Another support for the asymmetric theory is drawn from ditransitive idiom patterns in Korean. Bruening (2010) points out that one central problem with the symmetric theory is its inadequacy in dealing with the asymmetric distribution of ditransitive idioms in English. Since the asymmetric account posits a symmetric structure for both constructions, only a symmetric distribution of idioms is predicted, contrary to fact (Bruening 2010). In the following subsection, I show that similar problems arise in ditransitive idioms in Korean, and I solve them by extending Bruening's (2010) principle of idiomatic formation in combination with the proposed asymmetric structures for ditransitives.

2.4.2.1 Idioms in Korean

Before presenting my central argument for ditransitive idioms, some basic assumption adopted in this section is in order. First, I assume that idioms may act as systematic and compositional phrases. Second, there is a strong preference for idiomatic elements to be adjacent to each other for idiomatic interpretation in Korean.

To begin, there are two approaches in the literature to how idioms are formed and interpreted. According to the first view, idioms are a frozen unit that occurs in a sentence without any variation. This non-compositional approach treats idioms as a sequence of words that syntactically and semantically behave as a single lexical unit,

thereby idiomatic arguments substantially different from non-idiomatic arguments. According to the second view, by contrast, idioms are morphosyntactically flexible, which has been defended by a growing body of recent work (e.g., Nunberg et al. 1994; O’Grady 1998; Bruening 2010; Bruening et al. Ms.). In the section that follows, I show that idioms in Korean lend further support to the second view. In doing so, I will assume that idiomatic and non-idiomatic arguments do not much differ to the extent that both can be sensitive to syntax and morphology.

A first interesting observation is that parts of idioms can be modified by adjectives, as shown in (66) for English and (67) for Korean (see also Nunberg et al. 1994; Fellbaum 1993; Pulman 1993; O’Grady 1998; Kwon 2009; Kim 2010).

- (66) a. kick the *filthy* habit (O’Grady 1998)
 b. leave no *legal* stone unturned

(67)

Idiom: *himchan/macimak pakchalul kahata* ‘put powerful/last spurs (of a horse) to X’

yenkwuwen-tul-i	sin.kiswul	kaypal-ey	<i>himchan/macimak</i>
researcher-Pl-Nom	new.technology	development-Dat	<i>powerful/last</i>
pakcha-lul	kaha-ko	iss-ta.	
spur-Acc	add-ko	exist-Dec	

Literal: ‘The researchers are putting powerful/last spurs to the development of a new technology.’

Idiomatic: ‘The researchers are putting much effort into the development of a new technology.’

In (66), the idiomatic expression in English can be modified by the adjectives ‘filthy’ and ‘legal’. In (67), similarly, an adjective like *himchan* ‘powerful’ and *machimak* ‘last’, which is not part of the idiom, can modify the idiomatic part *pakcha* ‘a spur’.

In addition, modifiers can also be part of an idiom both in English and Korean.

(68) (be) in *hot* water

(Bruening 2010: 533)

(69)

Idiom: *chan*/**ttukewun* *mwulul* *kkienta* ‘pour cold/*hot water’

Chelswu-ka wuli-uy kyeyhoyk-ey *chan*/*ttukewun* *mwul-ul* *kkienci-ess-ta*.

Chelswu-Nom we-Gen plan-Dat cold/hot water-Acc pour-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘Chelswu poured cold/hot water over our plan.’

Idiomatic (available with *chan* ‘cold’, but not with *ttukewun* ‘hot’): ‘Chelswu discouraged us from carrying out our plan.’

A third phenomenon is that parts of an idiom in English and Korean are able to undergo syntactic operations such as passivization or relativization, as in (70) and (71), respectively.

(70) Idiom: *spill the beans*; *pull strings*

a. You spilt the beans.

b. The beans were spilled.

c. The strings that he pulled

(71) Idiom: *han nwunul phalta* ‘sell one eye to X’

a. Thim-i minye-eykey han nwun-ul phal-ass-ta.
Tim-Nom beautiful.woman-Dat one eye-Acc sell-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘Tim sold his one eye to the beautiful woman.’

Idiomatic: ‘Tim got sidetracked by the beautiful woman.’

b. han nwun-i minye-eykey phal-li-ess-ta.
one eye-Nom beautiful.woman-Dat sell-Pass-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘One eye was sold to the beautiful woman.’

Idiomatic: ‘Someone got sidetracked by the beautiful woman.’

c. minye-eykey phal-li-n Chelswu-uy nwun-ul poa-la.
beautiful.woman-Dat sell-Pass-Rel Chelswu-Gen eye-Acc see-Imp

Literal: ‘Look at Chelswu’s eye that was sold to the beautiful woman.’

Idiomatic: ‘Look at Chelswu who got sidetracked by the beautiful woman.’

Lastly, there is a systematic pattern of idioms, a well-known asymmetry that is established between a subject and an object in the spirit of Marantz (1984). As pointed out by Bruening (2010), on the one hand, there are a large number of [Verb-Obj] idioms in English, where a verb and its object are interpreted idiomatically, to the exclusion of the subject. On the other hand, there are no [Subj-Verb] idioms in English, in which a subject and a verb receive an idiomatic interpretation excluding the object. The same holds for idioms in Korean: a considerably large number of [Obj-Verb] idioms are attested (see Bruening et al. Ms.), while [Subj-Verb] idioms excluding the subject are very rare.

Notice that the common view that idioms must form a constituent at some underlying level of representation excluding non-idiomatic elements confronts problems when the facts presented above are taken into consideration. In contrast, such facts can be captured under the assumption that idiomatic arguments may behave as systematic and compositional phrases, more or less comparable to non-idiomatic arguments (Nunberg et al. 1994; O’Grady 1998; Bruening 2010; inter alia).¹⁸ Later, I will come back to the aforementioned asymmetry between a subject and an object, and argue that such existent and non-existent idiomatic patterns are expected under the proposed claims.

Turning to my second assumption, I postulate that in Korean speakers have a strong preference for idiomatic elements to be adjacent to each other, which normally leads to linear adjacency for discontinuous idioms in Korean.

(72) Idiom: *nwuaphey twuta* ‘put X in front of eyes’

a. tutwie ku kaswu-ka nwun.aph-ey paykman kilok-ul twu-ko iss-ta.

finally that singer-Nom eye.front-Dat million record-Acc put-ko exist-Dec

Literal: ‘The singer is putting one million records in front of eyes finally.’

Idiomatic: ‘The singer is in the state of reaching one million records finally.’

b. tutwie ku kaswu-ka paykman kilok-ul nwun.aph-ey twu-ko iss-ta.

finally that singer-Nom million record-Acc eye.front-Dat put-ko exist-Dec

Literal: ‘The singer is putting one million records in front of eyes finally.’

¹⁸As an anonymous reviewer points out, idioms may vary in compositionality and there could be more frozen idioms that reject syntactic operations. In accordance with this point, my assumption is made to deal with individual idioms in Korean, rather than to cover all of the idioms in Korean.

Idiomatic: ‘The singer is in the state of reaching one million records finally.’

In (72a), the idiom is discontinuous: the verb *twu-* ‘put’ and the dative argument (the Goal) *nwun.aph-ey* ‘eye.front-Dat’ are apart from each other, separated by the non-idiomatic accusative argument (the Theme). In (72b), by contrast, the idiomatic elements *twu-* ‘put’ and *nwun.aph-ey* ‘eye.front-Dat’ are adjacent to each other. Through consultation with fifteen speakers of Korean, I have found that speakers prefer (72b) to (72a) for idiomatic interpretation: all speakers accept (72b) as an idiomatic phrase. The same speakers report that (72a) can also have an idiomatic interpretation: some Korean speakers find (72a) naturally acceptable (12/15) and some find it marginally acceptable (3/15).

Note that the judgment often varies widely among speakers. As for the following discontinuous idiom *son-ey neh-ta* ‘hand-Dat put.in-Dec’ a reviewer reports that the speakers s/he consulted all prefer the [Theme-Goal] order in (73a), where linear adjacency is respected. The reviewer says that the same speakers judge (73b) very awkward, where the adjacency is disrupted by the non-idiomatic argument.

(73) Idiom: *son-ey neh-ta* ‘put X to a webbing’

a. Chelswu-nun machimnay ku cha-lul son-ey neh-ess-ta.

Chelswu-Top at.last the car-Acc hand-Dat put-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘Chelswu put the car in hands at last.’

Idiomatic: ‘Chelswu obtained the car at last.’

b. Chelswu-nun machimnay son-ey ku cha-lul neh-ess-ta.

Chelswu-Top at.last hand-Dat the car-Acc put-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘Chelswu put the car in hands at last.’

Idiomatic: ‘Chelswu obtained the car at last.’

I cannot provide a definite answer yet as to exactly why such variation occurs. However, it is in some sense expected because the use of idioms is commonly colloquial and subject to many syntactic and semantic constraints. Admittedly a thorough large-scale experimental study on idioms is needed to substantiate such variation; it is also unclear whether the judgment variation is crucially affected by the type of verb in the idiom or the type of the idiom itself. But, the fact that some discontinuous idioms are acceptable for the speakers I consulted is highly suggestive of the hypothesis in which the linear adjacency is a strong preference (at surface structure) rather than a strong constraint that defines a general pattern of idioms in Korean.

Further support for linear adjacency as speakers’ strong preference rather than an unviolable constraint is drawn from data from naturally occurring texts. As illustrated in (74), data found on the Internet with Google and Naver search reveal that native speakers often use discontinuous idioms like [Goal-Verb] where the idiomatic elements are interrupted by a non-idiomatic Theme argument.

(74)

a. Idiom: *kasumey saykita* ‘engrave X on one’s chest’¹⁹

kasum-ey 700-i-la-nun swusca-lul sayki-ko aph-man po-ko

¹⁹ http://sports.media.daum.net/soccer/news/k_league/breaking/view.html?newsid=20121007200014413

chest-Dat 700-Cop-Adn number-Acc engrave-and front-only see-and
talli-keyss-supni-ta.

run-Fut-Hon-Dec

Literal: 'I will keep running by engraving the number 700 on my chest.'

Idiomatic: 'I will remember the number 700 and keep running.'

b. Idiom: *ipey tamta* 'put X in one's mouth'²⁰

nay-ka ip-ey yok-ul tam-ci anh-nun ku nal.kkaci...

I-Nom mouth-Dat insult-Acc put-ci Neg-Adn that day.till

Literal: 'Until the day that I do not put an insult in my mouth...'

Idiomatic: 'Until the day that I speak an insult...'

If linear adjacency were taken as a principled constraint, this kind of examples should not be found, as they would be judged to be ungrammatical by native speakers, contrary to fact.

Furthermore, idioms can often be separated by a non-idiomatic element such as adverbs.

(75)

a. Idiom: *sokul kulkta* 'scratch a stomach'²¹

(*pro*) talun keyim-ey pihayse sok-ul manhi kulk-ess-ten

(*pro*) different game-in comparison.with stomach-Acc much scratch-Pst-Evi

²⁰ <http://blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=liel0052&logNo=110093076228>

²¹ <http://blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=byzet&logNo=60180605056>

kes kath-supni-ta.

Nml seem-Hon-Dec

Literal: ‘It seems that that game scratched a stomach a lot in comparison with other games.’

Idiomatic: ‘It seems that that game annoyed me a lot in comparison with other games.’

b. Idiom: *hopakssilul kkata* ‘shell pumpkin seeds’ (Kim 2010, Page 89, Ex. 5)

ecey twul-i anca-se hopak.ssi-lul tas mal-un cokhi kka-ss-ta.

yesterday two-Nom sit-while pumpkin.seed-Acc five Cl-Top amply shell-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘Yesterday, while sitting on a floor we shelled five pumpkin seeds sufficiently.’

Idiomatic: ‘Yesterday, while sitting on a floor we backbit someone very much sufficiently.’

As shown in (75a), in the [Obj-Verb] idiom, the adverb *manhi* ‘much’ can intervene between the object and the verb, and its idiomatic meaning is retained. Likewise, as shown in (75b) the idiomatic phrase can be interrupted by the classifier phrase *tas mal* ‘five Cl’ associated with the idiomatic NP and the adverb *cokhi* ‘sufficiently’ without making any change in the idiomatic meaning.

Therefore, I assume that idioms may act as systematic phrases, and in Korean there is a strong preference of speakers for idiomatic elements to be adjacent for discontinuous idioms. With these assumptions, I shall show in the next section that the proposed asymmetric structure can capture naturally the idiom asymmetry with the selection theory of idioms (Bruening 2010) but the symmetric theory (even with the adjacency condition and/or additional semantic constraints) fails to do so. My

arguments against the symmetric theory are that (a) the symmetric theory lacks an explanation for the alternating class of idioms and that (b) it also runs into difficulty accounting for the ditransitive idioms in Japanese. I will therefore argue that the asymmetric theory is called for, even granting the importance of a semantic constraint on an idiomatic interpretation.

2.4.2.2 Idioms in Ditransitive Constructions

Returning to the main discussion of the asymmetry between the two ditransitives, this section presents a detailed investigation of how novel data from ditransitive idioms support the proposed asymmetric structure of the ditransitives in Korean.

Let us first consider the table (76) in which lists the logically possible idiom patterns for the ditransitives in Korean. The idiomatic part is highlighted.

(76) Logical possibilities for idiomatic forms in Korean ditransitives

PDC	Existent?	DOC	Existent?
Class 1 [PP _{Dat} NP _{Acc} Verb]	Yes	Class 4 [NP _{Acc} NP _{Acc} Verb]	Yes
Class 2 [PP _{Dat} NP _{Acc} Verb]	Yes	Class 5 [NP _{Acc} NP _{Acc} Verb]	No
Class 3 [PP _{Dat} NP _{Acc} Verb]	Yes	Class 6 [NP _{Acc} NP _{Acc} Verb]	No

As shown on the lefthand side in (76), in the PDC all of the classes are robustly attested. Some idioms in Class 1 alternate with the DOC, as in Class 4, but Class 2 and Class 3 are fixed and do not alternate in the DOC. Turning to the righthand side, unlike the idioms in the PDC, in the DOC only Class 4 exists, and this alternates with the PDC. Class 5 and Class 6 are systematically absent. Examples of each class follow below.

(77) Class 1 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb]

a. Idiom: *chimul nohta* ‘put a needle onto X’

sensayngnim-un aitul-eykey chim-ul noh-ass-ta.

teacher-Top kids-Dat needle-Acc put.onto-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘The teacher put a needle onto the kids.’

Idiomatic: ‘The teacher warned the kids (to be quiet).’

b. Idiom: *kwilul cwuta* ‘give ears to X’

chayk-ul ilk-nun chekha-myense, Yuna-ka ku tayhwa-ey kwi-lul
book-Acc read-Adn pretend-while, Yuna-Nom that conversation-Dat ear-Acc
cwu-ess-ta.

give-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘Yuna gave her ears in the conversation while she pretended to read a book.’

Idiomatic: ‘Yuna overheard the conversation while she pretended to read a book.’

(78) Class 2 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb]

a. Idiom: *ipey motelul talta* ‘put an electric motor on a mouth’

Jangho-nun ip-ey mote-lul tal-un kes kath-ta.

Jangho-Nom mouth-Dat electric.motor-Acc put.on-Adn Nml seem-Dec

Literal: ‘It seems that Jangho put the electric motor on his mouth.’

Idiomatic: ‘It seems that Jangho spoke very fast.’

b. Idiom: *mokey himul cwuta* ‘give a power to a throat’

sachang-i mok-ey him-ul cwu-ess-ta.

boss-Nom throat-Dat power-Acc give-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘The boss gave a power to his throat.’

Idiomatic: ‘The boss was arrogant.’

(79) Class 3 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb]

a. Idiom: *sonakwiey nehta* ‘put X to a webbing’

Mina-ka sonakwi-ey nampyeon-ul neh-ko thongceyhalye ha-n-ta.

Mina-Nom webbing-Dat husband-Acc put.in-and control do-Pres-Dec

Literal: ‘Hana puts her husband in her webbing, controls him.’

Idiomatic: ‘Hana takes control of her husband.’

b. Idiom: *hanuley mathkita* ‘put X in the sky’

tayphyothim-un sungpey-lul hanul-ey mathki-ko yelsimhi ttwi-n-ta.

national.team-Top outcome-Acc sky-Dat put-and hard run-Pres-Dec

Literal: ‘The national team puts the outcome to the sky, and runs hard.’

Idiomatic: ‘The national team just runs hard without worrying about their victory or defeat at the moment.’

(80) below further illustrates the alternating idioms, the idioms that the idiomatic part in Class 1 also appears as part of a Class 4 idiom in the DOC as noted earlier.

(80) Alternating Class 1 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb] ~ Class 4 [NP_{Acc} NP_{Acc} Verb]

a. Idiom: *chimul nohta* ‘put a needle onto X’ ~ ‘put X a needle’

sensayngnim-un aitul-eykey/ul chim-ul noh-ass-ta.

teacher-Top kids-Dat/Acc needle-Acc put.onto-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘The teacher put a needle onto the kids.’

Idiomatic: ‘The teacher warned the kids (to be quiet).’

b. Idiom: *kwilul cwuta* ‘give ears to X’ ~ ‘give X ears’

nwukwunka-ka	pelsse	Mina-eykey/lul	kwi-lul	cwu-ess-ta.
somebody-Nom	already	Mina-Dat/Acc	ear-Acc	give-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘Somebody already gave ears to Mina.’

Idiomatic: ‘Somebody already revealed the truth to Mina so that he would be cautious about it.’

Note, also, that according to my survey of ditransitive idioms there seems no genuine double object idiom that appears only in the DOC in Korean, and all of the alternating idioms found in Class 4 actually belong to Class 1, in the PDC.²² Moreover, I find that the number of verbs that are used as a double object idiom is extremely limited. This is not too surprising, however, because only a handful of ditransitive verbs (i.e., *cwu-* ‘give’ type verbs) can appear in the DOC (Jung and Miyagawa 2004).²³ Consequently, the idiom patterns in Korean are asymmetric: all

²² My main sources are the online dictionary of the National Institute of the Korean Language, the online version of the collection of Korean dictionaries, and a print dictionary of the Korean language.

²³ Related to this fact, one might ask the question of if the Korean DOC and the English DOC are semantically and syntactically parallel, why is there such a difference. My answer to this question is due to a lexical property of ditransitive verbs in Korean, but at the same time this limitation that holds for the DOC in Korean may conform to a cross-linguistic pattern. According to Malchukov, Haspelmath, and Comrie’s (2007) typological study, there seems to be a cross-linguistic tendency for restricting the use of verbs in the DOC. For instance, Yaqui has seven verbs that are used in the DOC, such as *miika* ‘give’, *bittua* ‘show’, *majta* ‘teach’, *maka* ‘give a gift’, *reuwa* ‘lend’, *tejwa* ‘tell’, and *u’ura* ‘take away’; Ewe has three verbs including *ná* ‘give’, *fíá* ‘teach/show’, and *fíá* ‘ask’. Malchukov, Haspelmath, and Comrie (2007)

classes of idioms exist in abundance in the PDC, while there is no pure double object idiom that occurs only in the DOC.

Now that I have discussed the distribution of ditransitive idioms in Korean, I proceed to show that the asymmetric idiom pattern depicted above receives a straightforward explanation under the current proposal, in particular in combination with Bruening's (2010) idiom-as-selection principle, as stated in (81).

(81) Bruening's (2010) Idiom-as-Selection

- a. The Principle of Idiomatic Interpretation: X and Y may be interpreted idiomatically only if X selects Y.
- b. Constraint on Idiomatic Interpretation: If X selects a lexical category Y and X and Y are interpreted idiomatically, all of the selected arguments of Y must be interpreted idiomatically as well (Lexical categories are V, N, A, Adv).

The principle in (81) offers a constraint on what can be idiomatically interpreted in the syntax and claims that idiomatic interpretations are determined by selection. For example, if the ditransitive verb 'send' selects the dative argument 'to the showers', the two can be interpreted idiomatically.

Now, consider how the proposed asymmetric structure in conjunction with the selection principle in (81) yields desirable consequences regarding the idiom patterns in Korean. First, the existence of Class 1, Class 2, and Class 3 follows directly from the current claim; by satisfying the condition in (81a), the verb and its selected

attribute this tendency to some factors like an affectedness interpretation and the animacy constraint imposed on the DOC.

arguments can be interpreted idiomatically. For example, in Class 1 the verb selects the accusative NP, and in Class 2 the verb selects both the accusative NP and the P; P selects its complement, the dative NP. Hence, the selected items can be interpreted idiomatically. Class 3, which is a discontinuous idiom with the verb and the dative PP having an idiomatic interpretation, is formed in the same way as Class 1 and Class 2: the verb selects the P and P selects the dative NP, and so the selected elements receive an idiomatic interpretation (see (81a) and (81b)). Note that linear adjacency does not count at the point of idiom formation, as it is a strong preference of speakers at surface structure; not only did the speakers I consulted find a discontinuous idiom (marginally) acceptable as an idiomatic phrase, but naturally occurring data contain a number of discontinuous idioms where the idiomatic elements are often not adjacent to each other.

Second, the fact that the idioms in Class 4 alternate with the PDC also follows from the asymmetric theory.

(82) Alternating Class 1 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb] ~ Class 4 [NP_{Acc} NP_{Acc} Verb]

a. Idiom: *chimul nohta* ‘put a needle onto X’ ~ ‘put X a needle’

sensayngnim-un hangsang wuli-tul-eykey/ul chim-ul noh-ass-ta.

teacher-Top always we-Pl-Dat/Acc needle-Acc put.onto-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘The teacher put a needle onto us all the time.’

Idiomatic: ‘The teacher warned us (to be quiet) all the time.’

b. Idiom: *kwilul cwuta* ‘give ears to X’ ~ ‘give X ears’

nwukwunka-ka pelsse Chelswu-eykey/lul kwi-lul cwu-ess-ta.

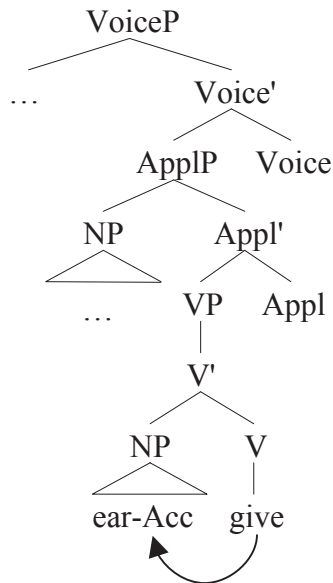
somebody-Nom already Chelswu-Dat/Acc ear-Acc give-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘Somebody already gave ears to Chelswu.’

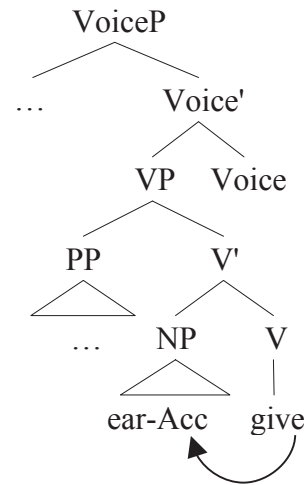
Idiomatic: ‘Somebody already revealed the truth to Chelswu so that he would be cautious about it.’

(83) Asymmetric Theory

a. DOC



b. PDC



As shown in (83), in Class 4, the verb selects the second accusative NP (the Theme), but the idiom does not include the Appl head. As a result, the [NP_{Acc} Verb] combination in Class 4 can appear as part of either the PDC as in (83b) or the DOC as in (83a).

At this point, it appears Appl may restrict idiom formation of ditransitives, given that Appl apparently does not participate in idiom formation. In addition, recall from the discussion above that there is no genuine double object idiom occurring only in the DOC, and Class 4 (the only idioms appearing in the DOC) in fact belongs to

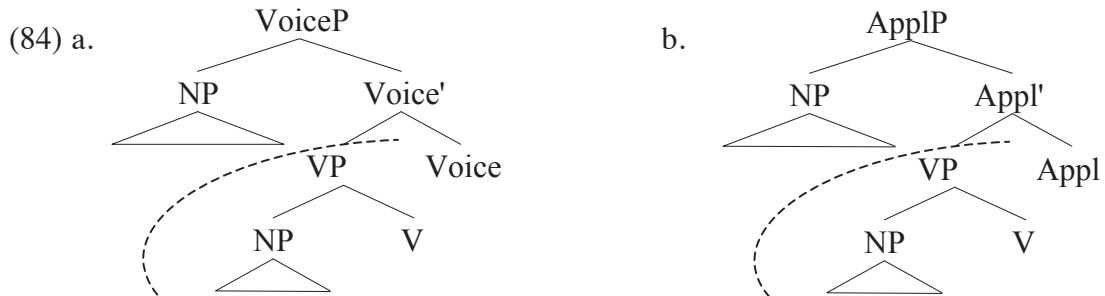
Class 1 in the PDC. Taking these facts into consideration, it seems plausible to say that a functional head like Appl in Korean may limit idiom formation, which then explains the systematic absence of double object idioms in Korean.

That Appl may in general limit idiom formation in Korean can further extend to Voice, another functional head, which also appears to not participate in idiom formation. Upon closer inspection, it is very rare to find idioms in which all of the elements in one sentence are idiomatically interpreted together. For example, in the case of a sentence involving a transitive verb, it is considerably less common to find [Subj-Obj-Verb] idioms, where the subject, object, and verb are all idiomatically interpreted.²⁴ Similarly, no [Subj-Verb] idioms are found, where a verb is an unergative verb or a transitive verb. Most of the idioms I have found so far are [Obj-Verb] idioms that consist of a verb and its object, excluding the subject. Similar facts hold for English. As discussed in Bruening (2010), English has a very robust class of [Verb-Obj] idioms that include a verb and its object, excluding the subject (e.g., *pull strings*, *kick the bucket*), whereas there are no [Subj-Verb] idioms consisting of a subject and a verb to the exclusion of an object.

²⁴ There are a couple of expressions in Korean that occur in the form of [Subj-Obj-Verb], but it is unclear to me that these are truly idioms, because the meaning of each word is not way too much different from the way the entire expression is idiomatically expressed.

(7) Kwulleon tol-i pakhin tol-ul ppay-n-ta.
 Rolling stone-Nom stuck stone-Acc take.out-Pres-Dec
 Literal: ‘A rolling stone takes out a stone which is stuck.’
 Idiomatic: ‘A person in a temporary position takes out a person in a permanent position.’

These facts point to the generalization that functional heads like Appl and Voice may in general limit idiom formation, as illustrated in (84a) and (84b). The tree in (84a) shows that Voice may restrict idiom formation, in a similar fashion as Appl does in (84b). I indicate the possible domain of idiom formation by a dotted line.



The general issue is the extent to which the functional heads Appl and Voice restrict idiom formation. In Korean, the systematic absence of idioms involving Appl and Voice indicates that they may entirely constrain the domain of idiom formation, as we have discussed so far. In English, in contrast, Appl can be part of idioms, as there are double object idioms that appear only in the DOC, as noted in Bruening (2010). In addition, Voice seems to participate in idiom formation to some limited extent as well, because we can find (at least) two idioms involving Voice (e.g., *the shit hit the fan*, and *the ram has touched the wall*). Thus, the difference between Korean and English can be reduced to the participation of functional heads in idiom formation.

I believe, however, that such a difference is only trivial and that languages seem to have a general tendency to make rare use of functional heads like Appl and Voice in idiom formation. In the case of English, there are only a small number of idioms involving functional heads, (i.e., seven double object idioms involving Appl, as

shown in Bruening (2010)²⁵ and two idioms involving Voice). In Korean, few idioms are found. Crucially, both Korean and English exhibit the well-known asymmetry between the subject and the object in the sense of Marantz (1984). As noted above, no [Subj-Verb] idioms are found, in which a subject and a verb are interpreted idiomatically, excluding the object. By contrast, there is a large class of [Verb-Obj] idioms (for English) and [Obj-Verb] idioms (for Korean), where a verb and its object receive an idiomatic interpretation to the exclusion of the subject. Given these facts, I suggest that there seems to be a general tendency for Appl and Voice to be unfavorably made use of in idiom formation in both English and Korean. Later I will show that this view can extend to the systematic pattern of Japanese ditransitive idioms. I return this discussion in the next section.

Returning to the idiom asymmetry, the absence of Class 5 [NP_{Acc} NP_{Acc} Verb] and Class 6 [NP_{Acc} NP_{Acc} Verb] is simply captured as systematically missing. Since the Appl head does not participate in idiom formation in Korean, there is no selector that can select the first accusative Goal to be idiomatically interpreted.

Under the proposed asymmetric account, therefore, the idiom patterns are handled in a straightforward way, provided that the structures of the PDC and the DOC are asymmetric and that idiom formation is based on selection.

However, this asymmetric distribution of idioms is problematic for the symmetric account, as this approach treats idioms as a single constituent (i.e. the

²⁵ The idioms include *give NP the boot*, *give NP the sack*, *give NP the creeps*, *give NP a headache*, *give NP pause*, *give NP a piece of one's mind*, and *promise NP the moon*, as illustrated on page 537, example (36) in Bruening (2010). Benjamin Bruening (p.c.) points out that double object idioms occurring only in the DOC are restricted to those examples and that the number of genuine double object t idioms appears to be quite limited in comparison to the number of prepositional dative idioms in English.

idiom-as-constituent theory) along the line of Larson (1988), and thereby forming a constituent at some level of derivation is required for an idiomatic interpretation, as noted in Section 2.3.1. Below, I discuss in much more detail how this constituent story runs into difficulty in dealing with the systematic asymmetric distributions of idioms in Korean.

First, the existence of Class 3 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb] is problematic because the [PP_{Dat} Verb] combination should obligatorily involve the non-idiomatic accusative NP, contrary to fact. Consider (85).

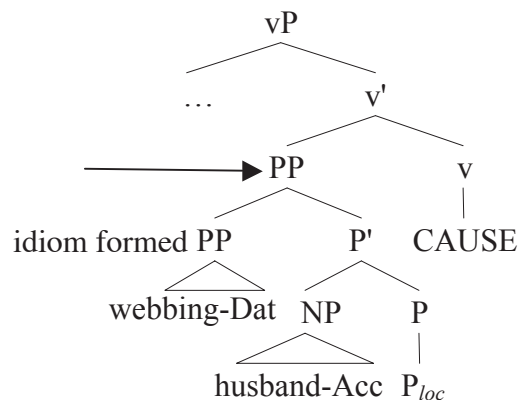
(85) Class 3 *sonakwiey neta* ‘put X to a webbing’

a. aney-ka	sonakwi-ey	nampyeon-ul	ne-ess-ta.
wife-Nom	webbing-Dat	husband-Acc	put.in-Pst-Dec

Literal: ‘The wife put her husband to her webbing.’

Idiomatic: ‘The wife took control of her husband.’

b.

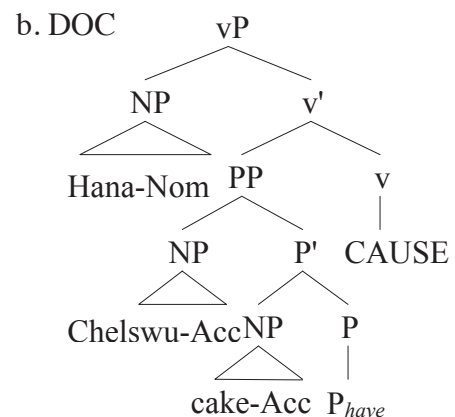
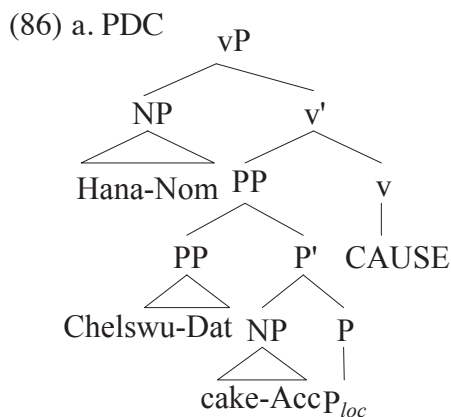


In the symmetric structure, the idiom *sonakwiey nehta* ‘put to a webbing’ is formed at the PP level, where they form a single constituent, as illustrated in (85). This makes

the wrong prediction that the accusative NP, the non-idiomatic element in the sentence, should also be included as part of the idiom.

Related to this argument, one might speculate that the existence of Class 3 can be accounted for just by the selection theory, while we maintain the symmetric structure as illustrated in (46), repeated in (86). Apparently, this seems to be plausible, because this would correctly predict the existence of Class 3 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb]; the head of PP selects the dative argument (PP) and the lexical component of the ditransitive verb.

However, this approach does not pan out once we consider the absence of Class 6 [NP_{Acc} NP_{Acc} Verb]; if Class 3 is a possible form, Class 6 should also be possible on the same line of reasoning. This is so because the head of PP selects the first accusative NP (Goal) and the lexical component of the ditransitive verb, and so they should be able to be idiomatically interpreted. Nevertheless, Class 6 is missing. This thus suggests that the symmetric structure itself is problematic, as it does not correctly predict which idiomatic forms are possible.



‘Hana CAUSED a cake to GO TO Chelswu.’ ‘Hana CAUSED Chelswu to HAVE a cake.’

Second, the existence of alternating idioms is a more challenging problem to the symmetric theory. This is so because the symmetric approach treats idioms as *fixed* expressions associated with certain lexical heads, P_{loc} for the PDC and P_{have} for the DOC. In this, to accommodate the alternating idioms, the symmetric approach would have to posit a third type of structure where P_{loc} and P_{have} are both projected, or else say that alternating idioms are just exceptions. Either way, something supplementary must be stipulated to handle the availability of alternating idioms, from which no advantage is taken. As discussed above, however, the desired result can be achieved in a more principled way under the proposed asymmetric structure.

Lastly, the symmetric theory in conjunction with the constituent story does not capture correctly the absence of Class 5 [NP_{Acc} NP_{Acc} Verb], because under this view, the two accusative objects are incorrectly predicted to build a single constituent at the level of PP. Nevertheless, Class 5 is systematically missing in Korean.

One might say that a possible alternative explanation for the lack of double object idioms in Korean is to say that there is a semantic restriction such as an animacy constraint imposed on the DOC, and this prevents the existence of Class 5 [NP_{Acc} NP_{Acc} Verb] and Class 6 [NP_{Acc} NP_{Acc} Verb]. In this way, one can maintain the symmetric structure.

However, the consideration of a fuller range of ditransitive idioms suggests that an animacy restriction seems to hold for ditransitive idioms in general, in which

animate entities are less commonly used than inanimate entities in the formation of ditransitive idioms. Consider more idioms in (87).²⁶

(87) More ditransitive idioms in Korean

- a. Class 1: *tol-ul tenci-ta* (stone-Acc throw-Dec) ‘to criticize’, *paykki-lul tul-ta* (white flag-Acc take-Dec) ‘to give away’, *kkoli-lul chi-ta* (tail-Acc wag-Dec) ‘to seduce’, *saykki-lul chi-ta* (baby-Acc yield-Dec) ‘to increase’
- b. Class 2: *kasum-ey taymos-ul pak-ta* (chest-Dat big.nail-Acc hammer-Dec) ‘to make someone hurt deeply’, *ip-ey kemichwul-ul chi-ta* (mouth-Dat web-Acc spin-Dec) ‘to starve’, *son-ey son-ul cap-ta* (hand-Dat hand-Acc hold-Dec) ‘to cooperate’
- c. Class 3: *ekkey-ey ci-ta* (shoulder-Dat carry-Dec) ‘to take responsibility’, *ip-ey tam-ta* (mouth-Dat put.in-Dec) ‘to speak about something’

For example, for Class 1 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb] the idiomatic accusative argument (the Theme) commonly includes inanimate entities; as seen in (87) only one idiom *saykki-lul chi-ta* ‘baby-Acc yield-Dec’ where the Theme is animate is found. Likewise, for Class 2 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb] I have not found any idioms where either the Goal or the Theme is animate. The same is also found in Class 3 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb], where I have not found any idioms where the Goal is animate. Interestingly, another survey of idioms in Korean which include idioms consisting of an object and a transitive verb (Bruening et al. Ms.) reveals that the use of animates is much more restricted than the use of inanimates in idiom formation: among 58 idioms of [Obj-Verb], only two of

²⁶ While I try to illustrate as many ditransitive idioms as possible, the list of ditransitive idioms provided in this chapter is not exhaustive.

them include an animate entity.²⁷ Therefore, if this observation is on the right track, it is difficult to say that the lack of Class 5 and Class 6 is due to an animacy constraint, as animate entities are also made rare use of for other classes of ditransitive idioms as well as for [Obj-Verb] idioms in Korean.

Another problem posed by such a semantic-based approach resorting to the symmetric structure is that it cannot *prima facie* explain why some idioms occur in both the PDC and the DOC. As discussed above, the symmetric theory makes the incorrect prediction, such that idioms should not alternate because on this view idioms are fixed expressions associated with certain lexical components. The least satisfying approach to this question would be just to stipulate that it is simply a property of ditransitive idioms in Korean. However, this stipulation would not be at work ultimately, as there are also alternating idioms in English and Japanese.

More importantly, a natural question concerns what are the possible and impossible idioms. Once again, if one attributes the lack of certain classes of idioms to idiosyncrasies of ditransitive verbs based on the symmetric structures, how can we handle the systematic pattern of idioms, including the asymmetry between a subject and an object (in the spirit of Marantz 1984 and Bruening 2010) in connection with the systematic absence of Class 5 and Class 6 idioms in Korean as well as the systematic pattern of idioms in English and Japanese (see the next section) where DOC idioms are relatively fewer than PDC idioms? As has been discussed thus far, there is rich evidence strongly indicating that idioms may act as systematic and compositional phrases; parts of an idiom in English and Korean can be modified by adjectives, and

²⁷ These idioms are *twu mali thokkilul capta* ‘catch two rabbits (which idiomatically means ‘accomplish’) and *saykkilul chita* ‘baby bear (which idiomatically means ‘make something subsidiary’).

undergo syntactic operations such as passivization or relativization; in addition, certain types of idioms are uniformly missing and at the same time a number of idioms are existent systematically. The common view that idioms must be simply an idiosyncratic string cannot deal with such patterns. What I argue is that the systematic patterns of idioms need a systematic account, which straightforwardly follows with the proposed asymmetric structure. Therefore, the alternative view maintaining the symmetric theory in combination with some semantic restriction on the DOC fails to cover the overall range of idioms in Korean (as well as in English). Without a principled account of the systematic pattern of idioms (including the subject and object asymmetry on top of the alternating class of ditransitive idioms), an analysis couched in these terms based on the symmetric structure loses explanatory force.

Finally, the ditransitive idiom patterns are not the only asymmetry attested between the PDC and the DOC. As shown in the previous sections, there are other asymmetries including nominalization, which is difficult to account for with a Harley-type symmetric theory and/or with a particular type of possession meaning encoded in the DOC. Apparently, an analysis couched in semantic terms might be appealing as seemingly the difference between the PDC and the DOC is a meaning difference; recall from Section 2.3 that this is also what the null hypothesis says. As I have shown thus far, however, a number of asymmetries between the PDC and the DOC cannot be merely attributed to such meaning components, and such asymmetries can be better explained by the applicative properties of the DOC.

I, therefore, draw the conclusion that the symmetric theory is less desirable and that various asymmetries attested in the ditransitives point to the structural asymmetry between the PDC and the DOC. In the section that follows, I turn my attention to

ditransitive idioms in Japanese and reinforce my claims for the idiom asymmetry and ditransitives in general.

2.4.3 Ditransitive Idioms in Japanese

In this section, I sketch ditransitive idioms in Japanese as additional support for the proposed analysis of the asymmetric theory. Japanese is chosen, as it has been taken to follow from the asymmetric structures in the spirit of Marantz (1993) (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004).

Before I discuss ditransitive idioms, let us consider how Japanese builds ditransitive constructions. It is well known that Japanese is a case morphology language like Korean. Unlike in Korean, however, case marking in Japanese does not serve to distinguish the PDC from the DOC: that is, the accusative case is used only to mark the Theme and the dative marks only the Goal. Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004), drawing data regarding quantifier scope and numeral quantifier float, propose that a sentence is the PDC if the Goal is inanimate, but the sentence is the DOC if the Goal is animate, as illustrated in (88a) and (88b), respectively. Based on this, they build an asymmetric structure of the ditransitives in which the DOC, unlike the PDC, embeds an applicative structure between VoiceP and VP in the spirit of Marantz (1993), and explain additional properties of the Japanese ditransitives. Miyagawa (2012) later notes that Japanese manifests the same scope asymmetry as English, and discusses in greater detail the asymmetry of *kata* nominalization between the PDC and the DOC adopting Myers' (1984) generalization, in support of a null head approach to the DOC (Marantz, 1993; Pesetsky, 1995)

- (88) a. Taroo-ga Tokyo-ni nimotu-o okutta. PDC
 Taro-Nom Tokyo-Dat package-Acc sent
 ‘Taro sent a package to Tokyo.’
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni nimotu-o okutta. DOC
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat package-Acc sent
 ‘Taro sent Hanako a package.’ (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004: 5, Ex. 10)

Assuming that the asymmetric approach to the Japanese ditransitives defended by Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004) and Miyagawa (2012) is correct, what is notably relevant to the current study is that if the PDC and the DOC are built on the asymmetric structures, it is predicted that the ditransitive idiom patterns in Japanese should also follow from the asymmetric theory. I shall show in the following discussion that this prediction is borne out: that is, the asymmetric approach in combination with the selection theory can explain straightforwardly what are possible idioms in Japanese as well as the existence of alternating idioms, while it rules out correctly impossible idioms (like it does for Korean). I shall show, in contrast, that the symmetric theory cannot make correct predictions about the existent and nonexistent idioms, and it also fails to deal with alternating idioms. Furthermore, in Japanese the number of DOC idioms appears to be quite limited in comparison to the number of PDC idioms. Recall that this is also what we have noted for Korean and English (based on Bruening (2010)). The ditransitive idioms in Japanese, thus, constitute evidence for the cross-linguistic tendency for functional heads like Appl to be unfavorably made use of in idiom formation.

Let us consider the following table summarizing the ditransitive idiom patterns in Japanese.²⁸

(89) Logical possibilities for idiomatic forms in Japanese ditransitives

PDC	Existent?	DOC	Existent?
Class 1 [PP _{Dat} NP _{Acc} Verb]	Yes	Class 4 [PP _{Dat} NP _{Acc} Verb]	Yes (several idioms)
Class 2 [PP _{Dat} NP _{Acc} Verb]	Yes	Class 5 [PP _{Dat} NP _{Acc} Verb]	Yes (several idioms)
Class 3 [NP _{Acc} PP _{Dat} Verb]	Yes	Class 6 [NP _{Acc} PP _{Dat} Verb]	No

For the PDC, three classes are extensively found: Class 2 and Class 3 are fixed (i.e., non-alternating idioms), while some idioms in Class 1 alternate with Class 4 in the DOC. For the DOC, Class 4 and Class 5 are both attested, but they are restricted to a relatively small number compared to the PDC idioms. Class 6 seems to be missing.

Now, observe how the asymmetric approach is able to account for the idiom patterns in Japanese and why the symmetric approach cannot do so. I start with Class 1 and Class 4 together, as these classes include alternating idioms. As illustrated in (90), Class 1 consists of the verb and its accusative NP to the exclusion of its inanimate dative PP; as shown in (92) Class 4 contains the verb and its accusative NP

²⁸ Note that Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004) argue for the base generation approach to the [Theme-Goal] and [Goal-Theme] orders in Japanese. But see others (e.g. Yatsushiro 1998) who pursue a different approach in which the [Theme-Goal] order is derived from the [Goal-Theme] order. Since I follow Miyagawa and Tsujioka's (2004) argument in this paper, I indicate Class 3 and Class 6 as [NP_{Acc} PP_{Dat} Verb] and [NP_{Acc} PP_{Dat} Verb], respectively.

excluding its animate dative PP. While Class 1 is robustly attested, I have found only a handful of idioms of Class 4.

(90) Class 1 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb]

Taroo-wa imadani genko-ni *te-o/te-mo* *ire-te* *i-na-i*.

Taro-Top yet draft-Dat hand-Acc/hand-also putting.in be-Neg-Pres

‘Taro has not (even) revised the draft.’ (Kishimoto 2008: 146, Ex. 8b)

(91) More Class 1 idioms

oti-o tukeru (fall-Acc attach) ‘give a punch line’; *asi-o nobasu* (leg-Acc extend)

‘travel farther’

(92) Class 4 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb]²⁹

Taroo-ga Sachi-ni *kaminari-o* *otosi-ta*.

Taro-Nom Sachi-Dat thunder-Acc fall-Pst

‘Taro got angry at Sachi.’

The asymmetric theory in combination with the selection principle explains the existence of Class 1 and Class 4: for Class 1, the verb selects its accusative NP and for

²⁹ One might say that the following idioms from Kishimoto (2008) could also be of this class. However, I am suspicious of this, because the object *mune* ‘chest’ can occur with different verbs; so it seems that the idiom here is just the object, not the object and the verb.

- (8) a. *mune-o kasu* (chest-Acc lend) ‘let...challenge’
 b. *mune-o kariru* (chest-Acc borrow) ‘challenge’

Class 4, Appl selects a verb, and the verb selects the accusative NP. Note that Appl must be a part of the idiom as this class only occurs in the DOC.

Also, some idioms in Class 1 and Class 4 alternate between the PDC and the DOC, as noted above.³⁰

(93) Alternating Class 1 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb]~ Class 4 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb]

Taroo-wa Sachi-ni/giron-ni netu-o ageru.

Taro-Top Sachi-Dat/discussion-Dat fever-Acc raise

‘Taro has a crush on Sachi.’; ‘Taro had active discussion.’

(94) More alternating idioms

mizu-o sasu (water-Acc pour) ‘interrupt’; *kuti-o kiku* (mouth-Acc hear) ‘mediate’

Once again, the asymmetric theory provides a straightforward explanation in a similar manner that it does for the alternating classes in Korean: the alternating idioms consist of only the verb and its accusative NP, and so they can occur as part of either the PDC or the DOC.

However, the alternating idioms pose a challenge for the symmetric theory. Recall from Section 2.4.3 that this was also the central problem for the ditransitive idioms in Korean and English (Bruening 2010). Again, the symmetric account treats idioms as fixed expressions associated only with certain lexical heads, P_{loc} and P_{have} for the PDC and the DOC, respectively. This means that in order to accommodate these

³⁰ In some cases, either the DOC or the PDC seems to be equally available, but in other cases, the PDC is preferred.

alternating idioms we have to include $[P_{loc} + NP_{Acc}]$ in one case but $[P_{have} + NP_{Acc}]$ in the other. But, I suspect that there would have to be a structure that involves both P_{loc} and P_{have} just for the idiomatic interpretation.

Turning to Class 2 and Class 5, in which the verb and its internal arguments have an idiomatic interpretation, the existence of Class 2 is explained, such that the verb selects the accusative NP and the dative PP in accordance with the selection principle in the asymmetric structure, and thereby the selected items can be interpreted idiomatically.

(95) Class 2 $[PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb]$

Sachi-ga *kan'oke-ni* *kata'asi-o* *tukkonde-iru*.

Sachi-Nom coffin-Dat one.leg-Acc put.in-Prog.

‘Sachi is old and has not much longer to live.’

(96) More Class 2 idioms

(Kishimoto 2008: 158, Ex. 31)

(tanin-no) kao-ni doro-o nuru ((others-Gen) face-Dat mud-Acc paint) ‘bring shame on (others)’; *kokyoo-ni nisiki-o kazaru* (hometown-Dat silk-Acc decorate) ‘return in glory’

For Class 5, Appl selects the dative PP and the verb, and the verb selects the accusative NP; here, Appl must be part of the idiom as these idioms can only occur in

the DOC. Similar to Class 4, Class 5 is not robustly attested. Below, I list only one example of this class.³¹

(97) Class 5 [PP_{Dat} NP_{Acc} Verb]

Sachi-ga *teki-ni* *sio-o* *oku-ta*.
 Sachi-Nom enemy-Dat salt-Acc send-Pst
 ‘Sachi save an enemy in a difficult situation’

Related to this idiom, one might say that the idiom here just consists of the accusative NP *sioo* ‘salt’ and the verb *okuru* ‘send’ excluding the dative PP *tekini* ‘enemy’, as the meaning of *tekini* ‘enemy’ can be predicted from the literal meaning (i.e., it is a part of the compositional meaning). However, this does not seem to be plausible, because if *tekini* ‘enemy’ is replaced with a different NP, like *Masa*, for instance, the idiomatic meaning suddenly disappears. I, therefore, take the idiom above as Class 5.³²

Third, Class 3 and Class 6 consist of the verb and its dative PP. I have found a number of idioms in Class 3, but Class 6 seems to be absent.³³

³¹ I thank Satoshi Tomioka (p.c.) and Takae Tsujioka (p.c.) for providing me with the idiom.

³² I thank Satoshi Tomioka (p.c.) for pointing this out to me.

³³ Note that Kishimoto (2009) classifies the following expressions as examples of a ditransitive idiom, but I suspect that these are not true idioms for the reasons that follow.

- (9) a. Ken-wa Mari-o *teki-ni* *mawasi-ta/si-ta*.
 Ken-Top Mari-Acc enemy-Dat turn-Pst/do-Pst
 ‘Ken and Mari are now enemies.’
 b. Ken-wa Mari-o *mikata-ni* *tuke-ta/si-ta/mots-ita*.
 Ken-Top Mari-Acc supporter-Dat attach-Pst/do-Pst/hold-Pst
 ‘Ken and Mari are now on the same side.’

(98) Class 3 [NP_{Acc} PP_{Dat} Verb]

Taroo-wa omotta koto-o kuti-ni dasu.

Taro-Top thought thing-Acc mouth-Dat let.out

‘Taro says what’s on his mind’ (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004: 20, Ex. 52a)

(99) More idioms (Kishimoto 2009: 148, Ex. 11)

omote-ni dasu (front-Dat let.out) ‘express’; *kemu-ni maku* (smoke-Dat wind) ‘mystify’

The existence of Class 3 is expected under the asymmetric theory: the verb selects the P, which in turn selects the PP, and so the verb and the dative PP receive an idiomatic interpretation. Also, the absence of Class 6 is also expected. Based on the selection theory, Appl selects the verb, and the verb selects the dative PP; note that Appl must be part of the idiom because these idioms can only occur in the DOC. Therefore, the accusative NP cannot be excluded from the idiom in the asymmetric structure. Thus, the asymmetric theory explains the lack of idioms of this form.

First, as noted in O’Grady (1998), idioms have a meaning that is not a simple function of the literal (i.e., non-figurative) meaning of their parts, and they manifest a high degree of conventionality in the choice of their items. That said, the meaning of ‘enemy’ and ‘supporter’ is possibly predicted from the literal meaning of their parts. As glossed in the translation, ‘enemy’ and ‘supporter’ are in fact part of the compositional meaning, and therefore it is not necessarily the case that they should be interpreted as part of the idiomatic expression.

Second, as pointed out by Satoshi Tomioka (p.c.) in (9a) the verb *mawasi* ‘turn’ can be replaced with different verbs like *suru* ‘do’ (note that for some speakers this sentence is marginally available though). Likewise in (9b) the verb can be replaced with *suru* ‘do’ and *motsu* ‘hold’, while it retains an idiomatic interpretation. Based on these facts, it is thus unclear whether the above data are genuine idiomatic expressions.

However, these classes pose a challenge to the symmetric approach that claims that the structure of the PDC and the DOC are symmetric and they are different in terms of a lexical component of P. In this, since the two structures are symmetric, we should predict the verb and the dative PP to form an idiom in both the PDC and the DOC. The fact that we see this idiom only in the PDC but not in the DOC is an asymmetry that needs an explanation. At this point, it seems that there is no systematic way for the symmetric theory to allow one class, but to disallow the other class because things should be symmetric.

To summarize, the detailed investigation of the ditransitive idioms in Japanese as well as the idioms in Korean show that the supported asymmetric approach is on the right track, as it captures the asymmetric pattern of ditransitive idioms. In addition, it allows to make certain generalization to be made that there seems to be a general tendency to disfavor functional heads like Appl and Voice in idiom formation across many languages. Note also that the result of the current discussion is consistent with the previous observation made in Marantz (1984) and Kratzer (1996) that a functional head is rarely able to trigger a special interpretation of the verb (e.g., idiomatic meaning). What is new in this paper is that I have offered additional sets of ditransitive idioms from languages like Korean that have not been systematically discussed in the literature. Finally, I speculate that although the current discussion is restricted to the ditransitive idioms in Korean, Japanese, and English (based on Bruening 2010), the present analysis could be applied to ditransitive idioms in Greek, another language that has been shown to follow the asymmetric structures discussed in

Anagnostopoulou (1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2003).³⁴ From my brief consideration of Greek ditransitive idioms on the basis of Anagnostopoulou's argument, it seems that there is an asymmetric distribution between the PDC and the DOC. I leave this for future study.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the ditransitive constructions in Korean in which the [Dat-Acc] and the [Acc-Acc] patterns correspond to the PDC and the DOC, respectively, and argued in detail that their syntactic structures are asymmetric. The Korean facts are of special interest because although it is not obvious from morphology in the classical sense of applicative morphology widely attested in Bantu languages (Marantz 1993), some phenomena discussed throughout the chapter, nominalization and ditransitive idioms confirm the availability of the two distinct structures of the ditransitives in Korean. More broadly, the asymmetric theory further extends to other languages such as Japanese (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004; Miyagawa 2012), a language that is also not related to English but is typologically similar to Korean. A considerable body of literature has also supported the asymmetric theory (e.g., Bantu languages in Marantz 1993; Greek in Anagnostopoulou 1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2003). Furthermore, in Bhattacharya and Simpson's (2011) recent work on Bangla ditransitives, they report a striking parallelism between the Bangla and the Japanese ditransitives with regard to the distribution of two Goals and the

³⁴ Anagnostopoulou (1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2003) shows that the DOC in Greek is distinguished from the PDC with respect to the case marking on the Goal: the Goal in the DOC is marked by genitive case, whereas the Goal in the PDC is marked by a preposition. I also thank Angeliki Athanasopoulou (p.c.) for offering us Greek ditransitive idioms and her judgments.

interpretation of the Goal and the Theme. Although they do not spell out the syntactic structures in the sense of Marantz's (or Bruening's) asymmetric structures we can subsume the Bangla ditransitives under the asymmetric structures if Bangla has exactly the same type of ditransitive constructions as Japanese, as advocated in Bhattacharya and Simpson (2011). I shall thus contend that with the combined evidence from Korean, English, Japanese, Bantu languages, Greek, and possibly Bangla, there is now reason to implicate that the asymmetric structures may be widely available, shared by languages with the PDC and the DOC distinction. A wider investigation of other languages is clearly called for, and I leave this for future research.

Chapter 3

BENEFACTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS³⁵

3.1 Introduction

In the previous discussion of ditransitive constructions in Korean I showed the syntactic and the semantic properties of the two types of ditransitives, the PDC and the DOC, and argued that in the DOC a prototypical ditransitive verb like *cwu-* ‘give’ in Korean is decomposed as having a separate syntactic head encoding the possession meaning. In this chapter, I investigate benefactive constructions in Korean and Japanese in which this prototypical verb is used as a benefactive marker. The verbs *cwu-* ‘give’ in Korean and *ageru-* in Japanese form a complex predicate with the preceding lexical verb, and the sentence conveys a benefactive meaning.³⁶ I shall propose by decomposing the meaning of *cwu-* and *ageru-* in Japanese ‘give’ in *give*-type benefactive constructions in Korean and Japanese that the benefactive morpheme is the morphological realization of the benefactive meaning or of the combination of the benefactive and the possessive meaning. In this vein I shall point out that it is

³⁵ *Give*-type benefactives discussed in the current chapter is our analysis as given in Tomioka and Kim (Ms.). Also, part of the material discussed in the current chapter was presented at the 9th Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics held at Cornell University, Ithaca, NY and the 2nd Mid-Atlantic Colloquium held at the University of Maryland, College Park, MD.

³⁶ Note that unlike Korean, Japanese makes productive use of verbs like *moraw-* ‘receive’, in addition to *ageru* ‘give’, in its benefactive constructions. In the present study, I restrict my discussion to the *give*-type benefactive construction (see Kubota and Uegaki 2009 for the *receive*-type benefactives).

certainly not a coincidence that the benefactive morpheme in Korean and Japanese takes the form identical to the lexical verb ‘give’.

Before proceeding further, it is in order to clarify what I mean by “beneficiary” and “benefactive meaning”. Following a broad definition suggested in previous work (e.g., Van Valin and La Polla 1997; Kittilä and Zúñiga 2010), I assume that a beneficiary (a benefactive argument) is the entity that is advantageously affected by the event described by the main verb of a sentence. For example, an agent provides enjoyment or plays in a deputative role, from which the beneficiary receives some benefit. Hence, it is assumed that a true benefactive meaning follows from an event described in a sentence: the agent performs an action for the benefit of a beneficiary; a beneficiary need not be an active participant to receive a benefit. With this background, consider examples of *give*-type benefactives in (100) for Korean and (101) for Japanese.

(100)	Yumi-ka	Hana-eykey	pap-ul	mantul-e-cwu-ess-ta.
	Yumi-Nom	Hana-Dat	meal-Acc	make-e-give-Pst-Dec
	‘Yumi made Hana the meal.’			

(101)	Yumi-ga	Hana-ni	gohan-o	tukutte-age-ta.	JP
	Yumi-Nom	Hana-Dat	meal-Acc	make-give-Pst	
	‘Yumi made Hana the meal.’				

In (100) and (101), the dative NPs *Hana-eykey* in Korean and *Hana-ni* in Japanese

appear to be ‘add-on’ arguments³⁷, because adding the benefactive marker *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ to the sentence increases the valency of the lexical verb *mantul-* and *tukutte-* ‘make’ to which it attaches, thereby licensing the dative NP (see Pylkkänen 2002, 2008; Bosse and Bruening 2011 for discussions on benefactives in other languages). Without the benefactive marker, (100) and (101) are judged to be unacceptable or awkward at best.

Some facts, however, remain to be explained under this benefactive-as-applicative analysis, as pointed out by Shibatani (1994, 1996). The first is the peculiarity of intransitive verbs. While intransitive verbs are possible with the benefactive marker *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’, adding the dative NP causes the sentence to be ungrammatical, as illustrated in (102) and (103).

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|---------------|---------------------|----|
| (102) | Yumi-ka | (*Hana-eykey) | tally-e-cwu-ess-ta. | |
| | Yumi-Nom | (Hana-Dat) | run-e-give-Pst-Dec | |
| | ‘Yumi ran for the benefit of a contextually salient individual/*Hana.’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| (103) | Yumi-ga | (*Hana-ni) | hasitte-age-ta. | JP |
| | Yumi-Nom | (Hana-Dat) | run-give-Pst | |
| | ‘Yumi ran for the benefit of a contextually salient individual/*Hana.’ | | | |

³⁷ The dative NP in the Korean benefactive can alternatively be marked by the accusative case *-l(ul)*, and this does not change the meaning of sentences. This is, however, not true of the dative NP in the Japanese benefactive; Japanese, unlike Korean, bans in general multiple occurrences of accusative NPs, the so-called double-o constraint (Harada 1973, Hiraiwa 2010, and among others).

The ill-formedness of (102) and (103) with the dative NP is unexpected, if we assume that the benefactive marker increases the valency of the verb of the sentence and adds the dative NP as a beneficiary to the verb, the standard benefactive-as-applicative approach advanced in a recent work by Oh and Zubbizarreta (2009) for Korean and typologically diverse languages like German (Bosse and Bruening 2011) and Bantu languages (Pylkkänen 2002, 2008). As the English translations indicate, in Korean the benefactive meaning is clearly implicated in (102) without the dative NP: an unmentioned beneficiary gains some benefit from the event described in the sentence. For some reason, however, a beneficiary does not seem to be overtly expressed by means of a dative NP.

Second, not all transitive verbs are possible with the dative NP in the benefactive construction (Shibatani 1994, 1996). (104) and (105) show that benefactive sentences with a non-creation verb like *peli-* ‘throw away’ are incompatible with the dative NPs.

(104)	Yumi-ka	(*Hana-eykey)	pap-ul	peli-e-cwu-ess-ta.	
	Yumi-Nom	(Hana-Dat)	meal-Acc	throw.away-give-Pst-Dec	
	‘Yumi threw away Hana the meal.’				

(105)	Yumi-ga	(*Hana-ni)	gohan-o	sutete-age-ta.	JP
	Yumi-Nom	(Hana-Dat)	meal-Acc	throw.away-give-Pst	
	‘Yumi threw away Hana the meal.’				

Once again, this observed fact is surprising under the approach that the dative NP is added as a beneficiary to the verb by the addition of the benefactive marker.

Based on these empirical findings, Shibatani (1994, 1996) points out the inadequacy of a formal syntactic approach to *give*-type benefactive constructions in Korean and Japanese, and alternatively offers an approach couched in cognitive account according to which the availability of a dative beneficiary is dependent on the presence of a possession relation: the agent (which is realized as the nominative NP) must create on behalf of the goal (which is realized as the dative NP) a possessive situation in which the goal exercises control over the theme (the accusative NP).

Although Shibatani's (1994, 1996) characterization of the benefactive construction in Korean and Japanese is empirically correct, I do not see much advantage in adopting an alternative analysis that denies a formal syntactic account. In what follows, I will provide workable suggestions for *give*-type benefactives that can be fleshed out within a formal framework. I defend an analysis of lexical decomposition in syntax and of Distributed Morphology (i.e., Late Insertion), wherein compositional interpretations of the benefactives, along with Shibatani's crucial observation, follow straightforwardly.

Specifically, I will make the following two claims: (i) in the Korean and Japanese *give*-type benefactives the dative NP is identified as a possessor and as a recipient, in line with Shibatani (1994, 1996), and (ii) a true beneficiary is always expressed in the form of an implicit argument (i.e., a phonologically silent argument) of the benefactive auxiliary *cwu-* and *ageru-* 'give'. In this, the alleged interpretation of the dative NP as a beneficiary is drawn via pragmatic inference: that is, if a person comes to possess something as a result of the event depicted in the sentence, the

person is likely to gain benefit by newly possessing it. In addition, what the dative NP, as a possessor, comes to possess is also covert and a pragmatically salient entity that comes out of the event denoted by the verb. Apparently, the accusative NP is a good candidate for the possessable entity, but I will show that this link is determined pragmatically, rather than grammatically.

Building on these arguments, I develop a compositional analysis of *give*-type benefactives in event semantics: as outlined in Chapter 1, the benefactive meaning is decomposed into two syntactic verbal heads, $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$ (efactive) which takes an implicit beneficiary, and Poss (essive) denoting, the meaning of possession, each of which contributes a subpart of the meaning of the benefactives. When the dative NP is present, the benefactive marker *cwu-* and *ageru-* is a morphological realization of the complex head $[\text{Ben}_{(i)}+\text{Poss}]$ in a manner of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994; Embick and Noyer 2007). Without the dative NP, only the head $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$ is present. Finally, I will discuss the nature of the benefactive meaning, and suggest that this meaning is projected as a not-at-issue meaning that is conventionalized in the sense of Roberts et al. (2009) and Simons et al. (2010), as laid out in Chapter 1.

The remainder of this chapter unfolds as follows. In Section 3.2, I offer a detailed characterization of the semantics of *give*-type benefactives in Korean and Japanese. Section 3.3 gives a compositional semantic analysis of the benefactives discussed in previous sections. In Section 3.4, I show that the benefactive meaning belongs to not-at-issue meaning, like an implicature. In Section 3.5, I conclude this chapter.

3.2 Semantics of *Give-type Benefactive Constructions* in Korean and Japanese

This section provides essential characteristics of *give-type* benefactives in Korean and Japanese. I first show in Section 3.2.1 that in *give-type* benefactives the dative NP is a possessor. Next, in Section 3.2.2 and Section 3.2.3, I argue that a benefactive meaning arises with an implicit argument, namely a definite argument in the form of either a bound or a free variable. Lastly, Section 3.2.4 discusses that a possessable entity is a pragmatically salient entity that comes out of the eventuality depicted in the sentence.

3.2.1 Dative NPs as Possessors

I start my discussion by showing that the dative NP is by no means a true beneficiary itself but only a possessor. Empirical evidence for this is drawn from Shibatani's findings according to which, when benefactives like (100) and (104) in Korean and (101) and (105) in Japanese, as repeated in (106) and (107) respectively, occur with the dative NP, only sentences involving creation verbs like *mantul-* and *tukutte-* 'make' are acceptable and sentences involving non-creation verbs, *pel-* and *suttee-* 'throw away' are not.

- (106) Yumi-ka Hana-eykey pap-ul mantul/*pel-e-cwu-ess-ta.
Yumi-Nom Hana-Dat meal-Acc make/throw.away-give-Pst-Dec
'Yumi made/threw away Hana the meal.'

- (107) Yumi-ga Hana-ni gohan-o tukutte/*sutete-age-ta. JP
Yumi-Nom Hana-Dat meal-Acc make/throw.away-give-Pst
'Yumi made/threw away Hana the meal.'

In (106) and (107) with the verb *mantul-* and *tukutte* ‘make’, the dative NP *Hana* is understood as the possessor of the theme *pap* and *gohan* ‘meal’: the making event contributes to the creation of the meal and Hana is interpreted as the possessor of the meal. By contrast, (106) and (107) with the verb *pe-li-* and *suttee* ‘throw away’ are infelicitous, because the dative NP *Hana* is not readily identified as the possessor of the theme ‘meal’: it is unlikely that the event of throwing meal away contributes to the creation of the meal.³⁸

The same explanation applies to (102) and (103), as repeated in (108) and (109) below, in which intransitive benefactives are possible only when dative NPs are absent. This is expected under the view that the dative NP is viewed as a possessor but not as a beneficiary: the event described by an intransitive verb is far less clear from creating anything that is possesable by the possessor, the dative NP.

(108) Yumi-ka	(*Hana-eykey)	tally-e-cwu-ess-ta.
Yumi-Nom	(Hana-Dat)	run-e-give-Pst-Dec

³⁸ This is also true where in the Korean benefactive the dative NP is replaced with the accusative marker *-l(ul)*. The question that arises is then what kind of effect this case alternation brings about in the Korean benefactive. Several native speakers of Korean I have consulted have commented that the accusative case seems to add contrastive focus interpretation to the NP in which the accusative-marked NP can introduce a presupposition that there are other entities in the discourse domain in addition to the discourse entity denoted by the NP.

(10)	Yumi-ka	Hana-lul	pap-ul	mantul-e-cwu-ess-ta.
	Yumi-Nom	Hana-Acc	meal-Acc	make-e-give-Pst-Dec
	‘Yumi made Hana the meal (but not others).’			

I leave this issue as an open question and posit that the same explanation suggested for the benefactive involving the dative NP applies to the corresponding benefactive with the accusative NP.

'Yumi ran for the benefit of a contextually salient individual/*Hana.'

- (109) Yumi-ga (*Hana-ni) hasitte-age-ta. JP
Yumi-Nom (Hana-Dat) run-give-Pst

‘Yumi ran for the benefit of a contextually salient individual/*Hana.’

In (108) and (109), the running event does not create an entity that the dative NP can possess.

Note that some intransitive verbs like *pwulu-* ‘sing’ are compatible with the dative NP in *give*-type benefactives.

- (110) Yumi-ka Hana-eykey pwull-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 Yumi-Nom Hana-Dat sing-e-give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yumi sang to Hana.’

Although in (110) the verb is intransitive, this sentence is far better than (108) and (109) involving the verb ‘run’, because one can imagine the existence of a song that can be possessed. See (111).

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------|-----------|---------------------|
| (111) Yumi-ka | Hana-eykey | nolay-lul | pwuIl-e-cwu-ess-ta. |
| Yumi-Nom | Hana-Dat | song-Acc | sing-e-give-Pst-Dec |
| ‘Yumi sang the song to Hana.’ | | | |

In (111) with the verb *pwulu-* ‘sing’, which takes cognate objects, the dative NP *Hana* is easily understood as the possessor of the theme *nolay* ‘song’.

Therefore, the facts presented above point to the conclusion that the dative NP is disassociated from a benefactive meaning and is identified as a possessor and a recipient and that a true benefactive meaning arises with a contextually salient individual. I will discuss this in more detail in the section to follow.

3.2.2 Implicit Beneficiary

In this section I propose that a beneficiary is encoded as an implicit argument selected by the benefactive marker *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ and that the apparent association of the dative NP with the benefactive interpretation is possible via pragmatic inferences.

First, (112) and (113), repeated from (102) and (103), show that intransitive benefactives are possible insofar as the dative NP is absent. In such a case, a benefactive argument is a particular person who is contextually understood but not overtly expressed.

- (112) Yumi-ka (*Hana-eykey) talli-e-cwu-ess-ta.
Yumi-Nom (Hana-Dat) run-li-e-give-Pst-Dec
'Yumi ran for the benefit of a contextually salient individual/*Hana.'

- (113) Yumi-wa (*Hana-ni) hasitte-age-ta. JP
Yumi-Top (Hana-Dat) run-give-Pst
'Yumi ran for the benefit of a contextually salient individual/*Hana.'

(114) Yumi-ka (*Hana-eykey) pap-ul peli-e-cwu-ess-ta.
Yumi-Nom (Hana-Dat) meal-Acc throw.away-give-Pst-Dec
'Yumi threw away the meal for the benefit of a contextually salient
individual/*Hana.'

It should be, however, noted that it is undeniable that the dative NPs like (100) and (101) above can often be understood as beneficiaries. This is so because if a person comes to possess something as a result of the event depicted in the sentence, the person is likely to gain benefit by newly possessing it. This inference is purely pragmatic, however, and is readily cancelable.

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interpretation that Yumi made the meal for the benefit of a contextually salient individual (in this case Hana's mother), and not necessarily for the benefit of Hana.³⁹

- (116) pappun Hana emma-lul wihay Yumi-ka Hana-eykey pap-ul
 busy Hana mother-Acc benefit Yumi-Nom Hana-Dat meal-Acc
 mantul-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 make-e-give-Pst-Dec
 'For the benefit of busy Hana's mother, Yumi made Hana the meal.'

- (117) Isogasii Hana-no okaasan-no tame-ni, Yumi-wa Hana-ni gohan-o JP
 busy Hana-Gen mother-Gen sake-Dat Yumi-Top Hana-Dat meal-Acc
 tukutte-age-ta.
 make-give-Pst
 'For the benefit of busy Hana's mother, Yumi made Hana the meal.'

³⁹ The same is true of intransitive benefactives. As illustrated in (11), one can make use of rather cumbersome form like *NP-lul wiha-ta* 'NP-Acc care-Dec' for Korean and *NP-no tame-ni* 'NP-Gen benefit-Dat' for Japanese, and specify a beneficiary of sentences.

- (11) Yumi-ka chinkwu-lul wiha.y talli/nemeci-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 Yumi-Nom friend-Acc care.y run/fall-e-give-Pst-Dec
 'Yumi ran/fell for the benefit of the friend.'
- (12) Yumi-ga tomodati-no tame-ni hasitte/koronde-age-ta
 Yumi-Nom friend-Gen sake-Dat run/fall-give-Pst
 'Yumi ran/fell for the benefit of the friend.'

For instance, (116) and (117) can be used to describe a context in which Yumi made the meal and gave it to Hana so that Hana's mother could go out without worrying about making the meal to Hana.

That the benefactive meaning is obtained with an implicit argument and not with the dative NP is further corroborated by the fact that the benefactive meaning on the dative NP can be readily negated; in this case the beneficiary is construed with a particular person who is contextually salient.

(118) a. Yuna-ka Jangho-eykey tap-ul kaluchy-e-cwu-ess-ta.

Yuna-Nom Jangho-Dat answer-Acc teach-e-give-Pst-Dec

'Yuna taught Jangho the answer.'

b. haciman kukes-un Jangho-lul wiha-n kes-i ani-yess-ta.

but that-Top Jangho-Acc benefit-Adn thing-Nom Neg-Pst-Dec

'But that was not for the benefit of Jangho.'

In (118a), the dative NP *Jangho* is not necessarily identified as a beneficiary but only as a possessor, as one can easily negate the benefactive meaning on the dative NP, as seen in (118b). For example, (118) can be used to describe a scenario in which Jangho's brother always had difficulty answering all of Jangho's questions, and so Yuna teaching the answer to Jangho helped Jangho's brother in some way.

Furthermore, some expressions can 'narrow down' the possible candidates for the beneficiary, although they are not deterministic.

- (119) Yumi-no imooto-no tanzyoobi-ni, Hana-wa tootyoku-o JP
 Yumi-Gen younger.sister-Gen birthday-on Hana-top duty-Acc
 kawatte-age-ta.
 substitute-give-Pst
 ‘On Yumi’s₁ younger sister’s₂ birthday, Hana filled in (for her_{1/2}).’

In (119), the PP ‘on Yumi’s sister’s birthday’ makes both Yumi and her sister salient for the identity of the beneficiary, but it alone is not sufficient to determine which is the actual beneficiary.

From these observed facts, it follows, once again, that a beneficiary is encoded as an implied beneficiary⁴⁰ and that the dative NP is a possessor, and its apparent interpretation as a beneficiary is derived via pragmatic inference.

3.2.3 Status of Implicit Beneficiary

Now that we have an understanding that in *give*-type benefactives the benefactive meaning arises with an implicit beneficiary, the question that naturally arises is how we can represent an implicit argument in syntax. Implicit arguments have received

⁴⁰ Note that the benefactive meaning associated with *give*-type benefactive constructions requires the notion of “spontaneity”. In other words, an implicit beneficiary should be present at the event scene. For example, (13) is acceptable in a context in which an implicit beneficiary was physically present at the time that the manager was carrying out the action; the sentence is judged to be awkward if an implicit beneficiary is not assumed to be present at the event scene.

- (13) Suthapeksu maynice-ka theyipul-ul kkaykkush-hakey takk-a-cwu-ess-ta.
 Starbucks manager-Nom table-Acc clean-C wipe-a-give-Pst-Dec
 ‘The manager of Starbucks wiped the table clean for the benefit of a contextually salient person.’

considerable attention in the literature, and it is evident from the meaning of sentences that they are part of the interpretation of a predicate (e.g., Williams 1985, 1987; Rizzi 1986; Chomsky 1986; Roeper 1987; Brody and Manzini 1987; Jackendoff 1987; Partee 1989; Condoravidi and Gawron 1996; Bhatt and Pancheva 2006; *inter alia*). However, it is not a simple task to identify their status in syntax, as they are found in many different contexts (see Bhatt and Pancheva 2006 for a nice overview on a wide range of implicit arguments).

With this background, I shall characterize an implicit beneficiary, by comparing its behavior with other familiar types of implicit arguments discussed in the literature, like an implicit agent of passives and phonologically silent arguments such as *pro*, a discourse-given individual pervasively found in Korean and Japanese. I will argue that in *give*-type benefactives an implicit beneficiary is a definite argument in the form of either a bound or a free variable which does not project as a full syntactic argument (i.e., an NP or a DP). As such, I propose that an implicit beneficiary found in *give*-type benefactives be added to a class of implicit arguments.

Let us begin by observing an implicit beneficiary, compared with an implicit agent of passives, a well-known class of examples of implicit arguments. As illustrated in (120a) and (120b), passives have been argued to involve an implicit agent, which can be made overt in *by*-phrase, as opposed to unaccusatives, respectively.

(120) a. The ship was sunk (by Bill). (Roeper 1987)

b. *The ship sank by Bill.

Like passives, *give*-type benefactives in Korean and Japanese are compatible with an overt expression like *NP-lul wiha-ta* ‘NP-Acc care-Dec’ (literally ‘to take care of someone’) for Korean and *NP-no tame-ni* ‘NP-Gen benefit-Dat’ (literally ‘for the sake of’) for Japanese.

- (121) pappun Hana emma-lul wiha-y Yumi-ka Hana-eykey pap-ul
 busy Hana mother-Acc care-y Yumi-Nom Hana-Dat meal-Acc
 mantul-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 make-e-give-Pst-Dec
 ‘For the benefit of busy Hana’s mother, Yumi made Hana the meal.’

- (122) isogasii Hana-no okaasan-no tame-ni Yumi-wa Hana-ni gohan-o JP
 busy Hana-Gen mother-Gen sake-Dat Yumi-Top Hana-Dat meal-Acc
 tukutte-age-ta.
 make-give-Pst
 ‘For the benefit of busy Hana’s mother, Yumi made Hana the meal.’

However, an implicit beneficiary is different from an implicit agent of passives in a number of respects; notably, an implicit beneficiary must be definite. For instance, an implicit agent of passives cannot be bound by a universal quantifier; instead it is always existentially quantified, as shown in (123). In contrast, an implicit beneficiary can be a bound variable, and is otherwise interpreted as a contextually salient individual, as shown in (124).

(123) *motun sonye-ka Jim-i cap-hi-ki-lul pala-n-ta.*
 every girl-Nom Jim-Nom catch-Pss-Nml-Acc hope-Pres-Dec
 ‘Every girl_i hopes that Jim is caught (by someone/*her_i).’

(124) *motun sonye-ka Jim-i chwum-ul chwu-e-cwu-ki-lul pala-n-ta.*
 every girl-Nom Jim-Nom dance-Acc dance-e-give-Nml-Acc hope-Pres-Dec
 ‘Every girl_i hopes that Jim dances (for the benefit of her_i/a contextually salient individual).’

A fully natural paraphrase of a passive sentence embedded in (123) is that Jim is caught by someone. (123) is therefore infelicitous under the reading that an implicit agent is bound by the the universal quantifier *motun* ‘every’ embedded in the matrix subject. By contrast, *give*-type benefactives like (124) have two interpretations, (i) a bound-variable reading in which an implicit beneficiary is interpreted as a variable bound by the quantifier phrase *motun sonye* ‘every girl’ contained in the matrix subject and (ii) a free-variable reading in which every girl hopes Jim to dance for a contextually salient entity.

Second, an implicit beneficiary, in contrast with an implicit agent of passives, cannot be existentially bound, suggesting that it is a definite argument. An important point to note is that an implicit agent of passives is interpreted as an indefinite argument like *someone*⁴¹ (e.g., Bach 1980; Keenan 1980, 1985; Williams 1987; Bhatt

⁴¹ An implicit agent of passives can receive a discourse-bound reading if discourse-linked. For example, in a sentence like ‘the girls love the cafe, so the table will be occupied soon’, the unmentioned agent in the passive sentence mostly corresponds to the girls mentioned in the preceding sentence, and here adding *someone* causes the

and Pancheva 2006; Bruening 2013), which is clearly manifested in sluicing constructions as in (125) for Korean and (126) for Japanese.

- (125) na-nun ecey Chelswu-ka ccoch-ki-ess-ta-ko tul-ess-nuntey,
 I-Top yesterday Chelswu-Nom chase-Pss-Pst-Dec-C hear-Pst-but
 nwukwu-hantey ccoch-ki-ess-nun-ci molu-n-ta.
 who-Dat chase-Pss-Pst-nun-C not.know-Pres-Dec
 ‘I heard that Chelswu was chased, but I don't know by whom he was chased.’

- (126) watasi-wa Yumi-ga oikake-rare-te ita-tot kii-ta. JP
 I-Top Yumi-Nom chase-Pss-te Cop.Pst-C hear-Pst
 temo watasi-wa dare-ni oikake-rare-te ita-ka-wa wakaranai.
 but I-Top whom-Dat chase-Pss-te Cop.Pst-C-Top not.know
 ‘I heard that Yumi was chased, but I don't know by whom she was chased.’

Given that in Korean and Japanese an implicit argument of the antecedent clause of sluicing constructions must be indefinite as is the case in English sluicing (Chung et al. 1995), the well-formedness of (125) and (126) indicates that an implicit subject of passives must be an indefinite argument.

Turning to *give*-type benefactive constructions, if an implicit beneficiary patterns with an implicit agent of passives, it should occur as an antecedent of sluicing clauses. This prediction is not borne out, however. Consider (127) and (128).

passive sentence to be infelicitous. However, the contrast between the passive and the active is still available, as an agent of the active sentence can never be existential.

(127) a. Hana-ka tally-e-cwu-ess-nunten

Hana-Nom run-e-give-Pst-but

#nwukwu-lul wiha-n kes-i-n-ci molu-n-ta.

who-Acc benefit-Adn Nml-Cop-Adn-C not.know-Pres-Dec

‘Hana ran for the benefit of a contextually salient individual, #but I don’t know for whom.’

b. Hana-ka tally-ess-nunten nwukwu-lul wiha-n kes-i-n-ci

Hana-Nom run-Pst-but who-Acc benefit-Adn Nml-Cop-Adn-C
molu-n-ta.

not.know-Pres-Dec

‘Hana ran, but I don’t know for whom.’

(128) a. Hana-ga hasitte-age-ta.

JP

Hana-Nom run-give-Pst

#demo dare-no tame-ni ka-wa wakaranai.

but who-Gen benefit-Dat Q-Top not.know

‘Hana ran for the benefit of a contextually salient individual, #but I don’t know for whom.’

b. Hana-ga hasitte-ta.

Hana-Nom run-Pst

demo dare-no tame-ni ka-wa wakaranai.

but who-Gen benefit-Dat Q-Top not.know

‘Hana ran, but I don’t know for whom.’

The contrast between (a) examples with *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ and (b) examples without *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ in (127) and (128) indicates that in *give*-type benefactives an implicit beneficiary is not existentially bound. That is, (127) and (128) are infelicitous, because the presence of *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ implies that the speaker is aware of the identity of the beneficiary that benefits from the running event.

Now that an implicit beneficiary is a definite argument (i.e., it cannot be interpreted existentially), an important question remaining is what form an implicit beneficiary is syntactically realized. It is well known in the pertinent literature (e.g., Huang 1984) that Korean and Japanese in the absense of alleged morphological agreement in general permit an argument to be dropped, i.e., a phonologically silent argument. While I do not take any stand as to whether a phonologically silent argument is an empty pronoun (i.e., *pro*) or the result of NP ellipsis, I point out that an implicit beneficiary under consideration does not project a full syntactic argument in the form of NPs or DPs, unlike other implicit arguments like an empty *pro*.

First, an implicit beneficiary does not seem to have an overt version of it in a simpler fashion. There are clausal expressions like *NP-lul wiha-ta* for Korean and *NP-no tame-ni* for Japanese that alternatively describe a benefactive meaning; see also (121) and (122). It is, however, unlikely that these rather cumbersome forms are reduced to the syntactic potential of an implicit beneficiary. If an implicit beneficiary is a realization of a specific syntactic argument – a null NP – then the silent NP structure must also encode the benefactive meaning that corresponds to those long expressions of benefit. Such a scenario is neither likely nor desirable.

Second, it is a well known fact that silent arguments in the two languages are semantically diverse. One crucial point to notice is that they can be indefinite, as shown in (129) (Tomioka 2003; Takahashi 2007).

- (129) kyoo Yumi-wa takarakuzi-o ka-tta. Hana-mo ka-tta. JP
 today Yumi-Top lotto.ticket-Acc buy-Pst Hana-also buy-Pst
 ‘Today, Yumi bought (some) lottery tickets. Hana slo bought (some lottery tickets.)’

In addition, even when implicit arguments can be identified as definite arguments, an implicit beneficiary makes a sharp contrast with these definite silent arguments. For example, an implicit argument that is definite is possible with a floating numeral quantifier, as shown in (130).

- (130) Yuna-nun ecey wain-ul yel pyeng sa-ss-ko, onul-un sumwu
 Yuna-Top yesterday wine-Acc ten Cl buy-Pst-and today-Top twenty
 pyeng sa-ss-ta.
 Cl buy-Pst-Dec
 ‘Chelswu bought ten bottles of wine yesterday, and today he bought twenty bottles (of wine).’

In (130), the floating numeral quantifier *sumwu pyeng* ‘twenty bottles’ is easily associated with its host *wain* ‘wine’ in the form of a definite silent argument.

In contrast, (131) shows that an implicit beneficiary, unlike a definite silent argument, is incompatible with a floating numeral quantifier.

(131) [Context: Yumi wanted to sing for each of her five friends whose birthdays happened to be today. But she managed to sing only for three of them.]

*Yumi-wa san-nin(-dake) utatte-age-ta. JP

Yumi-Top three-Cl(-only) sing-give-Pst

‘Intended: Yumi sang for the benefit of three of her friends.’

Furthermore, an implicit beneficiary is banned as a predication subject of resultative predicates marked by *-key* or *-tolok* in Korean, as opposed to a definite implicit argument.

(132) Mina-ka ecey inhyeng-ul senmwul-lo pat-a-se, onul [e]

Mina-Nom yesterday doll-Acc gift-as receive-a-so today

kkaykkus-hakey takk-ass-ta.

clean-C wipe-Pst-Dec

‘Mina got a doll as a gift yesterday, and so she wiped it clean.’

(133) [Context: Mina’s sister, Yuna, got a doll as her birthday gift yesterday. Mina cleaned it for Yuna, as Yuna has a dust allergy.]

*Mina-ka (inhyeng-ul) kkaykkus-hakey takk-a-cwu-ess-ta.

Mina-Nom (doll-Acc) clean-C wipe-a-give-Pst-Dec

‘Intended: Mina wiped the doll clean for the benefit of her sister.’

(132) shows that a definite silent argument can be conceived of as the argument of the resultative predicate *kkaykkushakey* ‘clean’. This is not true of an implicit beneficiary, however. In (133), the resultative predicate *kkaykkushakey* ‘clean’ cannot be predicated of an implicit beneficiary; rather, it is *pro* with which the resultative predicate associates.

To summarize, I have shown that implicit beneficiaries are either a bound variable or refer to a contextually salient individuals. From these points, I draw the conclusion that while implicit beneficiaries are selected by the benefactive marker *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ and are part of the semantics of sentences, implicit beneficiaries do not behave as ordinary syntactic arguments which take the form of NPs or DPs, unlike normal silent arguments, and consequently they should not be treated as such.

3.2.4 Possessable Entity

I have argued so far that the dative NP is not a true beneficiary but a possessor, and this allows us to explain why the addition of the dative NP causes benefactives involving intransitive and non-creation verbs to be unacceptable: since the dative NP is a possessor (and not a beneficiary) if the event described in a sentence is far from creating an entity that is possessable by the dative NP, it is disallowed.

Now, the question concerns what exactly a possessable entity is. It is fairly straightforward in many cases, especially with creation verbs, that the accusative NP itself is a possessee because it is the most salient possessable entity. Consider (134) and (135).

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (134) | Yumi-ka | Hana-eykey | pap-ul | mantul-e-cwu-ess-ta. |
| | Yumi-Nom | Hana-Dat | meal-Acc | make-e-give-Pst-Dec |
| | ‘Yumi made Hana the meal.’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| (135) | Chelswu-ka | Yuna-eykey | molay.seng-ul | ci-e-cwu-ess-ta. |
| | Chelswu-Nom | Yuna-Dat | sand.castle-Acc | build-e-give-Pst-Dec |
| | ‘Chelswu built Yuna the castle of sand.’ | | | |

In (134), repeated from (100), what Hana comes to possess is the meal; the making event contributes to the creation of food that can be possessed. In (135), likewise, an entity possessed by the dative NP *Yuna* is the accusative NP *molay seng* ‘sand castle’.

Nonetheless, it is often unclear to establish the required possession relation between the dative (the possessor) and the accusative NPs (the theme). As pointed out by Shibatani (1994, 1996), what the dative NP comes to possess is not always the referent itself denoted by the accusative NP, as illustrated in (136) and (137).

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|------------|----------|---------------------|----|
| (136) | Yumi-ka | Hana-eykey | mwun-ul | yel-e-cwu-ess-ta. | |
| | Yumi-Nom | Hana-Dat | door-Acc | open-e-give-Pst-Dec | |
| | ‘Yumi opened the door to Hana.’ | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (137) | Yumi-ga | Hana-ni | doa-o | akete-age-ta. | JP |
| | Yumi-Nom | Hana-Dat | door-acc | open-give-Pst | |
| | ‘Yumi opened the door to Hana.’ | | | | |

In (136) and (137), what Hana (the dative NP) has come to possess is not the door itself but rather the space created by the event of opening the door, the space through which Hana comes into or goes out of the room.

Interestingly, if the verb *yel-* and *akete-* ‘open’ is replaced with *tat-* and *tosite-* ‘close’, sentences become remarkably odd, as shown in (138) and (139).

(138)	Yumi-ka	(*Hana-eykey)	mwun-ul	tat-a-cwu-ess-ta.
	Yumi-Nom	(Hana-Dat)	door-Acc	close-a-give-Pst-Dec

‘Yumi closed the door to Hana.’

(139)	Yumi-ga	(*Hana-ni)	doa-o	tosite-age-ta.	JP
	Yumi-Nom	(Hana-Dat)	door-acc	close-give-Pst	

‘Yumi closed the door to Hana.’

The infelicity of (138) and (139) with the dative NP arises because it is difficult to imagine the creation of a possessable entity in a closing-the-door event. Once the dative NP is removed, however, (138) and (139) improve to perfection.

In a similar vein, a non-creation verb like *takk-* and *kataskete-* ‘clean/tidy up’, in addition to a creation verb like *mantul-* and *tukutte-* ‘make’ shown in (100) and (101), can occur in *give*-type benefactive constructions, as given in (140) and (141). Once again, (140) and (141) involve no direct possession relation between the dative NP *Hana* and the accusative NP *chayksang* and *tsukue* ‘the desk’. Nevertheless, they are acceptable.

(140) Yumi-ka Hana-eykey chayksang-ul takk-a-cwu-ess-ta.
 Yumi-Nom Hana-Dat desk-Acc clean-a-give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yumi cleaned the desk to Hana.’

(141) Yumi-ga Hana-ni tsukue-o kataskete-age-ta. JP
 Yumi-Nom Hana-Dat desk-Acc clean-give-Pst
 ‘Yumi cleaned the desk to Hana.’

Crucial to the felicity of (140) and (141) is that the dative NP *Hana* is understood as having some clean space.

Note that the verb *tat-* and *tosite-* ‘close’ is possibly compatible with the dative NP if there are closing events that do produce possessable entities in a closed state. For example, the closing-the-bottle event can create a closed bottle that is easier to have than its open counterpart; for example it is easier to transport in a closed state.

(142) Masa-ka Yumi-eykey pyeng-ul tat-a-cwu-ess-ta.
 Masa-Nom Yumi-Dat bottle-Acc close-a-give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Masa closed the bottle to Yumi.’

It then appears, along with Shibatani’s observation as noted in Section 3.1, that the presence of a dative NP is tied to the likelihood of the existence of some possessable entity, in which such an entity is specified in the following way.

(143) (i) An entity *x* comes into existence as a result of the event depicted by the main

verb and

- (ii) x can be possessed by the referent of the dative NP.

Therefore, the possessed theme in *give*-type benefactives is essentially a pragmatically salient entity that has been created by the eventualities denoted by the main verb. Once again, the accusative NP, especially with creation verbs, is identified readily as the possessee since they are the most salient entity. This interpretation is in fact pragmatic, however, as benefactive sentences with non-creation verbs are acceptable, where no direct possession relation between the accusative and the dative NPs is encoded.

This line of argument allows us to further explain relevant contrasts.

- (144) a. Yumi-ka halapeci-kkey yo-lul kkal-a-tuli-ess-ta.
Yumi-Nom grandfather-Dat mattress spread-a-give.Hon-Pst-Dec
'Yumi spread the mattress to her grandfather.'

- b. #Yumi-ka halapeci-kkey yo-lul cep-e-tuli-ess-ta.
Yumi-Nom grandfather-Dat mattress-Acc fold-e-give.Hon-Pst-Dec
'Yumi folded up the mattress to her grandfather.'

- (145) a. Yumi-ga oziityan-ni futon-o hiite-age-ta. JP
Yumi-Nom grandfather-Dat mattress-Acc spread-give-Pst
'Yumi spread the mattress to her grandfather.'

- b. #Yumi-ga oziityan-ni futon-o kataduke-age-ta. JP
Yumi-Nom grandfather-Dat mattress-Acc fold.up-give-Pst
'Yumi folded up the mattress to her grandfather.'

As shown in (144) and (145), the benefactive sentences involving the verbs *kka-* and *hiite* ‘spread’ are acceptable, because speakers can conceive of some possessable entity in the spreading-the-mattress event; that is, the grandfather can have some space as Yumi spreads a mattress. By contrast, (144) and (145) with the verbs *cep-* and *kataduke-* ‘fold up’ are infelicitous, because there is no pragmatically salient entity that can be conceived by the folding-up-the-mattress event.⁴²

Therefore, in the *give*-type benefactive construction what is possessed is a pragmatically salient entity that comes out of the eventuality, rather than the referent denoted by the accusative NP.

3.3 Intermediate Conclusion

I have thus far argued that the dative NP is a possessor and a recipient, in line with Shibatani’s (1994, 1996) observation and a benefactive meaning is encoded with an implicit argument. In this, the typical interpretation of the dative NP as a beneficiary is essentially pragmatic: the dative NP is not always identified as a beneficiary and the benefactive meaning is available without the occurrence of the dative NP. I have also shown that the interpretation of the possessee is also pragmatic, namely what is possessed is in fact a pragmatically implied entity that comes out of the eventuality.

In many ways, the observations made above mirror Shibatani’s (1994, 1996) insights to the benefactives. I will however take a different approach from his cognitive analysis, and show that a formal syntactic account can also be implemented

⁴² Note that the infelicity of (144) and (145) improves to perfection if speakers can construe the event of Yuna’s folding up a mattress as creating some space for the grandfather.

in a way that is compatible with compositional interpretations of *give*-type benefactives.

3.4 A Lexical Decomposition Analysis

This section provides a lexical decomposition analysis of *give*-type benefactives in Korean and Japanese that straightforwardly captures the syntactic and the semantic properties discussed in previous sections. I then turn to the question of what this benefactive meaning contributes in semantics, for which the answer is that the benefactive meaning of *give*-type benefactives is not-at-issue meaning. This observation is in accordance with Kubota and Uegaki's (2011) argument for the benefactive meaning of *receive*-type benefactives in Japanese.

3.4.1 Analysis

As laid out in Chapter 1, the analysis I propose builds on (i) the theory of syntactic decomposition of events that decomposes the event denoted by the sentence into separate verbal projections (Hale and Keyser 1993; Harley 1995; Kratzer 1996; Marantz 1997; Harley and Noyer 2000; and numerous others) and (ii) Kratzer's (1996) proposal that the external argument is introduced by Voice (equivalent to Chomsky's ν), a syntactic head above the lexical VP. In addition, I adopt the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994; Embick and Noyer 2007), the idea that syntactic heads are supplied with phonological content post-syntactically (i.e., Late Insertion), within which the properties of *give*-type benefactives discussed above are straightforwardly captured. With these assumptions, the analysis I advance is doubly pragmatic and implicit. On the one hand, a true beneficiary is not expressed by means of the overt dative NP but is encoded as a definite implicit argument. On the

other hand, the dative NP is a possessor and a recipient, but the possessed theme is also covert, in which what is possessed is a pragmatically salient entity that has been created by the eventuality depicted by the main verb.

With these assumptions, I propose that two types of syntactic head, Ben(efactive) and Poss(ession), which are projected between VoiceP and VP, are responsible for the meaning of *give*-type benefactive constructions in Korean and Japanese. Consider first the proposed representation of Ben_(i) in (146). (See also Bosse and Bruening 2011 for their benefactive-as-applicative analysis to other languages).

(146) Semantics of *Benefactive*

$$\llbracket \text{Ben}_{(i)} \rrbracket^g = \lambda P_{\langle s, t \rangle} . \lambda e . P(e) \ \& \ \exists e'' [\text{Benefit}(e'') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(g(i), e'') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e'')(e)]$$

In (146), the head Ben_(i) introduces a benefactive argument in the form of a referential index attached to it: the benefactive auxiliary *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ takes an implicit beneficiary as its argument; following Dowty’s (1981) analysis of transitive verbs in English, I assume that an index can be part of the lexical meaning of a predicate. There are two ways of interpreting the index attached to the head Ben_(i) in semantics, based on the behavior of an implicit beneficiary discussed earlier. On the one hand, the index can be abstracted, and the implicit beneficiary is bound by a quantifier (i.e., a bound variable reading). Otherwise, the index is left unbounded, and the implicit beneficiary refers to a contextually salient individual via assignment functions. Crucially, an implicit beneficiary cannot be interpreted existentially via a mechanism that is available for other implicit arguments, like implicit agents in passives.

Turning to the head Poss, the proposed semantics is formalized in (147).

(147) Semantics of *Possession*

$[[\text{Poss}]] = \lambda P_{\langle s, t \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda e. P(e) \ \& \ \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Possess}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(x, e') \ \& \ \text{Theme}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)]$

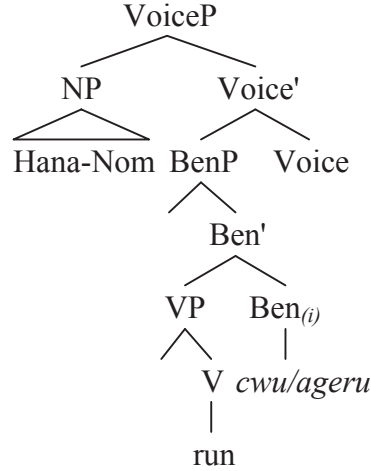
As illustrated in (147), the head *Poss* takes two arguments, the possessor and the possessee, and encodes a possession meaning. The possessor is realized as the dative NP, whereas the possessee is existentially closed in the proposed semantics, and is not realized as a syntactic argument, based on the argument made above that what the dative NP comes to possess is a pragmatically implied entity rather than the referent itself denoted by the accusative NP. I further assume that there is a presupposition in which this existentially quantified theme comes to existence as the result of an event described by the VP, which is essentially equivalent to the presupposition associated with verbs of creation noted by Dowty (1979) and von Stechow (2001), according to which verbs of creation are not transparent in the sense that their object comes into existence as a result of the occurrence of event. Note that the decomposition that involves the possession meaning is not a new idea. As argued in Chapter 2, the DOC in Korean is decomposed into having a separate syntactic head denoting the possession meaning. In this vein it is certainly not a coincidence that the benefactive morpheme in Korean and Japanese takes the form identical to the lexical verb ‘give’.

Taken together, I suggest that the benefactive marker *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ is a morphological realization of the head $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$, which is the case for benefactives involving intransitive verbs, as detailed out in (148). Also, when the dative NP is present, the two heads *Poss* and $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$ can merge together, and this complex head is

also realized as the benefactive marker, as further illustrated in (148) below. Let us first, consider an example of intransitive *give*-type benefactives.

(148) Intransitive *give*-type benefactives

a.



b. $\llbracket VP \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{run}(e)$

$\llbracket Ben_{(i)} \rrbracket^g = \lambda P_{\langle s, t \rangle}. \lambda e. P(e) \ \& \ \exists e'' [\text{Benefit}(e'') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(g(i), e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)]$

$\llbracket Ben'_{(i)} \rrbracket^g = \lambda e. \text{run}(e) \ \& \ \exists e'' [\text{Benefit}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(g(i), e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)]$

$\llbracket BenP_{(i)} \rrbracket^g = \lambda e. \text{run}(e) \ \& \ \exists e'' [\text{Benefit}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(g(i), e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)]$

$\llbracket Voice \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{Agent}(x, e)$

$\llbracket Voice' \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{run}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(x, e) \ \& \ \exists e' [\text{Benefit}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(g(i), e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)]$

$\llbracket VoiceP \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{run}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(\text{Hana}, e) \ \& \ \exists e' [\text{Benefit}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(g(i), e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)]$

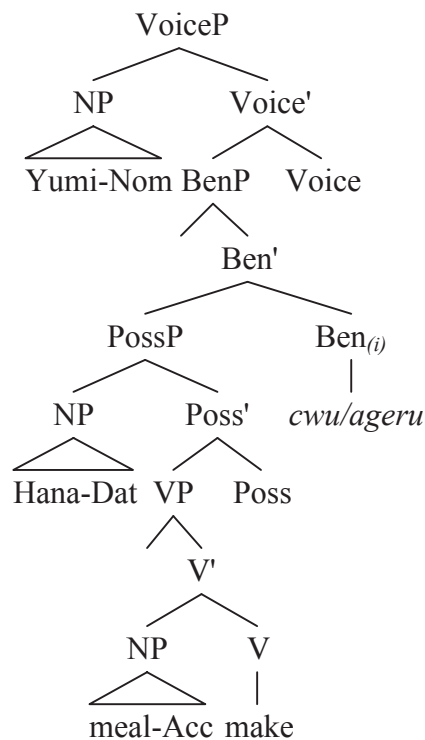
(VP and Ben, and BenP and Voice combine via event identification (Kratzer 1996).)

As shown in (148), the head $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$ alone, without the head Poss , is realized as the benefactive marker *cwu-* and *ageru-*. Semantically, the implicit beneficiary remains free, and it denotes a particular individual who is contextually salient. The interpretation based on the semantic computation is that the sentence is a set of eventualities such that e is running and Hana is the agent of e , and there is an e' such that some contextually salient individual benefits in e' and e' is the result of e .

Next, consider (149), which illustrates the proposed structure of benefactives involving the dative NP and its detailed semantic representation.

(149) Benefactives involving the dative NP

a.



b. $\llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{make}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{meal}, e)$

$\llbracket \text{Poss} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle s, t \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda e. P(e) \ \& \ \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Possess}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(x, e') \ \& \ \text{Theme}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)]$

$\llbracket \text{Poss}' \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{make}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{meal}, e) \ \& \ \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Possess}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(x, e') \ \& \ \text{Theme}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)]$

$\llbracket \text{PossP} \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{make}(e). \text{Theme}(\text{meal}, e) \ \& \ \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Possess}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(\text{Hana}, e') \ \& \ \text{Theme}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)]$

$\llbracket \text{Ben}_{(i)} \rrbracket^g = \lambda P_{\langle s, t \rangle}. \lambda e. P(e) \ \& \ \exists e'' [\text{Benefit}(e'') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(g(i), e'') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e'')(e)]$

$\llbracket \text{Ben}'_{(i)} \rrbracket^g = \lambda e. \text{make}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{meal}, e) \ \& \ \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Possess}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(\text{Hana}, e') \ \& \ \text{Theme}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)] \ \& \ \exists e'' [\text{Benefit}(e'') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(g(i), e'') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e'')(e)]$

$\llbracket \text{BenP}_{(i)} \rrbracket^g = \lambda e. \text{make}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{meal}, e) \ \& \ \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Possess}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(\text{Hana}, e') \ \& \ \text{Theme}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)] \ \& \ \exists e'' [\text{Benefit}(e'') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(g(i), e'') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e'')(e)]$

$\llbracket \text{Voice} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{Agent}(x, e)$

$\llbracket \text{Voice}' \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{make}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{meal}, e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(x, e) \ \& \ \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Possess}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(\text{Hana}, e') \ \& \ \text{Theme}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)] \ \& \ \exists e'' [\text{Benefit}(e'') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(g(i), e'') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e'')(e)]$

$\llbracket \text{VoiceP} \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{make}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{meal}, e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(\text{Yumi}, e) \ \& \ \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Possess}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(\text{Hana}, e') \ \& \ \text{Theme}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e')(e)] \ \& \ [\text{Benefit}(e'') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(g(i), e'') \ \& \ \text{Result}(e'')(e)]$

In (149), the two heads Poss and $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$ are both present and responsible for the meaning of the sentence involving the dative NP: the dative NP is introduced by Poss

and the benefactive argument is introduced by $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$; the index is left unbound, and the implicit beneficiary refers to a particular entity via assignment functions. Also, the possessee, which is selected by Poss , is existentially closed in the semantic denotation, as what is possessed is derived pragmatically (Section 3.2.4). One important point to note is that the dative NP can often be identified as a beneficiary, because it is the most contextually salient individual (Section 3.2.2). Syntactically, I argue that the two heads join together, and form a complex head represented as $[\text{Poss} + \text{Ben}_{(i)}]$, which is then realized as the benefactive marker *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ in the fashion of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993; Embick and Noyer 2007). That is, the head Poss cannot stand alone; it does not have any morphological realization without the presence of $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$. However, a syntactic operation like head movement can create the complex head represented as $[\text{Poss} + \text{Ben}_{(i)}]$: Poss moves to $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$, and the two heads merge together. In this way, the benefactive marker *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ is inserted into the structure after the syntactic operation (i.e., Late Insertion). Based on the semantics proposed in (149), the sentence is a set of eventualities such that e is making the meal, Yumi is the agent in e , Hana is the possessor of the meal in e , and there is an e' such that an implicit beneficiary benefits from the possession event in e' , and e' is the result of e .

3.4.2 Alternative Analysis

I have proposed that in Korean and Japanese the benefactive marker *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ is a morphological realization of the functional head $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$. Related to this argument, one might say that *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ can be treated as just verbs, but not as functional verbs, in the so-called serial verb construction (i.e., verb-verb compound construction), the topic which has been extensively discussed in the

literature (e.g., Baker 1989; Déchaine 1993; Lee 1993; Suh 2000; among others). One typical instance of the serial verb construction is given in (150).

- (150) a. ku-nun cip-ey kel-e ka-ss-ta.
 he-Top home-at walk-e go-Pst-Dec
 ‘He walked home.’ (Lee 1993, Ex. 16)
- b. ku-nun kang-ul heyemchi-e kenn-ess-ta.
 he-Top river-Acc swim-e cross-Pst-Dec
 ‘He swam across the river.’ (Lee 1993, Ex. 19)

Apparently, the so-called serial verb and the *give*-type benefactive constructions look alike: they have only one tense/aspect specification for the entire chain of verbs and the two verbs are coordinated by the morpheme *-e* and take a single structural subject. Such an alternative view where *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ are treated as V in the structure is difficult to be adopted, however. As argued in detail by Lee (1993) (see also Suh 2000; Choi 2003; among others), there are considerable differences between the so-called serial verb construction and the auxiliary verb construction; numerous authors like Lee (1993) call the *give*-type benefactive the auxiliary verb construction since *cwu-* as a benefactive marker functions as an auxiliary verb rather as a full predicate.⁴³

⁴³ More examples of auxiliary verb constructions which can be represented as [V1-*e*-V2] in Korean are illustrated in (14) (see Lee 1993 for more data).

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (14) | V2 | Meaning of V2 as a main verb | Meaning of V2 as an auxiliary verb |
| | <i>pe-li-</i> | ‘throw away’ | completion |
| | <i>po-</i> | ‘see’ | try |
| | <i>noh-</i> | ‘put’ | retention |

For instance, in Korean the particle *-se* meaning ‘by means of’ and ‘and then’ can be inserted between the two verbs for the typical serial verb construction and not for the auxiliary verb construction, as shown in (151) and (152), respectively.⁴⁴

- (151) Chelswu-ka sakwa-lul kkak-a(-se) mek-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom apple-Acc peel-a(-se) eat-Pst-Dec
 ‘Chelswu peeled the apple and ate it.’ (Modified from Choi 2003, Ex. 1)

- (152) Hana-ka Yumi-eykey mwun-ul yel-e(*-se) cwu-ess-ta.
 Hana-Nom Yumi-Dat door-Acc open-e(-se) give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Hana opened the door to Yumi for the benefit of a contextually salient
 individual.’

In addition, while adverbs can interrupt between the two verbs in the serial verb construction, they cannot do so in the *give*-type benefactive. This is shown in (153) and (154), respectively.

- (153) ku-nun kang-ul heyemchi-e tanswumey ken-ess-ta.
 he-Top river-Acc swim-e in.a.breath cross-Pst-Dec
 ‘He swam fast across the river.’ (Lee 1993, Ex. 23)

- (154) *Yumi-ka kel-e ppali cwu-ess-ta.
 Yumi-Nom walk-e quickly give-Pst-Dec
-

⁴⁴ In Korean and Japanese, (152) can only mean ‘Hana opened the door and gave the door to Yumi’, which depicts a highly implausible situation.

‘(Intended) Yumi walked quickly for the benefit of a contextually salient individual.’

Therefore, the facts presented above lead us to the conclusion that *give*-type benefactives in Korean and Japanese cannot be treated on a par with the serial verb construction, the verb-verb compound construction.

3.4.3 Consequences

In the preceding discussion I have formulated an analysis within a formal syntactic framework that appeals to a lexical decomposition approach and Late Insertion in the Distributed Morphology. One consequence of the current proposal is that it explains the distributional pattern of the dative NP in *give*-type benefactives in Korean and Japanese. On the one hand, the dative NP can appear only with the benefactive marker, which is the case for sentences with creation verbs. This is because, the head Poss, which takes the dative NP as its argument, is not morphologically licensed, without the presence of the head Ben_(i). On the other hand, the benefactive marker can appear without any sense of possession (e.g., intransitive verbs), and in such a case, no dative NP is permitted. This follows from the proposed semantics of the head Ben_(i), such that it can be alone realized as the benefactive marker.

Furthermore, the analysis advanced here offers straightforward explanations of why non-creation verbs like *tenci*- ‘throw out’ are disallowed naturally in the benefactive construction involving the dative NP. This is because the dative NP is a possessor and a recipient, but what is possessed is in fact a pragmatically implied entity that comes out of the eventuality, rather than the referent denoted by the accusative NP itself, as discussed earlier. (But as noted above, verbs like ‘throw away’

could be allowed if the event described by these verbs can be conceived of as creating some entity that the dative NP can possess.)

Finally, one remaining question concerns why it is that the benefactive marker *cwu-* and *ageru-* ‘give’ not only licenses the dative NP but also introduces a benefactive meaning. While I will not offer a full discussion to this question, it seems, along with the analysis of ditransitive constructions from Chapter 2, that this has to do with the lexical meaning of *cwu-* and *ageru-*. That is, *cwu-* and *ageru-* as a prototypical ditransitive verb meaning ‘give’ encodes the meaning of ‘possession’: as discussed in Chapter 2 an utterance like ‘x gives z y’ has an entailment of ‘z comes to possess y’, and I analyzed this meaning by decomposing *cwu-* ‘give’ in the DOC as having a separate syntactic head encoding the possession meaning. At the same time, this possession meaning may have an implication that z benefits from getting y. In this, these two components of meaning are exported to the *give*-type benefactives, and, as such, sentences involving the dative NP maintain both the possession and the benefactive meaning, whereas in the ‘dative-less’ case like benefactives involving intransitives, only the benefactive meaning has survived. In this vein it is certainly not a coincidence that the benefactive morpheme in Korean and Japanese takes the form identical to the lexical verb ‘give’.

3.5 Source of Benefactive Meaning

It has been argued so far that the benefactive meaning in *give*-type benefactive constructions in Korean and Japanese is construed with a definite implicit argument in the form of a free or a bound variable. The questions that naturally arise are then: what invokes this benefactive meaning, and what does this meaning contribute in the semantics? Intuitively, the benefactive meaning associated with *give*-type benefactives

adds certain content to an utterance that is nevertheless in a way independent of the main assertion the speaker intends to make. Below, I spell out this intuition by suggesting that the benefactive meaning is a level of meaning that is projected on the not-at-issue tier, like an implicature.

Central to my argument is the assumption that, as outlined in the introductory chapter, a sentence may involve two tiers of meaning in the semantics, the at-issue meaning (i.e., its main assertion) and the not-at-issue meaning (e.g., Karttunen 1973; Karttunen and Peters 1979; Potts 2005; Roberts et al. 2009; Simons et al. 2010; Bosse et al. 2012). A particularly relevant example of the current discussion is drawn from Kubota and Uegaki's (2011) *morau* benefactives in Japanese, a *receive*-type benefactive as noted in Chapter 1, according to which the benefactive meaning of this benefactive behaves as a not-at-issue meaning like an implicature.

- (155) Taro-wa Hanako-ni piano-o hii-te morat-ta.
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat piano-Acc play receive-Pst
 At-issue meaning: 'Taro had Hanako play the piano.'
 Not-at-issue meaning: 'Hanako's playing the piano was for the benefit of
 Taro.' (Kubota and Uegaki 2011, Ex. 9)

In *give*-type benefactives in Korean and Japanese, I shall show that the benefactive meaning associated with *give*-type benefactives is a projective meaning that is conventional, by using the tests (the standard presupposition holes) described in Chapter 1.

First, (156) follow, showing that the benefactive meaning of *give*-type benefactives projects past yes/no questions.

(156) A. Yumi-ka tochakha-y-cwu-ess-ni?

Yumi-Nom arrive-y-give-Pst-Q

‘Did Yumi arrive for the benefit of a contextually salient individual?’

B. ani.

Neg

‘No’

In (156), if the listener knows that Yumi did arrive, but it was not beneficial to a contextually salient entity, s/he cannot simply answer *ani* ‘no’. *Ani* ‘no’ cannot be used to indicate that Yumi arrived, but it was not beneficial to a contextually salient individual. For this meaning to be conveyed, a more elaborate answer is to be added.

Second, negation cannot target the benefactive meaning independently, another characteristic of not-at-issue meaning described in Chapter 1.

(157) Yumi-ka tochakha-y-cwu-ci anh-ass-ta.

Yumi-Nom arrive-y-give-ci Neg-Pst-Dec

‘Yumi did not arrive for the benefit of a contextually salient individual.’

(i) Yumi did not arrive, but if she had, it would have been for the benefit of a contextually salient individual.

(ii) *Yumi arrived but did not do it for the benefit of a contextually salient individual.

In (157), the negated sentence expresses that the event denoted by the verb did not take place, while it still conveys the meaning that an implicit beneficiary would have received some benefit if such an event had happened.

Third, the benefactive meaning does not add a condition to the conditional, as illustrated in (158).

- (158) Yumi-ka ttall-ye-cwu-myen nay-ka ne-hantey o.sip pwul-ul cwu-kess-ta.
 Yumi-Nom run-ye-give-if I-Nom you-Dat five.ten dollar-Acc give-Fut-Dec
 ‘If Yumi runs for the benefit of a contextually salient individual, I will give you fifty dollars.’

In (158), the condition under which the listener is given fifty dollars is that Yumi runs; whether or not a contextually salient individual receives benefit is irrelevant for the condition under which the listener gets money. Consider the corresponding ordinary sentence in (159), which has exactly the same condition that the listener receives money under the condition that Yumi runs.

- (159) Yumi-ka tal-li-myen nay-ka ne-hantey o.sip pwul-ul cwu-kess-ta.
 Yumi-Nom run-li-if I-Nom you-Dat five.ten dollar-Acc give-Fut-Dec
 ‘If Yumi runs, I will give you fifty dollars.’

Furthermore, the beneficiary is not syntactically accessible and cannot be questioned using a *wh*-word, whereas the dative NP, the possessor of give-type benefactives, is available for a *wh*-question.

- (160) Yumi-ka nwukwu-eykey pap-ul mantul-e-cwu-ess-ni?
 Yumi-Nom who-Dat meal-Acc make-e-give-Pst-Q
 ‘Who did Yumi make the meal for?’

This follows directly under the current argument: a dative NP is a possessor which meaning is entirely truth-conditional, whereas a true beneficiary is always encoded in the form of implicit argument, thereby unavailable for a *wh*-question.

I therefore draw the conclusion that the benefactive meaning of *give*-type benefactives in Korean and Japanese is a level of meaning that is projected on the not-at-issue tier.

Furthermore, the benefactive meaning under consideration is not presupposed, nor is it conversationally implicated. For example, even if the benefactive meaning is known to be false, the truth value of the main assertion can be determined, one ordinary property that is fundamentally different from standardly viewed as presupposition triggers, as described in Chapter 1.

- (161) A: (cwumwun-han umsik phikephhay-se) Yuna-ka nathana-cwu-ess-ni?
 order-Adn food pick.up-after Yuna-Nom show.up-give-Pst-Q
 ‘(After picking up the ordered food), did Yuna show up for the benefit of a
 contextually salient individual?’

- B: Ung. maca. Kuntey kuke-n wuli-lul wihay kule-n key ani-yess-e.
 Yes. Right. But that-Top we-Acc benefit do-Adn thing Neg-Pst-e
 ‘Yes. That’s right. But just so you know, that was not for the benefit of us.’

Lastly, the benefactive meaning is not a conversational implicature (Grice 1969) because it cannot be cancelled.

- (162) Yuna-ka tochakha-y-cwu-ess-nun-tey #kuke-n nwukwu-to wiha-n
 Yuna-Nom arrive-y-give-Pst-by that-Top anyone-even benefit-Adn
 kes-i ani-ess-ta.
 Nml-Nom Neg-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yuna arrived for the benefit of a contextually salient individual, #but this was
 not for the benefit of anyone.

As indicated in the translation above, (162) has the meaning that a contextually salient individual benefitted from the event of Yuna arriving. So, cancelling this meaning leads to an infelicitous sentence.

I conclude from these facts that the benefactive meaning of *give*-type benefactive constructions in Korean and Japanese is not part of the main assertion of the sentence, and is instead the not-at-issue meaning that is conventional, like an implicature.

3.6 Conclusion

In this section, I have given a formal account for the Korean and Japanese *give*-type benefactives. Two main claims I made are the following: (a) a dative NP is not a beneficiary but rather a possessor and (b) the benefactive meaning is attributed to an implicit argument that is necessarily definite in the form of a free or a bound variable. As observed by Shibatani (1994, 1996), the presence of a dative argument unambiguously indicates the presence of a possession relation, and I discussed that its

apparent association with the beneficiary role is derived via pragmatic inferences. I have also noted that the possessed theme is also a pragmatically salient entity that has been created by the eventuality depicted by the main verb.

Finally, I have argued that the benefactive meaning of *give*-type benefactives belongs to not-at-issue meaning like an implicature, a result in accordance with Kubota and Uegaki's (2011) recent work on *receive*-type benefactives in Japanese.

Chapter 4

ADVERSITY PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN KOREAN⁴⁵

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I provided a lexical decomposition analysis of *give*-type benefactives in Korean and Japanese with the idea that sentences may include two tiers of meaning in the semantics. I argued that the benefactive meaning which projects on the not-at-issue tier is decomposed into different syntactic heads denoting benefactivity and possession each of which contributes a subpart of the semantics of *give*-type benefactives, from which the syntactic and the semantic properties follow quite straightforwardly. In this chapter, I turn to the adversity passive construction (henceforth, the APC) in Korean that encodes adversity semantics, the opposite meaning of benefactivity, and give additional empirical support for the theory of event decomposition in the syntax. The APC, also known as the retained object passive or the affected construction, is marked on a verb with the passive morphemes *-i/hi/li/ki*.⁴⁶ (Hong 1992; Kim 1994; Park 1994; Yeon 1991, 2003; Kim and Pires 2003; Park

⁴⁵ Part of the material discussed in the current chapter was presented at the 3rd Mid-Atlantic Colloquium of Studies in Meaning held at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD and the 23rd Japanese/Korean Linguistics Conference held at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

⁴⁶ The allomorphy of the passive suffix is conditioned by the stem-final sound (with some exceptions). Note also that some of these morphemes can occur in inchoative, middle, and anticausative constructions (e.g., Lee 1987; Song 2002; Yeon 2003; Shim 2008; Kim 2009), but since these constructions have syntactic and semantic properties distinct from the APC, they will not concern us here.

2005; Oshima 2006; Kim 2011; inter alia). An example of the APC is illustrated in (163).

- (163) Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey ilum-ul cek-hi-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat name-Acc write.down-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Chelswu’s name was written down by Yuna.’

The sentence in (163) as a whole describes an event in which Yuna (indicated by the dative marker) wrote down the name (marked by the accusative case) of Chelswu (marked by the nominative case), by which Chelswu (the nominative NP) was adversely affected: that is, the event described in the sentence mattered to Chelswu in a way that had an adversative effect on him.⁴⁷

One interesting fact is that unlike in the APC the adversative meaning is not necessarily present in some related sentences. For example, a sentence like (164), which I will argue later is the active counterpart of the APC, lacks the adversative meaning in which Chelswu was adversely affected by the event of Yuna writing down his name.

- (164) Yuna-ka Chelswu-lul ilum-ul cek-ess-ta.
 Yuna-Nom Chelswu-Acc name-Acc write.down-Pst-Dec

⁴⁷ Throughout the chapter, the adversative meaning is not indicated in the glosses, but is instead represented as *suffer* where necessary. The main reason behind this is that the adversative meaning, as part of the meaning on the not-at-issue tier that I will argue for later in this study, falls under Potts’s (2007) characteristics of not-at-issue meaning according to which this not-at-issue meaning often displays descriptive “ineffability”.

‘Yuna wrote down Chelswu’s name.’

Likewise, an ordinary morphological passive sentence in Korean, which is formed with the same passive suffixes, does not necessarily involve an adversative meaning (Park 1994).⁴⁸

- (165) Mina-ka kica-tul-eykey ku hay kaswu-lo ppop-hi-ess-ta.
Mina-Nom journalist-Pl-Dat that year singer-as choose-Pss-Pst-Dec
‘Mina was chosen as the singer of the year by journalists.’

In (165), the sentence describes an event in which journalists chose Mina as the singer of the year, but it is not necessary to understand that the event here mattered to Mina (the nominative NP) in a way that had a negative effect on her.

The above observation is not new to the present study. A number of studies on morphological passives in Korean have recognized that in the APC the nominative NP is perceived as an affectee (Kim 1994; Park 1994; Yeon 1991, 2003; Kim and Pires 2003; Park 2005; Oshima 2006; Kim 2011; inter alia). Despite that, the semantic contribution of the adversity meaning has been given little attention. Rather, much

⁴⁸ Ordinary morphological passives in Korean, unlike the APC, permit nominative NPs which are inanimate, and their dative NP can often be marked by *-ey uyhay* (lit., ‘owing to’, ‘according to’), in particular if the nominative subject is inanimate (see Park and Whitman 2003 for a discussion of the status of *-ey uyhay* compared with Japanese *ni yotte* ‘by’).

- (15) ku chayk-I yehaksayng-tul-eykey/-ey uyhay nelli ilk-hi-n-ta.
that book-Nom female.student-Pl-Dat/-by widely read-Pss-Pres-Dec
‘The book is widely read by female students.’

pertinent literature has centered on the question of whether morphological passives (often including the APC) are derived from morphological causatives, given that in Korean the four passive morphemes are homophonous with some of the causative morphemes.^{49 50} For example, in a recent work Shim (2008) proposes that the APC stems from the morphological causative, and the meaning of the APC is derived via an interpretive link between the nominative and the accusative NPs. A slightly different analysis (but one that maintains the idea of the APC sharing a structure with the morphological causative) is found in Kim (2011) according to which the dative NP is an instrument and the nominative NP is an affectee: like the surface subject of the *bei* construction in Mandarin Chinese (Huang 1998), the nominative NP is base-generated in a position that receives an affectee role. Either way, these studies offer a unified syntactic account for the APC and morphological causatives.

However, this study aims to make clear primarily the semantic properties of the APC and also incorporate them into a syntactic structure in such a way that a compositional interpretation of the APC is captured directly, thereby giving a formal account of the adversity semantics of the APC that have been noted but not given a principled analysis. Specifically, I will propose a lexical decomposition analysis of the APC using event semantics in a fashion similar to the analysis of *give*-type benefactives discussed in the previous chapter, in which the APC is decomposed into

⁴⁹ There are seven causative suffixes in Korean: *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*, *-wu*, *-kwu*, and *-chwu*.

⁵⁰ Some scholars (Whitman and Hahn 1988; Washio 1993; Park 1994; Shim 2008) defend the idea that passives are derived from causatives. Other scholars (e.g., Sohn 1996, 1999; Song 2002; Chae 2004) argue that passives receive an independent analysis from causatives. Due to space constraints, I will not be able to go over all work in the current study.

different syntactic verbal heads, each of which contributes a subpart of the meaning of the APC. In doing so I separate the meaning associated with these verbal predicates into two tiers of meaning in multidimensional semantics, the at-issue meaning (i.e., its main assertion) and the not-at-issue meaning, and assume that a syntactic head can be directly related to these two tiers of meaning; see Chapter 1 for detailed presentations of these assumptions (e.g., Karttunen 1973; Karttunen and Peters 1979; Potts 2005; Roberts et al. 2009; Simons et al. 2010; Bosse et al. 2012). I shall argue (i) that the APC is a passive sentence whose active counterpart is a particular type of the DOC, namely the subset sentence of Tomioka and Sim's (2007) DOC (like (164)) in which the possessor is animate (in line with Kim and Pires 2003), and (ii) that the adversative meaning of the APC is projected as a not-at-issue meaning, like an implicature. In this analysis, the passive morphemes in Korean are a morphological realization of the head Pass(ive) that may be associated with both tiers of meaning in the semantics.

The present chapter is structured as follows. In Section 4.2, I provide several essential semantic characteristics of the APC: the two semantic notions of affected experiencer and a material part-whole possession relation will underlie my description of the APC. Building on this, Section 4.3 begins to investigate the primary source of each component of meaning in the APC. I will show that the fine-grained possession meaning in the APC, a part-whole possession relation in my description, has its root in its active counterpart, the subset sentence of Tomioka and Sim's (2007) DOC in which the possessor is animate. This derivational hypothesis, which is in line with Kim and Pires (2003), also finds support from independent evidence that the APC itself involves salient characteristics of passives (contra Shim 2008 and Kim 2011). However, the DOC, unlike the APC, lacks an adversative implication, another

important component of meaning in the APC. I shall demonstrate that the adversative meaning is a level of meaning that is projected on the not-at-issue tier, which also gives a straightforward account of why it is present only in the APC. Section 4.4 details the lexical decomposition analysis that the nominative NP is an argument of Part-Whole, the syntactic head that encodes the relation between the nominative and the accusative NPs, and moves to Pass(ive), where it is associated with the adversative meaning on the not-at-issue tier.⁵¹ Turning to Sections 4.5 and 4.6, I shall provide further empirical support for the proposed analysis advanced in the previous section. Section 4.5 introduces novel data regarding the event-modifying adverb *tasi* ‘again’ in Korean along the lines of von Stechow (1996) and Son (2006), and shows that the different interpretations created by the adverb can only be explained under the proposed syntactic decomposition approach building on the derivational account. Several other pieces of evidence will follow. In Section 4.6, I will give arguments against the most recent version of the existing analysis, the causative approach to the APC (Shim 2008 and Kim 2011), and make my points stronger. In Section 4.7, I will briefly remark on the ambiguity of causative and passive sentences. Finally, Section 4.8 concludes this chapter by drawing out some of the implications of the current study.

⁵¹ This study is not devoted to a detailed analysis of ordinary morphological passives in Korean, but I will include discussions of them whenever necessary (in particular in connection with the APC). Basic to this is the assumption, following previous researchers (e.g., Suh 1996; Wu 1997; Choe 1988; Kang 1997; Sim 2005; *inter alia*), that morphological passives are derived by A-movement.

4.2 Semantics

This section provides the essential semantic characteristics of the APC in Korean. Section 4.2.1 shows that the nominative subject is an affected experiencer. Section 4.2.2 establishes that the APC involves a possession relation between the nominative NP (the possessor) and the accusative NP (the possessee), which I take to be a material part-whole relation.

4.2.1 Adversity Semantics

As introduced in Section 4.1, the nominative NP is understood as an affected experiencer – an individual who suffers as a result of the event described in the sentence. As a result, in the APC the nominative NP must be animate and sentient (Hong 1992; Kim 1994; Park 1994; Yeon 1991, 2003; Kim and Pires 2003; Park 2005; Oshima 2006; Kim 2011; *inter alia*).

(166) Animate Nominative: Affected

Yuna-ka Chelswu-eykey chimacalak-ul cap-hi-ess-ta.
Yuna-Nom Chelswu-Dat skirt-Acc grab-Pss-Pst-Dec
'Yuna's skirt was grabbed by Chelswu.'

(167) Inanimate Nominative: *Affected

*chayksang-i John-eykey tali-lul cap-hi-ess-ta.
desk-Nom John-Dat leg-Acc grab-Pss-Pst-Dec
'The desk's leg was grabbed by John.' (Yeon 1991, Ex. 20b)

In (166), the nominative NP *Yuna* is animate and sentient, and is understood to be adversely affected: Yuna suffered from Chelswu grabbing her skirt. By contrast, (167) is ungrammatical because an inanimate NP like *chayksang* ‘desk’ is not an entity that can be understood to suffer.^{52, 53}

Next, the experience is negative, and the experiencer is understood as suffering an unpleasant experience. For example, (166) cannot be used to mean that Yuna was positively affected or not affected at all by the event of Chelswu grabbing her skirt.

The same point explains (168). If the APC is followed by a clause that describes the event as somewhat beneficial to the nominative NP, the result is clearly infelicitous (Oshima 2006).

(168) Inho-ka Mina-eykey meli-lul kkakk-i-esete mes-is-e-ci-ess-ta.

Inho-Nom Mina-Dat hair-Acc cut-Pss-so more nice-be-e-become-Pst-Dec

‘Inho’s hair was cut by Mina, and so Inho became more good-looking.’

⁵² Kim (1994) notes that an inanimate entity like *cha* ‘car’ is allowed insofar as it is understood as a non-inert entity.

(16) cha-ka thulek-ey pemphe-lul pat-hi-ess-ta.
car-Nom truck-Dat bumper-Acc butt-Pss-Pst-Dec
‘The car had its bumper crashed into by the truck.’

Such an example does not counterexemplify the animacy requirement of the APC discussed in the text, because (16) is only felicitous in a context where speakers can personify the inanimate entity; there are people inside the car, and these people experienced the event.

⁵³ Note that this negative affectedness meaning associated with the animacy requirement will be addressed again in Chapter 5, which discusses that in Thai the surface subject NP can be both animate and inanimate. This will serve as one indication suggesting that unlike in Korean, in Thai the affected experiencer is encoded as a pragmatically salient entity.

(Modifed from Oshima 2006, Ex. 40)

The native speakers of Korean I have consulted have all commented that in a normal context Inho is expected to become ugly as a result of the event.

Finally, the experiencer need not be understood as physically affected. It is evident in (169), repeated from (163), that the experience can also be psychological.

(169) Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey ilum-ul cek-hi-ess-ta.
Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat name-Acc write.down-Pss-Pst-Dec
‘Chelswu’s name was written down by Yuna.’ Repeated from (163)

That is, in (169) the event of Yuna writing down Chelswu’s name does not have a physical effect on Chelswu. Rather, Chelswu is conceived of as feeling displeased as a result of the event.

4.2.2 Possession Meaning

On top of the adversative meaning, the APC involves a possession relation between the nominative NP (the possessor) and the accusative NP (the possessee). I take this possession meaning to be a material part-whole relation in which the nominative NP encodes the whole of a part-whole relation with the accusative NP (the part). In Section 4.3, I shall show that this material part-whole relation in the APC is due to its active counterpart, the DOC.

First, it is well known in the Korean literature (e.g., Kim 1994; Park 1994; Yeon 1991, 2003; Kim and Pires 2003; Oshima 2006; inter alia) that the APC involves an inalienable possession relation between the nominative NP (the possessor) and the

accusative NP (the possessee), such as body parts, names, and souls, as illustrated in (170a), (170b), and (170c), respectively.

- (170) a. Julie-ka Chelswu-eykey melikalak-ul cap-hi-ess-ta.
 Julie-Nom Chelswu-Dat hair-Acc grab-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Julie’s hair was grabbed by Chelswu.’
- b. Thim-i Yuna-eykey ilum-ul cek-hi-ess-ta.
 Tim-Nom Yuna-Dat name-Acc write.down-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Tim’s name was written down by Yuna.’
- c. Thim-i Mary-eykey ki-lul kkek-i-ess-ta.
 Tim-Nom Mary-Dat spirit-Acc bend-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Tim’s spirit was bent by Mary.’

Sentences are infelicitous if a body part is understood as a detached part. For example, (170a) cannot be used in the context in which in a salon Chelswu grabbed Julie’s hair when it was on the floor (i.e., it had been cut and is no longer attached to Julie’s head).

Likewise (171) is acceptable to the extent that Yuna is wearing the skirt at the time that the event takes place. It is not necessary to understand that Yuna is the owner of the skirt; it could belong to Yuna’s friend.

- (171) Yuna-ka Chelswu-eykey chimacalak-ul cap-hi-ess-ta.
 Yuna-Nom Chelswu-Dat skirt-Acc grab-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yuna’s skirt was grabbed by Chelswu.’ (Kim 1994, Ex. 18)

On the basis of these facts, I take the possession meaning in the APC to be a material part-whole relation: the nominative NP encodes the whole of a part-whole relation with the accusative NP (the part), and there is often a semantic extension from this core. For example, in a sentence like (171) Yuna (the nominative NP) is the whole of the part-whole relation with the skirt (the part encoded as the accusative NP).

This view is further corroborated by an example like (172), which is acceptable to the extent that Chelswu is understood as having the comic book with him at the time of the event, i.e., the comic book is metaphorically part of Chelswu.

(172) [Context: Chelswu borrowed several comic books from Mina. He was reading one of them during his class, while not paying attention to the teacher. The teacher found Chelswu reading the comic book. The teacher came to Chelswu and tore it...]

Chelswu-ka sensayngnim-kkey (Mina-uy) manwha chayk-ul ccic-ki-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom teacher-Dat.Hon (Mina-Gen) comic book-Acc tear-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Chelswu’s book was torn by the teacher.’

(172) is infelicitous, however, if it is used in the context in which Chelswu does not have the comic book with him; for example, the comic book is just something he wanted to buy, and one day he saw his teacher tearing it. The infelicity is expected under the current view: in such a context it is difficult to imagine that the book is metaphorically extended to be a part of Chelswu.

In a similar vein, Kim (1994) reports that (173) from Yeon (1991) is acceptable insofar as the general is assumed to be riding on the horse and is unacceptable if the general is considered to be a few steps away from the horse.

(173) cangkwn-i pwuha-eykey mal.koppi-lul cap-hi-ess-ta.
 general-Nom subordinate-Dat horse.bridle-Acc hold-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘The bridle of the horse was held by the subordinate.’ (Yeon 1991, Ex. 14)

In other words, (173) is only felicitous when the horse bridle is understood to be metaphorically part of the general.

In the current account, then, variability in the acceptability judgments of the APC is attributed to the degree to which the part-whole relation can be extended, and how much this extension is possible can vary from speaker to speaker. For further illustration consider the example in (174) of minimal pairs involving kinship the terms *casik* ‘child’ in (174a) and *sachon* ‘cousin’ in (174b).

(174) a. ??Kim-ssi-nun kay-hanthey casik-ul mwul-li-ess-ta.
 Kim-Mr.-Top dog-Dat child-Acc bite-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Mr. Kim’s child was bitten by the dog.’ (Park 1994, Ex. 69)

b. #Kim-ssi-nun kay-hanthey sachon-ul mwul-li-ess-ta.
 Kim-Mr.-Top dog-Dat cousin-Acc bite-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Mr. Kim’s cousin was bitten by the dog.’

As reported in the literature (e.g., Kim 1994; Park 1994; Oshima 2006), not all speakers agree on (174a) with *casik* ‘child’, whereas (174b) with *sachon* ‘cousin’ is uniformly judged to be unacceptable by all of the speakers I have consulted. In the current view, this contrast can be interpreted in the following way: a child can be taken more easily than a cousin to be a metaphorical part of his/her parents.

4.3 *Suffer as Not-At-Issue Meaning*

Now that we have an understanding of the meaning of the APC, I begin to investigate the primary source of each component of meaning in the APC. I will show in Section 4.3.1 that the part-whole possession relation of the APC has its root in its “active” counterpart, namely the subset sentence of Tomioka and Sim’s (2007) DOC in which the possessor is animate. Given this semantic parallelism, I shall argue that the APC is derivationally related to this particular type of the DOC.⁵⁴ In Section 4.3.2 I offer independent evidence for the derivational hypothesis signaling the APC as a passive (contra Shim 2008 and Kim 2011). However, the DOC, unlike the APC, lacks an adversative meaning, another important component of meaning in the APC. I shall demonstrate in Section 4.3.3 that the adversative meaning is a level of meaning that is projected on the not-at-issue tier, which leads to a straightforward account of why it is present only in the APC.

⁵⁴ A further independent indication that this claim is on the right track is provided by previously unnoticed data regarding the scope ambiguity of *tasi* ‘again’ in the APC. I will return to this in Section 4.5.1.

4.3.1 Derivational Approach

Before proceeding, I need to point out that the issue of whether the APC is derivationally related to DOCs has often been a matter of controversy in the study of passives. Examples of the APC and its corresponding DOC are given in (175a) and (175b), respectively.

- (175) a. Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey ilum-ul cek-hi-ess-ta. APC
Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat name-Acc write.down-Pss-Pst-Dec
'Chelswu's name was written down by Yuna.' Repeated from (163)
- b. Yuna-ka Chelswu-lul ilum-ul cek-ess-ta. DOC
Yuna-Nom Chelswu-Acc name-Acc write.down-Pst-Dec
'Yuna wrote down Chelswu's name.' Repeated from (164)

In the APC, the possessor is indicated by the nominative case *-i/ka* and the possessee is marked with the accusative case *-l(ul)*, as mentioned earlier. In the corresponding DOC, the possessor and the possessee are both marked with the accusative case *-l(ul)*.

The reason for the debate has mainly two parts. The primary part is that DOCs in general lack an adversative meaning. For example, a possessor in the DOC, like *Chelswu* in (175b), is not necessarily understood as adversely affected (see below for more examples). Second, it is fairly well recognized that judgments about DOCs are delicate for some native speakers of Korean. For this reason, whether the APC is derivationally related to double object forms is still open to debate.

Developing the derivational analysis becomes possible, however, if we can identify a primary source of the fine-grained possession meaning of the APC described above. I shall show that the part-whole possession meaning of the APC has

its root in its active counterpart, the subset sentence of Tomioka and Sim's (2007) DOC in which the possessor is animate.⁵⁵ This derivational hypothesis, which is in line with Kim and Pires (2003), also finds support from independent evidence that the APC involves salient characteristics of passives, which will be discussed in the section to follow. As for the judgment variation mentioned above, this does not seem to be surprising, because Korean DOCs in general encode a wide range of relationships between the two objects (Sim 2005)⁵⁶, and the extent to which the (possession) relation holds can vary across speakers. Notably, what is relevant to the current study is that speakers who find the APC to be acceptable also judge the corresponding DOC under consideration to be acceptable.

To begin, the possession meaning of the APC encoded as a part-whole relation is exactly the one from the subset sentence of Tomioka and Sim's (2007) DOC in which the possessor is animate. As illustrated in (176) and (177), the DOC involves a material part-whole relation between the two objects, the possessor and the possessee, and there is often a semantic extension from this core.⁵⁷ Some of the examples of the APC are repeated below with their DOC counterparts.

⁵⁵ See Sim (2005) for a detailed discussion of the different types of DOCs in Korean.

⁵⁶ Sim (2005) takes this as key evidence that seemingly similar DOCs have syntactically and semantically distinct structures.

⁵⁷ Tomioka and Sim (2007) posit that the material part-whole relation is established between the two events "affect" and lexical verb, instead of two entities. Also, it is a well-known fact that the DOC, which has the [Acc-Acc] pattern, differs from the [Gen-Acc] pattern in which the possessor is marked by the genitive case, such that this genitive pattern, unlike the DOC, has no requirement that the possessor be physically attached to its possessee (see Tomioka and Sim 2007).

(176) a. Chelswu-ka Julie-lul melikalak-ul cap-ass-ta. DOC

Chelswu-Nom Julie-Acc hair-Acc grab-Pst-Dec

‘Chelswu grabbed Julie’s hair.’

b. Julie-ka Chelswu-eykey melikalak-ul cap-*hi*-ess-ta. APC

Julie-Nom Chelswu-Dat hair-Acc grab-Pss-Pst-Dec

‘Julie’s hair was grabbed by Chelswu.’ Repeated from (170)

(177) a. pwuha-ka cangkwn-ul mal.koppi-lul cap-ass-ta. DOC

subordinate-Nom general-Acc horse.bridle-Acc hold-Pst-Dec

‘The subordinate held the horse bridle of the general.’

b. cangkwn-i pwuha-eykey mal.koppi-lul cap-*hi*-ess-ta. APC

general-Nom subordinate-Dat horse.bridle-Acc hold-Pss-Pst-Dec

‘The bridle of the horse was held by the subordinate.’ Repeated from (173)

Crucial to the felicity of the DOC in (176a), like the APC in (176b), is that the possessee *melikalak* ‘hair’ is understood as an attached part of the first accusative NP *Julie* (the possessor) (Yoon 2001, Tomioka and Sim 2007). Also, the DOC in (177a), similar to the APC in (177b), is acceptable when the general is assumed to be riding the horse, i.e., the horse bridle is understood metaphorically to be part of the general. Thus, variability in the judgments of the DOC, as in the APC noted earlier, is due to the degree to which the part-whole relation can be extended, and how much this extension is possible varies from speaker to speaker.

However, notice that the DOC under consideration, unlike its corresponding APC, has no animacy restriction.

- (178) a. Chelswu-ka sap-ul calwu-lul cap-ass-ta. DOC
 Chelswu-Nom shovel-Acc handle-Acc grab-Pst-Dec
 ‘Chelswu grabbed the handle of the shovel.’ (Tomioka and Sim 2007)
- b. *sap-i Chelswu-eykey calwu-lul cap-hi-ess-ta. APC
 shovel-Nom Chelswu-Dat handle-Acc grab-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘The shovel’s handle was grabbed by Chelswu.’

As shown in (178a), the DOC permits the inanimate possessor *sap* ‘shovel’, but this is not allowed in the corresponding APC as in (178b).

Related to this fact, the DOC under consideration lacks an adversative implication, another important semantic content of the APC, as mentioned earlier. See further (179).

- (179) ssai-ka te mesisse poi-nun iyu-nun
 Psy-Nom more handsome look-Adn reason-Top
 ‘The reason why Psy looks more handsome is...
- a. Julie-ka ssai-lul meli-lul cal-lass/la-cwu-ess-ki ttaymwun-i-ta.
 Julie-Nom Psy-Acc hair-Acc cut-Pst/la-give-Pst-Nml because-Cop-Dec
 because Julie cut Psy’s hair.’
- b. #ssai-ka Julie-eykey meli-lul cal-li-ess-ki ttaymwun-i-ta.
 Psy-Nom Julie-Dat hair-Acc cut-li-Pst-Nml because-Cop-Dec
 because Psy’s hair was cut by Julie.’

In (179), only the DOC in (179a), and not the APC in (179b), is a possible continuation of the clause that describes the reason why Psy looks more handsome. This difference is not surprising, however. As noted by Park (1994), the animacy requirement is tied to the interpretation of the nominative NP in the APC as affected. In the DOC, both animate and inanimate entities are permitted, indicating that the affected implication in the DOC is not an integral part of the meaning.

We thus see that the part-whole possession relation of the APC has its root in its active counterpart, the subset sentence of Tomioka and Sim's (2007) DOC in which the possessor is animate. Yet, important questions remain unsolved: what does the adversative meaning contribute in the APC and why is this meaning missing in the corresponding active sentence? In the section to follow, I will demonstrate that the adversative meaning is projected on the not-at-issue tier, like an implicature, which gives a straightforward account of why it is present only in the APC. Before proceeding further, however, I shall provide some independent evidence that supports the proposed derivational hypothesis, in which the APC itself involves salient characteristics of passives.

4.3.2 Independent Support: APC as a Passive Construction

Adopting the approach to passives in Comrie (1977), Perlmutter and Postal (1984), Bruening (2013), and Bruening and Tran (2013), among others, I make the crucial assumption that a true passive construction involves the deletion or demotion of an external argument (an active subject) to an oblique like a PP; promotion of an object to a surface subject position is not a determining characteristic of a passive construction.

Strong support for this view is drawn from the well-known fact that across many languages verbs that undergo passivization are transitive or unergative verbs,

those that involve an external argument, as illustrated in (180a) and (180b) respectively. By contrast, unaccusative verbs cannot be passivized because they lack an external argument, as illustrated in (180c).

- (180) a. Julie was chased by Tommy.
b. The pet bed was sat on (by Sophie).
c. *The room was existed in.

It is not always the case, however, that passive operations involve object promotion. For instance, (181) and (182) below show that passives like expletive and impersonal sentences have no overt subject with semantic content, which indicates that in these passives no object (an internal argument) has been promoted to the surface subject position. See also Bruening and Tran (2013) for a detailed discussion on a number of constructions from many languages that involve object promotion but are not actually passives (e.g., Algonquian and Bantu languages).

- (181) There was believed to be 11 million undocumented immigrants in the United States (by them).

- (182) Es wurde den ganzen abend getanzt. German
it become go on all evening dance
'(People) danced all evening.' (Perlmutter and Postal 1984, Ex. 53)

Hence, these facts, along with the clear contrast between the examples in (180) allow us to make the generalization that the demotion or deletion of an external argument is a key property of passives, and object promotion may be independent of passivization.

With this assumption, I shall argue that in Korean the APC qualifies as a passive sentence (contra previous work like Shim 2008, Kim 2011): it involves the core property of passives, the deletion or demotion of an external argument, i.e., the dative NP. Two pieces of empirical evidence that illustrates this are that (i) the dative NP is compatible with instrumental phrases, a diagnostic test to detect the presence of an external argument, and (ii) when it is missing it is understood as an existential quantifier.

First, assuming that instrumentals are only allowed in a structure involving an external argument (i.e., an agent) (Keenan 1985, Bruening 2013, and inter alia), it is shown in the APC that the meaning of instrumentals is construed with the dative NP, and not with other arguments. Let us first consider (183), in which an instrumental phrase introduced by *with* in English requires an external argument as part of its semantics.

(183) a. The enemy sank the ship with a torpedo.

b. The ship was sunk (by the enemy) with a torpedo.

c. *The ship sank with a torpedo. (Bruening 2013, Ex. 9)

In (183a) and (183b), what is associated with the meaning of the instrumental phrase is *the enemy*, the external argument in the active sentence and the NP of the *by*-phrase in

the passive counterpart, respectively. However, (183c) is ungrammatical because instrumentals are disallowed in a structure that is missing an external argument.

The same facts hold in Korean, as shown in (184).

- (184) a. kangtotul-i mangchi-lo kumko-lul ttut-ess-ta.
 theives-Nom hammer-Inst safe-Acc pluck-Pst-Dec
 ‘The theives plucked the safe with a hammer.’
- b. kumko-ka (kangtotul-eykey/ey uyhay) mangchi-lo ttut-ki-ess-ta.
 safe-Nom (theives-Dat/by) hammer-Inst pluck-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘The safe was plucked (by thieves) with a hammer.’
- c. *Yuna-ka mangchi-lo tteleci-ess-ta.
 Yuna-Nom hammer-Inst fall.down-Pst-Dec
 ‘(Intended) Yuna fell down with a hammer.’

In ordinary active and ordinary morphological passive sentences like (184a) and (184b), respectively, the meaning of an instrumental phrase introduced by *-(u)lo*⁵⁸ is construed with the external argument *totuktul* ‘theives’. In contrast to this, the instrumental phrase is not possible in a structure with an unaccusative verb like *nemeci*- ‘fall down’, as in (184c).

⁵⁸ The allomorphs of the instrumental markers are phonologically conditioned: if the NP ends with a consonant, *-ulo* is used, while if the NP ends with a vowel, *-lo* is used. Note also that the instrumental marker *-(u)lo* is polysemic: it can also be used as a causative marker and a locative marker (Sohn 2005). The current study deals with *-(u)lo* only as an instrumental marker.

Turning to the APC, it is the dative NP and not other arguments that can be modified by the instrumental marked by *-(u)lo*, suggesting that in the APC the dative NP is an external argument, like an agent, in line with Park (1994) and Park (2005).⁵⁹

- (185) a. Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey pwunphil-lo ilum-ul cek-hi-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat chalk-Inst name-Acc write.down-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Chelswu’s name was written by Yuna with the chalk.’
 b. Yuna-ka sensayngnim-eykey kawi-wa kal-lo meli-lul cal-li-ess-ta.
 Yuna-Nom teacher-Dat scissor-and knife-Inst hair-Acc cut-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yuna’s hair was cut by the teacher with the scissors and knife.’

(185a) has the interpretation that Yuna (the dative NP) wrote down Chelswu’s name by using the chalk; it cannot be that Chelswu (the nominative NP) used the chalk and wrote down his name. The same is true of (185b), in which the instrumental *kawiwa kallo* ‘with scissors and knife’ is used to depict the action of *sensayngnimeykey* ‘teacher’ (the dative NP), and not *Yuna* (the nominative NP). I will discuss in great detail in Section 4.7 how these facts pose a challenging problem for an alternative approach (e.g., Kim 2011) that analyzes the dative NP as an instrumental argument.

Further support of the APC as a passive sentence is that when the dative NP is missing, it is interpreted as an existential quantifier like *someone*, one common property of passives discussed in the literature (see also Chapter 3) (e.g., Bach 1980;

⁵⁹ According to Park (2005), the dative NP is a source argument that denotes agentivity.

Keenan 1980, 1985; Williams 1987; Partee 1989; Bhatt and Pancheva 2006; Bruening 2013).⁶⁰

(186) motun cwumin-i totwuk-i cap-hi-ki-lul pala-n-ta.
 every resident-Nom thief-Nom catch-Pss-Nml-Acc hope-Pres-Dec
 ‘Every resident hopes that the thief is caught.’

(187) motun haksayng-i Yuna-ka tung-ul kulk-hi-ki-lul pala-n-ta.
 every student-Nom Yuna-Nom back-Acc scratch-Pss-Nml-Acc hope-Pres-Dec
 ‘Every student_i hopes that Yuna’s back is scratched (by someone/*by him_i).’

As shown in (186) and (187), when the ordinary morphological passive and the APC are embedded under a main clause involving a universal quantifier, a missing dative NP cannot be a bound variable and is interpreted existentially.

The same fact is clearly manifested in sluicing sentences. First consider an ordinary sluicing sentence like (188), illustrating that as in English (Chung et al. 1995), in Korean the antecedent of a sluiced *wh*-phrase is an existential quantifier.

(188) na-nun ecey etten salam/*tongsayng-i ku kulim-ul
 I-Top yesterday some person/brother-Nom that painting-Acc
 sa-ss-ta-ko tul-ess-nuntey, kukay nwukwu-i-n-ci molu-n-ta.
 buy-Pst-Dec-C hear-Pst-but that who-Cop-Pres-C not.know-Pres-Dec

⁶⁰ See also Footnote 41 that notes that the implicit agent of a passive can receive a discourse-bound reading if discourse-linked.

‘I heard that somebody/*my brother bought that painting yesterday, but I don’t know who s/he is.’

Turning to the APC, if a missing argument patterns with an existential quantifier, an APC in the context of sluicing should be well-formed. This prediction is borne out, as illustrated in (189). (The same holds in ordinary morphological passives, as shown in Chapter 3, the example (125)).

- (189) na-nun ecey Chelswu-ka meli-lul cal-li-ess-ta-ko tul-ess-nuntey,
 I-Top yesterday Chelswu-Nom hair-Acc cut-Pss-Pst-Dec-C hear-Pst-but
 nwukwu-hantey kulehkey tangha-yss-nun-ci molu-n-ta.
 who-Dat so suffer-Pst-nun-C not.know-Pres-Dec
 ‘I heard that Chelswu’s hair was cut, but I don’t know by whom he got so.’

I conclude from these facts that the APC qualifies as a passive sentence. Given that an essential property of true passives is the deletion or demotion of an external argument, the evidence considered in this section, along with the argument advanced in Section 4.3.1, lends strong support to the derivational approach to the APC. In contrast, the facts presented above would pose a challenge for an alternative approach that analyzes the APC as a causative sentence, because, for example, the dative NP in morphological causatives is realized differently syntactically than in the APC. I will return to this issue in Section 4.6 and discuss in detail how the APC and the morphological causative do not pattern alike, unlike what was previously assumed (e.g., Shim 2008, Kim 2011).

4.3.3 *Suffer* as Not-At-Issue Meaning

I have shown so far that the APC is derivationally related to a particular type of DOC and qualifies as a passive sentence. However, important questions remain to be answered: what does the adversative meaning contribute in the APC? Why is this meaning missing in the corresponding DOC? In what follows, I will apply the tests described in Chapter 1 and argue that the adversative meaning of the APC belongs to the not-at-issue meaning, like an implicature, which also explains why this meaning is present only in the APC.

First, the adversative meaning projects beyond yes/no questions.

(190) A. Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey ilum-ul cek-hi-ess-ni?

Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat name-Acc write.down-Pss-Pst-Q

‘Was Chelswu’s name written down by Yuna?’

B. ani.

Neg

‘No.’

In (190), answering the question using *ani* ‘no’ implies that Chelswu’s name was not written by Yuna. That is, *ani* ‘no’ cannot be used to negate just the adversative meaning, such that Chelswu was not adversely affected, but his name was written down by Yuna. For this meaning to be conveyed, a more elaborate answer needs to be added.

Next, negation cannot target the adversative meaning independently. As illustrated in (191), the negation marker *an-* in Korean is used to negate just the content which is at-issue.⁶¹

- (191) Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey ilum-ul cek-*hi*-ci anh-ass-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat name-Acc write.down-Pss-ci Neg-Pst-Dec
 (i) Chelswu's name was not written down by Yuna, but if Yuna had written
 down Chelswu's name, Chelswu would have been adversely affected.
 (ii) *Chelswu's name was written down by Yuna, but Chelswu was not
 adversely affected.

(191) has the interpretation that the event of Yuna writing down Chelswu's name did not take place, but it still conveys the meaning that Chelswu would have been adversely affected if such an event had happened.

Third, the adversative meaning does not add a condition to a conditional.

- (192) Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey ilum-ul cek-hi-n-ta-myen
 Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat name-Acc write.down-Pss-Pres-Dec-if
 nay-ka ne-hantey o.sip pwul-ul cwu-kess-ta.
 I-Nom you-Dat five.ten dollar-Acc give-Fut-Dec
 'If Chelswu's name is written down by Yuna, I will give you fifty dollars.'

⁶¹ There are two forms of negation in Korean, the short form *an-* and the long form in (191) in the text. In this study I use only the long form, as it has been an issue in the Korean literature whether the short form is truly a sentential negation.

In (192), the condition under which the listener receives fifty dollars is that Chelswu's name is written down by Yuna; whether or not Chelswu suffers from the event is irrelevant to the condition under which the listener is given money. Consider the corresponding DOC, which has exactly the same condition that the listener is given money if Yuna writes down Chelswu's name.

(193) Yuna-ka Chelswu-lul ilum-ul cek-nun-ta-myen
 Yuna-Nom Chelswu-Acc name-Acc write.down-Pres-Dec-if
 nay-ka ne-hantey o.sip pwul-ul cwu-kess-ta.
 I-Nom you-Dat five.ten dollar-Acc give-Fut-Dec
 'If Yuna writes down Chelswu's name, I will give you fifty dollars.'

Finally, it is possible to ask about the nominative NP in a *wh*-question.

(194) A: nwu-ka ecey Yuna-eykey tung-ul mil-li-ess-ni?
 who-Nom yesterday Yuna-Dat back-Acc push-Pss-Pst-Q
 'Whose back was pushed by Yuna yesterday?'
 B: ung Chelswu tongsayng-i-ya.
 yes Chelswu brother-Cop-Inf
 'Yes, that was Chelswu's brother.'

Recall from Chapter 1 that elements on the not-at-issue tier may not be questioned. What this means for sentences like (194) is that the nominative NP is part of the possession meaning (as discussed in Section 4.2.2) which is entirely truth-conditional

(Bosse et al. 2012), and, as such, it can be questioned with a *wh*-word. This fact corroborates the proposed derivational analysis that I will discuss later, in which the nominative NP is generated as an argument of Part-Whole, the syntactic head that denotes a part-whole meaning, which under passivization is also associated with the not-at-issue meaning.

Further, the adversative meaning is not presupposed, nor is it conversationally implicated. For example, the adversative meaning of the APC, unlike the possessive presupposition trigger (Chapter 1), projects when it occurs as the antecedent of a conditional.

- (195) **manyak* Chelswu-ka anh cohun yenghyang-ul patu-myen
 if Chelswu-Nom Neg good effect-Acc receive-if
 Chelswu-ka sensayngnim-kkey meli-lul kkak-i-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom teacher-Dat.Hon hair-Acc cut-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘If Chelswu was adversely affected, Chelswu’s hair was cut by the teacher.’

(195) is judged to be infelicitous: the adversative meaning implicated in the consequent clause is entailed by the antecedent of the conditional introduced by *manyak* ‘if’, which indicates that this meaning projects.⁶²

In addition, the adversative meaning under discussion has no strong speaker-orientation, indicating that it does not seem to be a conventional implicature in the sense of Potts (2005) discussed in Chapter 1. As illustrated in (196), when the APC is

⁶² Once again, the adversative meaning of the APC is ineffable, but I believe that this is the closest paraphrase of the APC (see also Footnote 47).

embedded under a propositional attitude verb like *sayngkakha*- ‘think’ (presupposition plug) (Karttunen 1973), the adversative meaning is attributed to the higher subject of the main clause rather than the speaker.

- (196) emma-nun Chelswu-ka chinkwu-tul-eykey chengpaci-lul ccic-ki-ess-ta-ko
 mother-Top Chelswu-Nom friend-Pl-Dat jeans-Acc tear-Pss-Pst-Dec-C
 sayngkakha-ci-man, na-nun Chelswu-ka ohilye ku chengpaci-ttaymwuney
 think-C-but I-Top Chelswu-Nom rather that jeans-because
 kippeha-l-ke-la-ko sayngkakha-n-ta.
 glad-Fut-Nml-la-C think-Pres-Dec
 ‘My mother thinks that Chelswu’s jeans were torn by friends. But, I think that
 Chelswu is rather pleased with the torn jeans.’

In the preceding APC, it is the mother who thinks that Chelswu was affected adversely. The speaker can continue to say ‘I think that Chelswu is rather pleased with the torn jeans’, indicating that the adversative meaning of the preceding APC is not attributed to the speaker, and is plugged by the attitude verb.

In a similar vein, if the adversative meaning has to do with the speaker’s attitude or the speaker’s point of view toward the event depicted in the sentence, we should expect the nominative NP to be inanimate. This is so because in this view the adversative semantics comes from the speaker’s perspective; whether the nominative NP suffers does not matter. As shown in Section 4.2.1, this prediction is not borne out, however.

(197) *ku khephi.can-i koyangi-eykey phyomyen-Acc kulk-hi-ess-ta.
that coffee.cup-Nom cat-Dat surface-Acc scratch-Pss-Pst-Dec
‘(Intended) The coffee cup’s surface was scratched by the cat.’ (Yeon 1991:
350)

For example, (197) is unacceptable under the intended interpretation in which in terms of the speaker’s point of view the event of the cat scratching the surface of the coffee cup was bad.

Finally, (198) confirms that the adversative meaning is not a conversational implicature (Grice 1969), by showing that cancelling this meaning causes the sentence to be infelicitous.

(198) a. Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey meli-lul kkak-i-ess-ta.
Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat hair-Acc cut-Pss-Pst-Dec
‘Chelswu’s hair was cut by Yuna.’
b. #haciman Chelswu-ka cohun yenghyang-ul pat-ass-ta.
but Chelswu-Nom good effect-Acc receive-Pst-Dec
‘#But that was good for Chelswu.’

From these observed facts, we see that in the APC part of the meaning of the sentence, the part-whole meaning which comes from its corresponding DOC, is truth-conditional, while another part of it, the adversative meaning, is not-at-issue. In the section to follow, I will show that this semantic property of the APC converges neatly with the proposed derivational approach in which the nominative NP is generated as

an argument of the syntactic head, Part-Whole, which under passivization is associated with the not-at-issue meaning.

4.4 A Lexical Decomposition Analysis of the APC

Based on the data presented so far, the hypothesis I put forth is a lexical decomposition analysis of the APC using event semantics, as laid out in Chapter 1, in which the APC is decomposed into different syntactic verbal heads, each of which contributes a subpart of the meaning of the APC. In doing so I separate the meaning associated with these verbal predicates into two tiers of meaning in the semantics, the at-issue meaning (i.e., its main assertion) and the not-at-issue meaning. As introduced in Chapter 1, I also assume that the external argument of the active sentence is introduced by Voice, a syntactic head above the lexical VP (Kratzer 1996). In the passive, which is introduced by a syntactic head Pass(ive), the external argument is adjoined to PassP; when it is missing it is existentially closed.

With these assumptions, I begin with the subset sentence of Tomioka and Sim's (2007) DOC in which the possessor is animate, from which the APC is derived.

(199)	Yuna-ka	Chelswu-lul	illum-ul	cek-ess-ta.
	Yuna-Nom	Chelswu-Acc	name-Acc	write.down-Pst-Dec
	'Yuna wrote down Chelswu's name.'			Repeated from (164)

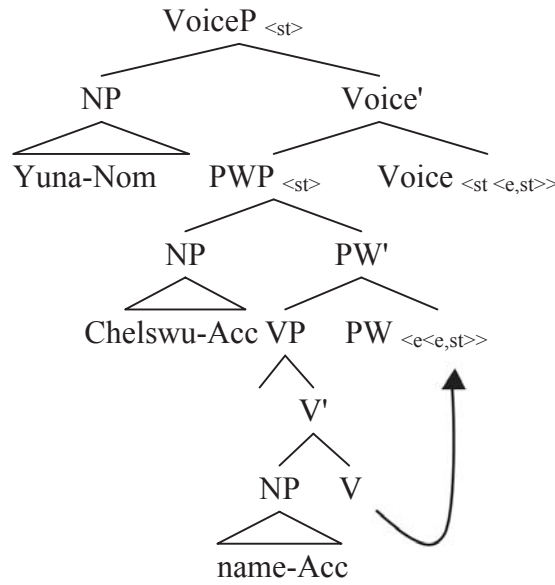
This sentence is paraphrased as 'there was a writing-down event *e* with Yuna as the agent, Chelswu as the whole, and the name as the part and as the theme.' I propose that the part-whole meaning is introduced by the syntactic head Part-Whole, as formalized in (200).

(200) Semantics of *PW* (*Part-Whole*)

$\llbracket PW \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle e, st \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda e. f(x)(e) \ \& \ x \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$ (Based on Bosse 2011)

This head denotes a material part-whole relation between the possessor and the possessee; $x \blacktriangleleft y$ means that x is a material part of y , and this meaning is entirely truth-conditional (see Bosse et al. 2012 for details). The compositional interpretation of (199) is illustrated in (201), with a proposed structure and denotation. (I omit the projections above VoiceP for the sake of simplicity).

(201) a.



b. $\llbracket V \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(x,e)$

$\llbracket VP \rrbracket = \text{does not compute.}$

$\llbracket PW \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle e, st \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda e. f(x)(e) \ \& \ x \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$

$\llbracket V + PW \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(x,e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$

$\llbracket PW' \rrbracket = \lambda y. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name},e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$

$[[PWP]] = \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft \text{Chelswu at } \tau(e)$

$[[\text{Voice}]] = \lambda z. \lambda e. \text{Agent}(z, e)$

$[[\text{Voice}']] = \lambda z. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(z, e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft \text{Chelswu at } \tau(e)$

$[[\text{VoiceP}]] = \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(\text{Yuna}, e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft \text{Chelswu at } \tau(e)$

VP is formed by V and the accusative NP *ilum* ‘name’, but is not computed semantically. Instead, the verb moves to PW, and they build a complex predicate [V+PW] which takes semantically the accusative NP *ilum* ‘name’ as its argument, the part to the referent of the whole in the part-whole relation and the theme of the writing-down event.⁶³ The final computation adds the information about the past tense and the existential quantification over the event.

Turning to the APC, it is derivationally related to a particular type of the DOC, which means that a sentence like (202) denotes an event that has part of its root in the event described by the DOC and part of it in the adversative meaning.

(202) Chelswu-ka (Yuna-eykey) ilum-ul cek-hi-ess-ta.

Chelswu-Nom (Yuna-Dat) name-Acc write.down-Pss-Pst-Dec

‘Chelswu’s name was written down (by Yuna).’

Repeated from (163)

⁶³ This is corroborated by the fact that as detailed out in Section 4.5.1, the DOC under consideration and the APC both lack the reading that the event-modifying adverb *tasi* ‘again’ picks out only the VP event, the reading that only the name written event held previously.

Thus, a reasonable paraphrase of (202) would be ‘there was a writing-down event e with Yuna as the agent, Chelswu as the whole, and the name as the part and as the theme, and e resulted in a suffering event e' in which Chelswu suffered from e' .’ To achieve this meaning I propose that the APC is decomposed into two syntactic heads: the part-whole head shown above and Pass(ive) shown below.

(203) Semantics of *Passive*

$\llbracket \text{Pass} \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle \text{st} \rangle}. \exists x. \lambda e. f(e). \text{Agent}(x,e): \lambda z. \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(z,e')) \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)$

Semantically, the head Pass is associated with two dimensions of meaning, the main assertion on the at-issue tier and the adversative meaning on the not-at-issue tier; the not-at-issue meaning is represented after the colon. Such a head, unlike Voice in active sentences (Kratzer 1996), does not add an external argument; the external argument, which is the dative NP in the APC, is existentially closed (see also Section 4.3.2). I also suggest that when the dative NP is present, the dative marker *-eykey* in passive sentences introduces the agent, like *by* of a *by*-phrase in passives (see also Bruening 2013 for details in English). This is formalized in (204).⁶⁴

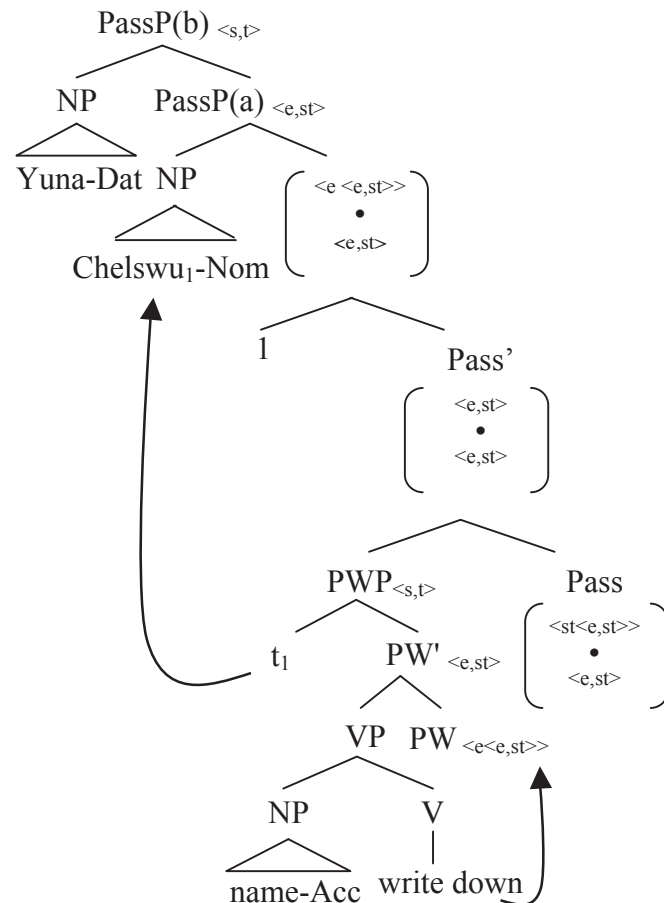
(204) Semantics of *-eykey*

$\llbracket -eykey \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle \text{st} \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda e. f(e). \text{Agent}(x,e)$

⁶⁴ Note that the dative marker *-eykey* in Korean (like other particles in Korean) denotes various roles (e.g., the location and the goal). The proposed semantics works only when it is associated with the interpretation of an agent or an initiator.

I argue that the two heads PW and Pass are responsible for the semantics of the APC, and Pass is a morphological realization of the passive morpheme; the nominative NP is generated as an argument of PW, where it is interpreted as the whole of the part-whole relation, and moves to Spec-PassP, where it is associated with the not-at-issue meaning. The sentence in (202) has the structure and denotation in (205) and (206). (I omit the projections above VoiceP including tense for the sake of simplicity).

(205) a. APC with the dative NP



b. $\llbracket V \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, x)$

$\llbracket VP \rrbracket =$ does not compute.

$\llbracket PW \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle e, st \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda e. f(x)(e) \ \& \ x \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$

$\llbracket V + PW \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(x, e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$

$\llbracket PW' \rrbracket = \lambda y. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$

$\llbracket PWP \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft g(1) \text{ at } \tau(e)$

$\llbracket \text{Passive} \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle st \rangle}. \exists x. \lambda e. f(e). \text{Agent}(x, e) : \lambda z. \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(z, e')) \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)$

$\llbracket \text{Passive}' \rrbracket = \exists x. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(x, e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \&$

$\text{name} \blacktriangleleft g(1) \text{ at } \tau(e) : \lambda z. \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(z, e')) \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)$

$\llbracket 1 + \text{Passive}' \rrbracket = \exists x. \lambda y. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(x, e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \&$

$\text{name} \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e) : \lambda z. \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(z, e')) \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)$

$\llbracket \text{PassiveP}(a) \rrbracket = \exists x. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(x, e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \&$

$\text{name} \blacktriangleleft \text{Chelswu} \text{ at } \tau(e) : \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(\text{Chelswu}, e')) \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)$

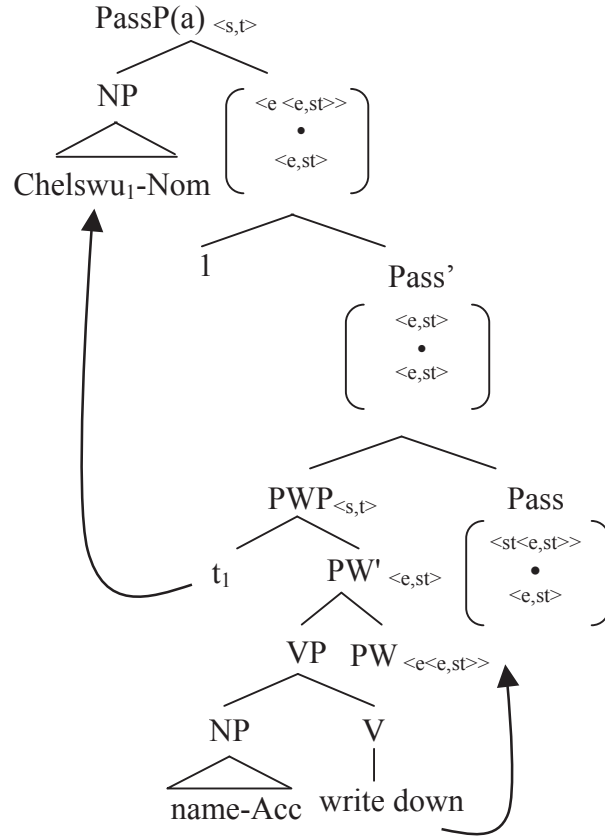
$\llbracket \text{-eykey} \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle st \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda e. f(e). \text{Agent}(x, e)$

$\llbracket \text{Yumi-eykey} \rrbracket = \lambda e. f(e). \text{Agent}(\text{Yumi}, e)$

$\llbracket \text{PassiveP}(b) \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(\text{Yuna}, e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \&$

$\text{name} \blacktriangleleft \text{Chelswu} \text{ at } \tau(e) : \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(\text{Chelswu}, e')) \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)$

(206) a. APC without the dative NP



b. $\llbracket V \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, x)$

$\llbracket VP \rrbracket =$ does not compute.

$\llbracket PW \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle e, st \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda e. f(x)(e) \ \& \ x \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$

$\llbracket V + PW \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(x, e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$

$\llbracket PW' \rrbracket = \lambda y. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e)$

$\llbracket PWP \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft g(1) \text{ at } \tau(e)$

$\llbracket \text{Passive} \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle st \rangle}. \exists x. \lambda e. f(e). \text{Agent}(x, e) : \lambda z. \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(z, e')) \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)$

$\llbracket \text{Passive}' \rrbracket = \exists x. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(x, e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name}, e) \ \& \ \text{name} \blacktriangleleft g(1) \text{ at } \tau(e) : \lambda z. \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(z, e')) \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)$

$$\begin{aligned}
\llbracket 1+ \text{Passive}' \rrbracket &= \exists x. \lambda y. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(x,e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name},e) \ \& \\
&\text{name} \blacktriangleleft y \text{ at } \tau(e) : \lambda z. \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(z,e')) \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e) \\
\llbracket \text{PassiveP}(a) \rrbracket &= \exists x. \lambda e. \text{write.down}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(x,e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{name},e) \ \& \\
&\text{name} \blacktriangleleft \text{Chelswu} \text{ at } \tau(e) : \exists e' (\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(\text{Chelswu},e')) \ \& \\
&\text{RESULT}(e')(e)
\end{aligned}$$

The APC is derived in fashion identical to the corresponding DOC up to PWP: the accusative NP *ilum* ‘name’ is the part of the part-whole relation and the theme of the writing-down event, an argument of the complex predicate, and the nominative NP *Chelswu* is the whole of the part-whole relation. The nominative NP then moves to Spec-PassP, where it is associated with the adversative meaning; that is, the nominative NP is associated with the two tiers of meaning via movement, the at-issue meaning before it moves and the not-at-issue meaning under passivization. Crucial to this analysis is the assumption (e.g., Potts 2005; Kubota and Uegaki 2011) that the not-at-issue meaning is kept separate from the main assertion in the composition, as indicated by the metalogical symbol • on the passive head, meaning that the adversative meaning applies to the nominative NP, but does not affect its at-issue content. So, *Chelswu* gets two semantic interpretations via syntactic movement, and this is allowed as the composition of the meaning of the APC is done separately for each tier of meaning. As for the dative PP, it is an external argument, as discussed in Section 4.3.2, meaning that it is adjoined to PassP and when it is missing, it is existentially closed. Lastly, the nominative NP ends up higher than the dative PP (as it

further moves from Spec-PassP(a) to a higher position for case and the appropriate word order)⁶⁵, and thereby it is the subject of the sentence.⁶⁶

The proposed analysis has consequences for the verbal restrictions of the APC and Voice morphology in general. First, this formal approach provides a principled account of why not all transitive verbs appear in the APC. Given that the APC is derivationally related to a particular type of the DOC, it is expected that the APC is possible only with verbs that are compatible with the semantics of the type of DOC under consideration. At the same time, since the APC is a passive sentence, only verbs that take the passive suffixes are made use of in the APC.⁶⁷ In the structure in (205),

⁶⁵ As an account of the case checking mechanism I assume Sim's analysis (following Chomsky 1995; Kratzer 1996; Chomsky 2000; Chomsky 2001) that an active voice head selects the verb which is phi-complete and a passive Voice head selects a verb which is phi-incomplete. Thus, the possessor (the argument of PW) is selected by Voice, thereby getting accusative case in the active and nominative case in the passive. For the possessee, it is assigned accusative case; the lexical verb has a feature for uninterpretable phi-complete. Also, note that the possessee can also be marked with nominative case, which has been considered a different construction from the APC (e.g., it lacks an adversative meaning, and has a topic-comment or zooming-in type interpretation. See also Sim 2005). In such a case, the lexical verb has a feature of uninterpretable phi-incomplete; the possessee moves to the subject position and becomes nominative if the language allows multiple nominatives. So, the possessee can be either nominative or accusative depending on the phi-completeness of the lexical verb.

⁶⁶ One might alternatively treat the APC as a control sentence according to which the nominative NP is base-generated in Spec-PassP where it is associated with the not-at-issue meaning, and its part-whole semantics is obtained by means of a coindexed PRO in Spec-PWP. This non-derivational account is not plausible, however, because it makes the wrong prediction that the nominative NP is unavailable for *wh*-questions, which is contrary to the facts as discussed in Section 4.3.3. See also the next section for my objection to this non-derivational account.

⁶⁷ As recognized in the literature, passives in Korean are not productive; not all verbs can occur with passive morphemes. As noted by Yeon (2003) and Sohn (2006), morphological passives are possible only with a subset of transitive verbs. Also, the *-ci* passive, another passive form in Korean that has been analyzed as involving A-

this follows from the selectional relations between the syntactic heads Pass, PW, and V: since PW attaches outside of V, it imposes its selectional restriction on V, and since Pass attaches outside of PW and V, it imposes its selectional restriction on these heads. I assume that V is sufficiently local to Pass, as PW and V form a complex predicate, and so Pass can select V. Accordingly, it is natural to expect the APC to be possible only with a subset of transitive verbs, the verbs that take the passive suffixes and are also compatible with the particular type of the DOC.

A further consequence of this approach is that it tells us that a functional head like Voice denoting passive may be ambiguous as to which tier(s) of meaning it is associated with. It is entirely truth-conditional, which is the case for ordinary passives as formalized in (207). Also, part of its meaning is truth-conditional, while part of it belongs to an implicature, as discussed so far.

(207) Semantics of *Pass* (*Passive*) in an ordinary passive

$$\llbracket \text{Pass} \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle \text{st} \rangle}. \exists x. \lambda e. f(e). \text{Agent}(x, e)$$

While this analysis explains the essential semantic characteristics of the APC in Korean that have been discussed in the current chapter, it leaves us with the question of why the part-whole semantics associated with the DOC under consideration necessarily lead to the adversative meaning, whereas ordinary passives

movement, is only compatible with a limited number of verbs (see also Lim and Zubizarreta 2012 for *-ci* as an inchoative marker). In many cases, verbs that participate in morphological passives are in complementary distribution with verbs that occur in *ci*-passives, except for verbs of Sino-Korean origin. Whether a verb undergoes these passivizations has been standardly viewed as an idiosyncratic property.

lack this adversity meaning. Obviously, the case in Korean where in the APC the nominative NP A-moves from one theta position (the whole thematic role) to another theta position (the experiencer) is in conflict with the standard assumption of the Theta Criterion under which each argument bears one and only one theta role (Chomsky 1981: 36). A similar challenge to the Theta Criterion is also found in Kubota and Uegaki's (2011) discussion on *receive*-type benefactives in Japanese. Although they do not make explicit this issue regarding the Theta Criterion in the traditional sense, it is apparent from their data that assigning two thematic roles, the causee and the beneficiary, to the nominative NP in *receive*-type benefactives would lead to a violation of the Theta Criterion.⁶⁸ I suggest that these puzzling phenomena can be captured by establishing a more sophisticated version of the Theta Criterion (Chomsky 1981) such that there exists some constraint on thematic role assignment in event semantics. This will entail that thematic roles may belong to different tiers of meaning. Consider (208).

(208) An NP may not receive more than one event-related thematic role.

The basic idea is that if we consider the thematic roles that figure in typical descriptions of Neo-Davidsonian event semantics, such as experiencers, goals, or instruments, they are two-place relations that directly link arguments to the event denoted by the verb. Unlike these event-related thematic roles, however, the part-

⁶⁸ This classic problem regarding the Theta Criterion has been pointed out in a large number of studies (e.g., Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994; Gergel and Hartmann 2009; Randall 2010).

whole meaning does not seem to be directly event-related in the same way as the inventory of basic thematic predicates. For example, in *John's car* the part-whole relation between *car* and *John* is a somewhat vague relation which is quite independent of the main predicate of the event: John has the car or John is a car salesman. If this holds, it is possible to expect that the APC, the passive sentence whose active counterpart is a particular type of the DOC, receives an experiencer interpretation. Since the nominative NP is the whole argument of a part-whole relation with the accusative NP, it can, under passivization, receive an event-related thematic role: the experiencer interpretation which is projected as not-at-issue meaning in Korean.

This also accounts for the absence of the adversity meaning in ordinary passives. As shown in (209), since the nominative NP is already assigned an event-related thematic role like a patient or an experiencer, it cannot further receive another event-related thematic role.

(209) Mina-ka kica-tul-eykey ku hay kaswu-lo ppop-hi-ess-ta.

Mina-Nom journalist-Pl-Dat that year singer-as choose-Pss-Pst-Dec

‘Mina was chosen as the singer of the year by journalists.’ Repeated from (165)

Therefore, the classical version of the Theta Criterion is constrained in a way that factors in the nature of thematic roles in event semantics, provided that thematic roles may belong to different tiers of meaning. (The notion of event-relatedness needs further refinement, and I leave this issue as an open question.)

From an empirical perspective one may also wonder why it is that the adversative meaning is closely tied to the part-whole semantics associated with the DOC in Korean. While a wider investigation of other languages is clearly called for⁶⁹, there seems to be some indication that the negatively affected meaning is associated with the DOC in Korean. While the DOC does not necessarily implicate the adversative meaning as shown earlier, with a handful of verbs like *po-* ‘see’ the DOC can depict the event as being somewhat negative and affecting the first accusative NP. It may be that this meaning component has been exported to the APC.

In connection with the current discussion, one might associate the adversity semantics of the APC with the experiencer *have* construction in English. As discussed in past work (e.g., Ritter and Rosen 1997, Harley 1998), the subject of *have* can receive an implication as adversely affected by the event denoted in the complement clause; the same sentence can also be readily associated with a causative reading.

- (210) a. John had his daughter accepted at MIT (on him). (Ritter and Rosen 1997)
 b. Asterix had the Romans capture Obelix (on him). (Harley 1998)

One could then ask whether the current multidimensional semantic analysis can be extended to capture the semantics of the experiencer *have* construction: namely, the adversative meaning is projected as not-at-issue meaning. This view does not pan out, however, once more data are taken into consideration. First, although the judgment of whether *have* sentences receive an experiencer or causative interpretation

⁶⁹ Interestingly, Japanese, a syntactically-similar head-final language, has possessive passives like Korean which however lack the adversity semantics. As noted in the text, I do not have a clear explanation for this issue. I therefore leave it open.

is often inconsistent among native speakers of English. The adversative connotation is most felicitous with the addition of the phrase *on*-PP in which the pronominal element is coreferential with the subject of *have*. As pointed out by Harley (1998), the causative reading is most salient in *have* sentences, and *on*-PP forces the experiencer interpretation and eliminates the causative reading. See also Bosse (2011) for detailed discussion of the affected interpretation of *on*-PPs in English.

In addition, the tests I have used to detect not-at-issue meaning indicate that there is no meaning contribution in the experiencer *have* construction that projects beyond the various semantic operators.

(211) a. Did John have his daughter accepted at MIT?

b. Who had his daughter accepted at MIT?

For example, in (211a), if the listener knows that John's daughter was accepted at Harvard, but not at MIT, s/he can simply answer *no*. In addition, if the listener knows that Sam, but not John, had his daughter accepted at MIT, again s/he can simply answer *no*. There does not appear to be any meaning that projects beyond the yes-no question. Also, as shown in (211b), the subject of *have* is available for a *wh*-question. This should not be possible if the meaning is projected on the not-at-issue tier; only at-issue meaning is available for a *wh*-question.

Therefore, I do not extend the multidimensional semantic analysis developed for the Korean APC to the *have* construction in English: the adversative meaning in English does not behave as a level of meaning that projects on the not-at-issue tier.

4.5 Further Support for the Proposed Analysis

This section provides further empirical support for the analysis advanced in the previous section, namely the nominative NP is generated in Spec-PWP, a position lower than the dative PP, and moves to Spec-PassP in passivization, where it is associated with the adversative meaning on the not-at-issue tier. Section 4.5.1 introduces novel data regarding the event-modifying adverb *tasi* ‘again’ in Korean and demonstrates that the different interpretations created by *tasi* ‘again’ follow straightforwardly under the proposed syntactic decomposition approach to the APC. Section 4.5.2 provides further evidence in support of the derivational approach.

4.5.1 Adverbial Modification with *tasi* ‘again’

Prima facie evidence in support of the current analysis of the APC in which the nominative NP (the affected experiencer) is generated in Spec-PWP, a position lower than the dative PP (the agent), and moves to Spec-PassP is drawn from the scope ambiguity of *tasi* ‘again’ in Korean.

As shown by Ko (2005) and Son (2006) in a study of *tasi* ‘again’ in Korean (see also von Stechow 1996; Beck and Johnson 2004; Bale 2007; Bosse et al. 2012), a presupposition of *tasi* ‘again’, similar to a presupposition of *wieder* ‘again’ in German, may differ contingent on to which node it attaches. It can be thus used as a diagnostic test to detect a syntactic constituent which is of type $\langle s, t \rangle$ in a structure, as formalized in (212). Consider also a simple sentence like (213), in which *tasi* ‘again’ yields two interpretations depending on the attachment site, VP for (213a) and VoiceP for (213b).

$$(212) \llbracket tasi \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle s, t \rangle}. \lambda e. P(e): \exists e' [P(e') \ \& \ \text{the run time of } e' \text{ is prior to that of } e]$$

(213) Chelswu-ka mwun-ul tasi yel-ess-ta.

Chelswu-Nom door-Acc again open-Pst-Dec

a. Restitutive reading: ‘Chelswu [opened the door again].’

b. Repetitive reading: ‘Chelswu again [opened the door].’ (Son 2006, Ex. 63)

In (213a), the restitutive reading presupposes an event in which the door had been in the state of being open in the past. For this reading, it is not necessary that the door was opened by anyone previously, just that the door was in an open state. This reading arises when *tasi* ‘again’ attaches to VP. Also, the sentence receives the repetitive reading as in (213b), the reading that presupposes an event in which Chelswu had closed the door before, and he repeated this event again. Such a reading emerges when ‘again’ attaches to VoiceP.

Turning to the APC, *tasi* ‘again’, which has not drawn much attention in the study of the APC in Korean, constitutes direct evidence in support of the proposed structure that generates the nominative NP (the affected experiencer) below the dative PP (the agent). (214) shows that *tasi* ‘again’ in the APC yields two different interpretations, and this exactly matches the current analysis: there are two nodes of type <s,t>, PWP and PassP(b) to which *tasi* ‘again’ can attach.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Note that *tasi* ‘again’ in Korean appears to be insensitive to different syntactic positions, unlike *again* in German and English, as pointed out by Son (2006, Footnote 25). Specifically, the possible and the impossible readings of (214) are still available even when *tasi* precedes the dative and the accusative NPs. While it is unclear to me why *tasi* has this insensitivity, Satoshi Tomioka’s point provided by Son (2006) seems to be correct: scrambling in Korean and Japanese is more or less semantically vacuous, whereas scrambling in German affects the interpretation of NPs. I leave open further discussions on this point and assume that the cross-linguistic observation that

(214) Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey ilum-ul tasi cek-hi-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat name-Ac again write.down-Pss-Pst-Dec

‘Chelswu’s name was written down by Yuna again.’

- a. Reading 1 (PWP attachment reading): Somebody wrote down Chelswu’s name before. Now Yuna did it again, by which Chelswu was adversely affected.
- b. Reading 2 (PassP(b) attachment reading): Yuna had written down Chelswu’s name before, and now she did it again, by which Chelswu was adversely affected.
- c. *Reading 3 (VP attachment reading): The name was written.
- d. *Reading 4: Yuna had written down name before and she did it again, but for the first time it affected Chelswu.

Reading 1 is obtained when *tasi* ‘again’ is adjoined to PWP, and in this reading the PWP event has taken place before with the same affected experiencer (the nominative NP) and the same VP event, but not necessarily with the same agent (the dative PP). Reading 2 is expected by *tasi* ‘again’ adjoined to PassP(b): the whole PassP event has taken place before with the same PWP event and the same VP event including the same affected experiencer and the same agent. However, notice that *tasi* ‘again’ cannot pick out just the VP event, indicated as Reading 3: in this reading it is only presupposed that a name was written prior to the described event. The native speakers I have polled judge uniformly that this reading is missing. This is predicted by the

supports the syntactic theory of *again* is a sufficient motivation for extending the analysis of *again* to the data in Korean.

proposed structure as there is no <s,t> node which corresponds to the VP event; as noted earlier, the VP is not computed semantically, and V instead moves and forms a complex predicate with PW. What is particularly remarkable is that the proposed analysis also makes the right prediction of the absence of Reading 4, the reading in which the VP event with the same agent took place before, but without the same affected experiencer. This is so because, in the structure above, the nominative NP (the affected experiencer) is generated in a position lower than the dative PP (the agent); thereby there is no constituent that includes the VP event and the agent but excludes the affected experiencer. Therefore, the scope ambiguity of *tasi* ‘again’ gives direct evidence for the proposed structure.

In addition, if the APC is derivationally related to the DOC, as argued in this study, their possible readings should not differ between them except that the DOC has no adversative implication. This prediction is borne out. Consider (215).

- (215) Yuna-ka Chelswu-lul ilum-ul tasi cek-ess-ta.
 Yuna-Nom Chelswu-Acc name-Acc again write.down-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yuna wrote down Chelswu’s name again.’
- a. Reading 1 (PWP attachment reading): Somebody wrote down Chelswu’s name before and now Yuna did it to Chelswu again.
 - b. Reading 2 (VoiceP attachment reading): Yuna had written down Chelswu’s name before and now she did it again.
 - c. *Reading 3 (VP attachment reading): The name was written.

The structure of the DOC includes two nodes of type <s,t>: PWP and VoiceP. Reading 1 obtains when *tasi* ‘again’ is adjoined to PWP, where the PWP event has taken place before with the same part and whole (the accusative NPs) and the same VP event, but not necessarily with the same agent (the nominative NP). Reading 2 is derived by adjoining *tasi* ‘again’ to VoiceP: the whole VoiceP event has taken place before with the same PWP event and the same agent.

However, these possible and impossible readings in the APC are unexpected under the non-derivational approach to the APC. Proponents of such an approach (e.g., Shim 2008 and Kim 2011) would say that the nominative NP (the affected experiencer) is base-generated in its surface position, a position that is higher than the dative PP.⁷¹ Under this hypothesis, there is then a constituent that includes the VP event and the affected experiencer (the dative PP), excluding the agent (the nominative NP). This then makes the incorrect prediction that Reading 3 in (214) should be possible, a reading that includes the VP event and the dative PP but excludes the nominative NP, whereas Reading 1 in (214) should not be possible, as a reading that includes the VP event and the nominative NP but excludes the dative PP. As revealed above, this does not match the interpretations of *tasi* ‘again’ in the APC.

Therefore, the possible and the impossible readings of *tasi* ‘again’ in the APC give direct support for the derivational approach that is based on the lexical decomposition analysis of the APC proposed in Section 4.4 in which the APC is decomposed into several functional heads and this decomposition is reflected in the syntax.

⁷¹ I continue to argue against this hypothesis in Section 4.6.

4.5.2 Further Evidence

Another piece of evidence for the proposed structure in (205) and (206) comes from idiomatic expressions in Korean.⁷² As illustrated in (216), an idiomatic expression like *mitnun tokkiey paltungul ccikhinta* ‘your instep is hacked by the ax you trust’ which occurs in the APC is also allowed in the corresponding double object construction, and the idiomatic meaning is maintained.

- (216) a. *pro* mit-nun tokki-ey paltung-ul ccik-hi-n-ta.
 pro trust-Adn ax-Dat instep-Acc hack-Pss-Pres-Dec
 Literal: ‘Our instep is hacked by the ax we trust.’ (Kim 1994)
 Idiomatic: ‘We are betrayed by someone we trust most.’
- b. mit-nun tokki-ka (wuli-lul/uy) paltung-ul ccik-nun-ta.
 trust-Adn ax-Nom (we-Acc/Gen) instep-Acc hack-Pres-Dec
 Literal: ‘The ax you trust hacks your instep.’
 Idiomatic: ‘You are betrayed by someone you trust most.’

The sentence in (216a) is due to Kim (1994), according to whom the DOC in (216b), unlike the APC in (216a), has no idiomatic meaning. However, a number of examples like (216b) came up in Internet searches, showing that the idiom can certainly occur in

⁷² Idiom expressions might be weak evidence, because not all idioms are interpreted in a uniform way with respect to movement. For example, Yoon (2001) and Sim (2003) point out that some idiomatic expression challenge the derivational approach to the [Acc-Acc] pattern and the [Gen-Acc] pattern; see Footnote 57.

the double object form.⁷³ (Note that the first accusative NP is dropped and is recoverable with the accusative NP.)⁷⁴

4.6 Argument against Alternative Approaches

I have argued thus far that in the APC the nominative NP is generated in a position below the dative PP and undergoes passivization, after which it is associated with the adversative meaning on the not-at-issue tier. In this section, I present two recent approaches to the APC, Shim's (2008) causative approach and Kim's (2011) instrumental applicative approach, according to which the APC and the morphological

⁷³ Examples can be found at

<http://blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=kimpy9&logNo=130142659753>,
http://nollywood.news.sis.com/article/view.htm?ar_id=NISX20110418_0007958263&cID=10713&pID=10700 and numerous others.

⁷⁴ Another way to see movement in passives is to establish the presence of weak crossover (henceforth, WCO) effects (Lasnik and Stowell 1991). Yet, these effects are difficult to establish for the APC in Korean (contra Kim 2011). Assuming that a local movement, as an instance of A-movement, can create new binding relations and is thereby immune to WCO effects, it is shown in the APC in the configuration of WCO that movement of the nominative NP introduces a new binding relation, and so it can remedy a WCO violation (e.g., Cho 1994, Frank, Lee, and Rambow, 1996, McGinnis, 1999).

- (17) a. etten sensayng-i ku-uy haksayng-eykey meli-lul ppop-hi-ess-ni?
 which teacher-Nom he-Gen student-Dat hair-Acc pull.out-Pss-Pst-Q
 'Which teacher's hair was pulled out by his student?'
 b. *ku-uy haksayng-eykey etten sensayng-i meli-lul ppop-hi-ess-ni?
 he-Gen student-Dat which teacher-Nom hair-Acc pull.out-Pss-Pst-Q
 'Which teacher's hair was pulled out by his student?'

Importantly, an alternative approach that analyzes the nominative NP as base-generated in its own position would have the same result as the derivational approach. This is so, because regardless of the position in which the nominative NP is generated, movement of the dative NP across the nominative NP introduces a new binding relation that is thereby immune to the WCO effect. Hence, I do not use data regarding WCO as evidence for the proposed analysis.

causative share a syntactic structure in which the nominative NP is base-generated in its surface position, a position higher than the dative PP.⁷⁵ This theory appears extremely plausible because the four passive suffixes are homophonous with some of the causative morphemes in Korean as noted earlier; I might then avoid positing an independent structure for morphological causatives.

Nonetheless, I show that such an analysis of the APC raises difficulties when further empirical data and the semantics of the APC discussed earlier are taken into consideration. One major problem with these hypotheses is that they may overgenerate: they make the APC (including the passive) fundamentally the same as the morphological causative in Korean, such that no structural difference between the APC and the morphological causative would be expected, contrary to the facts to be presented shortly. Another major challenge to these analyses is posed by the ambiguity of *tasi* ‘again’ in the APC discussed in Section 4.5.1. These problems are, however, avoided if the APC is treated not as a causative but as a passive in which the nominative NP is generated in a position lower than the dative PP and undergoes passivization, after which it is associated with the not-at-issue meaning. I now turn to each alternative, beginning with Shim (2008) and then turning to Kim (2011).

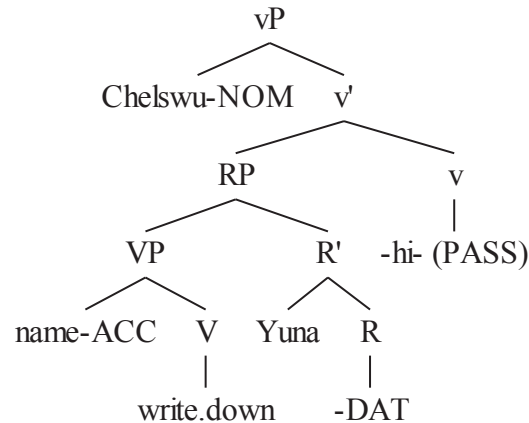
4.6.1 Shim’s (2008) Causative Approach

Adopting Belvin and den Dikken (1997) and den Dikken (2006), Shim (2008) argues that in Korean the APC is a causative sentence with an experiencer reading, which is

⁷⁵ Shim (2008) also discusses reflexive, middle, eventive-middle, and unaccusative readings in connection with the use of the suffix *-i* in Korean.

derived via an interpretive link between the nominative and the accusative NPs, as illustrated in (217).⁷⁶

(217) The structure of the APC (Modified from Shim 2008, Ex. 19)



According to Shim, the APC, just like causatives, forms a structure headed by a functional R(elator) head which has a reverse-predicate relation between the dative PP and the embedded predicate consisting of a lexical verb and the accusative NP; the dative marker is a realization of the R head.⁷⁷

In the structure (217), however, it is unclear how the projection behavior of the APC meaning is expected. While Shim suggests an interpretive link for an experiencer reading of the APC, this theory needs to be further elaborated to explain the behavior of the adversative meaning that escapes the scope of various semantic operators, as

⁷⁶ According to Shim (2008), ordinary morphological passives are also causatives, in which the accusative NP present in the APC is instead realized as *pro*.

⁷⁷ This is due to den Dikken (2006) according to which R(elator) mediates the relationship between a predicate and its subject in the base representation of the predication structure.

discussed in Section 4.3.3. Related to this argument, one might say that the structure above can be maintained by further treating the adversative meaning as projected as not-at-issue meaning. More importantly, however, this approach still fails to give a satisfactory account of the scope ambiguity of *tasi* ‘again’ in the APC. As discussed earlier, the event-modifying adverb *tasi* ‘again’ yields different readings depending on the attachment site, and the possible and the impossible readings provide direct evidence that the nominative NP is generated in a position lower than the dative PP (see Section 4.5.1).

Furthermore, this theory predicts that there should be no difference between the APC and the morphological causative with the exception of an interpretive link present in the APC. This prediction is not borne out, however. For example, the dative PPs in the APC and in morphological causatives are realized differently syntactically in that an implicit dative PP of the APC is understood as an existential quantifier, as discussed in Section 4.3.2, whereas an implicit dative PP of causatives is understood as *pro*, a discourse-given individual. Consider (218).

- (218) a. #Chelswu-ka **pro* manna-ss-nuntay nwukwu-i-n-ci molu-n-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom *pro* meet-Pst-but who-Cop-Pres-C not.know-Pres-Dec
 ‘Chelswu met **pro*, but I do not know whom s/he is.’
- b. #Julie-ka *e* kansik-ul mek-i-ess-nuntay, nwukwu-eykey-i-n-ci molu-n-ta.
 Julie-Nom snack-Acc eat-Cau-Pss-but who-Dat-Cop-Pres-C not.know-Pres
 ‘Julie caused *pro* to eat the snack, but I do not know whom.’
- c. Yuna-ka ilum-ul cek-hi-ess-nuntay nwukwu-eykey-i-n-ci
 Yuna-Nom name-Acc write.down-Pss-but who-Dat-Cop-Pres-C

molu-n-ta.

not.know-Pres-Dec

‘Yuna’s name was written down, but I do not know by whom.’

As the unacceptability of (218a) and (218b) indicates, a missing dative PP in the morphological causative, just like *pro*, cannot be an antecedent of the sluiced *wh*-phrase.⁷⁸ By contrast, a missing dative PP in the APC is indefinite, and is existentially quantified over, as shown in (218c).

⁷⁸ A limited number of morphological causative verbs (e.g., *know-causative*, *see-causative*) seem to allow for unspecified interpretations of the implicit causee. As Marcel den Dikken (p.c.) points out, in (18) the implicit causee can receive the indefinite interpretation in addition to the generic audience reading.

- (18) Jan liet weten dat hij niet kon komen. Dutch
Jan let know that he Neg can come
‘Jan let someone/people know that he could not come.’

The contrast between the causative and the passive regarding the status of the implicit argument is still available, because the passive sentence involves the simple existential interpretation of the implicit agent, and not the generic interpretation. Indeed, as shown in (19a), the causative in the context of sluicing, just like (218), is ungrammatical. Also, in (19b) the implicit causee is most naturally interpreted as ‘people’.

- (19) a. #ik heb gehoord dat Jan heft laten weten dat hij
I have heard that Jan has let know that he
niet kon komen maar ik weet niet wie
Negcan come but I know Neg who
‘I have heard that Jan has let know that he cannot come, but I do not know to whom.’
b. iedereen hoopt dat Jan zal laten weten dat hij niet kan komen.
everyone hope that Jan will let know that he Neg can come
‘Everyone hopes that Jan will let know that he cannot come.’

4.6.2 Kim's (2011) Instrumental Applicative Approach

Kim (2011) proposes an analysis in which like morphological causatives the APC is an instrumental applicative structure (which attaches outside of VP) and the dative PP is not an agent introduced by Voice but an instrumental argument of the event denoted by the verb. Crucial evidence for her claim is that *-ey*, which marks an inanimate dative PP in the APC, is equivalent phonologically to *-ey*, a static instrumental marker whose associated NP is interpreted as an instrument used by an agent, as discussed in Lee (1987); see (219). Adopting Lee (1987), Kim states that in (220) the dative PPs *Minswu* and *cha* 'car' in the APC, which are indicated by similar markers, can be interpreted as an instrument that an (unmentioned) agent makes use of.

- (219) na-nun sushpwul-ey koki-lul kwu-ess-ta.
I-Top charcoal.fire-Dat meat-Acc grill-Pst-Dec
'I grilled the meat on charcoal fire.' (Kim 2011, Ex. 25a, cited from Lee 1987)

- (220) Swuni-ka Minswu-eykey/cha-ey meli-lul nwul-li-ess-ta.
Swuni-Nom Minswu-Dat/car-Dat head-Acc press-Pss-Pst-Dec
'Swuni's head was pressed by Minswu/car.' (Kim 2011, Ex. 24b)

While I leave aside the question of whether *-ey* in (219) and (219) is truly an instrumental marker in Korean, I have to disagree with this line argument that treats the dative PP of the APC as an instrument, as it gives the wrong semantics for the APC.

First, it is evident to the native speakers of Korean that the sentence in (220) is not a close paraphrase of 'Swuni's head was pressed, and an (unmentioned) agent

made use of Minswu or the car as an instrument of the event’. At the same time, it is unclear what Kim (2011) meant by an agent; an agent is not specified in her analysis, and what she argues is instead that the dative PP cannot be an agent, the external argument introduced by VoiceP. Nevertheless, a fully natural paraphrase of (220) is ‘Swuni’s head was pressed by Minswu/by the car,’⁷⁹ and the dative PPs are conceived of as an entity that carries out the action.’

In addition, if the dative PP is an instrumental argument, one should be able to spell out an agent in the APC. We might suppose that the dative PP can also be an agent. Then, a sentence like (221) with two dative PPs should be acceptable, where the first dative *Yuna* is understood as an agent, while the second one *Mina* is an instrument. This is, however, contrary to fact, as shown in (221).

(221) *Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey Mina-eykey ilum-ul cek-hi-ess-ta.

Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat Mina-Dat name-Acc write.down-Pss-Pst-Dec

Intended: ‘Chelswu’s name was written down by Yuna, and Yuna used

Mina as an instrument.’

Likewise, one should be able to say, without making a contradiction, a sentence like (222), in which an agent of the APC is spelled out in the following clause. Again, this is semantically disallowed.

⁷⁹ Inanimate dative PPs are allowed in the context in which they are conceived of as a moving object.

- (222) Chelswu-ka Yuna-eykey meli-lul ttut-ki-ess-ko #nay-ka ha-yess-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom Yuna-Dat hair-Acc pluck-Pss-and I-Nom do-Pst-Dec
 Intended: ‘Chelswu’s hair was plucked, and Yuna was used as an
 instrument, and I did this.’

Therefore, once we consider the semantics of the APC, Kim’s approach looks semantically ill-conceived.

Furthermore, Kim draws evidence from what she calls an agent-oriented reflexive pronoun *caki* ‘self’ and an agent-oriented adverb like *ilpwule* ‘on purpose’, and supports her claim that the dative PP is not an agent, i.e., it is not introduced by Voice. As shown in (223), the dative PP, unlike the nominative NP, does not bind *caki* ‘self’.

- (223) Swuni₁-ka Mina₂-eykey caki_{1/*2}-uy pang-eyse ilum-ul cek-hi-ess-ta.
 Suni-Nom Mina-Dat self-Gen room-in name-Acc write.down-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Suni₁’s name was written down by Mina₂ in self’s_{1/*2} room.’ (Modified from
 Kim 2011, Ex. 43)

Similarly, Kim notes that the meaning of the so-called agent-oriented adverbs like *ilpwule* ‘on purpose’ are construed with the nominative NP, and not with the dative PP.

- (224) Yuna-ka Jangho-eykey pal-ul ilpwule palp-hi-ess-ta.
 Yuna-Nom Jangho-Dat foot-Acc on.purpose step.on-Pss-Pst-Dec

‘Yuna’s foot was stepped on by Jangho on purpose.’ (Yuna’s intention,
 *Jangho’s intention) (Modified from Kim 2011, Ex. 41a)

Kim takes these facts to suggest that in the proposed structure the nominative NP is the external argument of Voice and the dative PP is not, as only the nominative NP is compatible with the agent-oriented elements as shown above.

While I agree with the judgments Kim reports in her data, it needs to be explained how the nominative NP, which is clearly not an agent but an affectee in her argument, is treated as the argument of Voice given her assumption that Voice is an agent-introducer. Kim makes use of the so-called agent-oriented elements to identify the agenthood of the dative PP and also takes the result of the test as suggesting that the nominative NP is the argument of Voice. Nonetheless, it is evident from her analysis that the nominative NP is not an agent but an affectee.

Rather, it appears that the inability of the dative PP as an antecedent of *caki* in the APC is in fact a more general phenomenon that is also found in other types of passives. As illustrated in (225) for morphological passives and (226) for *ci-* passives (see also Footnote 67), it is difficult for the dative PP to be an antecedent of *caki* in passives, but not in their active counterparts. It should also be noted that while *caki* is known to permit (non-)subject bindings, different authors have in fact reported different judgments on similar or identical sentences with *caki* (see Park 1986; Yoon 1989; Cho 1994; Han and Storoshenko 2012; and numerous others).

- (225) a. Jangho₁-ka Chelswu₂-eykey caki_{1/*2} -uy pang-eyse mil-li-ess-ta.
 Jangho-Nom Chelswu-Dat self-Gen room-in push-Pss-Pst-Dec

‘Jangho₁ was pushed by Chelswu₂ in self’s_{1/*2} room.’

- b. Chelswu₂-ka Jangho₁-lul caki_{2/1}-uy pang-eyse mil-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom Jangho-Acc self-Gen room-in push-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Chelswu pushed Jangho in self’s room.’

- (226) a. Thim₁-i Yuna₂-ey uyhay caki_{1/*2}-uy kakey-eyse payk.pwul-i
 Tim-Nom Yuna-by self-Gen store-in hundred.dollar-Nom
 cwu-e-ci-ess-ta.
 give-eiPss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Tim₁ was given one hundred dollars by Yuna₂ in self’s_{1/*2} store.’
 b. Yuna₂-ka Thim₁-eykey caki_{1/2}-uy kakey-eyse payk.pwul-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 Yuna-Nom Tim-Dat self-Gen store-in hundred.dollar-Acc give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yuna₂ gave one hundred dollars to Tim₁ in self’s_{1/2} store.’

The situation with *caki* ‘self’ is further complicated by the fact that in passives if the nominative NP is inanimate, the dative PP can become an antecedent of *caki*. This is shown in (227).

- (227) a. ku khemphyuthe-ka haksayng-tul₁-eykey caki₁ kwa-eyse yuyonghakey
 that computer-Nom student-Pl-Dat self department-in usefully
 ssu-i-ess-ta.
 use-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘The computer was used usefully by the students₁ in self’s₁ department.’

b. saylowun sasil-i chyomsukhi₁-ey uyhay caki₁-uy ilon-ey tehay-ci-ess-ta.
 new fact-Nom Chomsky-by self-Gen theory-in add-ci-Pst-Dec
 ‘The new fact was added to the self’s₁ theory by Chomsky₁.’

From these observed facts, it seems that there might be some other restriction on the behavior of *caki*, for which a detailed discussion is clearly called for but is outside the scope of the present study.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, what is evident from the current discussion is that the inability of the dative PP to be an antecedent of *caki* ‘self’ is not a counter-example to the proposed claim that the dative PP is an agent of the APC, an observation in line with Park (1994) and Park (2005).

In addition, it has been argued (e.g., Lakoff 1971, Kallulli 2006, Bruenign and Tran 2013) that what have often been called agenthood tests (e.g., agent-oriented adverbs and purpose clauses) in the literature do not demonstrate decisively that the arguments they modify are the agent of a sentence (i.e., an external argument of the sentence). For instance, Kallulli (2006) and Bruening and Tran (2013) have discussed in detail that in many languages (e.g., English, Mandarin Chinese, Vietnamese, Italian, and German, etc) agent-oriented adverbs and purpose clauses can occur in a construction that either lacks an external argument (e.g., sentences with unaccusative

⁸⁰ One possible account of the behavior of *caki* presented above is that *caki*-binding has sensitivity to the “perspective” (Iida 1996) or “point of view” (Kuroda 1973 and Zribi-Hertz 1989) taken by the speaker in an utterance. The idea is that the subject is much more easily bound than other arguments because it is readily associated with the speaker’s point of view or with a focus effect. However, the binding with a non-subject is also possible if the speaker can identify himself/herself with the non-subject. I leave open further elaborations on this point.

verbs) or in which no agent is overtly expressed. Some of the examples are given in (228) through (231).

(228) Gianni e caduto caduto apposta. Italian
 John is fallen fallen on.purpose
 ‘John is fallen on purpose.’ (Folli and Harley 2004, Ex. 47)

(229) a. James got sick deliberately. (Bruening and Tran 2013, Ex. 51b)
 b. The Icemman froze solid deliberately. (Bruening and Tran 2013, Ex. 53c)

(230) a. Certified organic food cannot *intentionally* include GM ingredients.
 b. The scripts didn’t *intentionally* encourage low fertility. (Corpus COCA)

(231) haciman ilpwule nemeci-n saikhul senswu-nun cay.kyengki-lul kac-ko
 but on.purpose fall-And cycle player-Top re.game-Acc have-and
 kum.meytal-ul tta-ss-ta.
 gold.medal-Acc earn-Pst-Dec
 ‘But, the cycle player who fell on purpose had the game again, and earned a gold medal.’ (Google search)

Likewise, morphological causatives in Korean like (232), in which the causee *Yuna* is an agent of the reading of the book, show that not all agents are compatible with agent-oriented elements.

(232) Mary-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilpwule/uytocekulo ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 Mary-Nom Yuna-Dat book-Acc on.purpose/intentionally read-Caus-Pst-Dec
 ‘Mary₁ made Yuna₂ read the book intentionally_{1/*2}.’ (Modified from Son 2006,
 Ex. 37)

Furthermore, the test of purpose clauses, another test that has been used to detect the agentivity of sentences (e.g., Hong 1991), does not essentially decide the arguments with which they are associated are the agent of a sentence. For example, as shown in (233) from German what controls a PRO subject of the purpose clause need not be an agent.

(233) a. Die flenzen wachsen nach oben, um ans Licht zu kommen.
 The plants grow upwards in order to the light to come
 ‘Plants grow upwards in order to reach the light.’
 b. Eva ist gekommen um mir zu helfen.
 Eva is come in order me to help
 ‘Eva came to help me.’ (Kallulli 2006, Ex. 25)

In (233), the matrix subject is unaccusative as indicated by the fact that it takes the auxiliary *sein* ‘be’ and not *haben* ‘have’.

From these observed facts, we see that the so-called agent-oriented elements do not show decisively that their associated NPs must be an agent (i.e., an external argument introduced by Voice); rather, they appear to add some agentive meaning to sentences that don’t otherwise have it, or they are used to detect an animate participant

of the event described in an utterance (see Kallulli 2006; Bruening and Tran 2013 for details).

Finally, the instrumental applicative approach, like Shim’s causative approach presented above, faces challenges from the ambiguity of *tasi* ‘again’ in the APC, as it is based on a non-derivational approach to the APC.

To sum up, I have given arguments against the most recent version of the existing analysis, the unified approach that treats the APC as a causative to make my points stronger. While these analyses are attractive to pursue, they are unable to provide satisfactory explanations of the semantics of the APC and other differences between the APC and causatives.

4.7 The Passive-Causative Ambiguity

In this section, I make a brief comment about the passive-causative ambiguity. As mentioned above (see also Park 1994; Kim 1994; Yeon 2000; Oshima 2006; Shim 2008) there has been debate as to whether the APC is a causative sentence. As shown in (234), the morphological passive suffixes are homophonous with some of the causative morphemes (4 out of 7) and the morphological causative construction, like the APC, displays similar case-marking patterns.

- (234) a. Nominative NP Dative PP Accusative NP Verb-Pass/Caus-Dec
 b. Inho-ka Mina-eykey tali-ul nwul-li-ess-ta.
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat leg-Acc press-hi-Pst-Dec
 ‘Inho’s leg was pressed by Mina.’ (Oshima 2006, Ex. 20c)
 ?Causative reading: ‘Inho made Mina press his/someone else’s leg.’

Given these facts, the APC is, in principle, expected to receive a causative reading; this has often been taken as a starting point for the causative approach to the APC. But, what I attempt to point out here, apart from the arguments against the causative approach in the previous sections, is that unlike what has been previously assumed the causative interpretation of the APC, in fact, is much less pervasive. According to the twenty native speakers of Korean I have consulted and a web search, the APC which encodes a material part-whole possession relation usually has a passive reading; all native speakers of Korean comment on the data reported in the present paper that for a causative reading, the passive morpheme should be replaced with the periphrastic causative form *-key hata*. For example, all speakers find that in (235) only a passive reading is available (20/20). Four speakers note that the causative reading of the APC may be possible with a very limited number of verbs like *ilk-* ‘read’ and *po-* ‘see’; in such a case these verbs take the accusative NP which is related to the notion of “privacy” (i.e., a metaphorically extended part of the whole denoted by the referent of the first accusative NP).⁸¹

- (235) Yuna-ka Chelswu-eykey ilki/pimil nothu-lul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
 Yuna-Nom Chelswu-Dat diary/secret note-Acc read-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yuna’s diary/secret note was read by Chelswu.’
 ‘Yuna made Chelswu read the diary/secret letter.’

⁸¹ As cited throughout the section, this observation is not new to this study, and much work on the APC has noticed this sophisticated possession relation between the nominative and the accusative NPs in the APC.

The judgments I obtained are consistent with Kim (1994) and Yeon's (2000) point according to which the causative interpretation of the APC is in fact very limited. Kim (1994) notes that only 6 out of 81 transitive verbs permit the causative reading in the APC. It would be ideal to confirm the judgment of the APC and its causative interpretation I report here experimentally, and I leave this for future research.

4.8 Conclusion

A major consequence of my proposal is that it supports earlier analyses of the APC that treats it as a passive sentence and further captures in a straightforward manner the presence of the adversative meaning in the APC and not in the corresponding DOC, which has been noted but has not been given a principled analysis. As discussed in the current study, the adversative meaning of the APC, which is not clearly presupposed, projects beyond the scope of various truth-conditional operators, suggesting that it belongs to the not-at-issue meaning, like an implicature. Along this line of argument, the proposed analysis not only shares the insight of previous observations that the nominative NP of the APC is an affected experiencer, but it also captures the intuition of speakers that the adversative meaning of the APC adds some content to an utterance that is independent of the main proposition.

An additional advantage of the current approach to the APC is that it allows us to explain the scope ambiguity of *tasi* 'again' in the APC, a puzzling fact under the causative approach. This fact, under the derivational approach using a lexical decomposition theory, was captured directly by suggesting that the nominative NP is generated in a position lower than the dative PP.

Finally, the current approach has the potential to illuminate the semantic commonalities among what have been called passive(-like) constructions across a

number of East Asian languages, such as Japanese, Thai (in Chapter 5), and Vietnamese (Bruening and Tran, 2013), in which an adversative meaning is a level of meaning that is quite independent of the truth-conditional meaning of a sentence, like an implicature or a presupposition. Broadly, it allows the APC in Korean to be placed within the broader system of multidimensional semantics that is developing a growing amount of recent work, in which a specific morpheme may carry not-at-issue meaning.

Chapter 5

ADVERSITY CONSTRUCTIONS IN THAI

5.1 Introduction

This chapter offers additional empirical support for the theory of lexical decomposition in the syntax by exploring *doon* constructions in Thai. *Doon*, which is derived from a verb meaning ‘to come into contact,’ is commonly used in colloquial and casual speech to express an adversative meaning of the sentence. (236) are examples of *doon* constructions, divided into the long form with an overt agent (an NP following *doon*) and the short form without it (e.g., Kullavanijava 1974; Wongbaisaj 1979; Sudmuk 2003; Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom 2005; Prasithrathsint 2001, 2004, 2006).

- (236) a. Nít *dōon* Àchārā̄ càp. *Long form*
 Nit *doon* Achara catch
 ‘Nit was caught by Achara.’
- b. Nít *dōon* càp. *Short form*
 Nit *doon* catch
 ‘Nit was caught by someone.’

The sentences in (236) receive an interpretation that from the speaker's perspective, Nit was adversely affected by the event of Achara/someone catching him.

Thai is interesting because it offers another pertinent source of semantic evidence for the hypothesis that the adversative meaning that is pervasively found in other languages is a level of meaning that is projected on the not-at-issue tier (Korean, in this dissertation; German and Japanese in Bosse et al. 2012; Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese in Bruening and Tran 2013). In the sections to follow, *doon* constructions are decomposed into several verbal heads including a functional head that introduces the adversative meaning on the not-at-issue tier, in a fashion similar to the passive morphemes in Korean. Nonetheless, I shall show that Thai is distinguished from Korean in terms of the affected experiencer. In Thai what is affected adversely is a pragmatically salient entity that is relevant to the context but is not syntactically overt, allowing both inanimates and animates for its surface subject argument. This stands in sharp contrast to the APC in Korean; as discussed in Chapter 4, in Korean the entity being adversely affected is overtly expressed by the referent denoted by the surface subject NP.

Another important part of this chapter is a syntactic account for the structure of *doon* constructions. Along the line of research by Bruening and Tran (2013) on *bi* constructions in Vietnamese (what they refer to as a type of Chinese *bei*-type constructions) I shall show that in Thai only the short form qualifies as a true passive construction and the long form does not. In this, the two forms are distinguished by the complement the functional head *doon* selects: *doon* selects Pass(ive) in the short form and Voice in the long form. Despite this distinction, I shall show, following Sudmuk (2003), that *doon* constructions are analogous to Chinese *bei*-type constructions and are formed through a null operator A'-movement. Furthermore, I shall point out one intriguing syntactic property of *doon* constructions in which they

have what I dub the highest subject restriction, a restriction in which the A'-movement is not possible from a local subject position (but is possible from a local object and embedded subject and object positions). I argue that this results from an anti-locality condition imposed upon A'-movement, a condition banning movement that is too short (e.g., Abels 2003; Grohmann 2003; Bošković 2005; *inter alia*). I further discuss implications of this argument by extending it to other Chinese *bei*-type constructions discussed in the literature.

Before I proceed to the actual presentations, a few brief remarks are in order about *thuuk*, another morpheme in Thai used to convey some negative affectedness of the event described in a sentence. It differs from *doon* in several ways. First, the adversative meaning associated with *thuuk*, compared with *doon*, is known to be relatively weak and *doon* is more colloquial: Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005) describe that *doon* indicates a stronger sense of adversity. More recently, researchers like Prasithrathsint (2001, 2004, 2006) note that the adversative meaning associated with *thuuk* has been generalized semantically, the result of a process of grammaticalization of *thuuk* as a lexical verb, and it can be nowadays used in a neutral context, particularly in academic writing and newspaper. Because of this disassociation from the adversity, *thuuk* will not be a main concern of the current study. Nonetheless, some examples to be presented in this chapter may contain sentences with *thuuk*, particularly in discussing syntactic properties of *doon* constructions from previous work. Most attention in the literature has been paid to sentences with *thuuk*; the usual assumption being that *thuuk* can be used interchangeably with *doon* because they have similar syntactic properties.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. In Section 5.2, I introduce *doon* occurring in two types of constructions, the ordinary construction and the possessive construction, and establish that they come in both a long form and a short form. Section 5.3 provides essential semantic characteristics of *doon* constructions and shows that the adversative meaning is projected as a not-at-issue meaning. In Section 5.4 I give the details of the analysis of *doon* constructions in a way that is compatible with compositional interpretations of *doon* constructions. In Section 5.5, I turn to syntactic properties of *doon* constructions, and shall justify the structure advanced in the preceding section. Section 5.6 concludes this chapter.

5.2 Long Form and Short Form

In this section, I first show that *doon* occurs in two types of constructions: the ordinary *doon* and the possessive *doon*, both of which come in a long form with an overt agent and a short form without it. I then turn to the question of what it comes to mean grammatically when there is an overt agent and what it means when this agent is missing.

To begin, *doon* can occur in two types of constructions depending on the relation between the surface subject and a lower verb. One type is the ordinary construction where a surface subject is understood as a direct argument of a lower verb, as shown in (237). The other is the possessive construction in which a surface subject is the possessor of an argument of a lower verb, as shown in (238). The parentheses indicate that these two types come in both the long form and the short form.

(237) Nít *doōn* (Àchārā) c`ap Ordinary Construction

Nit *doon* (Achara) catch

‘Nit was caught by Achara/someone.’

(238) Àchārā̄ *doōn* (Nát) wĩ phǒm. Possessive Construction

Achara *doon* (Nat) comb hair

‘Achara’s hair was combed by Nat/someone.’

An ordinary *doon* construction like (237) receives the interpretation that Nit was caught by Achara/someone, and Nit suffered from it. It cannot mean that Achara caught someone else and Nit was adversely affected by it, where Nit is understood as merely indirectly involved in the event. Turning to possessive *doon* constructions like (238), it is important to establish a direct possession relation between the surface subject and an argument of the lower verb; that is, Achara is necessarily understood as the possessor of the hair. The sentence is infelicitous if the hair is understood as a body part of someone else.⁸²

Given these two types of *doon* constructions where the long form and the short form are both available, I shall suggest that only the short form qualifies as a true passive and the long form does not. As discussed in Chapter 4, an essential property of true passives is a deletion or demotion of an external argument, and promotion of object to a surface subject position is not a determining feature of passives (Comrie 1977; Perlmutter and Postal 1984; Bruening 2013; Bruening and Tran 2013; and

⁸² Note that unlike Korean in *doon* constructions the possession relation need not be in an inalienable possession relation.

among others).⁸³ With this assumption, I shall show that in the long form an overt agent has argument status, while in the short form a missing agent is an existential quantifier.

First, the short form has no external argument, and a missing argument in the embedded *doon* clause involves existential quantification over the unmentioned agent; it cannot be bound by the universal quantifier *thuk khon* ‘every person’ contained in the subject of the matrix clause. This is shown in (239).

- (239) *thúk khōn wǎǎŋ wǎa Àchārā cà? dōon tòj.*
 every person hope C Achara Fut *doon* punch
 ‘Everyone hopes that Achara will be punched (by someone).’
 *‘Everyone_i hopes that Achara will be punched by him_i.’

That the short form receives an existential interpretation is clearly manifested with sluicing constructions.⁸⁴ First, consider (240a), which shows that a missing argument of a sluiced *wh*-phrase must be indefinite as is the case in English (Chung et al. 1995) and Korean (see Chapter 4). (240b) and (240c) show that a missing argument can be neither a universal quantifier nor a null pronoun (i.e., a discourse-bound individual), respectively.

⁸³ With this assumption Bruening and Tran (2013) discuss that in Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese only the short form qualifies as a true passive construction, because while in the long form the overt agent, the NP following *bei* and *bì*, is present as a subject, in the short form a missing agent is understood as an existential quantifier.

⁸⁴ In this paper, I refer to a sentence like (240) as a sluicing construction but this terminology by no means indicates that the sluicing in Thai is syntactically comparable to its English counterpart.

- (240) a. chǎn dāyyīn wāa bāaŋ khōn tòj Jīm, tèε chǎn mǎj rúu wāa pēn khraǵ.
 1Sg hear C some Cl punch Jim but 1Sg Neg know C Cop who
 ‘I heard that someone punched Jim, but I don’t know who.’
- b. #chǎn dāyyīn wāa thúk khōn tòj Jīm, tèε chǎn mǎj rúu wāa pēn khraǵ.
 1Sg hear C every Cl punch Jim but 1Sg Neg know C Cop who
 #‘I heard that everyone punched Jim, but I don’t know who.’
- c. #chǎn dāyyīn wāa *pro* tòj Jīm, tèε chǎn mǎj rúu wāa pēn khraǵ.
 1Sg hear C punch Jim but 1Sg Neg know C Cop who
 #‘I heard that *pro* punched Jim, but I don’t know who.’

Consider now the short form. If in *doon* constructions an implicit argument is indefinite, the short form should be grammatical in the context of sluicing construction. This prediction is borne out, as shown in (241).

- (241) chǎn dāyyīn khaawlūu wāa Àchārā̄ *doon* tòj, tèε
 1Sg hear rumor C Achara *doon* punch but
 chǎn mǎj rúu wāa pēn khraǵ.
 1Sg Neg know Comp Cop who
 ‘I heard the rumor that Achara was punched, but I do not know by whom.’

In the long form, in contrast, an NP following *doon* (an external argument) is still present, and has argument status like a subject. Relevant evidence is drawn from a complex NP shift in Thai. According to Sudmuk (2003), in a simple sentence a heavy

object can undergo a complex NP shift, while a heavy subject cannot, as shown in (242) and (243), respectively.

(242) a. dæ̃æŋ sũũ nə̃sũũ c`aak n`oi.

Dang buy book from Noy

‘Dang bought a book from Noy.’

b. dæ̃æŋ sũũ c`aak n`oi nə̃sũũ thii phæ̃æŋ m`aak.

Dang buy from Noy book thii expensive very

‘Dang bought from Noy the book that is very expensive.’ (Sudmuk 2003, Ex.32)

(243) a. n`akrien thii maa s`aay mũaw`aannĩ sũũ nə̃sũũ c`aak n`oi.

student thii come late yesterday buy book from Noy

‘The student who came late yesterday bought a book from Noy.’

b. *sũũ nə̃sũũ c`aak n`oi n`akrien thii m`aa s`aay mũaw`aannĩ.

buy book from Noy student thii come late yesterday

‘The student who came late yesterday bought a book from Noy.’ (Sudmuk 2003, Ex.35)

(242a) shows that the direct object *nə̃sũũ* ‘book’ is immediately adjacent to a verb.

(242b) shows that if the object has a heavy modifier it can optionally move to a clause-final position. The same is, however, not true of a subject. As shown in (243a), when the subject *n`akrien* ‘student’ is associated with a heavy modifier, it must stay in

situ; as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (243b), the subject cannot undergo a complex NP shift.

Building on these facts, Sudmuk (2003) argues that an NP following *doon* is characterized as a subject because this NP, like a subject, is unable to undergo a complex NP shift, as shown in (244a).⁸⁵ Instead, it must stay in situ, as shown in (244b).

(244) a. *dǎǎŋ *thuuk/doon* tī [mǎǎ thī khǒ khǎw mā líaŋ].

Dang *thuuk/doon* hit mother that ask him come raise

‘Dang was hit by the mother who adopted him.’

b. dǎǎŋ *thuuk/doon* [mǎǎ thī khǒ khǎw mā líaŋ] tī.

Dang *thuuk/doon* mother that ask him come raise hit

‘Dang was hit by the mother who adopted him.’ (Sudmuk 2003, Ex.37b and Ex. 37c)

In addition, there is no evidence for the sequence *doon*-NP to act like a demoted PP, which should be possible if the long form is a true passive. As shown in (245), a putative PP may occur clause-initially and clause-finally, while as shown in (246) the sequence *doon*-NP cannot move to the sentence-initial position as a single constituent.

⁸⁵ Sudmuk’s (2003) data do not contain *doon*; but, she points out that *thuuk* has the same syntactic status as *doon*, which can replace it without a change in meaning.

(245) a. Nít kīn thū́rīan bōn tóʔ níi.

Nit eat durian on table this

‘Nit ate the durian on this table.’

b. bōn tóʔ níi Nít kīn thū́rīan.

on table this Nit eat durian

‘On this table, Nit ate the durian.’

(246) a. Àcháṛā̄ doōn Nít tòj.

Achara doon Nit punch

‘Achara was such that Nit punched her.’

b. *doōn Nít Àcháṛā̄ tòj.

doon Nit Achara punch

‘Achara was such that Nit punched her.’

Furthermore, *doon* itself acts as a verb and not as a preposition. For example, an ordinary preposition like *bon* ‘on’ cannot be combined with the negation marker *mǎj* for the sentence to be negated, as shown in (247); rather, the negation occurs with *doon*, a clear diagnostic for verbhood in Thai, as shown in (248) (Jenks 2011).

(247) *Nít kīn thū́rīan mǎj bōn tóʔ níi.

Nit eat durian Neg on table this

‘Nit did not eat the durian on this table.’

(248) Nít mǎj doōn Àcháṛā̄ khâa.

Nit Neg *doon* Achara kill

‘Nit was not killed by Achara.’

Moreover, *doon* can be the positive answer to a polar question, as shown in (250).⁸⁶ This is, however, not possible for a preposition, as shown in (249).

(249) a. Nít kīn thūrīan bōn tóʔ níi rǎʔ

Nit eat durian on table this Q

‘Did Nit eat the durian on this table?’

b. #bōn.

on

Intended: ‘Yes, he did.’

(250) a. Nít *dōon* khruū thāmthōd rǎʔ

Nit *doon* teacher punish Q?

‘Was Nit punished by the teacher?’

b. *dōon*.

doon

‘Yes, he was (he suffered from it).’

From these observed facts, we see that in the long from the overt agent has argument status like a subject; *doon* itself is clearly not a preposition and the sequence *doon*-NP does not behave like a PP.

⁸⁶ Thatnks to Peter Jenks (p.c.) for pointing this out to me.

Taken as a whole, various types of evidence considered in this section hint at the conclusion that only the short form qualifies as a true passive and the long form does not. In Section 5.4, I will take these facts to suggest that the NP following *doon* is the external argument of Voice, and when this NP is missing, Voice is existentially closed. Before proceeding further, I shall discuss essential characteristics of the meaning of *doon* constructions.

5.3 *Suffer as Not-At-Issue Meaning*

This section explains essential semantic properties of *doon* constructions in Thai. Section 5.3.1 shows that the affected experiencer interpretation is generated via pragmatic inferences. Section 5.3.2 demonstrates that the adversative meaning belongs to not-at-issue meaning. It follows from this that Thai is comparable to Korean in that the adversative meaning is projected; nonetheless, the two differ significantly in terms of what is adversely affected in the sentence.

5.3.1 *Semantics of Doon Constructions*

As introduced earlier, *doon* is used when speakers believe that the surface subject has suffered an unpleasant experience as a result of the event depicted in the sentence (e.g., Kullavanijava 1974; Wongbaisaj 1979; Sudmuk 2003; Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom 2005). In many cases, particularly with animate surface subjects, the surface subject itself is identified as adversely affected because it is the most salient entity.

- (251) a. Nít *doōn* (Àchāṛā) càp
 Nit *doon* (Achara) catch
 ‘Nit was caught (by Achara).’

- b. Àcháṛā *doōn* (Nát) wǐ phǒm.
 Achara *doon* (Nat) comb hair
 ‘Achara’s hair was combed (by Nat).’

For example, a sentence like (251a) receives an interpretation that from the speaker’s perspective, Nit was adversely affected by Achara catching him. Likewise, in (251b) Achara suffered as a result of Nat combing her hair.

However, identifying the affected experiencer is far less straightforward, especially when the surface subject NP is inanimate. As illustrated in (252), *doon* constructions, unlike the APC in Korean discussed in the previous chapter, allow their surface subject NP to be inanimate. In such a case, what is adversely affected is not the referent denoted by the surface subject NP. Rather, it is some unmentioned person who is not overtly expressed but is pragmatically relevant to the context. Consider (252).

- (252) a. tóʔ *doōn* (Starbucks) plian mǎj.
 table *doon* (Starbucks) change new
 ‘The table was changed to a new one by Starbucks.’
 b. chaekan *doōn* (maew) kuan pew.
 vase *doon* (cat) scratch surface
 ‘The vase’s surface was scratched by the cat.’

In (252a), the table itself is not identified as an experiencer or a sufferer that is adversely affected. Rather, what suffers from Starbucks changing the table is any

person pragmatically relevant to the context, for example, customers of Starbucks. In terms of the speaker's perspective, Starbucks changing the table had a negative effect on the customers of Starbucks. Likewise, (252b) receives an interpretation that in terms of the speaker's perspective the event of the cat scratching the surface of the vase was bad, and some person pragmatically relevant to the context suffered from it; for example, the owner of the vase was affected negatively by the cat scratching his/her beloved vase.

Consider further a sentence involving inanimates like (253), which has an interpretation that the ring itself did not suffer. From the speaker's perspective, finding the ring caused suffering to some pragmatically salient entity.

(253) [Context: Achara lost her wedding ring two months ago, since then she has been waiting for her wedding anniversary to get a new, 4K ring. But, today Achara found her ring in her son's drawer. She was so disappointed that the ring was found. If the ring were not found, she would have gotten a 4K-diamond ring.]

wææn *doon* phóp.

ring *doon* find

'The ring was found.'

Moreover, even when the surface subject is animate, the affected experiencer can be some unmentioned person pragmatically relevant to the context, rather than the referent denoted by the surface subject NP.

- (254) a. *luuk ní doon Nit cap.*
 kid this doon Nit catch
 ‘This kid was caught by Nit.’
- b. *Jim doon cot chu.*
 Jim doon write name
 ‘Jim’s name was written.’

In (254), what was affected by the event described in the sentences can be some unmentioned person who is distinguished from the surface subject NP, like the kid’s mother or Jim’s friends; Jim and the baby might not necessarily feel that the event was bad for them.

Hence, I argue that the affected experiencer interpretation is identified with some unmentioned person pragmatically relevant to the context. The surface subject is readily associated with the sufferer interpretation, and this is essentially pragmatic; if someone is caught, it is most likely that the “caughtee” is adversely affected. However, there are many cases in which the affected experiencer is not the surface subject NP itself but some unmentioned person distinguished from the surface subject NP. In this situation, the surface subject NP is merely the theme of the lexical verb in the clause. This contrasts sharply with what we find in Korean, in which the adversative meaning is expressed overtly by the referent denoted by the surface subject NP. Such a difference is due to the fact that *doon* constructions permit both inanimates and animates, whereas the APC in Korean is compatible only with animates.

5.3.2 Not-At-Issue Meaning

By applying the tests for not-at-issue meaning described in Chapter 1, I shall show that as in Korean the adversative meaning associated with *doon* constructions belongs to not-at-issue meaning, as illustrated in (255).

(255) Àchārā *doon* (Jīm) càp.

Achara *doon* (Jim) catch

At-issue meaning: ‘Achara was caught (by Jim).’

Not-at-issue meaning: ‘The event was bad for Achara; Achara (a contextually salient individual) suffered from the event.’

First, the adversative meaning of *doon* constructions cannot be questioned, as shown in (256).

(256) A: Àchārā *doon* Jīm càp rŭŭ?

Achara *doon* Jim catch Q?

‘Was Achara caught by Jim?’

B: Mãj.

Neg

‘No.’

(256) asks about whether Achara was caught by Jim. Answering *no* cannot mean that Achara was caught by Jim, but Achara did not suffer from it. This indicates that the speaker and the listener accept the not-at-issue meaning of ‘suffer’ irrespective of the answer to the question.

Second, the meaning contributed by *doon* alone cannot be targeted by the negation *maj*.

(257) Àchārā māḥ dōōn Jīm cāp.

Achara Neg doon Jim catch

‘Achara was not caught by Jim.’

(257) receives an interpretation that Achara was not caught by Jim; it cannot mean that Achara was caught by Jim, but Achara did not suffer from the event. This illustrates that negation can negate only the main assertion of the sentence, not the adversative meaning.

Third, the adversative meaning takes scope over conditionals.

(258) a. thāa khūn dōōn Nit cāp chān cā? hāj ṇōōn khūn.

if 2Sg doon Nit catch 1Sg Fut give money return

‘If you are caught by Nit, I will return your money.’

b. thāa Nit cāp khūn chān cā? hāj ṇōōn khūn.

if Nit catch 2Sg 1Sg Fut give money return

‘If Nit catches you, I will return your money.’

As illustrated in (258a), the condition under which you will get money back is that Nit catches you, which is the same condition that arises in the ordinary counterpart as in (258b). This means that the meaning with an adversative interpretation contributed by *doon* constructions makes no contribution to the conditional clause.

One might counter that *doon* directly assigns a thematic role like an affectee or a sufferer to the NP in its specifier, by further treating this experiencer interpretation on the surface subject NP as belonging to not-at-issue meaning.⁸⁷ While this line of hypothesis has been standard in the literature of Chinese *bei*-type constructions, I provide empirical evidence that poses a challenge to this view, which is however explained by the proposed analysis. First, recall from Chapter 1 (see also Chapter 3 and Chapter 4) that not-at-issue meaning is unavailable for a *wh*-question. The alternative analysis, then, makes the prediction that the surface subject NP cannot be questioned, as it gets the sufferer role from *doon*, and this meaning belongs to not-at-issue. This is contrary to fact, however. As illustrated in (259), it is possible to ask about the surface subject NP using a *wh*-word.

- (259) A: khraj *doōn* Jīm càp?
 who doon Jim catch
 ‘Who was caught by Jim?’
 B: Àchārā.
 Achara
 ‘Achara’

Such a fact does not pose a challenge to the current argument. Because it is not argued that the morpheme *doon* assigns a thematic role to the surface subject NP, the

⁸⁷ Understanding the adversative meaning like this way has become standard since Huang’s (1999) influential work on *bei* constructions in Mandarin Chinese. More recently, Bruening and Tran (2013) have offered supporting evidence that challenges this view in both Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese.

adversative meaning associated with *doon* constructions is construed with some pragmatically salient entity.

In addition, as shown above, *doon* constructions are compatible with inanimates, and in such cases the affected experiencer is not the referent denoted by the surface subject NP but some unmentioned person distinguished from the surface subject NP, under which the surface subject NP is merely the theme of the lexical verb in the clause.

These examples thus show that similar to the adversative meaning of the Korean APC, the adversative meaning associated with *doon* constructions is not the main point of the utterance, but rather is secondary content which is projected, like an implicature or a presupposition.

5.4 Proposal

Based on the semantic properties of *doon* constructions discussed above, I propose that *doon* constructions are decomposed into several verbal heads involving the functional head *doon*, which, similar to passive morphemes in Korean, introduces the adversative meaning on the not-at-issue tier. However, what is affected adversely in Thai is different from what we find in Korean. As discussed earlier, in Thai the affected experiencer is some pragmatically salient entity who is not syntactically overt but is relevant to the context. The apparent association, then, of the surface subject NP with the sufferer role is derived via pragmatic inferences, as there are many cases in which the sufferer is not the surface subject NP itself but some unmentioned person distinguished from the surface subject NP. This is however not true of the APC in Korean, in which the surface subject NP itself is identified as adversely affected. Such

a difference is implemented in the proposed semantics of *doon* in Thai, as formalized in (260).

(260) Semantics of *Doon*

$\llbracket doon \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle e, st \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda e. P(x)(e): \exists y. \exists e' [Suffer(e') \& Exp(y, e') \& RESULT(e')(e)]$

(261) Àchārā̄ *doon* (Jīm) càp.

Achara *doon* (Jim) catch

At-issue: ‘Achara was caught (by Jim).’

Not-at-issue: ‘The event was bad for Achara (i.e., a pragmatically salient individual).’

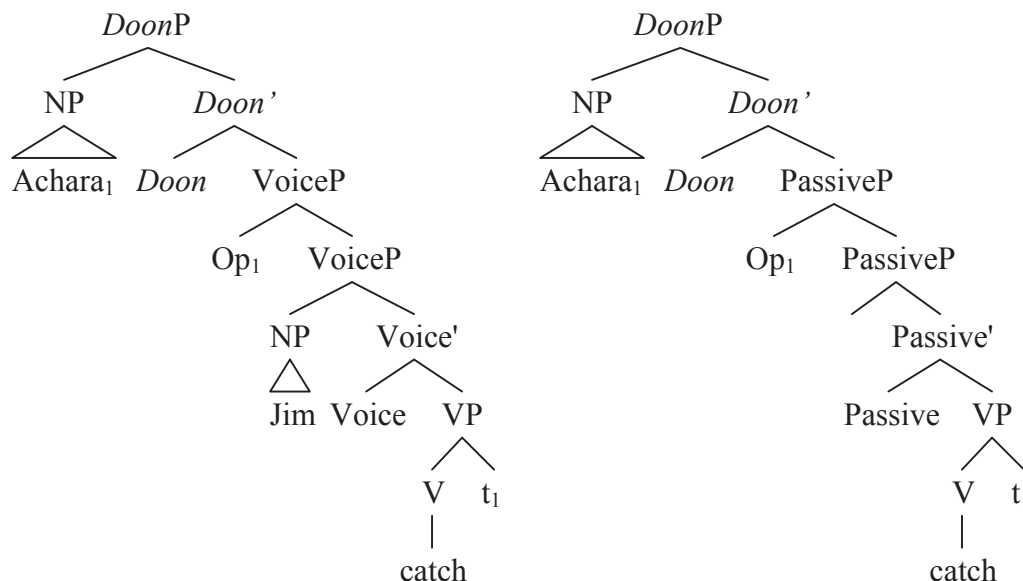
This head introduces two tiers of meaning in the semantics: on the at-issue tier, *doon* is predicated of the NP in its specifier, asserting that the property denoted by its complement is assigned to the NP and on the not-at-issue tier, some person pragmatically relevant to the context suffered from the event. In the proposed semantics, this sufferer is existentially closed and therefore never surfaces as a syntactic argument. A natural paraphrase of (261) would be ‘there was a catching event *e* with Jim as the agent and Achara as the theme, and *e* resulted in a suffering event *e'* where an entity *y* that is existentially quantified suffered; *y* could be Achara.’

Related to the existential quantification of the affected experiencer interpretation here, one might wonder how much the speaker has to know about “pragmatically salient entity” for the well-formedness of *doon* sentences. The native speakers of Thai I have consulted point out that understanding *doon* constructions with

an indefinite person in the context is a sufficient condition to yield the sentence grammatical; the speaker does not have to be aware of the exact identity of the affected experiencer (e.g., his/her name). Recall from (252) that the sufferer could just be customers or users of Starbucks. Thus, this affected experiencer interpretation in *doon* constructions is distinguished from the implicit beneficiary discussed in Chapter 3. In *give*-type benefactives, the implicit indefinite argument is introduced in the form of a referential index attached to it. In contrast, the affected experiencer is interpreted existentially.

In addition, recall from Section 5.2 that the short form qualifies as a passive sentence, whereas the long form does not. What this means in the structure I propose is that the two forms are distinguished by the complement *doon* selects: *doon* selects Voice in the long form and Passive in the short form. I shall also argue that syntactically, *doon* constructions (both the long form and the short form) involve a null operator A'-movement (based on Sudmuk 2003), which will be explicated in the section to follow. The proposed structure is given in (262).

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (262) a. Àchārā̄ dōn Jīm cāp. | b. Àchārā̄ dōn cāp. |
| Achara <i>doon</i> Jim catch | Achara <i>doon</i> catch |
| ‘Achara was caught by Jim.’ | ‘Achara was caught by someone.’ |



As illustrated in (262), a null operator coreferential with the surface subject originates in a position in the lower clause, and A'-moves to the adjoined to VoiceP. The VoiceP, which is the complement of *doon*, is then turned into a predicate by the movement of a null operator. The surface subject is itself base-generated in its superficial position (an A-position) and related to a null operator through predication.⁸⁸

The compositional interpretations of (262a) and (262b) respectively are represented in (263) for the long form and (264) for the short form. Applying function application, the sentence is true if the property of Jim's catching is assigned to the NP in the Spec-*DoonP*, and Achara suffered from the event. The same interpretation holds in the short form, except that the NP following *doon* is absent, in which it is understood as an existential quantifier discussed earlier.

⁸⁸ I assume that the embedded structure in *doon* constructions may not be a full-fledged clause because this clause disallows negation, modals, and tense markers to occur within it (see also Jenks 2011 for Thai and Bruening and Tran 2013 for Vietnamese).

(263) Long form

a. Àchārā̄ dōon Jīm cāp̄.

Achara *doon* Jim catch

‘Achara was caught by Jim.’

b. $\llbracket t_1 \rrbracket^g = g(1)$

$\llbracket VP \rrbracket^g = \lambda e. \text{catch}(e). \text{Theme}(g(1), e)$

$\llbracket \text{Voice} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{Agent}(x, e)$

$\llbracket \text{Voice}' \rrbracket^g = \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{catch}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(g(1), e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(x, e)$

$\llbracket \text{Jim} \rrbracket = \text{Jim}$

$\llbracket \text{VoiceP} \rrbracket^g = \text{catch}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(g(1), e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(\text{Jim}, e)$

$\llbracket \text{VoiceP}(a) \rrbracket = \lambda x. \text{catch}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(x, e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(\text{Jim}, e)$

$\llbracket \text{Doon} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle e, st \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda e. P(x)(e): \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)]$

$\llbracket \text{Doon}' \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{catch}(e). \text{Theme}(x, e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(\text{Jim}, e): \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)]$

$\llbracket \text{DoonP} \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{catch}(e). \text{Theme}(\text{Achara}, e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(\text{Jim}, e): \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)]$

(264) Short form

a. Àchārā̄ dōon cāp̄.

Achara *doon* catch

‘Achara was caught.’

b. $\llbracket t_1 \rrbracket^g = g(1)$

$\llbracket VP \rrbracket^g = \lambda e. \text{hit}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(g(1), e)$

$[[\text{Passive}]] = \exists z. \lambda e. \text{Agent}(x,e)$

$[[\text{Passive}']]^g = \exists z. \text{hit}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(g(1),e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(z,e)$

$[[\text{PassiveP}]]^g = \exists z. \text{hit}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(g(1),e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(z,e)$

$[[\text{PassiveP}(a)]] = \lambda x. \exists z. \text{hit}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(x,e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(z,e)$

$[[\text{Doon}]] = \lambda P_{\langle e, st \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda e. P(x)(e): \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(y,e') \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)]$

$[[\text{Doon}']] = \lambda x. \exists z. \text{catch}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(x,e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(z,e): \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)]$

$[[\text{DoonP}]] = \exists z. \text{catch}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(\text{Achara},e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(z,e): \exists y. \exists e' [\text{Suffer}(e') \ \& \ \text{Exp}(y, e') \ \& \ \text{RESULT}(e')(e)]$

The same A'-movement of a null operator takes place for the possessive *doon* constructions.

(265) Àcháṛā̄ doōn (Nát) wǎi phǎm.

Achara doon (Nat) comb hair

‘Achara’s hair was combed (by Nat).’

In this case, however, since the surface subject is the possessor of the argument of the lower verb, I assume that a null operator is generated inside the argument of a lower verb and A'-moves to the adjoined VoiceP.⁸⁹ Then, as in ordinary *doon* constructions, the complement of *doon* in possessive constructions is turned into a predicate by

⁸⁹ I leave the issue of whether Thai has possessor raising.

movement of a null operator, and the surface subject, which is itself base-generated in its A-position, is associated with a null operator via predication.

Under the analysis endorsed here, for ordinary and possessive *doon* constructions, both their long form and short form receive the same semantic analysis; they convey the adversative meaning contributed by *doon*. The long form and the short form are, however, syntactically distinguished from each other by the type of the complement that *doon* selects.

5.5 Essential Syntactic Properties

I now turn to syntactic properties of *doon* constructions, and shall justify the proposed structure in (262) by drawing on various types of evidence that illustrates that the manifested movement is A'-movement of a null operator and not a movement of a surface subject itself. Section 5.5.1 gives evidence for A'-movement. 5.5.2 shows that this movement involves a null operator. Section 5.5.3 provides an account of a highest subject restriction, a restriction in which movement associated with *doon* constructions cannot take place from a highest subject position. Section 5.5.4 discusses further implications of this proposal along with data from other Chinese *bei*-type constructions discussed in the literature.

5.5.1 A'-movement

As discussed in Sudmuk (2003), *doon* constructions, both in ordinary and possessive forms, involve unbounded dependencies across clauses and obey island constraints.

First, *doon* constructions are unbounded, meaning that the local dependency can extend across clause boundaries. As illustrated in (266), a gap can occupy the embedded subject position as in (266a) and the embedded object positions as in (266b)

and (266c), in addition to a local object position, as shown earlier (see the example (236)). Note that a gap must be coreferential with a surface subject; it may alternate with an overt pronoun (i.e., a resumptive pronoun) or a repeated name.⁹⁰

(266) a. Jīm₁ *doōn* tāmruət sǝŋsǎj wāa⁹¹ (khǎw₁) tīi Nit.

Jim *doon* police suspect C (3Sg) hit Nit

‘Jim₁ was such that the police suspected that he₁ hit Nit.’

b. Nít₁ *doōn* tāmruət sǝŋsǎj wāa Jīm tīi (khǎw₁).

Nit *doon* police suspect C Jim hit (3Sg)

‘Nit₁ was such that the police suspected that Jim hit her₁.’

c. Àchārā₁ *doōn* mǝmót sǝŋ Nát pāj tət níu (khǝŋ khǎw₁).

Achara *doon* witch send Nat go cut finger (Poss 3Sg)

‘Achara₁ was such that the witch sent Nat to cut her₁ finger.’

One interesting point to note is that a gap cannot occupy a local subject position. As illustrated in (267), a surface subject cannot be associated with a local subject in both ordinary and possessive constructions.

(267) a. *Nát₁ *doōn* (khǎw₁) tǝj Àchārā.

Nat *doon* (3Sg) punch Achara

⁹⁰ There is a preference among the native speakers of Thai I consulted to not pronounce a repeated name unless some emphasis is needed. Also, a gap may not be pronounced if it occurs in a local object position, whereas it may be pronounced, optionally, if it occurs in an embedded position.

⁹¹ See Jenks (2005) for the discussion on *waa*.

Intended: ‘Nat was such that he punched Achara (and he suffered from it).’

b. *Nát₁ dōōn lûuk (khǝǝŋ khǝw₁) lāā̀òk càk ɲāan.

Nat doon kid (Poss 3Sg) quit from job

Intended: ‘Nat was such that his kid quit the job (and he suffered from it).’

Native speakers I have consulted find (267a) completely ungrammatical; the sentence cannot receive the interpretation in which the surface subject is identified as the subject of the embedded clause, i.e., Nat punched Achara and Nat suffered from this event, where the surface subject is identified as the subject of the embedded clause. The same is true of the possessive construction. One cannot say (267b) to mean that Nat’s kid quit his job and Nat suffered from this event, under the interpretation that the surface subject is understood as the possessor of the local subject.

Thus, the data in (266) are in sharp contrast with those in (267), in which a gap is banned in a local, highest subject position, even though it occurs elsewhere. For now, let us call this restriction the highest subject restriction.⁹² I put aside its theoretical implications for now, but will return to this in Section 5.5.3.

⁹² One might say that the restriction here may not be a highest subject restriction; instead it is a restriction on null operators being subjects (whether it is high or low). For example, a null operator is a proleptic object and is semantically related to a coreferential pronoun in the embedded clause (e.g., *the police suspected of him that he hit the kid*). Marcel den Dikken (p.c.) points out citing Stowell (in preparation) that in English a null operator resists being a subject in *tough* constructions: **John is tough to think ___ would kiss Mary*. However, this view does not seem to pan out. First, there is a clear judgment contrast, when a null operator occupies in a local subject position and an embedded subject position, as shown in the text. Second, if a null operator occurs as a proleptic object, it should be able to alternate with an overt pronoun; this is contrary to fact, however.

(20) *Jīm₁ dōōn tāmruàt sǝŋsǝj Op/khǝw₁ wâa khǝw₁ tīi Nít.

In addition, although there is no bound on the distance between the surface subject NP and the gap, this unbounded dependency is sensitive to island constraints. As shown in (268), the movement out of a relative clause island and an adjunct clause, a typical strong island considered in the literature (e.g., Chomsky 1977) is not permitted; also, a resumptive pronoun does not rescue the island violation.⁹³

- (268) a. **Jīm₁ doōn/thuuk khruū tāmnì nákrīanthî tòj (khăw₁).*
 Jim *doon/thuuk* teacher scold student Rel punch (3Sg)
 ‘Jim₁ was such that the teacher scolded the student who punched him₁.’
 b. **Àchārā₁ doōn/thuuk khruū glūmcāj phrô? nákrīan tòj (khăw₁).*
 Achara *doon/thuuk* teacher worry because student punch (3Sg)
 ‘Achara was such that the teacher worried because the student punched her.’

(268a) is ungrammatical: this movement operates across a relative clause island. On the assumption that relative clauses in Thai involve A’-movement of a relative head to the position of Spec-CP (see Jenks 2011 for the detailed discussion on the relative clause in Thai)⁹⁴, it is predicted that in (268a) a null operator cannot A’-move, as this

Jim *doon* police suspect 3Sg C 3Sg hit Nit
 ‘Jim₁ was such that the police suspected that he₁ hit Nit.’ Modified from (266)

⁹³ Jenks (to appear) makes a similar point for relative clauses in Thai that a resumptive pronoun of relative clauses does not lead to a complete grammaticality, an observation against Hoonchamlong (1991) in which resumption is freely available in relative clauses in Thai.

⁹⁴ Jenks (2011) shows that Thai relativization is naturally accounted for under a head-raising analysis in which a relative NP originating inside the relative clause A’-moves to the position of Spec-CP.

position is occupied by the moved relative NP *nakrian* ‘the student’. In a similar vein, (268b) is ungrammatical because of the adjunct island introduced by *phrɔʔ* ‘because’.

5.5.2 Null Operator Movement

Having established that *doon* constructions involve A'-movement, I proceed to demonstrate that this movement is a movement of a null operator and not a movement of a surface subject itself, by developing Sudmuk's (2003) observation on *thuuk* constructions. Key support for a null operator movement is drawn from a fact regarding variable binding in which a surface subject always acts as though it is in an A-position, the position that binds its variable in the lower clause.⁹⁵ Consider (269).

- (269) a. *tæələ́ khōn doon mēē khɔ̌ŋ khaŋ tīi.*
 each person doon mother Poss 3Sg hit
 ‘Each person was hit by his mother.’
- b. **luúk khɔ̌ŋ khaŋ doon tæələ́ mēē tīi.*
 kid Poss 3Sg doon each mother hit
 ‘His kid was hit by each mother.’

(269a) is grammatical because the quantifier contained in the higher clause can bind a variable in the lower clause. In contrast to this, (269b) is ungrammatical because the quantifier embedded in the lower clause cannot bind its variable contained in the higher clause. Notice also that the grammaticality of (269a) would not follow if one

⁹⁵ Note that the sentence (269b) is grammatical without the variable binding. For example, it is grammatical under the reading in which a particular mother had her hair combed by everyone.

postulates that a surface subject is itself moved; since the movement of the quantifier *tææla khon* ‘each person’ would cross its coreferential pronoun. This gives rise to a weak crossover effect, resulting in ungrammaticality of the sentence, contrary to fact.

The same obtains for the possessive construction.

(270) a. *thúk khōn dōōn mæ̀æ khǝ́ŋ khaŵ wĩ phǝm.*

every Cl *doon* mother Poss 3Sg comb hair

‘Everyone’s hair was combed by his (own) mother.’

b. **mæ̀æ khǝ́ŋ khaŵ dōōn thúk khōn wĩ phǝm.*

mother Poss 3Sg *doon* every Cl comb hair

‘His mother’s hair was combed by everyone.’

In (270a), the quantifier *thúk khōn* ‘everyone’ in the higher clause can bind its variable *mæ̀æ ǝ́ŋ khaŵ* ‘his mother’ in the lower clause. In contrast, the ungrammaticality of (270b) indicates that the quantifier in a lower clause cannot bind its variable in a higher clause. Again, this contrast cannot follow if what undergoes the movement is a surface subject itself.

Thus, the evidence from the data above strongly suggests that the A’-movement that takes place in *doon* constructions is a null operator movement; a surface subject is itself base-generated in its superficial position (an A-position) and related to a null operator through predication.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Note that Sudmuk (2003) treats *doon/thuuk* constructions as *tough* constructions in English based on unbounded dependency and obeying the island constraints, as discussed in the text. I disagree with calling them *tough* constructions, however, as *doon* (and *thuuk*) constructions display quite different syntactic properties from *tough*

5.5.3 Highest Subject Restriction⁹⁷

In this section I finally return to the highest subject restriction noted in Section 5.5.1, a restriction in which in *doon* constructions a gap (often alternating with a resumptive pronoun) cannot occupy a local, highest subject position, but it can occur elsewhere (i.e., local object and embedded subject and object positions). In what follows, I further examine the relevant data and argue that this restriction results from an anti-locality condition imposed upon the A'-movement of a null operator, a condition banning movement that is too short (Abels 2003; Grohmann 2003; Bošković 2005; *inter alia*).

First, ordinary and possessive *doon* sentences like (271) follow, showing that a gap is banned from a local, highest subject position.

(271) a. *Nát_i *doon* (khǎw_i) tǒj Àchārā.

Nat *doon* (3Sg) punch Achara

Intended: 'Nat was such that he punched Achara, and this was bad for Nat.'

b. *Nát *doon* (khǎw) rǒŋhǎj.

Nat *doon* (3Sg) cry

Intended: 'Nat was such that he cried, and this was bad for Nat.'

c. *Nít *doon* tǒk bāndāj.

Nit *doon* fall stairs

predicates in English, as discussed in the chapter (e.g., the long form and the short form and the highest subject restriction).

⁹⁷ The highest subject restriction in Thai is different from an Irish-type highest subject restriction (McCloskey 1990), the restriction that a resumptive pronoun cannot occupy a subject position immediately adjacent to its binding; however, a gap can occupy this position.

Intended: ‘Nit was such that he fell on stairs, and this was bad for Nit.’

d. *Nít *dōon* pùaj.

Nit *doon* sick

Intended: ‘Nit was such that he was sick, and this was bad for Nit.’

(272) a. *Nát₁ *dōon* lûuk (khǝǝŋ khǝw₁) tòj Àchārā.

Nat *doon* kid (Poss 3Sg) punch Achara

Intended: ‘Nat was such that his kid punched Achara, and this was bad for Nat.’

b. *Nít₁ *dōon* lûuk (khǝǝŋ khǝw₁) rǝŋhǝj̃.

Nit *doon* kid (Poss 3Sg) cry

Intended: ‘Nit was such that his kid cried, and this was bad for Nit.’

c. *Àchārā₁ *dōon* rǝt (khǝǝŋ khǝw) hǝj̃.

Achara *doon* car (Poss 3Sg) disappear

Intended: ‘Achara was such that her car disappeared, and this was bad for Achara.’

Ordinary *doon* constructions like (271) are ungrammatical, in which a gap occurs as the subject of a transitive verb like *tòj* ‘punch’ in (271a); the subject of an unergative verb like *rǝŋhǝj̃* ‘cry’ in (271b); and the underlying object of an unaccusative predicate such as *tòk* ‘fall’ and *pùaj* ‘sick’ in (271c) and (271d), respectively. Likewise, the possessive *doon* constructions in (272) are ill-formed, in which a gap is the possessor of the subject of the transitive verb *tòj* ‘punch’; the possessor of the subject of the unergative verb *rǝŋhǝj̃* ‘cry’; and the possessor of the underlying object

of the unaccusative verb *haĵ* ‘disappear’, as illustrated in (272a), (272b), and (272c), respectively.

From these observed facts, we wonder why the subject position displays such a remarkable restriction. Adopting the idea that some movement needs to respect an anti-locality condition, the restriction that bans movement that is too short (e.g., Bošković 1994, 1997, Murasugi & Saito 1995, Saito & Murasugi 1999, Grohmann 2003, *inter alia*)⁹⁸ I shall argue that the highest subject restriction is a consequence of the anti-locality condition operative in the formation of *doon* constructions. The formal definition of the anti-locality condition I establish is given in (273).⁹⁹

- (273) a. The anti-locality condition: in a movement chain $\alpha_i \dots \beta_i$ α and β may not be minimally dominated by the same XP.
- b. X is minimally dominated by YP iff YP dominates X and there is no ZP such that ZP dominates X and YP dominates ZP.

According to the condition in (273), a null operator is banned from a local subject position because the movement chain (α, β) occurs within the same projection VoiceP.

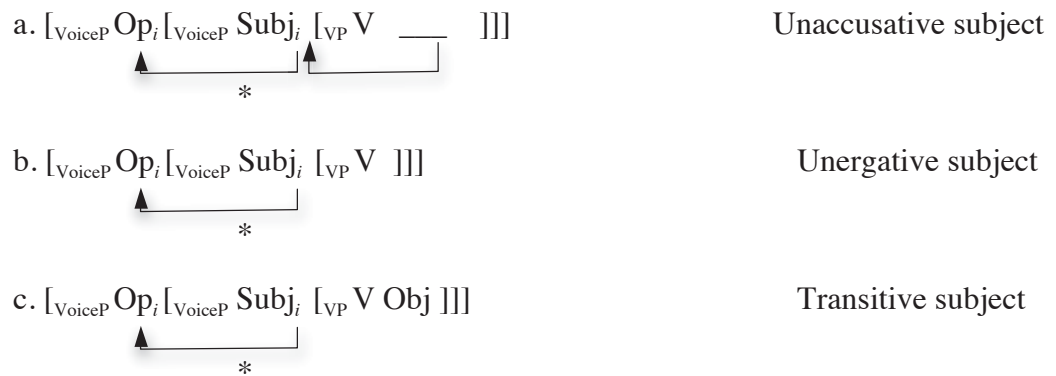
⁹⁸ Murasugi and Saito (1995), Saito and Murasugi (1999), and Bošković (1994, 1997) propose that a specifier of XP cannot be adjoined locally to that same XP. Similarly, Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) and Abels (2003) have motivated a ban on movement from a complement position of XP to the specifier of XP. Grohmann (2003) offers a different conception of anti-locality, where movement chains contained entirely within a single domain of the clause (vP, TP, and CP) are banned, again enforcing a constraint against movements which are in some sense “too close.”

⁹⁹ Thanks to Benjamin Bruening.

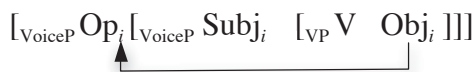
In contrast, a null operator can move from a local object position, as this movement operates across different maximal projections.

Let us consider in more detail, with schematic representations (274) and (275), how the condition in (273) is at work with regard to the A'-movement occurring in different positions.

(274) A'-movement of (in)transitive subjects



(275) A'-movement of a transitive object



Consider first (274). Assuming that an unaccusative subject is generated in object position and moves to Spec-VoiceP¹⁰⁰, a null operator which is coreferential with an unaccusative subject A'-moves to the adjoined VoiceP. However, this A'-movement is ruled out, as it is a violation of the anti-locality condition stated in (273). Likewise,

¹⁰⁰ I do not make any argument that unaccusative subjects cannot move to an A-bar position adjoined to VoiceP directly from within VP. I leave this future study and for the present analysis assume that unaccusative subjects first move to Spec-VoiceP.

A'-movement from the subject position of unergative and transitive verbs is not possible. As represented in (274a) and (274b), a null operator moves locally from Spec-VoiceP to the adjoined VoiceP, thereby violating the anti-locality condition. By contrast, as illustrated in (275), A'-movement from object position is allowed because the movement chain occurs across different projections, VP and VoiceP. In a similar vein, long-distance movement of a null operator is readily captured; since it occurs from inside VP, no anti-locality constraint is incurred.

Thus, the highest subject restriction in Thai is captured straightforwardly with the anti-locality constraint imposed on the A'-movement of a null operator.

5.5.4 Comparative Perspective to Highest Subject Restriction

In the previous section, I have argued that the highest subject restriction results from the anti-locality condition imposed on the A'-movement of a null operator. Related to this argument, this raises the question whether the same restriction is attested in other Chinese *bei*-type constructions like in Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese. Semantically, *doon* constructions pattern like Vietnamese *bị* and Chinese *bei* constructions (Bruening and Tran 2013) in that the adversative meaning is not-at-issue meaning. Sudmuk (2003) has also shown that *doon* constructions are analogous to Mandarin Chinese *bei* constructions regarding A'-dependent properties, as further developed in the current study (see Sections 5.5.1 and 5.5.2). Therefore, if these analyses are the right ones, one important task is to see how Chinese *bei*-type constructions vary regarding the highest subject restriction that is found in Thai. In what follows, I present a basic sketch of the syntactic properties of Vietnamese *bị* and Mandarin Chinese *bei* constructions relevant to the discussion of the highest subject

restriction, followed by my argument that the difference among the Chinese *bei*-type constructions boils down to the nature of a null operator in syntax.

First, the Vietnamese *bị* and the Mandarin Chinese *bei* constructions, just like Thai, involve long-distance dependencies (e.g., Ting 1998; Huang 1999; Simpson and Ho 2008; Bruening and Tran 2013). Note that Her (2009) and Bruening and Tran (2013) show, contra Huang (1999), that the short form of *bei* can also be long distance. For example, (276) and (277) show that a gap can occupy local object and embedded object positions.

(276) a. Nam *bị* Nga đánh. Vietnamese

Nam *bị* Nga hit

‘Nam was hit by Nga.’ (Simpson and Ho 2008, Ex. 11)

b. Nam *bị* nghi la da co gian diep gap no.

Nam bi suspect C Asp exist spy meet him

‘Nam suffers from someone suspecting that a spy met him.’ (Bruening and Tran 2013, Ex. 37c)

(277) a. Zhangsan *bei* Lisi da le. Mandarin Chinese

Zhangsan *bei* Lisi hit Perf

‘Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.’ (Huang 1999, Ex. 1 and 2)

b. Zhangsan *bei* huaiyi you ren zai genaong ta.

Zhangsan *bei* suspect have person Prog follow 3

‘Someone suspects that there’s a person following Zhangsan.’ (Bruening and Tran 2013, Ex. 41b)

However, Vietnamese makes a sharp contrast with Mandarin Chinese and Thai in that a gap is allowed to occupy a local subject position (see Simpson and Ho 2008 and Bruening and Tran 2013 for further relevant data).

(278) a. Nga *bị* ốm/bệnh. Vietnamese

Nga *bi* sick/ill

‘Nga got sick/ill.’ (Simpson and Ho 2008, Ex. 32)

b. Nam *bị* trẻ con khóc (không làm việc được).

Nam *bi* child cry (Neg do work able)

‘Nam suffered from his child crying (and was not able to work).’

(Bruening and Tran 2013, Ex. 87b)

c. Nam *bị* chơi bóng đá.

Nam *bi* play ball kick

‘Nam suffered from playing football.’ (Bruening and Tran 2013, Ex. 114a)

(278) illustrates that a gap can occupy a local subject position of intransitive predicates such as ‘sick’ in (278a) and ‘cry’ in (278b), and a local subject position of transitive verbs like ‘play’ in (278c).

By contrast, Mandarin Chinese, just like Thai, disallows a gap to occupy a local subject position, as shown in (279).¹⁰¹

(279) a. *Zhangsan *bei* bing/kesou le. Mandarin Chinese

¹⁰¹ I thank Zenghong Jia and Huan Luo for Mandarin Chinese data and judgments.

- Zhangsan *bei* sick/cough Asp
 ‘Zhangsan got sick/coughed.’ (Simpson and Ho 2008, Ex. 41)
- b. *Zhangsan *bei* haizi ku le.
 Zhangsan *bei* child cry Asp
 ‘Zhangsa was such that his baby cried.’
- c. *Zhangsan *bei* da Lisi le.
 Zhangsan *bei* hit Lisi Perf
 ‘Zhangsan was such that he hit Lisi.’

The ungrammaticality of (279a) and (279b) respectively shows that a gap cannot occur as the subject of intransitive predicates ‘sick’ and ‘cough’ and as the possessor of a subject of ‘cry’. Likewise, (279c) in which a gap occupies a subject position of the transitive verb ‘hit’ is ungrammatical.

From these observed facts, we see that Chinese *bei*-type constructions are distinguished from each other with respect to the highest subject restriction: a gap cannot be a local, highest subject in Thai and Mandarin Chinese, but it can be in Vietnamese. Now the obvious question to be answered is to explain this difference across these Chinese *bei*-type constructions. Before doing so, I establish that the structure of Chinese *bei*-type constructions (both the long form with an external argument and the short form without it) is formed through a null operator, adopting the idea developed and advanced in Ting (1998), Huang (1999), and Bruening and Tran (2013).

Specifically, Bruening and Tran (2013) argue in Vietnamese that *bi* constructions involve a null operator binding (and not a null operator movement) in

movement is sensitive to the anti-locality condition. In contrast, if a null operator is base-generated, as is the case for Vietnamese, no subject restriction is expected.

To sum up, I have accounted for the differences among the three Chinese *bei*-type constructions, two of which are constrained by anti-locality condition. A novel approach in this section is the suggestion that Chinese *bei*-type constructions manifest variation in the highest subject restriction with respect to the nature of a null operator. Finally, if the current analysis is on the right track, it constitutes empirical support for the argument that some movement may satisfy anti-locality, which has been pointed out by a number of researchers in many other languages (e.g., Bošković 1994, 1997; Murasugi and Saito 1995; Saito and Murasugi 1999; Grohmann 2003; inter alia).

5.6 Conclusion

In this section, I have offered a formal account for the *doon* construction in Thai. I have shown that the *doon* construction is decomposed into several verbal heads including a functional head that introduces the adversative meaning on the not-at-issue tier, in a way similar to the passive head in Korean. I have further provided a syntactic account of the structure of the *doon* construction and explained why A'-movement of a null operator is not possible to a local subject position under the anti-locality condition on movement.

The proposed analysis, if on the right track, suggests another pertinent source of semantic evidence for the hypothesis that the adversative meaning that is pervasively found in other languages such as Korean is a level of meaning that is projected on the not-at-issue tier.

A further interesting consequence is that the current approach allows for a principled way to explain the difference between Thai and Mandarin Chinese and Vietnamese with respect to the highest subject restriction in Vietnamese.

Chapter 6

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This dissertation has examined the different argument structures that encode possessive, benefactive, and adversative meanings, and offered additional empirical support for the syntactic approach to predicate decomposition using event semantics. I have proposed that each construction can be decomposed into different syntactic verbal heads, each of which contributes a subpart of the meaning of the sentences, and, as a result, the semantics under consideration is made explicit in the proposed morpho-syntactic structure. I have further argued, drawing on multidimensional semantics, that not all components of meaning belong to the same meaning category; some elements of meaning are projected independently of the main assertion of the sentence. I have shown that in benefactive and adversity (passive) constructions the benefactive meaning and the adversative meaning are a level of meaning that is projected on the not-at-issue tier.

A primary consequence of the analysis propounded in this work is that by decomposing a verbal predicate that occurs in the different argument structures as having an abstract morpheme it gives empirical support to the view defended in the literature that the meaning of a verbal morpheme is analyzable into smaller parts and this also has a structured representation. A further consequence of this work is that it captures directly the intuition of native speakers of languages under consideration that the benefactive and the adversative meanings add some content to an utterance but in a way that is independent of the main assertion of the sentence. Along this line of

implication, the proposed analysis offers pertinent source of semantic evidence for the hypothesis that the adversative meaning that is pervasively found in many East Asian languages is a level of meaning that is projected on the not-at-issue tier. Broadly, it allows the argument structures in Korean, Japanese, and Thai to be placed within the broader system of multidimensional semantics that is developed by a growing amount of work, in which a specific morpheme may carry not-at-issue meaning.

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Appendix Chapter 4

Specifically, Oshima (2006), a proponent of this line of observation, states that the adversative meaning of the APC in Korean, which is conventionalized in some sense, is also correlated with the lexical meaning of a verb used in the APC. In other words, the APC is usually possible with inherently malefactive¹⁰³ and neutral verbs, and not possible with lexically benefactive verbs (e.g., *takk-* ‘to brush one’s teeth, to wipe body parts’, *ssis-* ‘to wash one’s body’, and *kam-* ‘to wash hair’).¹⁰⁴ While I

¹⁰⁴ Judgment of the APC is often subtle, as it can be influenced by the choice of tense markers.

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agree with Oshima (2006) that the adversative meaning is a conventionalized meaning, which I have analyzed as the not-at-issue meaning above, I do not share the view that the adversative meaning is subject to the lexical meaning of a verb used in the APC for the reasons to discuss below.

First, consider (282), in which many of what Oshima (2006) classes as benefactive verbs can occur in the APC. Below are all acceptable APCs which I have obtained from ten native speakers of Korean. (Some speakers often hesitate due to tendency to avoid passive sentences, but then invent a context, and judge the sentence to be acceptable.)

(282) a. Yuna-ka emma-eykey (pal.swuken-ulo) elkwul-ul takk-i-ess-ta.

Yuna-Nom mother-Dat (foot.towel-Inst) face-Acc wipe-Pss-Pst-Dec

‘Yuna suffered her mother wiping her face with a foot towel.’

b. aitul-i Chelswu-eykey (ppallay.pinwu-lo) elkwul-ul ssis-ki-ess-ta.

kids-Nom Chelswu-Dat (laundry.soap-Inst) face-Acc wash-Pss-Pst-Dec

‘The kids suffered Chelswu washing their face with laundry soap.’

Park (1986) finds (21a) to be acceptable, whereas Choe (1988) judges a slightly different sentence like (21b) to be unacceptable (see Kim 1994 for different judgments). Ten native speakers of Korean I have consulted report that (21a) is fairly acceptable under the intended reading, whereas (21b) sounds awkward at best. This contrast is attributable to different tense markers; (21a) with the present tense marker *-n-* implicates a generic sense of the event depicted in the sentence; for some reason the adversity semantics is not compatible with a generic sense (see also Haspelmath 1994 for a similar observation on passives and actives).

In the examples above, it is necessary to understand that the event mattered to the nominative NP in a way that had a negative effect on him/her.

Second, many transitive verbs in Korean (e.g., *ppop*- ‘to pull out (one’s hair)’, *kkak* ‘cut’, *po*- ‘see’) can be used to depict the event being either adversative or benefactive. What is crucial is that the APC with these verbs implicates necessarily that the event brings out some negative effect on the nominative NP.¹⁰⁵

- (283) a. *enni-ka emma-uy/lul huyn meli-lul ppop-ass-ta.*
 sister-Nom mother-Gen/Acc white hair-Acc pull.out-Pst-Dec
 ‘My sister pulled out my mother’s white hair.’ (Park 1994)
- b. *emma-ka enni-eykey huyn meli-lul ppop-hi-ess-ta.*
 mother-Nom sister-Dat white hair-Acc pull.out-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘My mother’s white hair was pulled out by my sister.’

In (283a), when the possessor *emma* ‘mother’ is marked with the genitive or the accusative case, *emma* ‘mother’ is not necessarily interpreted as affected negatively (see also Park 1994); the sentence can also mean that the event was beneficial to the mother. In the corresponding APC, however, the nominative NP must be understood as adversely affected.

Third, what Oshima calls malefactive verbs, like *mil*-, ‘push’ even occur in the benefactive construction, as illustrated in (284). This is unexpected under his observation: the benefactive meaning of *give*-type benefactives discussed in Chapter 3 would conflict with the lexical meaning of the verb *mil*- ‘push’.

¹⁰⁵ It is true that not all verbs are allowed in the APC. See Section 4.4

(284) Yuna-ka Chelswu-eykey uyca-lul mil-e-cwu-ess-ta.
 Yuna-Nom Chelswu-Dat chair-Acc push-e-give-Pst-Dec
 ‘Yuna pushed the chair to Chelswu.’ (Yuna pushed the chair to Chelswu, and
 this was beneficial to Chelswu.)

Taken as a whole, I instead contend that whether a verb is adversative or benefactive may vary in different context of its use, and therefore on one’s ability to imagine different contexts. One can construct an example in which the context makes difference to acceptability of the APC (Park 1994). One such example is shown by minimal pairs like *ipalsa* ‘barber’ versus *citocwuim* ‘discipline teacher’ in (285).

(285) Inho-ka ipalsa-eykey/citocwuim-eykey meli-lul kkak-i-ess-ta.
 Inho-Nom barber-Dat/discipline.teacher-Dat hair-Acc cut-Pss-Pst-Dec
 ‘Inho had his hair cut by the barber/discipline teacher.’ (Park 1994)

As reported in Park (1994), the judgment of (285) with *ipalsa* ‘barber’ is often not straightforward for some native speakers of Korean, whereas the judgment of (285) with *citocwuim* ‘discipline teacher’ is entirely natural for all speakers he consulted. Park (1994) ascribes this judgment contrast to the context with which the words *ipalsa* ‘barber’ and *citocwuim* ‘discipline teacher’ are typically associated in relation to the nominative NP. The typical situation associated with *ipalsa* ‘barber’ is one where a barber cuts a customer’s hair upon his request. It is not normally expected that a barber would cut a customer’s hair against his will, and this would be inappropriate to use the APC. Crucially, however, the APC with *ipalsa* ‘barber’ improves to perfection

when the speaker can conceive of the event of the barber cutting Inho's hair as giving negative effect on him. By contrast, the typical situation with *citocwuim* 'discipline teacher' is one where a student would feel displeased if his hair is cut by his teacher.

From these observed facts, we see that the adversative meaning of the APC is not necessarily determined by the lexical meaning of the verb used in the sentence. There might of course be cases in which some verbs are preferably used in benefactive and/or adversative context, but this seems to be the speakers' tendency or preference that is also associated with their ability to imagine different contexts.