A new account of the case-alternation in the complex predicate construction

Jieun Oh
Jieun.oh@hu-berlin.de
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

1 Introduction

There has been a lot of research on this phenomenon, commonly referred to as case-alternation in complex predicate constructions. Realizing the second argument of the complex predicate with the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' as both a nominative and an accusative NP is acceptable, as seen in (1a). On the other hand, when the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' combines with verbs such as *toy-* 'become', it is acceptable only to realize the second argument as an NP marked with the nominative marker *-i/ka*, as seen in (1b). There may be controversy over whether it is accepted that the argument's grammatical case has been changed in the complex predicate construction involving the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want'.

(1) a. Hyenwu-ka   {sakwa-lul / sakwa-ka} mek-ko   siph-ta.
       Hyenwu-NOM apple-ACC   apple-NOM eat-CONN want-DECL

   'Hyenwu wants to eat an apple.'

   b. Hyenwu-ka   {*sensayng-nim-ul / sensayng-nim-i} toy-ko   siph-ta.
      Hyenwu-NOM   teacher-HON-ACC   teacher-HON-NOM become-CONN want-DECL

   'Hyenwu wants to become a teacher.'

To illustrate the phenomenon, it has been argued that predicates exhibit varying degrees of agentiveness, typically contingent upon the presence or absence of agent subjects (cf. Yoo 2002: 1026; Kim 2016: 76–77). While the agentive value of non-auxiliary verbs can be determined lexically considering their argument structure and content value, auxiliary verbs demonstrate transparency regarding their agentive value. They inherit the value of their embedded verbs. Specifically, it has been suggested that the auxiliary verb *siph-*'want' has two lexical entries (cf. Yoon 2012: 1029). When the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' does not express an agentive relation and combines with a verb, its agentive value is inherited from the embedded verb. Otherwise, when the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' combines with an inherently agentive verb, it allows the second argument to be realized as a nominative NP. This is because the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' can also have a non-agentive value. However, I propose that there is no evidence to support that the grammatical case of the second argument in the construction with the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' was changed. Instead, I argue that there exists the potential to place emphasis on the second argument. For this assumption, I contribute by demonstrating that the particle *-i/ka* can also serve as an information structure marker, particularly indicating focus.

2 The particle *-i/ka* in Korean

The Korean particle *-i/ka* is widely recognized as a subject case marker, signifying that the nominal phrase with *-i/ka* serves as the subject as seen in (2). According to this explanation, it can be used to identify double-subject constructions in Korean. Ko (2001: 12–16) has suggested these constructions depend on the semantic property of the verb, specifically on the factor of agentivity. It refers to the degree of control or volition exerted by the subject of a verb in an action. Testing for the property of agentivity involves verifying whether an event can be appropriately modified by the adverb 'intentionally' as shown in the examples (3a) and (3b) (cf. Verhoeven 2010: 224–227). The double-subject construction can only be formed with adjectives as seen in the example (3a), and with non-agentive verbs as seen in (3b) (from Ko 2001: 13).

(2) Cwunhuy-ka   ilccik hakkyo-ey ka-n-ta.
    Cwunhuy-NOM early school-LOC go-PRS-DECL

   'Cwunhuy goes to school early.'

(3) a. ku salam-i   son-i   (*uytocekulo) kkway khu-ta.
       the person-NOM hand-NOM   intentionally pretty big-DECL

   'The person's hands are (*intentionally) pretty big.'

b. namwu-ka saylo iph-i   (*uytocekulo) tot-ass-ta.
tree-NOM newly leaf-NOM intentionally sprout-PST-DECL

'New leaves (*intentionally) sprouted on the tree.'

On the other hand, it is claimed that although double nominative NPs may appear in a sentence, the constituent that functions as the subject is only one (cf. Song 2009: 454–468; Kim et al. 2007: 25–29). These constructions will be referred to as the double nominative construction[1]. In these sentences (3a) and (3b), the first NP is not an obligatory argument. They remain grammatically well-formed even when the initial NP is omitted, as you can see in (4a) and (4b).

(4) a. son-i   kkway khu-ta.   b. saylo iph-i   tot-ass-ta.
     hand-NOM pretty big-DECL   newly leaf-NOM sprout-PST-DECL

     'The hands are pretty big.'   'New leaves sprouted.'

It is suggested that the subjecthood can be tested using various methods, including the agreement with honorific inflected form -(u)si[2] and plural morpheme -tul, the scope of adverbs, the substitutability of a Korean subject marker for the honorific form -kkeyse, and the acceptability of relative clauses (cf. Hong 1994: 100–115; Rhee 1999: 401–413; Park 2004: 107–110; Park & Kim 2022: 1504–1507, a.o.). To examine whether the first NP assumes the role of the subject within the sentence, it will be shown with some tests in this paper. Firstly, the agreement of the inflected form -(u)si is assessed. It is claimed that the first nominative NP does not fulfill the subject function, as evidenced by the sentence (5a). Namely, since the first NP *sensayng-nim-i* 'teacher-HON-NOM' does not function as the subject of the sentence, it is not acceptable for it to agree with the predicate inflected in the honorific form *chincelha-si-ta* 'kind-HON-DECL'. Otherwise, since the subject in the sentence (5b) is the second nominative NP *apeci* 'father', it can be agreed with the predicate with inflected form *si-*. Secondly, it is not possible for the particle of the first nominative NP to be substituted by the subject marker for the honorific form -kkeyse, as shown in (6). Based on this evidence, it is claimed that only the second nominative NP in the sentence functions as the subject, even though there are two nominative NPs in the sentence.[3]

(5) a. sensayng-nim-i haksayng-tul-i chincelha-ta / *chincelha-si-ta.
        teacher-HON-I student-PL-NOM kind-DECL   kind-HON-DECL

        'The teacher's students are kind.'

     b. chinkwu-ka apeci-ka   sengsilha-ta / sengsilha-si-ta.
        friend-KA father-NOM diligent-DECL diligent-HON-DECL

        'The friend's father is diligent.'

(6) a. sensayng-nim-i haksayng-tul-i chincelha-ta.
        teacher-HON-I student-PL-NOM kind-DECL

        'The teacher's students are kind.'

     b. * sensayng-nim-kkeyse haksayng-tul-i chincelha-ta.
          teacher-HON-HON.NOM student-PL-NOM kind-DECL

---

[1] In this paper, it is crucial to maintain a strict differentiation between 'double nominative constructions', where two NPs marked with -i/ka are present in a sentence, and 'double-subject constructions' defined as sentences containing two subjects.

[2] The Korean honorific system basically requires that when the subject is in the honorific form (usually with the marker -nim), the predicate also be inflected with the honorific form -(u)si. (cf. Kim 2016: 318)

[3] In sentences where the semantic relation between the first nominative NP and the second NP is 'object-property' or 'whole-part', some subjecthood tests are met only when the referent of the first NP is identical to the referent of the possessor of the second NP, as seen in (i) and (ii). However, when the referent of the first NP differs from the referent of the second NP's possessor, the subjecthood tests are not satisfied (cf. Lee 2018: 286–290). According to Lee (2018), the first nominative NPs in state-property adjective sentences are not arguments of the adjectives but syntactic topics of the sentences.

(i) sensayng-nim-i khi-ka   khu-ta   / khu-si-ta.
     teacher-HON-I height-NOM tall-DECL tall-HON-DECL

     'The teacher is tall.'

(ii) sensayng-nim-kkeyse khi-ka   khu-ta.
     teacher-HON-HON.NOM height-NOM tall-DECL

Hence, a question arises regarding the role of the first NP in the sentence. I assume that the first NP does not serve as the subject of the sentence and the particle *-i/ka* is used as an information structure marker (cf. Park 2004: 113–114; Kim et al. 2007: 27–35; Kim 2014: 13–14; Kim 2015: 45–50, a.o.). The Korean particle system is initially classified into case markers and information structure markers, with the former being further subdivided into the structural and lexical case. As represented in Figure 1, I propose that the particle *-i/ka* functions not only as a case marker but also as an information structure marker. An information structure marker is defined as a particle that adds information structure properties, such as focus or topic, to the NP.
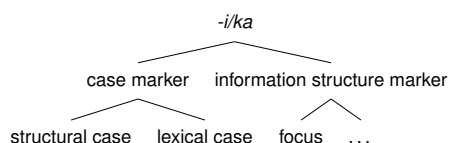

Figure 1: Different functions of the particle *-i/ka* in Korean

3 The case-alternation with the complex predicate *-ko siph-* 'want to'

This section investigates the phenomenon of case-alternation in the complex predicate construction with the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want', under the assumption that the particle *-i/ka* can function as information structure markers. When the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' combines with verbs, the particle[4] *-i/ka* can be attached to the second argument of the complex predicate *-ko siph-* 'want to', as already seen in (1a). Some researchers argue that the grammatical case of the second argument changes from accusative to nominative.

However, the examples (7) - (9) show that it does not exhibit the subjecthood of the second argument with *-i/ka* in the test (cf. Lee 2016: 281–297; Park & Kim 2022: 1504–1508). As seen in (7), when examining the agreement between the predicate inflected with the honorific form *–(u)si* and the directly preceding NP marked with *-i/ka*, it can be observed that subjecthood is not confirmed. The example (7) shows that the predicate *siph-usi-ta* 'want-HON-DECL' cannot agree with the second NP *halmeni-ka* 'grandmother-KA'. This implies the second NP does not function as the subject of the sentence. Regarding the test of the plural morpheme *-tul*, the morpheme can recur in a sentence, when the subject is plural. Through this examination, it becomes evident that the NP *cokha-tul* 'niece-PL' in the sentence (8b) does not function as the subject, as it fails to correlate with the embedded verbal element marked with the plural morpheme *-tul*. Conversely, the initial NP *samchon-tul* 'uncle-PL' in (8a), marked for plurality, appropriately coincides with the verbal element affixed with the plural morpheme *-tul*. Moreover, if the subject were *apeci* 'father' in the sentence (9), the honorific marker *-kkeyse* could be used for subject honorification, since the NP *apeci* 'father' can be honored with the subject honorific form *-kkeyse*. The example sentence (9) illustrates that the second NP with *-i/ka* cannot be substituted with the subject honorific form *-kkeyse*. This shows the second NP does not serve as the subject.

(7) *soncwu-ka   halmeni-ka   po-ko   siph-usi-ta.
      grandchild-HON.NOM grandmother-KA see-CONN want-HON-DECL

      (Lit.) 'The grandchild wants to see a grandmother.'

(8) a. samchon-tul-i cokha-ka po-ko   / po-ko-tul   siph-ta.
          uncle-PL-NOM niece-KA see-CONN   see-CONN-PL want-DECL

          'The uncles want to see a niece.'

     b. samchon-i cokha-tul-i po-ko   / *po-ko-tul   siph-ta.
          uncle-NOM niece-PL-I see-CONN   see-CONN-PL want-DECL

          'An uncle wants to see nieces.'

(9) Hyenwu-ka   apeci-ka / *apeci-kkeyse   po-ko   siph-ta.
      Hyenwu-NOM father-KA   father-HON.NOM see-CONN want-DECL

      'Hyenwu wants to see her father.'

---

[4] In this paper, the term "particle" is introduced as a supertype to delineate between the case marker and information structure marker categories.

As indicated by the subjecthood test, I suppose that the grammatical case of the second argument is not changed. Rather, I assume the particle *-i/ka* attached to the second argument functions as an information structure marker, thereby emphasizing the constituent.

4 Analysis for constructions with complex predicate *-ko siph-* 'want to'

In this section, the previously mentioned phenomenon in the complex predicate construction with *siph-* 'want' is analyzed based on the constraint-based approach. Firstly, I propose the lexical entry of the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' as in (10) (cf. Müller 2002: 86; Müller 2013: 243). The auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' combines with the dependent verbal element with the connective marker *-ko*[5]. I assume that the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' functions as the head of the complex predicate. The arguments of the embedded verb are attracted to be the arguments of the complex predicate (cf. Hinrichs & Nakazawa 1989; Hinrichs & Nakazawa 1994).

(10) Lexical entry of the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want':

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \langle\ siph\ \rangle \\
\text{SYNSEM|LOC|ARG-ST} & \boxed{1} \oplus \boxed{2} \oplus \big\langle \text{V[VFORM } \textit{-ko}\ \text{, LEX+, SUBJ } \boxed{1}, \text{ COMPS } \boxed{2}\ ] \big\rangle
\end{bmatrix}
$$

As already indicated in (1a)—repeated here as (11)—, the particle *-i/ka* can be attached to the second argument of the complex predicate construction with the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want'. According to the subjecthood test in section 3, it is confirmed that the particle *-i/ka* attached to the second argument does not function as the subject case marker, but rather as an information structure marker. In my analysis, the information structure will be introduced as part of the CONTEXT value. This is because, although the proposition conveyed by both sentences in (11a) and (11b) remains the same, the speaker's intention is additionally included by means of the information structure marker *-i/ka* in the second argument (e.g. *sakwa-ka* 'apple-KA' in (11b)).[6] The AVM for the information structure marker *-i/ka* is suggested as shown in (12). The MKG (MarKinG) value is indicated as *fc*[7] and is not co-referenced with any other element. Additionally, the ICONS (Individual CONStraints) element specifies the relation of the complement. The ICONS-KEY feature is used to impose a more specific constraint to an information structure element that has already been enhanced within the ICONS list. This implies that, given the particle *-i/ka*'s ability to function as markers for various information structures such as topic or focus, it becomes necessary to constrain its meaning accordingly (cf. Song 2017: 118).

(11) a. Hyenwu-ka   sakwa-lul mek-ko   siph-ta.
          Hyenwu-NOM apple-ACC eat-CONN want-DECL

          'Hyenwu wants to eat an apple.'

      b. Hyenwu-ka   sakwa-ka mek-ko   siph-ta.
          Hyenwu-NOM apple-KA   eat-CONN want-DECL

(12) *-i/ka marker* $\Rightarrow$
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \langle\ i/ka\ \rangle \\
\text{ICONS-KEY} & \boxed{2} \\
\text{MKG} & fc \\
\text{COMPS} & \big\langle [\text{INDEX } \boxed{1}] \big\rangle \\
\text{ICONS} & \Big\langle\ !\ \boxed{2}\begin{bmatrix} focus \\ \text{TARGET } \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix}\ !\ \Big\rangle
\end{bmatrix}
$$

---

[5] *-ko* is a connective ending that links the preceding verb to another verb. Furthermore, the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' only selects the embedded verbal element with this connective marker *-ko*. Therefore, it could be said that the dependent verbal element *mek-ko* 'eat-CONN' is an inflected form of the verb *mek-* 'eat', allowing it to combine with the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want'.

[6] Additionally, the first argument, which functions as the subject, can also be topicalized using the information structure marker *-un/nun*. Building upon this, the following sentence (i) can be constructed.

  (i) Hyenwu-nun sakwa-ka   mek-ko   siph-ta.
       Hyenwu-TOP apple-FOC eat-CONN want-DECL

       'HYENWU wants to eat an APPLE.'

[7] MKG features are exclusively concerned with markings of information structure. The types of MKG are underspecified with regard to *fc* (focus), *non-fc* (non-focus), *tp* (topic), and *non-tp* (non-topic). (Song 2017: 121–124)

As previously mentioned in (1b)—repeated here as (13)—, it should be noted that when the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' is combined with the verb *toy-* 'become', it becomes implausible for the objective marker *-ul/lul* to be affixed to the second argument. I suggest that since the verb requires two arguments with structural and lexical case (cf. Müller 2002: 12–16; Müller 2013: 221–225), it is not acceptable for the argument with lexical case to be marked with the information structure marker. As indicated in the lexical entries (14) and (15), the verb *mek-* 'eat' selects two arguments with structural case, and the second argument with structural case can be focused using the information structure marker *-i/ka*. Conversely, when the argument of the verb (e.g. *toy-* 'become') has lexical case, it cannot be exchanged for another marker different from the nominative marker *-i/ka* regardless of the syntactic structure.

(13) Hyenwu-ka {*sensayng-nim-ul / sensayng-nim-i} toy-ko siph-ta.
Hyenwu-NOM teacher-HON-ACC teacher-HON-NOM become-CONN want-DECL
'Hyenwu wants to become a teacher.'

(14) *mek-* 'eat':

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \langle\ mek\ \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|ARG-ST} & \langle \text{NP}[str], \text{NP}[str]\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

(15) *toy-* 'become':

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \langle\ toy\ \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|ARG-ST} & \langle \text{NP}[str], \text{NP}[lex]\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

It is assumed that verbs with the structural case can suggest that their second argument may be focused by means of the information structure marker *-i/ka* when combined with the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want'. Based on this assumption, I propose that the lexical rule for the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' states that when this auxiliary verb combines with a verb exhibiting agentivity, the second argument—namely, the accusative object—can be emphasized through the information structure marker *-i/ka*, as seen in (16).[8]

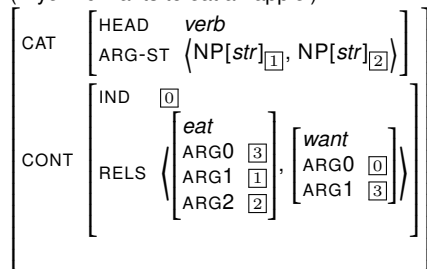(16) The lexical rule for the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' with agentive verbs:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & verb \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle \boxed{1}\left[\text{LOC|CAT|HEAD}\begin{bmatrix}noun \\ \text{CASE } str\end{bmatrix}\right], \boxed{2}\left[\text{LOC|CAT|HEAD}\begin{bmatrix}noun \\ \text{CASE } str\end{bmatrix}\right]\right\rangle \oplus \left\langle \text{V}\begin{bmatrix}\text{VFORM } -ko, \text{LEX+, SUBJ } \boxed{1}, \\ \text{COMPS } \boxed{2}, \text{INDEX } agentive\end{bmatrix}\right\rangle \end{bmatrix}\end{bmatrix} \mapsto$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & verb \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle \boxed{1}, \boxed{2}\left[\text{LOC}\begin{bmatrix}\text{CAT}\begin{bmatrix}\text{HEAD } noun \\ \text{CASE } non\text{-}str\end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CTXT}\begin{bmatrix}infostr \\ \text{FOCUS } +\end{bmatrix}\end{bmatrix}\right]\right\rangle \oplus \left\langle \text{V}\begin{bmatrix}\text{VFORM } -ko, \text{LEX+, SUBJ } \boxed{1}, \\ \text{COMPS } \boxed{2}, \text{INDEX } agentive\end{bmatrix}\right\rangle \end{bmatrix}\end{bmatrix}$$

---

[8] In response to a reviewer's query about how the analysis addresses instances where an auxiliary verb like 'ha-' *do* is followed by a verb such as *siph-* 'want', I provide the following comment. It is proposed that the verb 'ha-' *do* warrants detailed classification, as various types can be discerned in constructions involving the verb 'ha-' *do*. For instance, when the verb 'ha-' *do* is combined with a verbal noun (e.g. *kongpwu* 'study'), both markers '-ul/lul' and '-i/ka' can be attached to the second argument of the complex predicates *-ko siph-* 'want to', as seen in (i). However, when the verb 'ha-' *do* is combined with a stative verb (e.g. *mwusep-* 'fearful-'), it is unacceptable for the accusative case marker '-ul/lul' attached to the second argument to change to the marker '-i/ka', as shown in (ii). This structure, involving a stative verb, is perceived to lack the property of agentivity, as evidenced by its limited compatibility with modifying adverbs such as 'intentionally', as demonstrated in (iii.b), which differs from the example sentence (iii.a). Additional research will be conducted through testing with native Korean speakers to identify whether these stative verbs, when combined with the verb *ha-* 'do', have the semantic property of agentivity.

  (i) Hyenwu-ka {yenge-lul / yenge-ka} kongpwu-ha-ko siph-ess-ta.
    Hyenwu-NOM English-ACC English-KA study-DO-CONN want-PST-DECL
    'Hyenwu wanted to study English.'

  (ii) Hyenwu-ka {kangaci-lul / *kangaci-ka} mwuse-we ha-ko siph-ess-ta.
    Hyenwu-NOM puppy-ACC puppy-KA fearful-CONN DO-CONN want-PST-DECL
    'Hyenwu wanted to be afraid of the puppy.'

  (iii) a. Hyenwu-ka yenge-lul yilpwule kongpwu-hay-ss-ta.
      Hyenwu-NOM English-ACC intentionally study-DO-PST-DECL
      'Hyenwu intentionally studied English.'

    b. ?Hyenwu-ka kangaci-lul ilpwule mwuse-we hay-ss-ta.
      Hyenwu-NOM puppy-ACC intentionally fearful-CONN DO-PST-DECL
      (Lit.) 'Hyenwu intentionally was afraid of the puppy.'

The structures resulting from the combination of (10) and (14) are illustrated in (17) and (18). The entry (17) shows that the complex predicate *mekko siphta* 'want to eat' entails two arguments with structural case, the second of which is marked with the accusative case marker *-ul/lul*. According to the lexical rule (16), when the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' combines with agentive verbs that select two arguments with structural case, a non-structural case, namely the information structure marker *-i/ka*, can be attached to the second argument (e.g. *sakwa* 'apple' in (18)) in this construction. When the second argument is focused using the information structure marker *-i/ka*, the sentence additionally acquires contextual value as information structure (cf. Paggio 2009: 105).

(17) *Hyenwu-ka sakwa-lul mek-ko siph-ta*
('Hyenwu wants to eat an apple'):

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & verb \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \langle \text{NP}[str]_{\boxed{1}}, \text{NP}[str]_{\boxed{2}} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{IND} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{RELS} & \langle \begin{bmatrix} eat \\ \text{ARG0} & \boxed{3} \\ \text{ARG1} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{ARG2} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} want \\ \text{ARG0} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{ARG1} & \boxed{3} \end{bmatrix} \rangle \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

(18) *Hyenwu-ka sakwa-ka mek-ko siph-ta*
('Hyenwu wants to eat an apple', with the focused element):

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & verb \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \langle \text{NP}[str]_{\boxed{1}}, \text{NP}[non\text{-}str]_{\boxed{2}} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{IND} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{RELS} & \langle \begin{bmatrix} eat \\ \text{ARG0} & \boxed{3} \\ \text{ARG1} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{ARG2} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} want \\ \text{ARG0} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{ARG1} & \boxed{3} \end{bmatrix} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CTXT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{INFOSTR} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{FOCUS} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$
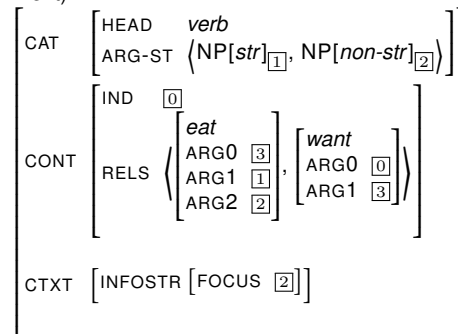
5 Conclusion

The phenomenon referred to as case-alternation was not approached solely as a case-alternation phenomenon. Instead, it was considered to involve the focused NP.

To examine whether the second accusative argument of the complex predicate *-ko siph-* 'want to' changes to the nominative NP, I initially investigated the use of the particle *-i/ka* based on the double nominative construction. I confirmed that the particle *-i/ka* does not always function as the subject marker by employing the subjecthood test. Based on the test, I hypothesized that the particle *-i/ka* can function not only as a case marker but also as an information structure marker, adding information structure properties to the NP. Hence, I concluded that the particle *-i/ka*, when attached to the second argument in the complex predicate construction, does not modify its grammatical case. Rather, it imbues an additional pragmatic meaning, particularly in terms of information structure. This conclusion was further supported by the subjecthood test, which confirms that the second argument affixed with *-i/ka* does not function as the subject in the sentence.

I integrated these findings into an HPSG fragment of Korean. I argued that when the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' combines with an agentive verb, the second argument with structural case can be realized through the accusative case marker and can also be focused by means of the information structure marker *-i/ka*. I hypothesized that the information structure marker *-i/ka* attached to the argument leads to additional interpretations in the context. Therefore, it was suggested that in this complex predicate construction, the value acquired from the information structure marker *-i/ka* is added to the CONTEXT feature, as the proposition of the sentence remains unchanged. To further elucidate the phenomenon where it is impermissible for the marker attached to the second argument to change, particularly when the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' combines with the verb (e.g. *toy-* 'become'), the grammatical case was classified into the structural and lexical case.

References

Hinrichs, Erhard & Tsuneko Nakazawa. 1989. Flipped out: Aux in german. In *Papers from the 25th regional meeting of the chicago linguistic society*, vol. 25, 193–202. Chicago, Illinois: CLS.

Hinrichs, Erhard & Tsuneko Nakazawa. 1994. Linearizing AUXs in German verbal complexes. In John Nerbonne, Klaus Netter & Carl J. Pollard (eds.), *German in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (CSLI Lecture Notes 46), 11–37. Stanford University: CSLI Publications.

Hong, Ki-Sun. 1994. Subjecthood tests in korean. *Language Research*. 99–136.

Kim, Ilkyu. 2014. On the meaning of korean -i/ka. *Language and Linguistics* 63. 1–26.

Kim, Ilkyu. 2015. How can korean -i/ka express exhaustivity? *Language and Information* 19(2). 37–53.

Kim, Jong-Bok. 2016. The syntactic structures of Korean: A construction-based perspective, vol. 1. Cambridge University Press.

Kim, Jong-Bok, Peter Sells & Jae-Hyung Yang. 2007. Parsing two types of multiple nominative constructions: A constructional approach. *Language and Information* 11(1). 25–38.

Ko, Kwangju. 2001. Why does double subject phenomenon appear? *Korean Language Research* 9. 1–26.

Lee, Eun-Sub. 2016. On the verifying the subjectivity of 'np+i/ka' preceding the main verb in '-ko shipta' construction. *Language and Literature* 134. 21–51.

Lee, Ho-Seung. 2018. A syntactic topic of state-property adjective sentences and the subject-hood tests. *Language Information Society* 35. 273–301.

Müller, Stefan. 2002. Complex predicates: Verbal complexes, resultative constructions, and particle verbs in German (Studies in Constraint-Based Lexicalism 13). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Müller, Stefan. 2013. Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: Eine Einführung. 3rd edn. (Stauffenburg Einführungen 17). Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag.

Paggio, Patrizia. 2009. The information structure of Danish grammar constructions. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 32(1). 137–164.

Park, Chongwon & Jong-Bok Kim. 2022. Nominative objects in Korean. *Linguistics* 60(5). 1487–1537.

Park, Hogwan. 2004. The type and syntactic structure of a dual/subjective construction in korean. Korean. *The Korean Language and Literature*. 99–118.

Rhee, Seongha. 1999. On the multiple nominative constructions in korean. In YoungWha Kim, IlKon Kim & JeongWoon Park (eds.), 198–430. Seoul: Hankuk Publisher.

Song, Changseon. 2009. The critical remarks upon the double subject constructions in Korean. *The Journal of Korean Language and Literature Education* 45. 449–474.

Song, Sanghoun. 2017. Modeling information structure in a cross-linguistic perspective. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Verhoeven, Elisabeth. 2010. Agentivity and stativity in experiencer verbs: Implications for a typology of verb classes. *Linguistic typology* 14(2-3). 213–251.

Yoo, Eun-Jung. 2002. Auxiliary verbs and structural case assignment in Korean. *Korean Linguistic* 38(4). 1009–1036.

Yoon, Hangjin. 2012. Different types of kes constructions in korean. *The Korean Generative Grammar* 22(3). 557–577.