A new account of the case-alternation in the complex predicate construction with *siph*- 'want'

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Contents

Auxiliary verb constructions in Korean

- The complement NPs typically take the case assigned by the embedded verb.

(1) a. Hyenwu-ka   sakwa-lul   mek-ess-ta.
       Hyenwu-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-DECL
       'Hyenwu ate an apple.'

    b. Hyenwu-ka   sakwa-lul   mek-e   po-ass-ta.
       Hyenwu-NOM apple-ACC eat-CONN do.as.a.try-PST-DECL
       'Hyenwu tried to eat an apple.'

(2) a. Hyenwu-ka   sensayng-nim-i   toy-ess-ta.
       Hyenwu-NOM teacher-HON-NOM become-PST-DECL
       'Hyenwu became a teacher.'

    b. Hyenwu-ka   sensayng-nim-i   toy-e   po-ass-ta.
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      'Hyenwu tried to become a teacher.'

- However, idiosyncratically, when the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' is used, a case-alternation from accusative to nominative can be observed.

Case-alternation (a nominative case marker *-i/ka* & an accusative case marker *-ul/lul*)

- The 2nd argument of the complex predicate with the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' can be realized as either a nominative or accusative NP, as seen in (3a).

- On the other hand, when the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' combines with verbs such as *toy-* 'become', it is acceptable only to realize the 2nd argument as an NP marked with the nominative marker *-i/ka*, as seen in (3b).

(3) 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.'

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- On the other hand, when the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' combines with verbs such as *toy-* 'become', it is acceptable only to realize the 2nd argument as an NP marked with the nominative marker *-i/ka*, as seen in (3b).

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       Hyenwu-NOM teacher-HON-ACC teacher-HON-NOM become-CONN want-DECL
       'Hyenwu wants to become a teacher.'

- This phenomenon in (3a) has been identified as case-alternation, since the marker attached to the 2nd argument changes from accusative *-ul/lul* to nominative *-i/ka*.

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In this study:
- different from the approach as case-alternation
  - ▶ The particle *-i/ka* can also serve as an information structure marker.
  - ▶ The 2nd argument in complex predicate *-ko siph-* has the potential to be focused.

Contents

The subject case marker *-i/ka*

- The particle *-i/ka* is widely recognized as a subject marker, as seen in (4).

(4) Cwunhuy-ka   ilccik hakkyo-ey ka-n-ta.
    Cwunhuy-NOM early school-LOC go-PRS-DECL
    'Cwunhuy goes to school early.'

Double subject constructions & Double-nominative constructions

- According to this explanation, it can be used to identify double-subject constructions in Korean.

(5) a. ku salam-i   son-i   (*uytocekulo) kkway khu-ta.   (adjective)
        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.   (non-agentive verbs)
        tree-NOM   newly leaf-NOM   intentionally sprout-PST-DECL
        'New leaves (*intentionally) sprouted on the tree.'

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- Ko (2001) has suggested these constructions depend on the semantic property of the verb, specifically on the factor of agentivity.
- The double-subject construction can only be formed with adjectives as seen in the example (5a), and non-agentive verbs as seen in (5b).   (cf. Ko 2001: 12–16).

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On the other hand,

- Although double nominative NPs may appear in a sentence, the constituent that functions as the subject is only one.   (cf. Song 2009; Kim et al. 2007)

- In these sentences (5a) and (5b), the first NP is not an obligatory argument.

- Testing subjecthood involves the following methods:
  the agreement with the honorific inflected form *-(u)si* and the plural form *-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)

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1. Agreement with the honorific inflected predicate *-(u)si*

(6) 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. haksayng-tul-i sensayng-nim-i   {chincelha-ta / chincelha-si-ta}.
         student-PL-I teacher-HON-NOM kind-DECL   kind-HON-DECL
         'The students' teacher is kind.'

- In (6a), it is not appropriate for the first NP, *sensayng-nim-i* 'teacher-HON-NOM'
  to agree with the predicate inflected with the honorific form *-si*.

- In (6b), the 2nd NP, *sensayng-nim-i* 'teacher-HON-NOM' can be agreed with the
  predicate with inflected form *-si*.

2. Substitutability of a Korean subject marker for the honorific form *-kkeyse*

- The first nominative NP, *sensayng-nim-i* 'teacher-HON-NOM' cannot be replaced with the honorific subject marker *-kkeyse*, as seen in (7).

(7)　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

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         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

- The evidence shows that only the 2nd nominative NP functions as the subject.

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

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- Hence, what is the role of the first NP in the sentence?

- Hypothesis:
  - ▶ It is assumed that the first NP does not serve as the subject of the sentence.
  - ▶ 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)
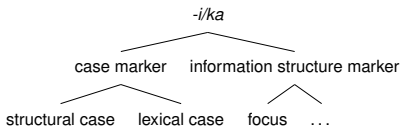

Figure 1: Different functions of the particle *-i/ka* in Korean

Contents

- When the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want' combines with verbs, the particle *-i/ka* can be attached to the 2nd argument of the complex predicate *-ko siph-* 'want to'.

(8) 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

- This phenomenon is commonly known as case-alternation.

- However, the examples (9) - (11) show that the 2nd argument with *-i/ka* does not exhibit subjecthood in the test.

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- The predicate *siph-usi-ta* 'want-HON-DECL' cannot agree with the 2nd NP.

(9)   *soncwu-ka   halmeni-ka   po-ko   siph-usi-ta.
      grandchild-NOM grandmother-KA see-CONN want-HON-DECL
      (Lit.) 'The grandchild wants to see a grandmother.'

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2. Substitutability of a Korean subject marker for the honorific form *-kkeyse*

- The 2nd NP with *-i/ka* cannot be replaced with the form *-kkeyse*.

(10) 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.'

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- This implies the 2nd NP does not function as the subject of the sentence.

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- The NP *cokha-tul* 'niece-PL' in the sentence (11b) does not function as the subject, as it fails to correlate with the embedded verbal element marked with the plural morpheme.

- In contrast, the initial NP *samchon-tul* 'uncle-PL' in (11a), marked for plurality, appropriately corresponds with the verbal element affixed with the plural marker.

(11) 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.'

3. The plural morpheme *-tul*

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(11) 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.'

- These tests support that the grammatical case of the 2nd argument in the complex predicates *-ko siph*- 'want to' was not changed.

Contents

The information structure marker *-i/ka*

(12) Hyenwu-ka {sakwa-lul / sakwa-ka} mek-ko siph-ta.
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(13) *-i/ka marker* $\Rightarrow$
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \langle \textit{i/ka} \rangle \\ \text{ICONS-KEY} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{MKG} & \textit{fc} \\ \text{COMPS} & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\ \text{ICONS} & \left\langle !\boxed{2}\begin{bmatrix} \textit{focus} \\ \text{TARGET} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix}! \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

- 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)

- When combined with the auxiliary verb siph- 'want',
  the 2nd argument of verbs **with the structural case** can be focused with the
  information structure marker *-i/ka*.

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

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

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

- The information structure is introduced as part of the CONTEXT value.
- The proposition conveyed by both structures remains the same.
- However, the speaker's intention is additionally included with the information
  structure marker *-i/ka* in the 2nd argument.

The types of grammatical cases in Korean

- When the auxiliary verb *siph-* 'want combines with *toy-* 'become', the marker *-ul/lul* cannot be attached to the 2nd argument.

(15) Hyenwu-ka {*sensayng-nim-ul / sensayng-nim-i} toy-ko siph-ta.
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　　 'Hyenwu wants to become a teacher.'

- Grammatical cases were categorized into structural and lexical cases.

(cf. Müller 2002: 12–16; Müller 2013: 221–225)

(16) *mek*- 'eat':
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \langle \textit{mek} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|ARG-ST} & \langle \text{NP}[\textit{str}], \text{NP}[\textit{str}] \rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

(17) *toy*- 'become':
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & \langle \textit{toy} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|ARG-ST} & \langle \text{NP}[\textit{str}], \text{NP}[\textit{lex}] \rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

- Since the verb requires two arguments with structural and lexical case, the 2nd argument with lexical case cannot be marked with an information structure marker.

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The particle *-i/ka*:

- Through the subjecthood test in double nominative constructions, I confirmed that the particle *-i/ka* does not always function as the subject case marker.
- It can be used to add information structure properties to the NP.
- Furthermore, I proposed referring to it as an information structure marker.

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in complex predicate, *-ko siph-* 'want to':

• I argued that the grammatical case of the 2nd NP with *-i/ka* in the complex predicates *-ko siph-* 'want to' remained unchanged.

• Instead, it adds the pragmatic meaning with *-i/ka*.

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- The value acquired from *-i/ka* was introduced in the CONTEXT.

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- Korean grammatical case was classified into structural and lexical cases.

- In the case where the verb has the argument with lexical case, the information structure marker *-i/ka* cannot be attached to the NP in the complex predicates *-ko siph-* 'want to'.

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Further research:

- Explore the semantic property of agentivity, particularly with psychological verbs (e.g. *mwusep-* 'be.scared') combined with the verb *ha-* 'do'.

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