

A Biclausal Analysis of Korean Psych Adjective Constructions*

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1. Introduction

Nominative and accusative are widely viewed as purely structural Cases, realized in specific syntactic configurations and/or assigned by designated functional categories. Chomsky (1986), for example, states that nominative and accusative Cases are assigned under the structural relation of government by INFL and transitive V, respectively. In the most recent version of Minimalism, structural Cases are assigned under agreement with a probe -- T for nominative, and *v* for accusative (Chomsky 2001, 6; Pesetsky and Torrego 2004). This contrasts with so-called inherent Cases, assigned idiosyncratically by specific lexical items, and linked to the particular theta roles they assign.

The phenomenon of nominative objects in Korean and Japanese poses a serious challenge for these views. As shown by the Korean examples below, these languages seem to allow nominative marking on their notional objects of psychological adjectives (1a) and a complex verbal form (1b), a possibility unavailable to other predicates (2).

- (1) a. na-nun Inho-ka/*lul twulyep-ta.¹
I-TOP I.-NOM/*ACC afraid-DEC
'I am afraid of Inho.'
- b. na nun kominhyeng-i/ul sa-ko siph-ta.
I-TOP teddy.bear-NOM/ACC buy-KO desirous-DEC
'I want to buy a teddy bear.'
- (2) na-nun Mina-*ka/lul manna-ess-ta.
I-TOP M.-*NOM/ACC meet-PST-DEC
'I met Mina.'

Most work on nominative objects in Korean and Japanese has abandoned the picture sketched above, and resigned itself to allowing nominative Case marking as a lexical idiosyncrasy of a certain group of predicates, often identified as 'stative' (Kuno 1973, Kang 1986, Ura 1999, among others). In effect, Korean and Japanese are simply treated as "special".

In this paper I pursue a different approach to nominative object constructions in Korean. Following Kuroda (1965) on Japanese psych predicates

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¹ I use the Yale Romanization of Korean alphabet throughout the paper. Abbreviations: NOM 'nominative', ACC 'accusative', POS 'possessive', LOC 'locative', PL 'plural', PST 'past', PRS 'present', PSV 'passive', DEC 'declarative', COMP 'complementizer', REL 'relative clause marker', CONT 'contrastive', CLS 'classifier'.

and Endo, Kitagawa and Yoon (1999) on the adjectives *hosii* ‘desirous’ and *hituyoo* ‘necessary’ in Japanese, I propose that predicates that seemingly assign nominative Case to an object in fact select a hidden clausal complement. Evidence is given to support the idea that the apparent nominative object in (1a) is actually the subject of a concealed complement clause. The theory thus invokes no dubious connections between lexical properties like stativity and abstract Case assignment, and adheres to the restrictive premise that nominative Case is purely structural.

2. Biclausal Properties of the Psych Adjective Construction

Korean psych adjectives taking nominative objects diverge from “normal” transitive verb constructions with accusative objects in a number of important ways. First, a psych adjective creates an ambiguity with a temporal adverbial, unlike a normal transitive verb. For example, (3) below can be interpreted in two different ways. On the first reading (a), ‘tomorrow evening’ is associated with the main predicate ‘afraid’, and thus denotes the time when Mina will experience fear of Inho. On the second reading (b), it is not associated with ‘afraid’, but rather with an unspecified action or attitude expected from Inho. Suppose that Mina doesn’t know Inho is coming to the party tomorrow evening, and will be notified of this later today. Suppose also that Mina has done something that made Inho upset with her. In this case, the time at which Mina will be afraid is today, and ‘tomorrow evening’ is the time that the cause of her fear, *e.g.*, Inho’s yelling at her, might occur.

- (3) Mina-nun nayil cenyek-ey Inho-ka twulyep-kess-ta.²
 M.-TOP tomorrow evening-in I.-NOM afraid-will-DEC
 a. Tomorrow evening Mina will be afraid of Inho.
 b. Mina will (soon) be afraid of Inho because of tomorrow evening.

The same type of ambiguity is observed with *kekcengsulep* ‘worried’ in (4). On the (a) reading ‘next week’ is the time when Minoo will become worried. On the (b) reading, it is not the time when Minoo will feel worried; rather it is associated with the cause of Minoo’s worry, that is, his sister’s state or action. For instance, if Minoo’s sister is having a surgery next week, and he will be notified of this tomorrow, the time when Minoo will actually experience the worry is tomorrow, but the time when the worry is about is next week, when his sister will get the surgery.

- (4) Minwu-nun taumcwu-ey yetongsayng-i kekcengsulep-kess-ta.
 M.-TOP next.week-in younger.sister-NOM worried-will-DEC
 a. Next week Minoo will be worried about his sister.
 b. Minoo will (soon) be worried about his sister because of next week.

² In all the examples in this paper the subject in a simplex sentence and the matrix subject of a biclausal structure bears the topic marker (*n*)*un*, rather than the nominative marker *i/ka*. This is not because nominative marker results in unacceptability, but only because topic marker is the most natural on the NP in a matrix subject position in Korean.

This ambiguity is not observed with a transitive verb *manna* ‘meet’:

- (5) Mina-nun nayil cenyek-ey Inho-lul manna-kess-ta.
 M.-TOP tomorrow evening-in I.-ACC meet-will-DEC
 'Mina will meet Inho tomorrow evening.' (Unambiguous)

Second, a temporal adverbial that is apparently in conflict with the tense marking on the predicate is allowed with a psych adjective such as *tuwyep* ‘afraid’ or *kekcengsulep* ‘worried’, but disallowed with a simple transitive verb like ‘meet’. In (6) the past tense marker on the adjective ‘afraid’ and the adverbial ‘tomorrow morning’ are compatible. The addition of another adverb ‘yesterday’ that is in accord with the past tense makes the meaning clear. The fear that the speaker had yesterday was concerning Mina’s presence, or certain behavior that she might show tomorrow. Note that ‘meet’ in (7) does not tolerate this temporal clash between the past tense marker *-ess* and ‘tomorrow morning’.

- (6) (ecey) na-nun nayil achim-ey Mina-ka
 (yesterday) I-TOP tomorrow morning-in M.-NOM
 twulyep-ess-ta. (haciman onul-un an twulyep-ta.)
 afraid-PST-DEC (but today-CONT neg afraid-DEC)
 '(Yesterday) I was afraid of Mina because of tomorrow morning.
 (But today I am not afraid.)'

- (7) *(ecey) na-nun nayil achim-ey Mina-lul manna-ess-ta.
 (yesterday) I-TOP tomorrow morning-in M.-ACC meet-PST-DEC

Likewise, the past tensed adjective ‘worried’ and the adverbial phrase ‘from next month on’ can co-occur in the same sentence (8). ‘From next month on’ denotes the time in which Inho might be in a situation that is responsible for the speaker’s worry, but not the time in which the speaker felt worried. Changing the predicate into a transitive verb ‘arrest’ results in the unacceptable (9).

- (8) (cinancwu-ey) na-nun nay-tal-pwuthe Minwu-ka kekcengsulep-ess-ta.
 (last.week-in) I-TOP next-month-from M.-NOM worried-PST-DEC
 '(Last week) I was worried about Inho because of next month and on'

- (9) *(cinancwu-ey) na-nun nay-tal-pwuthe Minwu-lul cheyphoha-ess-ta.
 (last.week) I-TOP next-month-from M.-ACC arrest-PST-DEC

Next, psych adjective constructions allows transparent/opaque (referential/nonreferential) ambiguities not found with transitive verbs. For example, (10) has two readings depending on how ‘the woman that will marry that actor’ is interpreted. On the transparent reading, there is someone engaged to the actor in question, and Mina is envious of her. On the opaque reading Mina is envious of whatever woman succeeds in marrying the actor. The actor may not be currently engaged, or even in a current relationship.

- (10) Mina-nun ku payuw-wa kyelhonha-l yeca-ka puwlep-ta.
 M.-TOP that actor-with marry-REL woman-NOM envious-DEC
 'Mina is envious of the woman who will marry that actor.'
 a. Transparent: There is a specific woman who will marry that actor,
 and Mina is envious of her.
 b. Opaque: Mina is envious of whoever will marry that actor.

(11) shows similar ambiguity. Suppose a car strikes Inho's car and flees the scene of the accident. (11) can be uttered in two different situations. In one situation there is a hit-and-run driver known to Inho, who he hates. In the second situation, Inho hates the hit-and-run driver that is not known to him, whoever he or she may be. Notice that on the second reading, it is not really necessary that 'hit and run driver' denote anything. The sentence is still grammatical on the relevant reading even if Inho is mistaken about what struck his car, and it was a deer, not another auto at all:

- (11) Inho-nun ku ppayngsoni wuncenca-ka mip-ess-ta.
 I.-TOP that hit.and.run driver-NOM hateful-PST-DEC
 'Inho hated the hit-and-run driver (who bumped his car).'

It is worthwhile to note that the type of ambiguity shown in (10-11) is distinct from that induced by generics.

- (12) Mina-nun ttokttokhan namca-lul manna-ess-ta.
 M.-TOP smart man-ACC meet-PST-DEC
 'Mina met (dated) smart men.'

(12) above can be interpreted in two different ways – on one reading 'smart man' refers to a specific man that Mina dated at some point. The other reading describes Mina's general tendency to date smart men (rather than unintelligent ones). The use of NPs that are rather specific or highly restricted such as 'the woman who will marry that actor' in (10), is intended to minimize the possibility of such generic readings so that the nominal becomes less like a 'bare NP'. Still (10) is ambiguous, while (13) below with the verb 'meet' is unambiguous. Once the generic reading is suppressed, (13) only means that Mina met a specific person, who happens to be that actor's fiancée.

- (13) Mina-nun ku paywu-wa kyelhonha-l yeca-lul manna-ess-ta.
 M.-TOP that actor-with marry-REL woman-ACC meet-PST-DEC
 'Mina met (dated) the woman who will marry that actor.'

Therefore the ambiguity found in (10-11) is not caused by the nature of the object NP itself, *i.e.*, that it can be a bare NP, but rather is due to a property specific to psych adjectives.

The characteristics of Korean psych adjectives shown above cannot be accounted for by analyses in which the so-called nominative object predicates are differentiated from other transitive predicates only by the Case marking property – that is, where the apparent theme argument bearing nominative Case is treated

as the direct object of a psych adjective. I claim that these characteristics indicate that the complement of psych adjectives, despite its appearance as a nominal, is in fact a clause with a covert predicate. Let us consider (3) again. On the (b) reading of (3), the temporal adverbial ‘tomorrow evening’ is not related to the past tensed adjective ‘afraid’, but to an unspoken state or action, such as the presence of Inho near Mina or his yelling at her, which is the source of Mina’s fear. Similarly, the temporal adverbial ‘tomorrow morning’ in (6) is not associated with the past tense predicate ‘afraid’. Rather, it indicates the time when the source of the speaker’s fear, *e.g.*, Mina’s yelling at her, might come to exist.

Peculiarities involving the interpretation of temporal adverbs with intensional transitive predicates have also been found in other languages. McClawley (1974), Ross (1976) and Larson *et al.* (1997) propose clausal complement analyses for English ‘want’ and ‘need’, and Endo *et al.* (1999) propose a biclausal account for the Japanese nominative object desiderative construction. Following this line of thought, I suggest a biclausal structure (14) as the underlying structure for the Korean psych adjective constructions.

- (14) na-nun [TP ney-ka PRED] twulyep/kekcengsulep/mip/kwichanh-ta.
 I-TOP [TP you-NOM PRED] afraid/worried/hateful/annoyed-DEC

The upshot is that the apparent object of the psych adjective is in fact the subject of the embedded clause with a hidden predicate. Once we postulate (14) as the structure for the psych adjective construction, the unexpected properties presented above fall out naturally. First, ‘tomorrow evening’ in (3) can be associated either with the main clause predicate ‘afraid’ or with the embedded clause hidden predicate, hence the ambiguity.

- (15=3) a. Mina-nun nayil cenyek-ey [Inho-ka PRED] twulyep-kess-ta.
 M.-TOP tomorrow evening-in [I.-NOM PRED] afraid-will-DEC
 ‘Tomorrow evening Mina will be afraid of Inho.’
 b. Mina-nun [nayil cenyek-ey Inho-ka PRED] twulyep-kess-ta.
 M.-TOP [tomorrow evening-in I.-NOM PRED] afraid-will-DEC
 ‘Mina will (soon) be afraid of Inho because of tomorrow evening.’

Next, the past-tensed predicate in (6) is not in the same clause with the temporal adverbial phrase ‘tomorrow morning’, so there is no temporal clash expected.

- (16=6) (ecey) na-nun[nayil achim-ey Mina-ka PRED] twulyep-ess-ta.
 (yesterday) I-TOP [tomorrow morning-in M.-NOM PRED] afraid-PST-DEC
 ‘(Yesterday) I was afraid of Mina because of tomorrow morning.’

Finally, the possibility of nonreferential (opaque) reading of the psych adjective construction can be also attributed to the presence of the subordinate clause. Endo *et al.* (1999) argue the nonreferential (opaque) reading of the notional object in the Japanese *hosii* ‘desirous’ construction arises because it is in the embedded clause subject position. Thus following Endo *et al.*, (11) can be analyzed as (17).³

³ However, it is not clear whether the transparent (referential) reading is derived by a covert syntactic movement of the nominal, *e.g.*, Quantifier Raising. QR is generally not allowed across clause boundary.

- (17=11) Inho-nun [ku ppayngsoni wuncenca-ka PRED] mip-ess-ta.
 I.-TOP [that hit.and.run driver-NOM PRED] hateful-PST-DEC
 'Inho hated that hit-and-run driver (who bumped his car).'

Positing the “nominative object” inside the complement clause of psych adjectives also accounts for its *de dicto/de re* ambiguity. The nominative marked QP in (18a) can have either a narrow scope (*de dicto*) or a wide scope (*de re*) reading with respect to the psych predicates; the existence of ten women is true in Minoo’s mind (*de dicto* reading), or in the speaker’s mind (*de re* reading). This is impossible for a normal direct object of a transitive verb. In (18b), the accusative marked QP only has *de re* reading.

- (18) a. Minwu-nun yel myeng-uy yeca-tul-i twulyep/mip-ess-ta.
 M.-TOP ten CLS-POS woman-PL-NOM afraid/dislike(ADJ)-PST-DEC
 'Minoo was afraid/hateful of ten women.'
 b. Minwu-nun yel myeng-uy yeca-tul-ul manna-ess-ta.
 M.-TOP ten CLS-POS woman-PL-ACC meet-PST-DEC
 'Minoo met ten women'

Similarly, nominative marked ‘more than half of the students’ in (19a) allows a narrow scope under ‘annoyed’. The counting of the number of annoying students can be done either in Mr. Kim’s mind (*de dicto* reading) or in the speaker’s mind (*de re* reading). Again an accusative object of transitive predicates does not exhibit this ambiguity, so only *de re* reading is possible in (19b).

- (19) a. Kim-sensayng-un pan isang-uy haksayng-tul-i kwichanh-ess-ta.
 Kim-teacher-TOP half above-POS student-PL-NOM annoyed-PST-DEC
 'Mr. Kim was annoyed by more than half of the students.'
 b. Kim-sensayng-un pan isang-uy haksayng-tul-ul chepelha-ess-ta.
 Kim-teacher-TOP half above-POS student-PL-ACC punish-PST-DEC
 'Mr. Kim punished more than half of the students.'

De dicto reading of a QP is generally observed in biclausal structures. For example, Takano (2003, 802) claims that accusative marked QP object of so-called “raising to object” constructions in Japanese (Kuno 1976) lacks the lower interpretation found with its nominative counterpart. In (20a) the nominative QP can have a narrow scope under the matrix predicate. In other words, it has a reading on which the existence of three men is true in the mind of the matrix subject (*de dicto* reading). On the contrary, (20b) has only the reading on which the existence of three men is true in the mind of the speaker (*de re* reading). Takano argues that this is because the accusative QP in (20b) is base generated in

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- (i) Minwu-nun sey salam-i kecicmal-ul ha-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 M.-TOP three person-NOM lie-ACC do-PST-DEC-COMP believe-PST-DEC
 'Minoo believed that three people lied.' (three << believe, *three >> believe)

The same question remains for the *de re/de dicto* ambiguity found in (18a) and (19a).

the matrix clause, whereas the nominative QP in (20a) is inside the embedded clause.⁴

- (20) a. Keisatu-wa [sannin-no otoko-ga hannin-da-to] danteisita.
 police-TOP three-POS man-NOM culprit-is-that concluded
 b. Keisatu-wa sannin-no otoko-o [PRO hannin-da-to] danteisita.
 police-TOP three-POS man-ACC culprit-is-that concluded
 'The police concluded that three men committed the crime.'

If Takano (2003) is correct in that the ambiguous construal of QP observed in (20a) is due to a biclausal structure where the relevant QP is in the embedded clause, the same kind of ambiguity found in (18a) and (19a) supports the claim that the apparent object NPs of psych adjectives are in fact in a position more deeply embedded than the direct object position, namely inside a complement clause.

A hidden clausal complement analysis has been suggested for English transitive psych verbs by Pesetsky (1987). He claims that English psych verbs such as *annoy* and *anger* take two objects; the experiencer argument and the infinitival clause from which the theme argument undergoes *tough* movement (21b). The infinitival clause, whose exact content is determined by the context, is deleted in a simple sentence like (21a) below.

- (21) a. These pictures annoy me.
 b. These pictures_i annoy me_j [PRO_j to have to look at e_i].

Though the structures are different, the basic motivation for the postulation of a clausal complement is shared by Pesetsky (1987) and the present analysis; Pesetsky (1987, 129-130) notes that the transitive psych predicate construction shown in (21a) is “expressively incomplete.” Pictures are “not annoying in a situational vacuum,” but they are “annoying *to look at* or *to hang on the wall*, etc.” Similarly, in the Korean example (22) below, it is certain behaviors or characteristics of Mina’s that cause the worry or the envy of the speaker, *e.g.*, her leaving for a foreign country or marrying a rich man.

- (22) na-nun Mina-ka kekcengsulep/pwulep-ta.
 I-TOP M.-NOM worried/envious-DEC
 'I am worried about/envious of Mina.'

In the next section, psych adjectives are compared with their accusative-marking verbal counterparts. Interestingly, the latter do not show the characteristics shown by the former. This implies that the peculiarities found in the psych adjective construction are not due to lexical properties such as stativity, or the thematic roles the psych predicates assign, since those are shared by adjectival and verbal

⁴ Takano contrasts this with English ECM subject, which allows narrow scope reading of a QP.

(i) John proved two assumptions [*t* to be false]

Stowell (1991) observes that (i) is ambiguous, depending on the scope ‘two assumptions’ takes with respect to the matrix verb. The ambiguity is attributed to the presence of a trace in the infinitival clause.

psych predicates. Rather, they come from the structure of a psych adjective complement, namely the clausal complementation.

3. Psych Adjectives versus Psych Verbs

Verbal psych predicates requiring accusative Case marking on the object are usually formed by adding the light verb *ha* ‘do’ to the psych adjectives. Despite this obvious morphological relation between the adjectival and verbal psych predicates, the psych verb constructions do not exhibit the biclausal properties observed in the previous section.

Compare (3) with (23) in which the psych adjective *twulyep* is replaced with a psych verb *twulyeweha*, resulting also in accusative Case marking on ‘Inho’. There is no ambiguity related to the temporal adverbial, in contrast to (3). ‘Tomorrow evening’ can only indicate the time when Mina will feel the fear.

- (23) Mina-nun nayil cenyek-ey Inho-lul twulyeweha-kess-ta.
 M.-TOP tomorrow evening-in I.-ACC fear-will-DEC
 a. 'Tomorrow evening Mina will fear Inho.'
 b. *'Mina will (soon) fear Inho because of tomorrow evening.'

Likewise, psych verbs do not tolerate the discordance between a temporal adverbial and the tense on the predicate. Changing the adjective *twulyep* ‘afraid’ in (6) to its verbal counterpart makes the sentence unacceptable ((24)).

- (24) *(ecey) na-nun nayil achim-ey Mina-lul twulyeweha-ess-ta.
 (yesterday) I-TOP tomorrow morning-in M.-ACC fear-PST-DEC
 (haciman onul-un an twulyeweha-n-ta.)
 (but today-FOC neg fear-PRS-DEC)

The referential/nonreferential ambiguity disappears as well once the psych adjective is replaced by its verbal counterpart. Compare (25) with (10); (25) is possible only when ‘that actor’ has a fiancée and Mina envies that woman. In other words, ‘the woman who will marry that actor’ must have a referent.

- (25) Mina-nun ku payuw-wa kyelhonha-l yeca-lul puwleweha-n-ta.
 M.-TOP that actor-with marry-REL woman-ACC envy-PRS-DEC
 'Mina envies the woman who will marry that actor.'

Similarly in (26) below, the nonreferential reading is not available with the psych verb *miweha* ‘hate,’ unlike (11) with the adjective *mip* ‘hateful.’ Inho must know who the hit-and-run driver was and he hates that particular person.

- (26) Inho-nun ku ppayngsoni uwncenca-lul miweha-ess-ta.
 I.-TOP that hit.and.run driver-ACC hate-PST-DEC
 'Inho hated the hit-and-run driver (who bumped his car).'

(27) and (28) below clearly show the contrast between a psych adjective and a psych verb with regards to the referential/nonreferential ambiguity. If the speaker

knows that Minoo is the driver who hit Inho's car and fled the scene, (27b) is contradictory, whereas (27a) is not. This is expected if the nominative marked 'that hit-and-run driver' doesn't necessarily refer to a specific person in (27a), as the current analysis argues. 'That hit-and-run driver' and 'Minoo' can avoid being coreferential in (27a), thus the sentence is not contradictory.

- (27) a. Inho-nun ku ppayngsoni uwncenca-ka mip-ess-ciman
 I.-TOP that hit.and.run driver-NOM hateful-PST-but
 Minuw-ka mip-ci-nun anh-ess-ta
 M.-NOM hateful-CI-CONT NEG-PST-DEC
 'Inho hated the hit-and-run driver, but he didn't hate Minoo'
- b. # Inho-nun ku ppayngsoni uwncenca-lul miweha-ess-ciman
 I.-TOP that hit.and.run driver-ACC hate-PST-but
 Minuw-lul miweha-ci-nun anh-ess-ta
 M.-ACC hate-CI-CONT NEG-PST-DEC

(28a) and (28b) exhibit the same contrast. If the speaker is aware of the fact that Hana is the woman who is engaged to marry that actor, only (28a), where the predicate is an adjective, can be uttered without contradiction.

- (28) a. Mina-nun ku payuw-wa kyelhonha-l yeca-ka puwlep-ciman
 M.-TOP that actor-with marry-REL woman-NOM envious-but
 Hana-ka puwlep-ci-nun anh-ta.
 H.-NOM envious-CI-CONT NEG-DEC
 'Mina is envious of a woman who will marry that actor, but she isn't envious of Hana.'
- b.# Mina-nun ku payuw-wa kyelhonha-l yeca-lul puwleweha-ciman
 M.-TOP that actor-with marry-REL woman-ACC envy-but
 Hana-lul puwleweha-ci-nun anh-nun-ta.
 H.-ACC envy-CI-CONT NEG-PRS-DEC

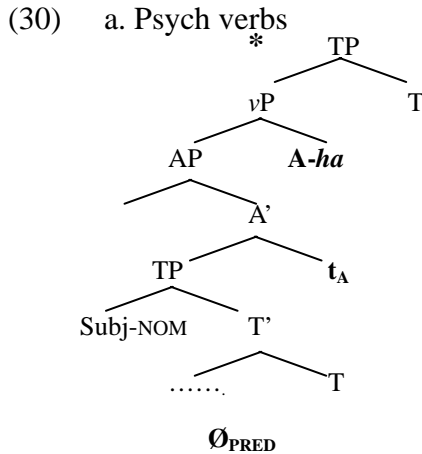
Finally the *de re/de dicto* ambiguity observed in (18) and (19) is also absent in psych verb constructions. In (29), the presence of ten women is true only in the speaker's mind, hence *de re* reading of the QP.

- (29) Minuw-nun yel myeng-uy yeca-tul-ul tuwlyeweha/miweha-ess-ta.
 M.-TOP ten CLS-POS woman-PL-ACC fear/dislike-PST-DEC
 'Minoo feared/disliked ten women.'

Thus Korean psych verbs behave just as any other transitive verbs in that they do not exhibit the clausal complementation characteristics observed in psych adjectives. The comparison of psych adjectives and psych verbs reveals that Case marking contrast between adjectival and verbal psych predicates in Korean is only a superficial one; the fundamental distinction resides in the complement structure. More specifically, the two types of psych predicates differ in the selectional properties, and the possibility of having a null predicate in the complement clause. On the one hand, psych verbs can have an NP complement whereas psych

adjective cannot. On the other hand, psych adjectives can select for a clausal complement with a null predicate, but psych verbs do not allow this.⁵ What is responsible for the difference in the complement structure seems to be related to the presence or absence of a light verb; recall that the morphological shape of psych verbs is psych adjectives with a light verb *ha* ‘do’ attached. I assume that this light verb is a functional head that is responsible for Case checking/assignment, thus it enables psych verbs to take an NP complement. Psych adjectives, on the contrary, do not select for an NP object because of the lack of the relevant functional head.

There remains a question of what prevents psych verbs from selecting a clause with a null predicate. Marcel den Dikken (p.c.) suggested that embedded null predicates are licensed by an overt matrix predicate at LF, and the licensing should be restricted by some sort of locality condition. (30) shows that this can correctly differentiate psych verbs and psych adjectives with respect to whether a null embedded predicate is allowed or not. In (30b), the overt A head in the matrix clause c-commands the null predicate in the embedded clause, and thus licenses the latter. In psych verb constructions, since the adjective head is adjoined to the light verb, the trace of the former comes between the licenser (overt predicate) and the licensee (null predicate). Presumably this causes an intervention effect, and thus blocks the licensing of the latter by the former in (30a).

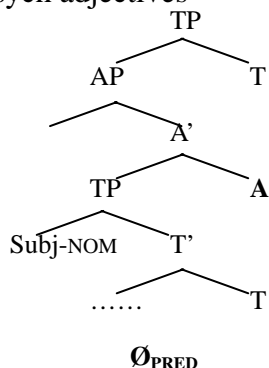


⁵ It is not a trivial question what the ‘overt predicate’ counterpart of the clausal complement is. A clausal complement of psych adjectives, which denotes the direct cause of certain psychological experience, is marked with a complementizer *kka* or (*e*)*se*. *Kka* heads an irrealis clause (i), whereas *ese* selects for a realis clause (ii).

- (i) Mina-nun Inho-ka o-l-kka tuwlyep/kekconsulep-ess-ta.
 M.-TOP I.-NOM come-FUT-COMP afraid/worried-PST-DEC
 'Mina was afraid/worried that Inho might come'
- (ii) Inho-nun puwmonim-i kananha-ese puwkkulep-ess-ta.
 I.-TOP parents-NOM poor-COMP ashamed-PST-DEC
 'Inho was ashamed that his parents were poor'

However I am not assuming that the apparent nominative object of psych adjectives is derived by deletion of overt predicates from sentences like (i) and (ii). Thus the precise structure of hidden complement clause may differ from (i-ii) in that they do not have a CP, hence no overt complementizer.

b. Psych adjectives



4. *Siph* Construction

Let us now turn to the desiderative *siph* construction, which has been analyzed as another instance of nominative Case marking on the object. In *siph* construction, both nominative and accusative Cases are allowed on the object of the lower verb, as shown in (31a), though the embedded verb only allows accusative Case on the object (31b).⁶

- (31) a. na-nun kominhyeng-i/ul sa-ko siph-ess-ta.
 I-TOP teddy.bear-NOM/ACC buy-KO desirous-PST-DEC
 'I wanted to buy a teddy bear.'
- b. na-nun kominhyeng-ul/*i sa-ess-ta.
 I-TOP teddy.bear-ACC/*NOM buy-PST-DEC
 'I bought a teddy bear.'

Interestingly, the scope interaction between *siph* and the quantified NP object of the embedded clause correlates with the Case marking on the latter. A nominative marked QP is always interpreted as taking scope over *siph* 'desirous', whereas the opposite is true for an accusative QP.

- (32) a. na-nun manhun yenghwa-ka po-ko siph-ess-ta.
 I-TOP many movie-NOM watch-KO desirous-PST-DEC
 'I wanted to watch many movies.' (many>>want, *want>>many)
- b. na-nun manhun yenghwa-lul po-ko siph-ess-ta.
 I-TOP many movie-ACC watch-KO desirous-PST-DEC
 'I wanted to watch many movies.' (*many>>want, want>> many)

Nominative and accusative marked objects of *siph* construction also differ in terms of referential/nonreferential ambiguity. It arises only when the object is accusative marked. In (33), 'the woman who will marry that actor' must refer to a specific person when it is marked with *-ka*, the nominative Case marker, whereas it can be either referential or nonreferential when marked with the accusative *-lul*.

⁶ Japanese also has an overt biclausal desiderative construction that shows the same scope relation as Korean *siph* construction. The Japanese desiderative morpheme *tai* is morphologically bound to the embedded verb, whereas the Korean equivalent *siph* is not. However, both *tai* and *siph* always co-occur with another predicate; in other words they cannot directly select for a DP complement.

- (33) Mina-nun ku paywu-wa kyelhonha-l yeca-ka/lul
 M.-NOM that actor-with marry-REL woman-NOM/ACC
 manna-ko siph-ta.
 meet-KO desirous-DEC
 'Mina wants to meet the woman who will marry that actor.'

Therefore, one might expect that when the nonreferential reading is forced by the context, nominative marking becomes awkward. This prediction is borne out; only the accusative object is acceptable in (34-35) below.

- (34) Inho-nun ku ppayngsoni wuncenca-lul/*ka cap-ko siph-ta.
 I.-TOP that hit-and-run driver-ACC/*NOM catch-KO desirous-DEC
 'Inho wants to catch the hit-and-run driver (who bumped his car).'
- (35) na-nun manhun chinkwu-tul-ul/*i mantul-ko siph-ta.
 I-TOP many friend-PL-ACC/*NOM make-KO desirous-DEC
 'I want to make many friends.'

This seems to raise a potential problem for a hidden clausal complement analysis of “nominative object” proposed above. Recall that in psych adjective constructions it is nominative Case that is related to nonreferential or the lower clause reading; the presence of an embedded clause is responsible for the possibility of a nonreferential reading of the nominative NP inside it. Therefore, psych predicate constructions and *siph* constructions seem to behave in the opposite way of each other, with regards to the correlation of Case and the interpretation of the notional object.

In order to account for the correlation between the Case marking and the scope interaction shown in (32), previous accounts claim that the accusative marked object is the object inside the embedded VP, which is in turn the complement of *siph*, while the nominative object is that of a derived “stative” complex predicate ‘V-ko *siph*’ (Kim and Maling 1998, Kuno and Kim 1999).

- (36) Accusative object Nominative object
- a. b.
-
- VP1
 VP2 V1
 NP V2 siph-ta
 | |
 object V-ko
- VP1
 NP V1
 | | |
 object V2 V1
 | | |
 V-ko siph-ta
 (Sells 2001, 2)

Interestingly, *tough* construction in Korean shows exactly the same relation between Case marker and the scope interpretation with *siph* construction. As shown by the English translation, ‘many math problems’ with the nominative marker *-ka* in (37a) always scopes over the matrix predicate ‘difficult,’ whereas it takes a narrow scope when *-lul*, the accusative marker, appears on it ((37b)).

- (37) a. na-nun manhun suwhak muwncey-ka phuwl-ki elyep-ess-ta
 I-TOP many math problem-NOM solve-KI difficult-PST-DEC
 'Many math problems were difficult for me to solve' (many>>difficult)
- b. na-nun manhun suwhak muwncey-lul phuwl-ki elyep-ess-ta
 I-TOP many math problem-ACC solve-KI difficult-PST-DEC
 'It was difficult for me to solve many math problems'(many<<difficult)

Based on this observation I propose that *siph* construction is a type of *tough* construction, thus biclausal regardless of the Case marking on the notional object. This move enables us to relate the different scope interpretation found in (32a) and (32b) to the quantified nominal belonging to different clauses. A wide scope or transparent object in (32a) occupies the subject position of the matrix clause, while the narrow scope or opaque object in (32b) is in the embedded object position, as shown in (38a) and (38b), respectively.

- (38) a. na_i-nun manhun yenghwa_j-ka [t_i e_j po-ko] siph-ess-ta.
 I-TOP many movie-NOM watch-KO desirous-PST-DEC
 'I wanted to watch many movies.' (many>>want, *want>>many)
 (To me many movies were desirable to watch.)
- b. na_i-nun [t_i manhun yenghwa-lul po-ko] siph-ess-ta
 I-TOP many movie-ACC watch-KO desirous-PST-DEC
 'I wanted to watch many movies.' (*many>>want, want>>many)
 (To me it was desirable to watch many movies.)

(38) also solves the puzzle of the focal difference between nominative and accusative marked notional object. “Nominative object” of *siph* construction is held to be inherently focused (Sells 2001, 9), whereas its accusative counterpart does not have a focal reading unless phonologically marked. If “nominative object” is truly the object of a stative complex predicate as argued in previous accounts, it is mysterious why only this type of predicates allows focal reading of the object, while simple transitive verbs do not. In fact, the focal reading of matrix subject is a general tendency when an element of the embedded clause is fronted to the matrix clause and topic marked as shown in (39) below. Since (38a) also involves topicalization of the embedded clause subject, the focal reading is expected.⁷

⁷ One remaining difficulty here is that a nominative marker, as well as a topic marker, can appear on *na* 'I' in (i), which must be moved from the embedded clause in the current analysis. However, subject scrambling is unacceptable or causes a serious parsing difficulty when the matrix subject bears a nominative marker (ii).

- (i) na_i-ka ku yenghwa_j-ka [t_i e_j po-ko] siph-ess-ta.
 I-NOM that movie-NOM watch-KO desirous-PST-DEC
 'I wanted to watch many movies.' ('Many movies were desirable for me to watch.')
- (ii) Inho_i-ka Mina-nun/?*ka [t_i ku koyangi-lul sa-ess-tako] sayngkaha/malha-ess-ta.
 I.-NOM M.-TOP/NOM that cat-ACC buy-PST-COMP think/say-PST-DEC
 'Mina thought/said that Inho bought that cat.'

The grammaticality of (i) should however be viewed as a property of Korean *tough* construction in general.

- (39) a. Minwu_j-nun na_i-ka [PRO_i t_j ttayli-kess-tako] kyelsimha-ess-ta.
 M.-TOP I-NOM hit-will-COMP decide-PST-DEC
 'I decided to beat up Minoo.' (It was me who decided to beat up Minoo.)
- b. Inho_i-nun Mina-ka [t_i mesci-tako] sayngkakha-n-ta.
 I.-TOP M.-NOM cute-COMP think-PRS-DEC
 'Mina thinks that Inho is cute.' (It is Mina who thinks Inho is cute)

The *tough* construction analysis of the *siph* construction explains the puzzling facts about the interpretation of object NP without stipulating two types of *V-ko siph*, one as a VP selected by another V and the other formed by merging two V heads. More importantly, since what has been considered to be the nominative marked object of a complex predicate *V-ko siph* is in the matrix subject position, there is no reason to assume that a lexical property (stativity or nonagentivity) of the predicate *siph* is responsible for the nominative Case marking on the object. Furthermore, the fact that nominative notional objects in *siph* construction shows exclusively 'higher clause' characteristics such as wide scope interpretation and referential reading, unlike those of psych adjective constructions, is no longer a problem in the present analysis. They occupy different positions: Nominative notional object of psych adjectives is in the embedded subject position, whereas that of *siph* constructions is a matrix subject. Thus the argument that the "nominative object" of psych adjectives is in fact the subject of its complement clause remains intact. In addition, the current analysis can attribute the focal reading of "nominative object" of *siph* construction to the general property of matrix subject when an embedded element is fronted.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I proposed a novel analysis of the well-known nominative object phenomenon in Korean. I claimed that "nominative object" of psych adjectives is in fact an embedded clause subject in disguise, based upon the fact that the seemingly monoclausal structure of psych adjective constructions exhibits properties peculiar to a biclausal structure. I also argued that the desiderative *siph* construction is an instance of *tough* construction, which captures the correlation of nominative Case on the notional object and its fixed wide scope interpretation without allowing nominative Case assignment on a direct object.

If the proposed biclausal analysis of nominative object constructions is on the right track, the apparent idiosyncrasy of Korean psych adjectives is not located in their Case marking properties *per se*, but rather in their selectional properties. This move, along with the *tough* analysis of desiderative *siph*

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- (iii) na_i-ka ku mwuncey_j-ka [t_i e_j phwul-ki] elyep-ess-ta.
 I-NOM that problem-NOM solve-KI difficult-PST-DEC
 'The problem was difficult for me to solve.'

Notice that only (ii) has tensed verb in the embedded clause. So the distinction between Korean *tough* constructions and sentences like (ii) might reside in the types of embedded clauses. However, this question cannot be fully addressed without elucidating what exactly is responsible for the unacceptability of a nominative marker on the embedded subject in a subject scrambling structure like (ii). I leave this question for future research.

construction, exempts structural Case assignment from referring to the lexical properties of the predicates such as “stativity”. Furthermore, it can also serve as supporting evidence for the hidden clausal complement analysis of the intensional transitive verbs (McCawley (1974), Ross (1976), Larson *et al.* (1997)).

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