Chapter 3
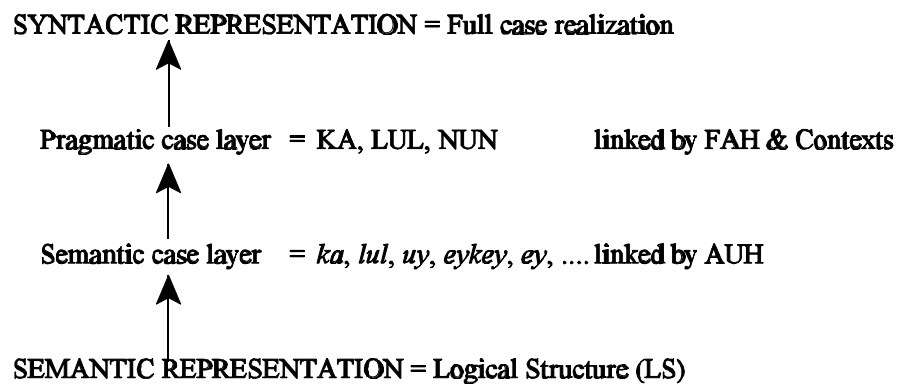
Two Case Layers (semantic and pragmatic case)

3.1   Introduction

The preceding chapter has summarized some of the basic features of RRG. First, I introduced the lexical representation consisting of verb classification, logical structure (LS) and semantic roles. Second, I also introduced the basic 'linking algorithm' along with the three grammatical projections: constituent, operator, and focus structure projection. Third, I have outlined information structure in RRG, and placed its position within the theory of grammar.

In what follows, I will claim that in order to account fully for Korean case-marking along with the grammatical significance of word order, two independent case layers (semantic and pragmatic) will be jointly needed.

Figure 1:   Two Case Layers (semantic → pragmatic case)

SYNTACTIC REPRESENTATION = Full case realization

↑

Pragmatic case layer   = KA, LUL, NUN   linked by FAH & Contexts

↑

Semantic case layer   = *ka, lul, uy, eykey, ey*, ... linked by AUH

↑

SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION = Logical Structure (LS)

3.2   Data for discussion

The notions of 'subject' and 'object', including the grammatical markers of any kind associated with them, have been at the crux of theoretical as well as empirical debates for a long time. In particular, when scholars analyze Korean and attempt to define or derive the grammatical relations of subject and object from case or base them on the case system, the situation becomes more difficult. As is well known among scholars, the difficulty stems primarily from the fact that in Korean not only do the traditional notions of subject and object NP get assigned NOM and ACC respectively, but also various types of NPs are also assigned NOM and ACC within the same sentence as we can see below in (1) and (2).

(1)   (A woman talking to herself after shopping)

        TOPS-**ka**   kwul-**i**   ilpwul-**i**   ssa-kwuna!
        TOPS-NOM   orange-NOM   one.dollar-NOM   cheap-EXH
        'Oranges for a dollar are cheap at TOPS!'

(2)   (A soldier reporting to a general concerning the status of the enemy of the previous
        day)

        Cekkwun-un   wuli   tosi-**lul**   kongkeyk-**ul**   ha-ci-**lul**
        enemy-TOP   our   city-ACC   attack-ACC   do-CLM-ACC
        an-h-ass-supnita.
        NEG-do-PST-DEC
        'As for the enemy, they did not attack our city.'

The utterance in (1) which is intended to be an example of a SFS (sentence focus structure), as if uttered spontaneously, out of the blue, contains three NOM-marked NPs. In a similar way, the utterance in (2), which is intended to be an example of a PFS (predicate focus structure), as if the addressee (the general) knows about the enemy (i.e. topic) but does not

know 'what happened' (i.e. focus) to them yesterday, contains three ACC-marked elements.

The question is which one is the subject or object, and why is there more than one NOM or

ACC marked NP? What triggers or licenses these (grammatical) case markers?

3.3   A brief review of previous studies

The following two questions will be discussed:

(3)   a. Can NOM and ACC be accounted for by, or derived from any specific
            grammatical area (syntax, semantics, or pragmatics)?

        b. What is the grammatical nature of the case-shifting (or case alternation) from one
            form to another and why is the latter always NUN, KA, or LUL?

Presumably, under the rubric of the "Structural Account", we may distinguish three different

approaches as follows, (4.1ai - 4.1aiii).

(4)   Approaches to NOM and ACC in Korean

1) NOM	2) ACC

a. Structural NOM
    i)   no INFL
    ii)   INFL
    iii) default
	a. Structural ACC
	b. Semantics
	c. Semantics & Pragmatics

b. Grammatical relation (final 1-hood)	
c. Semantics & Pragmatics	

In the first approach, O'Grady (1991a) could belong to (4.1ai). He proposes that the

NOM marks a 'term' NP that combines with an IV(P) category, while an IV(P) is a function

that applies to an NP to give an S.

The second approach in (4.1.aii) is taken mostly by Principles & Parameters grammarians (Y.-J. Yim 1985, H.-S. Han 1987, M.-Y. Kang 1988, and Choi 1989 among many). For them, INFL is an independent category separated from V, and the honorific feature, for instance, constitutes the AGR element in INFL. By contrast, Y.-J. Kim (1990), K.-S. Hong (1991), and Y.-S. Kang (1986) argue that Korean does not have any INFL as an independent category, and thus the NOM is accounted for by a default NP, (4.1aiii).

As for the third position in (4.1b), Gerdts (1988), C. Youn (1981), and Gerdts (1988, 1991) assume that NOM is assigned based on the grammatical relation borne by the relevant NP: NOM is licensed by a final 1 (SUBJ).

Yang (1994) and Park (1995) come in to the category of the (4.1c) and (4.2c) in which they give a kind of joint account (semantics and pragmatics) for NOM and ACC within the RRG framework. According to them, NOM and ACC can be either semantic case or pragmatic case. This dissertation follows their basic ideas. However, it will be argued that there is case-shifting from semantic to pragmatic case for the purpose of focus structure and partly due to the shifting of NOM and ACC which can both be semantic and pragmatic case in the final syntactic representation.

If we turn to ACC case marking, we may distinguish three major approaches as in (4.2) above. As the first position, (4.2.a), the analysis of O'Grady (1991), for instance, depends on structural definitions to account for ACC marking. According to him, ACC marks a 'term' NP that can bind with a TV category, while a TV is a function that applies to an NP to give an IV. The analyses of J.-S. Lee's (1992) and Y.-S. Choi's (1998) and all Relational Grammar analyses also depend on structural and grammatical relation. According to C. Youn

(1989), ACC is licensed by a final 2 (OBJ).

For the second position in (4.2.b), Kang (1986) proposes that ACC marking is related to the 'stativity' of a predicate: a NP argument which is a sister of a [-state] V is assigned ACC (General Case Marking Rule (I)). Y.-J. Kim (1990) proposes the notion of Agentivity. ACC is assigned by a [+agentivity] predicate which has a DO or a CAUSE clause in its Lexical Conceptual Structure (Jakendoff 1989). K.-S. Hong (1991) depends on the concept of Determinant and Determinee.

Before proceeding to my proposal, it would be worthwhile to discuss the notion of VP as is claimed to be universal in GB/P&P grammar. This claim is tried crucially to the position of abstract, underlying levels of syntactic representation. According to Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 20), "[t]here is no empirical fact in any human language that absolutely requires that theory of syntax posit multiple levels of syntactic representation. Rather, the motivation for positing an abstract underlying syntactic level is theory-internal." As a piece of evidence against a VP as universal constituent, they (ibid.: 19) gives the following data from Dyirbal (Dixon 1972), an Aboriginal language of Australia:

(5)   a. Ba-la-n   ɖugumbil-Ø ba-ŋgu-l   yaṛa-ŋgu buṛa-n.
           DEIC-ABS-II woman-ABS DEIC-ERG-I man-ERG see-TNS
    b. Baŋgul   yaṛaŋgu   buṛan   balan   ɖugumbil.
    c. Buṛan   balan   ɖugumbil baŋgul   yaṛaŋgu.
    d. Baŋgul   yaṛaŋgu   balan   ɖugumbil buṛan.
    e. Buṛan   baŋgul   yaṛaŋgu   balan   ɖugumbil.
    f. Balan   ɖugumbil buṛan   baŋgul   yaṛaŋgu.
           'The man saw the woman.'

(6)   Ba-yi   yaṛa-Ø ba-ŋgu-n   ɖugumbi-ṛu   buṛa-n.
    DEIC-ABS-I man-ABS DEIC-ERG-II woman-EGR   see-TNS
    'The woman saw the man.'

(7) a. Ba-la-n   ɖugumbi-Ø   wayɲɖi-n.
         DEIC-ABS-II   woman-ABS   go.uphill-TNS
     b. Wayɲɖi-n   balan   ɖugumbi.
         'The woman went uphill.'

The major constituents in a Dyirbal clause can appear in any order, and if one wishes to

change the meaning of the sentence to '*The woman saw the man*', then the case marking of

the NPs must be changed, as in (6). Of particular interest here are (5a, e) in which the 'object'

NP *balan ɖugumbil* 'the woman' is separated from the verb *buɽaŋgu* 'the man'. These

examples raise doubts that there is a VP in Dyirbal clause structure, because there is no

evidence that the 'object' NP and the verb form any kind of unit.

In regard to these examples, according to Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 20), both

approaches, one which posits an underlying syntactic representation as in GB/P&P, the other

which does not posit it having only one level of syntactic representation, can account for the

examples in (5)-(7). That is, if we adopt an analysis of the former kind, in an underlying

representation of Dyirbal there is fixed word order and a VP, e.g. S[$_{VP}$VO], following Kayne's

(1994) claim that all languages have SVO order in their underlying syntactic forms, and the

case assignment rules apply to this abstract representation. Then there is an optional rule

which scrambles the phrases in order to specify all of the possibilities given in (5) and (7). The

important point about this situation is that the assumption of a structurally based account of

case assignment, together with lack of overt evidence for a VP, forces the multilevel analysis.

If, on the other hand, the theory assumed a non-structurally based account of case assignment,

one based on grammatical relations or semantic relations, then the need for the abstract

representation would be obviated. This is the general approach that RRG takes, as we saw

in chapter 2. This highlights the fact that the justification for the abstract syntactic representation is entirely theory-internal.

On account of the fact that the crucial configurational category VP cannot be assumed to be a universal syntactic category, the definitions of subject and object involving VP are called into question. Instead, Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 218) argues that the source of the VP is the AFD (actual focus domain) in the PFS, which is universally the unmarked focus structure. Based on these observations, our account of Korean case marking will not rely on any structural notion like VP, but it will be a joint account using semantics and pragmatics under the 'Two Case Layers' hypothesis.

3.4 Proposal

3.4.1 Two Case Layers Hypothesis

Let us reproduce figure 1, the 'Two Case Layers' below for ease of explanation.

Figure 1:   Two Case Layers (semantic → pragmatic case)

SYNTACTIC REPRESENTATION = Full case realization

Pragmatic case layer   = KA, LUL, NUN   linked by FAH & Contexts

Semantic case layer   = *ka, lul, uy, eykey, ey*, ... linked by AUH

SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION = Logical Structure (LS)
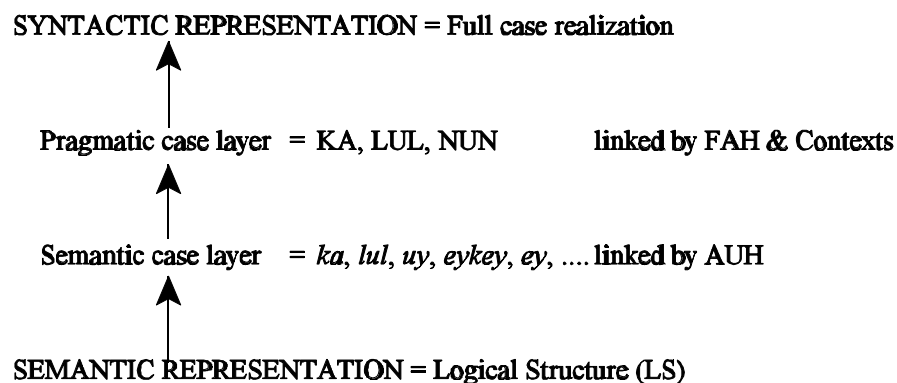
There are several things to point out in regard to figure 1 above. First, in Korean, the use of the morphological markers NOM and ACC is bi-functional; namely, on the one hand, the semantic NOM case *-ka* is used for the Privileged Syntactic Argument (subject) and the semantic ACC case *-lul/-ul* for the second macrorole (direct object). On the other hand, the pragmatic focus marker KA and LUL are used for different types of focus structures.[1] Second, there exists a pattern of case-shifting (or alternation) from the semantic(ally motivated syntactic) case[2] to the pragmatic(ally motivated syntactic) case because of focus structure. Third, the semantic cases are linked to the syntactic representation in terms of the AUH (Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy) following the RRG framework (Van Valin & LaPolla 1977). In contrast, the pragmatic cases (NUN, KA or LUL) are linked to the syntactic representation in terms of the FAH (Focality Accessibility Hierarchy)[3] and the discourse context. Fourth, there is 'semantic bleeding' through (or 'semantic interference' with) the pragmatic case layer; that is, application of semantic 'exclusiveness' of *ka* to an NP may bleed (deprive) application of pragmatic 'focus' marker KA although the NP is in the AFD. Likewise, application of semantic 'affectedness' of *lul* to an NP may bleed (deprive) application of pragmatic 'focus' LUL although it is in the AFD. Finally, I propose, based on data which will be dealt with in following chapters, the 'grammatical values of 'nun', 'ka' and

---

[1]That is, formally, they are homonym.

[2]Despite the terminology, semantic and pragmatic case, they are syntactic in the sense that first, the semantic relation does not directly impact on which case form to choose: namely a bunch of thematic roles, e.g., instrument can take NOM, not only agent, for instance. Rather, it is a slot in the LS (Van Valin & LaPolla 1977:128). Similarly, it is syntactic in the sense that the pragmatic relation does not directly impact on what kinds of (pragmatic) case forms to choose for focal or topical elements. For instance, it is impossible to say that all focused elements must take KA. It is rather the sentence type (e.g., state or activity sentence) and the focus structure together which determine the choice of pragmatic case.

[3]See section 3.4.3 in this chapter.

'lul' in table 1 below which shows which grammatical areas they are sensitive to.

Table 1:   The grammatical values of 'nun', 'ka', and 'lul'

case types	sensitive areas		nun	ka (-state)	lul (-state) / ka (+state)
pragmatic(ally -motivated syntactic) case	neutral	topic	+	–	–
		focus	–	+	+
	contrastive focus*		+	+	+
semantic(ally -motivated syntactic) case	actorhood		–	+	–
	undergoerhood		–	–	+
	exclusiveness		–	+	+
	affectedness		–	–	+
	accomplishment		–	–	*lul*(-state)

*The contrastive uses of NUN, KA, and LUL are for narrow focus structures; they are composites of the (non-contrastive) neutral focus plus focal stress.[4]

3.4.2   Semantic case vs. Pragmatic case linking algorithm

In this subsection, to facilitate understanding of the 'Two case layers' in figure 1, we will examine some actual sentences which show how exactly the distinction between semantic vs. pragmatic case works. The actual grammatical areas to which these two case types are sensitive are proposed in table 1 above. As a first approximation, let us introduce Park (1995: 53)'s definitions of semantic and pragmatic case:

"Shin (1991), among others, has done some work regrading the semantic and

[4]Formally, the difference between the contrastive and neutral focus (or topic) relies on whether there is a focal stress on a focused (or topic) element. In particular, see Section 3.5.1.1 for the difference between the neutral topic and the contrastive topic.

pragmatic contents of Korean case markers, especially the accusative marker. ...[S]he argues that accusative marker -*ul* is usually used when something is newly introduced into the domain of listeners, or contrast is needed, etc. Following Shin's observation, I propose a distinction in terms of semantic case and pragmatic case in Korean. By **semantic case**, I mean case which has semantic contents. For example, typically, ACC marks 'undergoer', and 'affectedness' is part of the semantics of undergoer. As I mentioned earlier, ACC in Korean sometimes represents the accomplishment semantics and telic aspect..... By **pragmatic case**, I mean the use of Nominative or Accusative case, which is not directly derived from the Case Marking Rules as described below, but determined by the pragmatic context.

(8) Case Marking Rules for Korean (Semantic case) (Yang 1994)
    a. Highest ranking macrorole takes NOMINATIVE case.
    b. The other macrorole argument takes ACCUSATIVE case.
    c. Non-macrorole argument take DATIVE as their default case.

As for the definition of semantic cases, I would have nothing to add to Park's definition. However, since the proposal in figure 1 is based on the vertical linking algorithm from semantic case to pragmatic case because of topic-/focalization, and I believe NUN is clearly used for marking topic elements, we propose the following new definition of pragmatic cases:

(9)   **Pragmatic(ally motivated syntactic) cases**:
        the use of the morphological marker NUN, KA, or LUL, which are motivated by pragmatic circumstances (topic or focus)

For clarification, let us consider one example, which can demonstrate the actual case linking algorithms of these two case types. The sentence in (10) below is reproduced from (22) in chapter 2, which is a typical *cwu-* 'give' sentence, and which is linked in terms of the semantic case marking rules in (8). By contrast, the sentence in (11) exhibits pragmatic case marking, which is considered case-shifted from the semantic case sentence (10) for the purpose of focus structure.

(10) Semantic case linking
      Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-eykey   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
      C.-NOM   Y-DAT   flower-ACC   give-PST-DEC
      'Chelswu gave a flower to Yenghi.'

(11) Pragmatic case linking
      Chelswu-nun <u>Yenghi-(eykey)-lul</u>   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ta$_{FOC}$
      C.-TOP   Y-DAT-ACC   flower-ACC   give-PST-DEC
      'As for Chelswu, he gave a flower to Yenghi.'

As I introduced in chapter 2.3.2.1, the semantic case linking of the sentence in (10) proceeds

assigned by the Case Marking Rules for Korean ((Yang 1994)'s proposal) in (8). According

to (8a), the highest ranking macrorole (actor) *Chelswu* on the AUH takes nominative. And

according to (8b), the other macrorole (undergoer) *kkot* 'flower' takes accusative. Finally, the

non-macrorole argument (recipient) *Yenghi* takes dative case as its default case. Figure 3

displays these procedures in order.

Figure 3   Semantic case linking of (10): context neutral case linking
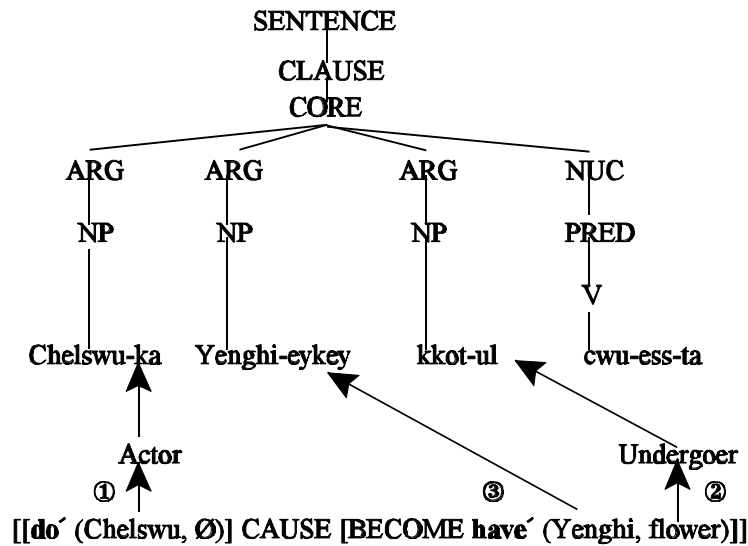
By contrast, the sentence in (11), which is a PFS (predicate focus structure) shows

a pragmatic case linking. Figure 4 shows its constituent and focus structure projection along

with the pragmatic case linking.

Figure 4   Pragmatic case linking (11) of a predicate focus structure
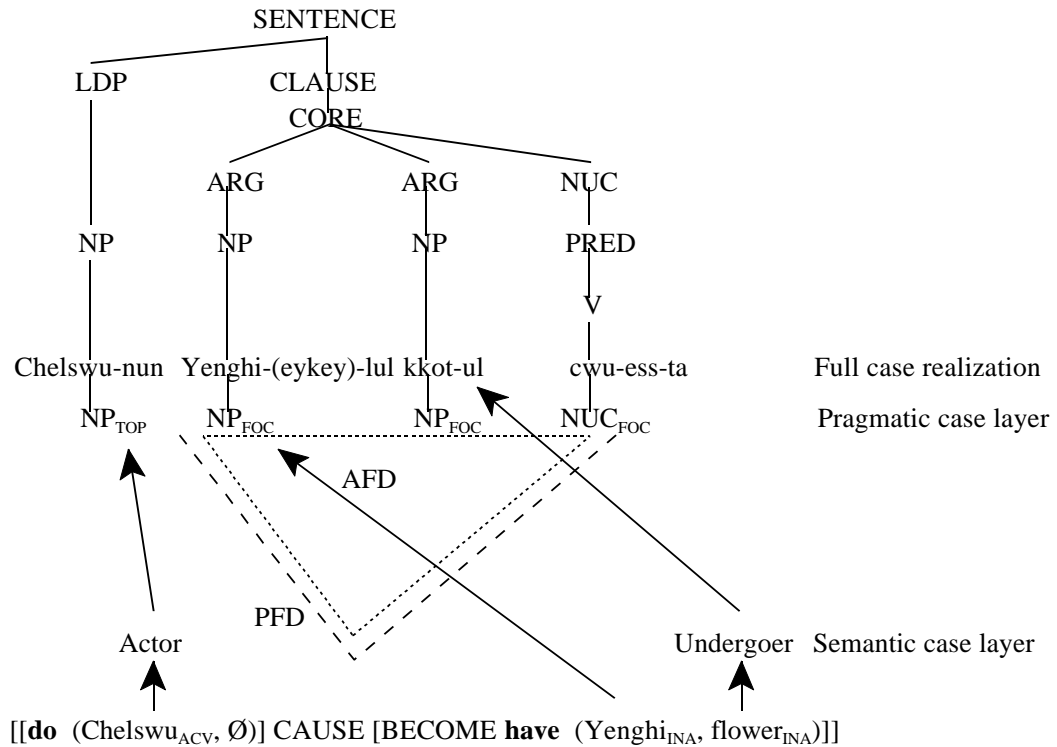
In order to effect the pragmatic case linking, we propose the following pragmatic case

linking rules for Korean.

(12)   Pragmatic case linking algorithm (preliminary)[5]
    a. Determine the focus structure type of the sentence, based on what is activated
       (topic) and what is inactivated (focus) in the context.
    b. Depending on the focus structure types assign the appropriate topic and/or focus
       markers using the following steps in this order.
         1) If it is a predicate focus structure (PFS)
           i) The topic NP marked by NUN appears in the LDP (topicalization)
           ii)To NPs in the AFD (actual focus domain), assign KA if it is in a state
           verb sentence but LUL if it is in a non-state verb sentence. If *-ka* and *-lul*

are assigned in the semantic case layer, then, skip the assignment of KA and LUL (stacking prohibited).

2) If it is a sentence focus structure (SFS)
   i) apply (12b.1.ii)

3) If it is a narrow focus structure (NFS)
   i) apply (12b.1.ii) and assign the focal accent to the NP

First, let us assume the context in question is of a PFS. According to (12b.1.i), the topic NP *Chelswu* is marked with the neutral topic NUN, and appears in the LDP. The other two NPs which are in the scope of the AFD get the neutral focus marker LUL according to (12b.1.ii). Since the second macrorole (undergoer) *kkot* 'flower' is already ACC-marked in semantic case layer, the neutral focus marker LUL does not apply, and the non-macrorole argument (recipient) *Yenghi* has two options: one is case-stacking *Yenghi-eykey-lul* 'Y.-DAT-ACC' or case-shifting from the dative to the neutral focus marker LUL, rendering it as *Yenghi-LUL*.

Before leaving figure 1, there is one more thing to be noted. There is a good piece of evidence that shows that the neutral focus markers KA and LUL do not rely on 'S-transitivity'; that is, what counts for their use is not the difference between a transitive or intransitive verb but between a state or activity (including accomplishment).[6] Take into consideration the following examples.

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[6]It is important to point out that the determination of state or activity for the purpose of the KA and LUL should be done at the clausal level in relation to context, not at the lexical (verb) level. This is so because, oftentimes, it is difficult to decide which one without context provided. For instance, we may say a (lexical) passive, such as *kkayci-* 'broken' is an activity or possibly a (result) state, but at the clausal level with respect to the context, it should be determined as either one, based on which KA or LUL can be utilized. Holisky (1987) provides similar kind of claim that "the interpretation of an argument as an agent is a pragmatic inference or implicature and not an inherent property of the verb's semantic representation." (requoted from Van Valin & Wilkins 1994).

(13)   Q: Chelswu-nun   etteh-ni?
           C.-TOP   how-Q
           'How about Chelswu?' (or 'What happened to Chelswu?')

        A: Chelswu-nun   khi-ka   10cm-**ka/*-lul**   te   khu-ta.
           C.-TOP   stature-NOM   10cm-NOM/-ACC   more   tall-DEC
           'Chelswu is 10cm taller.' (lit. Chelswu's stature is 10cm taller.)
        A : Chelswu-nun   ttwuy-ci-**lul/*-ka**   an-h-ass-ta.[7]
           C.-TOP   run-CLM-ACC/-NOM   NEG-do-PST-DEC
           'It is not the case that Chelswu ran.'

As shown in (13A) and (13A) above, both sentences are intransitive: i.e., *khu-* 'tall' in (13A)

is an intransitive verb, and the verb *ttwuy-* 'run' in (13A) is also an intransitive verb.

However, strikingly, the neutral focus marker LUL cannot occur in (13A) which is a state

verb sentence, and the KA cannot occur in (13A), which is an activity verb sentence.

      Now we are ready to discuss the aforementioned multiple nominative construction

(MNC) and multiple accusative construction (MAC) examples from (1) and (2) in section 3.2,

reproduced below in (14) and (15).

(14)   (A woman talking to herself after shopping)
        a. TOPS-**ka**   kwul-**i**   ilpwul-**i**   ssa-kwuna!
           TOPS-NOM   orange-NOM one.dollar-NOM   cheap-EXH

        b. TOPS-**uy**   kwul-i   ilpwul   ssa-kwuna!
           TOPS-GEN   orange-NOM   one.dollar   cheap-DEC
           'Oranges for a dollar are cheap at TOPS!'

(15)   (A soldier reporting to a general concerning the status of the enemy of the previous
        day)
        a. Cekkwun-**un**   wuli   tosi-**lul**   kongkeyk-**ul**   ha-ci-**lul**
           enemy-TOP   our   city-ACC   attack-ACC   do-CLM-ACC

---

[7]Here, the verbal complex *ttwuy-ci-lul* 'run-CLM-ACC' can never be the syntactic argument of the final light verb HA. That is, it can never be passivized, never be scrambled to other place, and moreover the scope of the CLM -*ci* is the whole core, not an NP.

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an-h-ass-supnita.
NEG-do-PST-DEC

b. Cekkwun-un   wuli   tosi-uy   kongkeyk-ul   ha-ci
   enemy-TOP   our   city-GEN   attack-ACC   do-CLM
   an-h-ass-supnita.
   NEG-do-PST-DEC
   'As for the enemy, they did not attack our city.'

I would propose that (14a) and (15a) are the case-shifted forms of (14b) and (15b) respectively for the purpose of focus structure: i.e. (14b) is the semantic case linking forms which are linked to the syntactic representation based on the AUH,[8] and (14a) represents the pragmatic case linking forms which are linked as a SFS. In a similar vein, I would propose that (15b) represents the semantic case linking forms,[9] and (15a) represents the pragmatic case linking forms case-shifted from (15b) as a PFS.[10]

The following two trees exhibit the formal representations of the layered structure of the two sentences (14a) and (14b), and show how they are different in terms of their focus structure which is, in fact, responsible for the two case-linking patterns.[11]

Figure 5   Semantic case linking of the sentence in (14b)

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[8]This case-linking (semantic case only) accords with the CNCL (Context Neutral Case Linking) which will be proposed in chapter 4.

[9]This case-linking (semantic and pragmatic case) accords with the CSCL (Context Sensitive Case Linking) in the same chapter.

[10]This case-shifting for the purpose of encoding topic-/focalization relies highly on the notion of the 'Pragmatic Unit (PU)' which I will define in chapter 4 and which is motivated by the notion of the 'minimal information unit (MIU)' Lambrecht (1994:216). For instance, the KA-marked NP *TOP-ka* in (14a) is eligible for a PU since it is a MIU (phrase), although it is not a syntactic ARG of the main verb *ssa-* 'cheap'. See chapter 4 for more details wherein I have provided an actual case linking algorithm along with the formal representation of the layered structures.

[11]For more details, as well as for the definition of the pragmatic unit with respect to, for instance, *TOPS-ka* 'TOPS-NOM' in (14a), see chapter 4.

SENTENCE

CLAUSE ← PERIPHERY

CORE

ARG   NUC

NP   ADV   PRED

NPIP   NP

NP$_{GEN}$

N   N   V

TOP-uy   kwul-i   ilpwul   ssa-ta   Semantic case realization

Undergoer   Semantic case layer

be.cheap′ (ilpwul′$_{ACV}$, ([have′ (TOPS$_{ACV}$, kwul$_{INA}$)]))
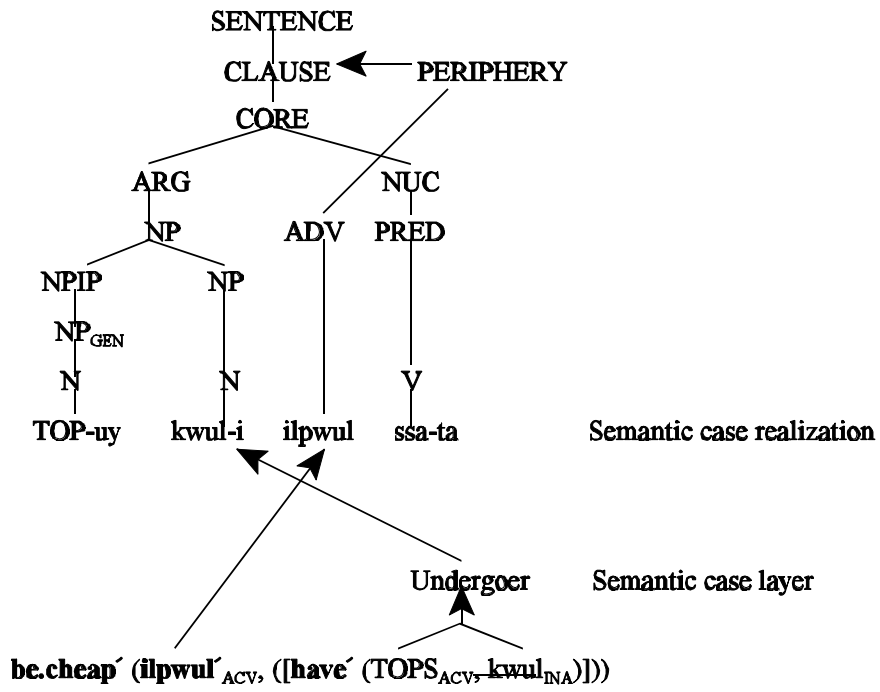
Figure 6   Pragmatic case linking of the sentence in (14a)

SENTENCE

CLAUSE

CORE ← PERIPHERY

ARG   ARG   NUC

NP   NP   ADV   PRED

N   N   V

TOPS-ka   kwul-i   ilpwul-i ssa-kwuna!   Full case realization
NP$_{FOC}$ NP$_{FOC}$ ADV$_{FOC}$ NUC$_{FOC}$ Pragmatic case layer

AFD

PFD   Undergoer   Smantic case layer

be.cheap′ (ilpwul′$_{INA}$, ([have′ (TOPS$_{INA}$, kwul$_{INA}$)]))

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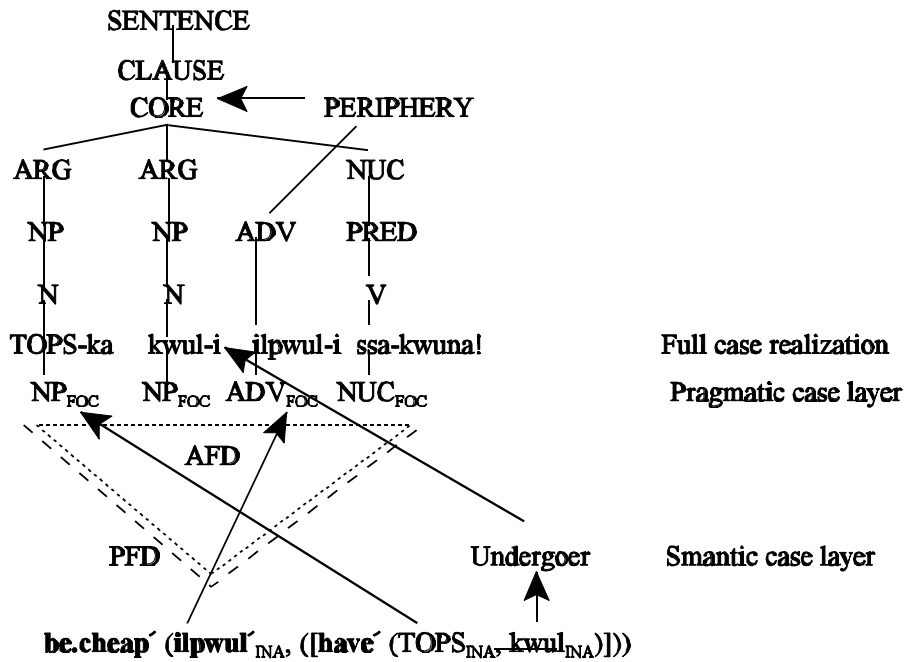
With respect to the two types of case marking in figure 5 and 6, what needs be considered in addition to what was introduced in figure 3 and 4 is the pragmatic status of the genitive, adverbial phrase in (14a), and the verbal complex *V-ci* in (15a): that is, why can they be marked with the neutral focus marker KA and LUL? The case-shifting from semantic genitive to other pragmatic case marker for the purpose of focus structure will be developed in more detail in subsequent chapter 4. It will be argued there that in Korean the (semantic) genitive case is context neutral, and the genitive-marked NP can be shifted to a neutral focus marker KA or LUL due to its being a minimal information unit (phrase) if it falls in the scope of the AFD. Adverbial phrases and the verbal complex *V-ci* (clause) are also eligible for a focus or topic marker because they can function as an independent MIU (phrase or larger than phrase).[12]

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[12]See chapter 4, and 5 for more detail of these issues.

3.4.3   The Focality Accessibility Hierarchy (FAH)

Lastly, let us discuss the FAH (Focality Accessibility Hierarchy) as diagrammed in

figure 7 below.

Figure 7   (a) The Focality Accessibility Hierarchy (FAH) in the clause

```
    speaker&addressee
                |
 *    3rd person pronoun
 *
 *              |
 *           human Ns
 *
 *    rational  intentional volitional human & other animate Ns (non-volitional)
 *
 *                                          concrete Ns        abstract Ns
 *
 *                                          Time&Space         Idea, notion
 *                                          Artifacts (motive  Mental-statues
 *                                          > nonmotive)       Attribute——Property
 *
 *                                                                         Events
 *
 *                                                                         Directional
 *                                                                         Manner
 *                                                                         Cause
 \/                                                                        Frequency
))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))  >
```
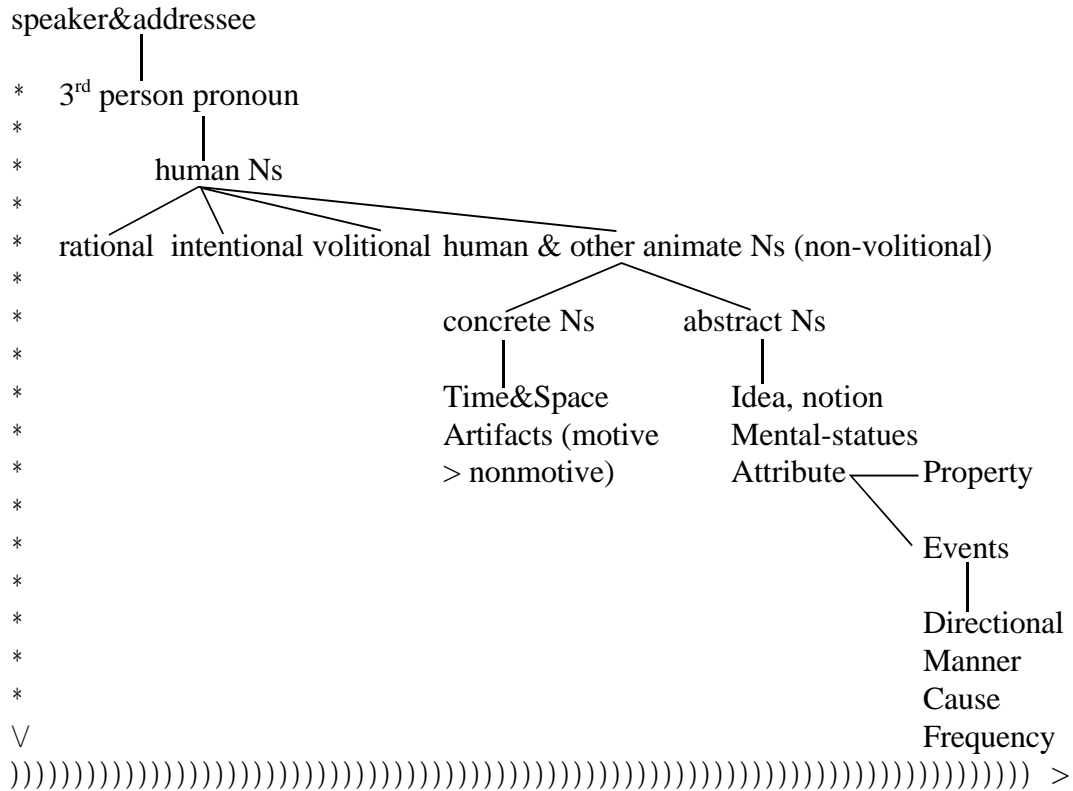
    (b) The Focality Accessibility Hierarchy (FAH) in the NP
        1. Possessor < Possessee
        2. Whole < Part
        3. Class < Member
        4. Type < Token
        5. Quantifier < Quantified

The two hierarchies are hypothesized by the present author in order to account for

why a certain NP resists being marked by focus markers (KA or LUL) although it is in the

AFD whereas other does not: i.e., the hypothesis is that the NPs higher in their focality (or

lower in their topicality) tend not to take KA and LUL even though they are in the scope of the AFD.

The hierarchy is built on one fundamental assumption: that there is a (pure) 'inherent lexical content hierarchy' among NPs with respect to being able to occupy the most prominent focal (or topic) position. The interpretation of this hierarchy goes as follows. First, in the vertical dimension, the closer an NP is to the bottom position, the more focal it is (and vice versa): e.g., a directional NP, say, *mikwuk-ulo* 'to America' has more prominent focal property than a human NP *Chelwu* in a sentence like *Chelswu-ka mikwuk-ulo kassta* '*Chelswu* went to America'. Second, among elements in a same horizontal line, the closer an NP is to the right, the more focal it is; e.g., a non-volitional NP, say, *napi* 'butterfly' has more prominent focal property than a human NP *Chelswu* in a sentence like *Chelswu-ka napi-lul capassta* '*Chelswu* caught a butterfly.' Similarly, in figure 7, (b), a possessee NP, say, *kho* 'nose' has more prominent focal property than a possessor NP *khokkili* 'elephant' in a genitive construction like *khokkili-uy kho* 'elephant's noses'.[13]

As for the interpretation of these hierarchy, there are two important factors to bear in mind: i) the **inherent lexical content** of the NPs, and ii) the **actual context** provided at the time of the utterance. The hierarchical order among NPs in the FAH is arranged in terms of the first factor; that is, there is an inherent salience hierarchy among the NPs in such a way

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[13]Here, *napi* 'butterfly' is construed as a 'non-volitional insect'. For the interpretation of Ns in the FAH, consider following figure 8 *The Case for 'effector'*. For instance, a rational N is conscious of consequences of intentional acts. An intentional N consciously does for a purpose but may not know consequences of acts. A volitional N manifests basic acts of will but no conscious purpose. A concrete (-living) N refers to time, place or thing which are fixed; among artifacts (-living), a motive one ranks over a non-motive one. An abstract N refers to psychological (or mental) entities. And the attribute N includes supportive properties or events, which normally do not frame a main clause.

that it is likely that the NPs higher on the inherent salience hierarchy tend to occupy more

prominent focal positions than NPs lower on it (and vice versa). As will be claimed in chapter

4 NPs in the multiple nominative construction (MNC) and multiple accusative construction

(MAC) are in conformity with this hierarchy; that is, a more focal NP follows a less focal NP

in the word order with respect to the first factor.[14] The second factor, which is no less

important than the first one, is that the hierarchy can be altered if an outside context requires

an NP to rank over the others in order to promote it.[15]

Now, I would like to hypothesize the following. The function of the FAH with respect

to focus structure i) explains why a certain NP resists being marked by topic (NUN) or focus

markers (KA and LUL).[16] ii) It explains the nature of so-called unmarked word order which

has an important relation to focus structure; that is, the closer an NP is to the immediately

preverbal position, the more focal the NP is (and vice versa). Moreover, as I will claim in

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[14]For instance, the MNC in (1) is acceptable, but (2) is not. Instead, (3) is felicitous since it is not an MNC.
(1)   Khokkili-ka   kho-ka   kilta.
          elephant-NOM   nose-NOM   long
          'Elephant's noses are long.'
(2) #   Kho-ka   khokkili-ka   kilta.
          nose-NOM   elephant-NOM long
(3)   Kho-nun   khokkili-ka   kilta.
          nose-TOP   elephant-NOM long
          'As for nose, elephants' ones are long.'
[15]For instance, in (1) below, the topic is *Chelswu*, a 'human N', although *nay* 'I' (speaker) is more topical than *Chelswu* in the FAH, since the context requires (or promotes) *Chelswu* over *nay* 'I' for the sole purpose of the context.
(1)   Chelswu-nun   nay-ka   manna-ci   an-h-ass-ta.
          C.-TOP   I-NOM   meet-CLM   NEG-do-PST-DEC
          'As for Chelswu, I did not meet him.'
[16]NPs higher in their focality (or lower in their topicality) tend not to take KA or LUL, even though they are in the AFD. See chapter 4 in regard to the directional, manner, and frequency adverbs. See also chapter 5 regarding ACC-marked adverbials such as *on* 'duration or frequency adverbial', involving 'situation-delimiting' (Wechsler&Lee (1996)). Agreeing with them, further I provide some empirical evidence there, and conclude that the ACC-markers on those adverbs are not pragmatic cases, but semantic accomplishment cases.

chapter 4, there is a constraint that says "in Korean, the word order of all MNCs and MACs must conform to the FAH". iii) It explains why there is a preference for one NP over another NP in reference-tracking: for instance a preference for the floated quantifer (FQ) structure.[17]

The above idea is adapted, and developed from two closely related (inherent) lexical content hierarchies: the 'Animacy Hierarchy' (Van Valin & Wilkins 1994) and the 'Referential Feature-Space Hierarchy' (Silverstein 1981). Van Valin & Wilkins (1994: 314) propose that there is an inherent lexical content hierarchy ('The case for 'Effector') among NPs with respect to having an 'agent (effector)' interpretation.

> "[t]he fundamental insight in this figure is that there are at least two competing, and interlinked, hierarchies of properties which can be used to predict whether the referent of a particular NP is likely to be conceived of, and/or treated, as an agent in an actional event. From left to right, along the top, the properties delineate what is essentially an animacy hierarchy. .... In the vertical dimension, two entities may be of the same animacy type, but will be differentiated in terms of their ability to trigger agency attributions when occurring in an actional context, because they differ in some vaguer notion of 'experiential salience'" (Van Valin & Wilkins 1994: 313-4).
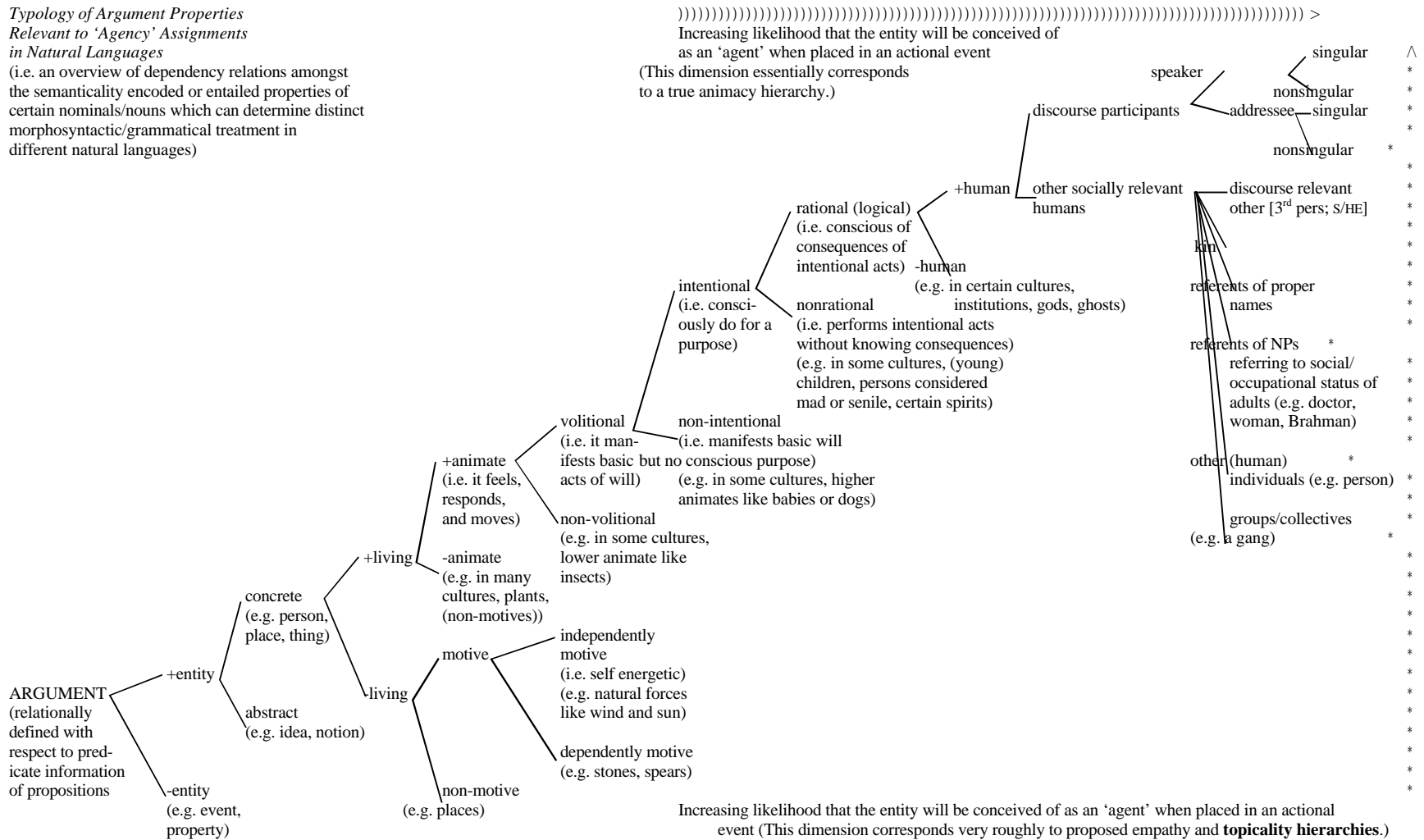
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[17]In fact, in chapter 7, I claim that the reference tracking of the floated quantier (FQ) is determined in terms of the FAH.

Figure 8   The case for 'Effector'

Typology of Argument Properties
Relevant to 'Agency' Assignments
in Natural Languages
(i.e. an overview of dependency relations amongst
the semanticality encoded or entailed properties of
certain nominals/nouns which can determine distinct
morphosyntactic/grammatical treatment in
different natural languages)

))) >
Increasing likelihood that the entity will be conceived of
as an 'agent' when placed in an actional event
(This dimension essentially corresponds
to a true animacy hierarchy.)

singular   ∧

speaker   *
nonsingular   *
discourse participants   addressee — singular   *

nonsingular   *

+human / other socially relevant ——— discourse relevant
rational (logical)   humans   other [3rd pers; S/HE]   *
(i.e. conscious of   *
consequences of   *
intentional acts) -human   kin   *
intentional   (e.g. in certain cultures,   *
(i.e. consci-   nonrational   institutions, gods, ghosts)   referents of proper *
ously do for a   (i.e. performs intentional acts   names   *
purpose)   without knowing consequences)   *
                   (e.g. in some cultures, (young)   referents of NPs   *
                   children, persons considered   referring to social/ *
                   mad or senile, certain spirits)   occupational status of *
volitional   non-intentional   adults (e.g. doctor, *
(i.e. it man-   (i.e. manifests basic will   woman, Brahman)   *
ifests basic   but no conscious purpose)   *
acts of will)   (e.g. in some cultures, higher   other (human)   *
+animate   animates like babies or dogs)   individuals (e.g. person) *
(i.e. it feels,   *
responds,   non-volitional   groups/collectives *
and moves)   (e.g. in some cultures,   (e.g. a gang)   *
                   lower animate like   *
-animate   insects)   *
(e.g. in many   *
cultures, plants,   *
(non-motives))   *
concrete   *
(e.g. person,   *
place, thing)   independently   *
                   motive   *
                   (i.e. self energetic)   *
motive   (e.g. natural forces   *
                   like wind and sun)   *
+entity   *
                                                                                 *
living   dependently motive   *
abstract   (e.g. stones, spears)   *
(e.g. idea, notion)   *
ARGUMENT   *
(relationally   *
defined with   *
respect to pred-   non-motive   *
icate information (e.g. places)   *
of propositions   *
-entity   Increasing likelihood that the entity will be conceived of as an 'agent' when placed in an actional
(e.g. event,   event (This dimension corresponds very roughly to proposed empathy and **topicality hierarchies**.)
property)

Silverstein (1981: 240)'s 'Hierarchical array of noun phrase types in referential feature-space' comes to a similar line of

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reasoning as in figure 9 below.

Figure 9   *Hierarchical array of noun phrase types in referential features-space (approximation)*

4444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444

The nested brackets (from widest to narrowest) are labelled:

- segmentable 'natural kind' things
- social beings
- social indexicals (potential)
- social indexicals (specific)
- indexicals of speech event
- indexicals of speech
- participants
- speaker
- spke & adrsee

Column key:

- A = 1 du incl, B = 1 pl incl
- C = 1 singular, D = 1 du excl, E = 1 pl excl
- F = 2 singular, G = 2 dual, H = 2 plural
- I = 3 du anaphor, J = 3 pl anaphor, K = 3 sg anaphor, L = 3 du demonst, M = 3 pl demonst, N = 3 sg demonst
- O = proper name
- P = kin-term, Q = status term
- R = being
- S = perceived obj, T = container, U = spatial, V = sensual entity, W = essence
- ... X = defined

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	...	X
a. ego	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−
b. tu	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−
c. unique			+	−	−	+	−	−																	
d. plural									+	+	−	+	+	−											
e. enumerable	+	−		+	−		+	−	+	−		+	−												
f. coreferential									+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−
g. deictic												+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−
h. proper															+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−
i. kin																+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−
j. human																	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−
k. animate																		+	−	−	−	−	−		−
l. discrete																			+	−	−	−	−		−
m. containing																				+	−	−	−		−
n. locative																					+	−	−		−
o. concrete																						+	−		−
p. quality																							+		−
.																									
.																									
.																									
x. defined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−

4444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444444

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He organizes the hierarchy, the 'inherent referential content of noun phrases', by the criteria of both the pragmatic and semantic referential markedness making it into a feature-space of categories of referring. He goes on to say about figure 9 that:

> "[w]hat we have here is a graded series of less and less unavoidably transparent metapragmatic referring forms, the presuppositions on the use of which are less and less a function of the indexical character of reference in the immediate context of using them in speaking. The metapragmatic nature of the reference in this series becomes more and more based on the actual occurrence of, then possible occurrence of, OTHER felicitous speech events, in which the referent has played, then might play, a role. Ultimately, reference categories towards the lower end of the hierarchy are clearly hypostatization in fine, based on the 'typicality of reference' with groups of lexemes in certain lexical structures" (Siverstein 1981: 242).

3.5   A taxonomy of focus structure packaging

Any minimal information unit (phrase)[18], be it subject, object, oblique NP, adverb, or verb can be a focus or topic constituent in a sentence. Every language has some 'grammatical systems' for marking the focus or topic constituent within an utterance. Korean appears to make use of a good range of grammatical systems to encode focus structures: prosody (focal accent and intonation), lexical properties of verbs, morphological markers, word order, syntactic coding (specific sentence types or syntactic constructions); and at many times, several of these act in concert to compensate for one another. A tentative taxonomy of the form-function matching between a particular grammatical system (form) and a particular information structure (function), e.g. topic and focus among others, will be presented in this

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[18]I will use the term 'minimal information unit (MIU) when including the main verb, but I will use 'pragmatic unit', if need be, when excluding it.

section.

3.5.1 Grammatical Systems encoding focus structures

The following is a tentative layout of the important form-function correspondences

frequently emerging in Korean between the grammatical systems and focus structures.

(16)   Focus Structures
        Predicate Focus Structure (PFS), Sentence Focus Structure (SFS), Narrow Focus
        Structure (NFS)

(17)   Grammatical systems encoding focus structures

        a.   Phonological coding   NFS
           (focal accent and intonation)
        b.   Lexical coding (factive verbs; WH-words)
        c.   Morphological coding   All focus structures
           (topic NUN, focus KA, LUL
           -man 'only', *-to* 'too', and
           -kkaci(*-cocha*, *-mace*) 'even' etc.)
        d.   Word order coding
           (IPV: the unmarked position for narrow-focused element)
           (LDP: the unmarked position for topical element)
        e.   Syntactic coding (sentence types or syntactic constructions)
           • Declarative   all focus structures
           • Interrogative
               • Yes-No question   sentence topic structure
               • Information question   all focus structures
               • Alternative question   all focus structures
           • Pseudo-cleft focus construction   NFS
           • Verb focus construction   NFS
           • Restrictive use of relative clause construction   topic
           • The scope of negation   all focus structures
           • Quantifier Float (QF)[19]   Q-focus

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[19]This construction will be exclusively dealt with in chapter 7.

3.5.1.1   Phonological coding[20]

In relation to NFS, any minimal information unit can be assigned the 'focal accent plus highest pitch intonation' in an utterance. In (18b) below the subject *Chélswu* is the narrow focused constituent for answering the wh-question (18a), and is marked by the accent plus highest pitch intonation.[21]

(18)   a.   [Nwukwu]$_{FOC}$ cha-ka   kocangna-ess-tako?
            Whose   car-NOM   broken-PST-Q
            'Whose car broke down?' (not 'Did someone's car break down')
        b.   [Chelswu(-uy)]$_{FOC}$ [cha-ka   kocangna-ess-e]$_{TOP}$.[22]
            C.(-GEN)   car-NOM   break.down-PST-DEC
            'Chelswu's car broke down.'

(19)   Che-nun   podocwu-nun   kakkum   ha-pnita. (Kim 1985)
        I-TOP   wine-CONTR   occasionally   do-DEC
        'I drink grape wine occasionally (but not whisky).'

In a similar vein but in a different function, in (19) we see the 'contrastive topic marker', *-nun* 'CONTR' attached to *podocwu* 'grape wine', which is construed to have a contrastive counterpart of some other kind of alcoholic beverage such as 'whiskey', construable from the preceding context.

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[20]By no means, the other uses of prosody (accent, intonation, or stress) than the one in the information structure of sentence one are excluded. For more information, see Lambrecht (1994:239).

[21]The same account applies to the contrastive (NFS) use of LUL.

[22]Although arguable, this example calls for attention on the focus because of the fact that there is a fine line between the syntactic and the pragmatic sense of the 'predicate'. For instance, in a sentence like (18b), the focus is on the genitive NP *Chelswu*. The topic domain, 'the head NP *cha* 'car' plus the verb *pwuseci-ess-e* 'broke down', is not a predicate in a strictly syntactic sense, not even the VP. By all means, as one might suggest, we can have two different senses of the term 'predicate' as suggested above. But if this is so, we better have a different term for this distinction to prevent a future confusion. To add another example, when the usual 'direct object' of a sentence is focused, like '[[John gave Mary]$_{TOP}$ [A BOOK]$_{FOC}$]', then the 'topic structure' does not come under the category of the traditional sense of the 'predicate' but under a different kind. Above all, in the light of the taxonomy of the focus structure, subject, object, predicate, and argument are not really appropriate terminologies we can safely rely on.

What is particularly worthy of note about this phonological focus coding is that it preponderantly occurs at the MIU level, so it seems, more likely than not, to be reserved for the NFS.

3.5.1.2   Lexical Coding

Factive verbs such as *yukamslep-* 'be regrettable, *pikuki* 'be a tragedy', *conkyengslep* 'be admirable', or *cwungyoha* 'be significant' have a special characteristic with regard to information structure coding; that is, because of the nature of their lexical content, their sentential complements are inherently activated (or presupposed) propositions such that they cannot readily be focal.

(20)   [Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-uy/*-lul   son-ul   cap-n   ket-i]   pikeuki-ta.
        C.-NOM   Y.-GEN/-ACC   hand-ACC held-REL thing-NOM be.a.tradge
                                                                        dy-DEC
        'It is a tragedy that Chelswu held Yenghi's hand.'

All the four factive verbs provided above are amenable to being used with (20). As indicated above the LUL on the first LUL-marked NP *Yenghi* is not acceptable in this double accusative sentence.

By contrast, all types of 'WH-words' such as *nwukwu* 'who', *mwuet* 'what', *ettehkye* 'how', and so forth are 'focus sensitive' words; they usually occur in focus positions such as the immediately preverbal (IPV) position.

(21)   a.   Chelswu-ka   nwukwu(-lul)   mana-ess-ni?
              C.-NOM   who-ACC   see-PST-Q
              'Who(m) did Chelswu meet?'

b. Chelswu-ka   mwuet(-ul)   mek-ess-ni?
    C.-NOM   who-ACC   see-PST-Q
    'What did Chelswu eat?'

c. Chelswu-ka   ettehkye   sayngki-ess-ni?
    C.-NOM   how   see-PST-Q
    'How does Chelswu look like?'

3.5.1.3   Morphological Coding

As compared to phonological and lexical coding, morphological marking seems to be

the most productive way of coding pragmatics in Korean. Almost all kinds of focus structures

can be signaled by morphological markers

(22) [Na-nun]$_{TOP}$ [cha-ka   ep-ta]$_{FOC}$.
      I-TOP   car-NOM   not.have-DEC
      'I don't have a car.'

(23) [[Yenghi-eykey   kkoch-ul   cwu]-n   salam]-un   Chelswu-i-ss-ta.
      Y-DAT   flower-ACC   give-REL man-TOP   C.-COP-PST-DEC
      'The person who gave a flower to Yenghi is Chelswu.'

(24) [Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-eykey   kkoch-ul   cwu-ci]-nun   an-h-ass-ta.
      C.-NOM   Y.-DAT   flower-ACC   give-CLM-TOP   NEG-do-PST-
                                                                   DEC
      'It is not the case that Chelswu gave a flower to Yenghi.'

In (22), the morphological topic marker NUN marks the sentence initial word *na-* 'I',

yielding a predicate focus structure (PFS). In a slightly different manner, NUN in (23) is used

to mark the topicalized complex NP, in which the predicate is internal (the relative clause) to

the head NP *salam* 'man'.[23] Taking one more step, in (24), the topic marker NUN is now put

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[23]Here, the formal identity between topic *-nun* and the relativizer *-nun* draws my curiosity; that is, it may be triggered by the topical affinity between the two (Bresnan & Mchombo (1987).

to use to mark the entire subordinate clause as the topic constituent of the matrix PFS sentence.

Let us turn to focus marking via the morphological coding. Although, as mentioned above, phonological coding (prosody) is predominantly associated with narrow focus structure (NFS), since grammatical systems work in a cooperative way to mark focus, the morphological markers KA and LUL can be employed in the NFS too. That is to say, in question like (25a) below, both (25b) and (25b') seem to be acceptable answers. And the only difference between the two consists in that the former has simply the prosodic articulation on the focus constituent *Chélswu*, but the latter has the neutral focus marker KA and the stress plus highest pitch intonation on *Chelswu-ká*. Nevertheless, it is important to note here the fact that, without the prosodic articulation on *Chelswu*, (25b') would be a more appropriate answer to the SFS question: 'what happened?'.

(25) a. Nwuka   o-ass-tako?
          Who   come-PST-Q
          'Who came?'

     b. Chelswu.

     b'. Chelswu-ka   o-ass-e. (# Chelswu-ka o-ass-e.)[24]
           C.-NOM   come-PST-DEC
           'Chelswu came.'

There are some special kinds of narrow focus markers that also pertain to the morphological coding, such as *-man* 'only', *-to* 'too', *-kkaci* (*-cocha, -mace*) 'even'. Their

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[24]The symbol '#' is reserved for unacceptability at the pragmatic layer, and the asterisk '*' is for ungrammaticality.

information structures are somewhat different from the one we have seen before. Consider

the following.

(26) Chelswu-to o-ass-ta.
   C.-too   come-PST-DEC
   'Chelswu came, too.'

   Information structure
(26) Sentence: Chelswu-to o-ass-ta.
   Presupposition: There is/are x (≠Chelswu) who came.
   Assertion: Chelswu came
   Focus: Chelswu-to
   Focus domain: subject

These focus makers are special in the sense that not only are they narrow focus

markers, but they also have their own specific presupposition types, e.g. as shown above in

the case of *-to* 'too'. That is to say, the focus marker *-to* asserts that *Chelswu* belongs to the

set of individuals '*x*', and it has the specific presupposition, $(\exists x)$ $(x \neq$ Chelswu $\wedge$ *x* came$)$.

The most dominant and unmarked uses of the neutral focus marker KA and LUL are

discernible when they occur in the context of the predicate focus structure as shown in (27)

below. (27) is a sentence in which the neutral focus NOM *-i* is employed for marking the

focused adverb *ilpwu* 'one dollar', which is now in the scope of the AFD.

   Predicate focus structure
(27) TOPS-uy kywul-nun <u>il-pwul-i   ssa-ta.</u>
   TOPS-GEN orange-TOP one-dollar-NOM cheap-DEC
   'As for TOP's oranges, they are cheap for one dollar.'

   Sentence focus structure
(28) <u>TOPS-ka kywul-i   il-pwul-i   ssa-ta.</u>
   TOPS-NOM orange-NOM one-dollar-NOM cheap-DEC
   'TOPS's oranges are cheap for one dollar.'

By contrast, in (28) KA which is called by Yang (1994) the 'neutral focus marker', or, in the Japanese analogue by Kuno (1973) the 'neutral descriptive *ga*' is used to mark the sentence focus structure.

3.5.1.3   Word order coding

As I mentioned in section 3.4.3, the nature of word order in Korean is closely related to the FAH. According to the hierarchy, the sentence-initial position is normally reserved for topic element and the immediately preverbal position for the unmarked narrow-focused element in the sentence.[25] However, it is possible that this unmarked word order could be affected if the outside context treats one constituent as more topical (or more focal) than the rest of them, and this could be expressed via topicalization (NP-preposing, or occurrence in the LDP), or focalization (the NP occurs in the IPV position).

Postposing to the right of the final verb with an intonation break is another type of strategy to encode an NP that is mostly topical. This has been recognized in the literature as a typical case of afterthought; it appears as if the speaker makes the decision to include the postposed entity after s(he) begins the sentence. This may be due to a reevaluation by the speaker about the predictability of the entity. Erguvanli (1984: 147) gives these three restrictions on post-verbal material in Turkish, which has SOV word order like Korean,: i) It cannot be stressed, ii) It cannot be indefinite, and iii) It cannot be a questioned constituent.

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[25]Following Kim (1985)'s Pre-Verbal Focus (PVF) hypothesis of SOV language types:

Preverbal Focus Universal Hypothesis.
>   If a language is SOV in basic word order, and postpositional, and has the properties that the adjective precedes the noun and the genitive precedes the noun, then, the language has a Preverbal Focus mechanism in its grammar.

Thus, it appears that the post-verbal constituents (including the subject) are either predictable or relatively unimportant. (29) below shows that the above generalization as to the postposing strategy also applies to Korean.

(29)   a. Muwe-ka   kocangna-ess-tako?
            what-NOM   break-PST-Q
            'What broke down?'

       b. Ney   cha-ka   kocangna-ess-e.
            your   car-NOM   break-PST-DEC
            'YOUR CAR broke down.'

       c.# Kocangna-ess-e, ney   cha-ka.
            break-PST-DEC   your   car.

(29a) is intended to elicit a NFS sentence response via the *wh*-word, and as shown, (28b) where the NP *ney cha* 'your car' is marked by the neutral focus KA and occurs before the verb is felicitous, whereas (29c) with the same kind of marking but postposed after the verb is not. In contrast, if an NP is topical, then it may be able to be felicitously postposed as displayed in (30b).

(30)   a. Ney cha-nun   kocangna-ess-ni?
            your car-TOP   break-down-PST-Q
            'As for your car, did it break down?'

       b. Kocangna-ess-e,   nay   cha-nun.
            break-PST-DEC   my   car-TOP
            'As for my car, it broke down.'

3.5.1.4   Syntactic Construction Coding

The last type of coding among the aforementioned four major focus coding strategies is syntactic coding in which I include the 'Sentence-Final Markers (SFM)'[26] used for the IF (Illocutionary Force) and/or specific 'syntactic constructions'. The list in (31) below is a formal list of the syntactic ways of coding focus structures.

(31) declarative: -ta, -e, -supnita, -hay(yo) ...
      interrogative: -ni, -ci, -tako ...
      passive   -e ci, -i/-hi/-li/-ki/-wu...
      relative clause: -nun
      pseudo-cleft focus construction: [   ]n-ket-nun [   ]$_{FOC}$-ita
      verb focus construction: [   ]-i/-ka   Vi-kinun   Vi-ta
      relative clause (restrictive)   [[   ]-nun   NP]
      negation   an 'NEG', or -ci an-h 'NEG-do'
      quantifier-float   [NXQ] or [NXQX]

The uses of the declarative (speech act) are abundant such as making announcements, stating conclusions, making claims, and so forth. Besides, however, from the point of information structure, it constitutes the answer in a pair with the 'information question' which is typically used to elicit all types of focus structures. Apparently, due to the pairing, the declarative can also be used for all types of focus structures. It can be done by eliciting a specific portion of the information structures by question, and answering it accordingly: for instance, to elicit SFS sentences by the 'what happened' test; to elicit PFS sentences by the 'what happen to the car' test; and to elicit NFS sentences by using the *wh*-word test and so forth.

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[26]They are suffixes in Korean, but clearly their scope is not over the word, but always over the sentence as a whole. As a result, I have included this type under the rubric of syntactic coding. The Korean SFMs, such as declarative, interrogative, and imperative are associated with different types of IF (or speech act) such as assertion, question, and command. However, the focus of this subsection is aimed to examined the relationship between the SFM and focus structures at the sentential level, rather than the relationship between the SFM and the IF.

The interrogative is further subcategorized into Yes-No, Information, and Alternative questions respectively according to Sadock & Zwicky (1985). The 'Yes-No question' seems exclusively tied to 'sentence topic structure'; namely, this is a request that the person you are addressing tell you whether the proposition you have supplied to him is true or not. Therefore, the entire sentence is now presupposed, and the addressee is only allowed to tell whether it is true or not. Second, 'Information questions' as mentioned above are a very productive way of eliciting all types of focus structures. And, third, 'Alternative questions' can be considered a specific form of information question which operates by choosing between one of (usually) two alternatives, instead of eliciting new information. But it does not make any difference to the information question in terms of being able to elicit all types of focus structures.

Passive is a specialized, unique way of information packaging that promotes a less topical element, overwhelmingly theme (or patient), to the highest ranking topical element.[27]

(32)   Kyengchal-i   totwuk-ul   cap-ass-ta.
       police-NOM   thief-ACC   catch-PST-DEC
       'The police caught the thief.'

(33)   Totwuk-i   (kyengchal-hanthay)   cap-i-ess-ta.
       thief-NOM   police-by   catch-PASS-PST-DEC
       'The thief was caught by the police.'

(32) is an active sentence, where the agent *kyengchal* 'police' is the PSA (subject) of the sentence, which can serves as the topic of this active sentence: for instance, the topic of the

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[27]Markedly, though, we can have a passive which is a SFS.

PFS.[28] In contrast, in (33), what functions as the PSA (privileged syntactic argument) is the undergoer *totwuk* 'thief', and the agent *kyengchal* 'police' is now an optional adjunct in the periphery.

A relative clause as a whole can serve as a topic, and, as is well known, a NUN-marked NP cannot occur within a relative clause as shown in (34) below.[29]

(34)   [[Chelswu-ka/*-nun   san]-n   comphwute]-ka   cho-ta.
       C.-NOM/*-TOP   buy-REL   computer-NOM   be.good-DEC
       'The computer that Chelswu bought is good.'

In addition, it appears that Korean does not have a dichotomy between the restrictive vs. non-restrictive use of the relative clause as in English. Instead, for the latter use, post-posing the relative clause, (36), after the final verb seems preferred over the normal rel.-NP sentence, (35). See the contrast below.

(35)   Na-nun   [mikwuk-ey   sa]-nun   twu   ttal-i   iss-ta.
       I-TOP   USA-LOC   live-TOP   two   daughter   be-DEC
       'I have two daughters who live in the US.'(??I have two daughter, who live in the USA.)

(36)   Na-nun   twu   ttal-i   iss-ta,   mikwuk-ey   sa-nun.
       I-TOP   two   daughter   be.DEC   USA-LOC   live-TOP
       'I have two daughters, who live in the USA.'

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[28]According to Shimojo (1995), Japanese *ga* of an active sentence can be a topic if it occurs in a topic context. In my analysis, it would be rephrased as follows. In Korean the semantic case -*ka* may occur in a topic position based on the unmarked semantic case linking. However, the pragmatic case KA can never occur in a topic position since it is linked in terms of the marked pragmatic case linking.

[29]However, NUN may occur in an embedded clause other than the relative one as in (1) below, for which I would claim that it is more likely the contrastive NUN, not topic NUN.

(1)   Yenghi-ka   Chelswu-nun   o-ass-tako   malha-ess-ta.
       Y.-NOM   C.-CONTR   come-PST-CLM   say-PST-DEC
       'Yenghi said Chelswu came (but John did not).'

(35) displays that the information contained in the relative clause is activated (or presupposed) so that the addressee could know that 'the speaker has daughters who may not live in the USA', whereas the information in the relative clause post-posed after the final verb, of (36) is inactivated (or new), so that the addressee would have no idea about the speaker's having daughter except for those who live in the USA provided solely by the context in question.

The pseudo-cleft construction, which, as stated by Kim (1985:26) among many, lacks pleonastic pronouns like English *it*, is a way of encoding focus constituents by a specific syntactic construction. The general pattern together with a relevant example is provided as below.

(37)　Chelswu-ka　　Yenghi-lul　ttayli-ess-ta.
　　　　C.-NOM　　　Y.-ACC　　　hit-PST-DEC
　　　　'Chelswu hit Yenghi.'

(38)　Yenhi-lul　　　ttayli-n　　ket-un　　　　Chelswu-i-ta.
　　　　Y.-ACC　　　　hit-REL　　pron-TOP　　　C.-COP-DEC
　　　　'It is Chelswu who hit Yenghi.' (lit. 'The one who hit Yenghi is Chelswu.')

(39)　The Korean Pseudo-Cleft Construction

　　　　[　[　[　　　　　　]-nun　　ket]-nun　　　　　[　　　]-i-ta]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　COMP　　pro-TOP　　　　　　　F　COP-DEC

(37) is a typical transitive verb *ttayli-* 'hit' sentence, and its subject *Chelswu* has become the narrow-focused constituent in the pseudo-cleft focus construction of (38). As illustrated in (39), the pseudo-cleft construction contains two sub-parts: one for the topic nominal-complement composed of the complementizer *-nun* plus the pronoun *-ket*, and the

other for the focus constituent(s) followed by the copular -*i*- and the declarative sentence final marker -*ta*.

The 'verb focus construction' is another syntactic coding strategy placing focus only on the main verb of a sentence by way of reduplicating the main verb one more time as shown in (40) below.

(40) Yenghi-ka   yeyppu-ki-nun   yeyppu-ta.
      Y.-NOM   pretty-Nominalizer-TOP   pretty-DEC
      'Yenghi is pretty.' (lit. As for Yenghi, she is pretty)

In (40), the first verb *yeyppu-ki* is nominalized by the nominal suffix -*ki*, and this verb is later reduplicated one more time to mark that the verb, *yeyppu* 'pretty', is now in the AFD of the narrow focus structure.[30]

Negation is worthy of mention. That is, since it has been noted, going back to Russell (1905), that only the asserted part of an utterance can be interpreted as being negated, the presupposed part not being negated (Jackendoff 1972, Givon 1984), we can say that an element within the scope of the negation is the focus of the sentence. It has long been known that the two types of negation, *an* 'NEG' and -*ci an* 'NEG-do' in Korean have different scopes: namely, the nuclear negation *an* 'NEG', and the (post-verbal) core negation -*ci an-h* 'NEG-do', respectively.

(41) Chelswu-ka   an   [o-ss-ta].
      C.-NOM   NEG   come-PST-DEC

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[30]The syntactic structure of this construction is controversial. For the purpose of this thesis, what matters is the fact that the second verb position is the focus position.

'Chelswu did not come.'

(42) [Chelswu-ka   o]_{CORE}-ci   an-h-ass-ta.
      C.-NOM   come-CLM   NEG-do-PST-DEC
      'It is not true that Chelswu came.'

(41) has the nuclear negation *an* 'NEG' which has scope only over the final verb *o-* 'come' within the AFD (actual focus domain). By contrast, (42) shows that the scope of negation (the AFD) is now either the preceding Core that is marked by the clausal linkage marker *-ci* following it, or the predicate itself depending on the context provided.

Before bringing this section to a close, it is important to point out that, more often than not, topic/focus marking is not restricted to any single grammatical system, it works in a cooperative rather than a complementary way. Thus, it sometimes seems acceptable or preferable to have more than one grammatical coding of topic and focus.

The most unmarked focus structure, the predicate focus structure, can further be divided into subtypes, depending on what is in the AFD and what is in topic domain. The 'minimal predicate focus structure' consists of the final predicate plus the immediately preceding NP which are in the scope of the AFD. On the other hand, the 'maximal predicate focus structure' consists of the final predicate plus all focused elements in the sentence except a subject. And there are as many (intermediate) extended predicate focus structures as are possible in order to include other preverbal focused elements into the AFD.

3.6   Conclusion

This chapter is devoted to presenting one of the main proposals in this dissertation, the 'Two Case Layers' hierarchy. Section 3.1 sketched out a general organization of the linking algorithm in Korean under the assumption of the two types of case. Section 3.2 provided some problematic data for discussion. Section 3.3 briefly reviewed previous studies regarding multiple NOM and ACC constructions. In particular, I made clear that my account of multiple case marking will not rely on any structural notion like the VP. Section 3.4 presented my hypothesis, the 'Two Case Layers'. It is claimed that in order to understand fully the Korean case-marking system, two independent case layers (semantic and pragmatic) are needed jointly applying in that order. Moreover, it is argued that in Korean, the use of the morphological marker NOM and ACC is bi-functional (both semantic and pragmatic). I also provided some actual case-shifting examples from semantic (context neutral case linking) to pragmatic cases (context sensitive case linking). The 'focality accessibility hierarchy (FAH)' was also introduced in this section, which is built on the assumption that there is an inherent lexical content hierarchy among NPs with respect to being able to occupy the most prominent topical (or focal) position. Finally, in section 3.5 I have provided a taxonomy of focus structure packaging in Korean, which summaries various forms of form-function matching between a particular grammatical system (form) and a particular focus structure.