Chapter 5

Topic-/Focalization in simple sentences

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter was concerned with case-shifting in the genitive construction where I argued that case-shifting from the genitive to NUN/KA/LUL is a kind of topic-/focalization, shifting from semantic case to pragmatic case based on my 'Two Case Layers' hypothesis in the RRG framework. More specifically, I have made four claims there. The first claim is that the NUN-, KA- or LUL-marked NP case-shifted from (semantic) genitive is a 'pragmatic unit' (PU) which is eligible for being an independent focus or topic element within a clause regardless of its syntactic argumenthood. The second claim is that the shifted case markers such as NUN, KA, and LUL are all pragmatic cases which are distinct from semantic cases such as nominative *ka*, accusative *lul*, dative *eykey*, locative *ey*, and so forth. The third claim is that the FAH plays an important role in determining which NP can or cannot shift to NUN, KA, and LUL. For instance, a genitive-marked NP which is lower than its head noun based on the FAH may be shifted to KA or LUL within the AFD in order to form an MNC or an MAC. The fourth claim is that there is 'semantic bleeding' from semantic case layer through the pragmatic case layer: for instance, the semantic content, 'affectedness' of *lul* (-state) may bleed (deprive) the pragmatic use of LUL.

This chapter aims to investigate other kinds of case-shifting or -stacking (topic-/focalization) in simple sentences besides the genitive. For instance, the case-shifting from dative to NUN/KA/LUL, from ablative to NUN/KA/LUL, from locative to NUN/KA/LUL,

and so forth. However, these kinds of case-shifting are not expected from purposive, allative

and instrumental NPs and importantly from the *by*-marked oblique NP in passive sentences.

In addition to those case shifts, NOM and ACC may occur on adverbial phrases in a variety

of constructions. And lastly, 'Case Stacking', which could be construed as a composite of

semantic case and pragmatic case, in that order, will also be analyzed as types of topic-

/focalization from semantic to pragmatic cases. For this investigation to be done, we will

again employ the fundamental notions which I proposed in the preceding two chapters: 'Two

Case Layers' in figure 1, the grammatical values of 'nun', 'ka', and 'lul' in table 1, and lastly,

the 'FAH' constraint which determines which PU can or cannot form the MNC, and MAC

along with the FAH in figure 3.

Figure 1:   Korean Case Linking Algorithm: Two Case Layers

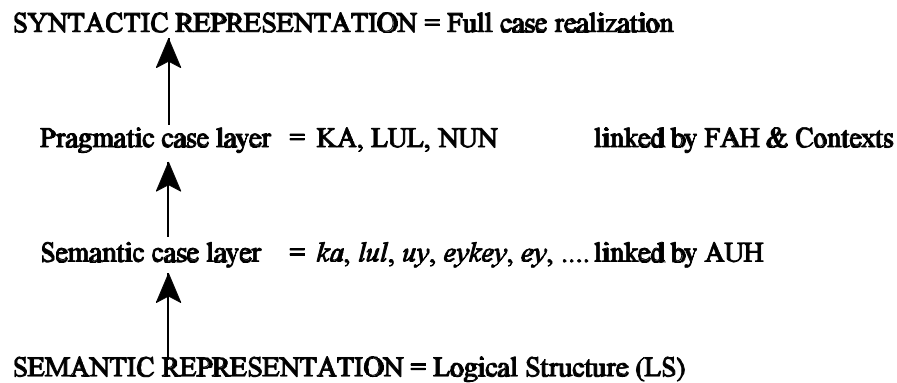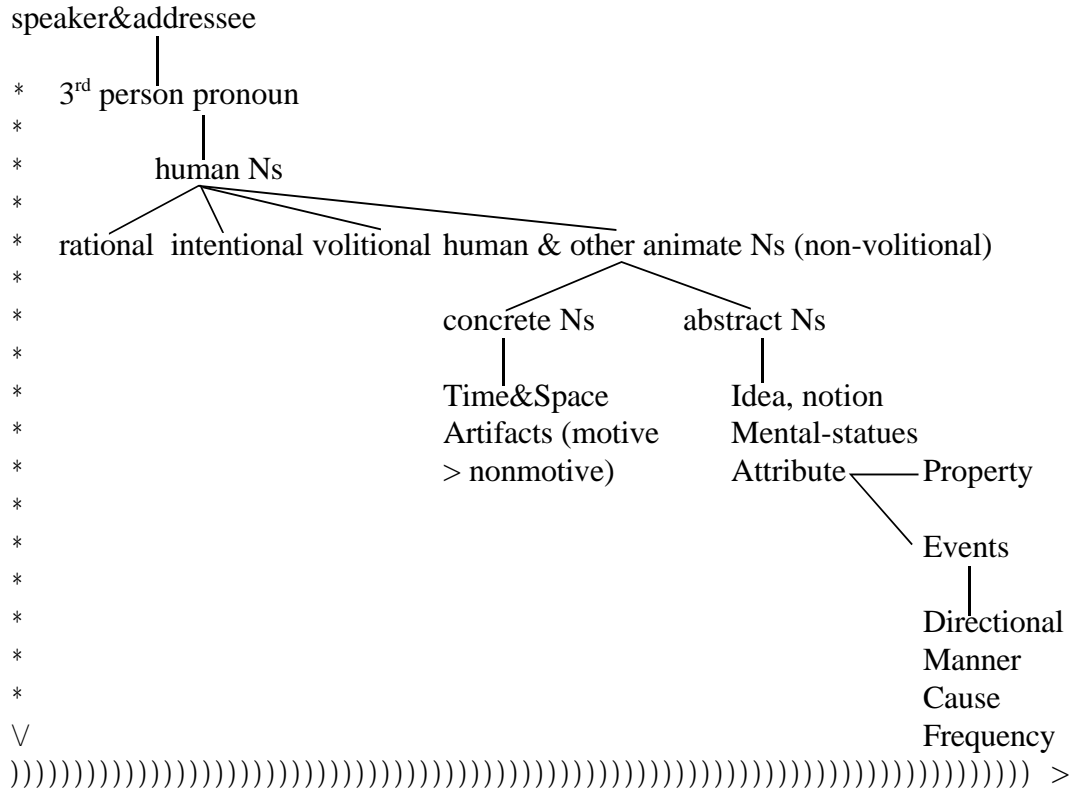SYNTACTIC REPRESENTATION = Full case realization

↑

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)

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)

(1)   The FAH constraints

    a. The word order of the MNC and MAC must conform to the FAH.

    b. The lower-ranking PU(s) in the PFD of a clause (in terms of the FAH) may undergo case shifting from the semantic cases to the pragmatic cases NUN, KA or LUL relative to focus structure of the sentence regardless of whether it is a syntactic argument or not.

Figure 3:   The Focality Accessibility Hierarchy (FAH) in the clause

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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
  V                                                              Frequency
))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))))  >
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This chapter is organized as follows: section 5.2 presents data which illustrate the case-shifting (or -stacking) from semantic to pragmatic case as well as cases in which the desired case-shifting (or -stacking) is unacceptable even though the NPs are in the AFD (actual focus domain). Section 5.3 proposes my analysis of those data in terms of topic-/focalization while comparing it with other approaches. Section 5.4 concludes this chapter.

5.2   Data and Questions

5.2.1   Data of case-shifting (or case-stacking)

(1)   *Give*-type predicate

(1.1a) below is a typical passive of the *give*-type sentence. The dative of the recipient NP *Yenghi* is shifted to NUN in (1.1b) at the sentence-initial position, and it is shifted to KA in (1.1c). (1.1d) demonstrates that the MNC (multiple NOM construction) in (1.1c) is not acceptable if it occurs with the nuclear negation particle *an*, whose scope is V^0. But the MNC in (1.1c) is acceptable when it occurs with the core negation *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do' in (1.1e), where the scope of negation (equal to the AFD) is the core.[1]

1) Dative to NUN/KA in passive
   (*Yenghi* = human N in the FAH)

a. Yenghi-hanthay   kkoch-i   cwu-eci-ess-ta.
   Y.-DAT   flower-NOM   give-PASS-PST-DEC
   'Yenghi was given a flower.'

b. Yenghi-nun   kkoch-i   cwu-eci-ess-ta.
   Y.-TOP   flower-NOM   give-PASS-PST-DEC
   'As for Yenghi, she was given a flower.'

c. Yenghi-ka   kkoch-i   cwu-eci-ess-ta.
   Y.-NOM   flower-NOM   give-PASS-PST-DEC
   'YENGHI was given a flower.'

d.#   Yenghi-ka   kkoch-i   an   cwu-eci-ess-ta.
   Y.-NOM   flower-NOM   NEG   give-PASS-PST-DEC
   'Yenghi was not GIVEN a flower.'

e. Yenghi-nun/ka   kkoch-i   cwue-ci-ci   an-h-ass-ta.
   Y.-TOP/NOM   flower-NOM   give-PASS-CLM   NEG-go-PST-DEC
   'It is not the case that Yenghi was given a flower.'

(1.2a) below is a typical dative sentence in the *give*-type sentence. The dative is shifted

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[1]In chapter 6.5, I deal with this core negation *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do' with respect to the light verb HA 'do'. In Korean linguistics, for instance I-H Lee (1980) among many, it has been long discussed about the scopes of the two types of negations: *an* 'NEG' and *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do'.

to NUN in (1.2b), and KA in (1.2c). Like in (1.1d), the MAC is not acceptable with *an* in

(1.2d), but it is acceptable with the core negation form *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do' in (1.2e).

    2) Dative to NUN/LUL
       (*Yenghi* = human N in the FAH)

    a. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-hanthay   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
       C.-NOM   Y.-DAT   flower-ACC   give-PST-DEC
       'Chelswu gave Yenghi a flower.'

    b. Yenghi-nun   Chelswu-ka   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
       Y.-TOP   C.-NOM   flower-ACC   give-PST-DEC
       'As for Yenghi, Chelswu gave her a FLOWER.'

    c. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-lul kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
       C.-NOM   Y.-ACC   flower-ACC   give-PST-DEC
       'Chelswu gave a FLOWER to YENGHI.'(Y. is focused and affected)

    d.#   Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-lul kkot-ul   an   cwu-ess-ta.
       C.-NOM   Y.-ACC   flower-ACC   NEG   give-PST-DEC
       'Chelswu did not GIVE Yenghi a flower.'

    e. Chelswu-nun/ka   Yenghi-lul kkot-ul   cwu-ci-lul   an-ass-ta.
       C.-TOP/NOM   Y.-ACC   flower-ACC   give-CLM(ACC) N E G -
                                                 P S T
                                                 DEC
       'It is not the case that Chelswu give Yenghi a flower.'

(2)   Psych-verb

The dative-marked NP *John* in (2.1a) is shifted to the NUN in (2.1b), and to the KA

in (2.1c). Again, the MNC in (2.1c) does not cooccur with the nuclear negation particle *an*

in (2.1d), but it does with *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do' in (2.1e).

    1) Dative to NUN/KA (*John* = human N in the FAH)

a. John-eykey   ton-i   philyoha-ta. (O'Grady 1989)
   J.-DAT   money-NOM   need-DEC
   'John needs money.'

b. John-un   ton-i   philyoha-ta
   J.-TOP   money-NOM   need-DEC
   'As for John, he needs money.'

c. John-i   ton-i   philyoha-ta
   J.-NOM   money-NOM   need-DEC
   'JOHN needs money.'

d.#   John-i   ton-i   an   philyoha-ta
      J.-DAT   money-NOM   NEG   need-DEC
      'John does not need money.'

e. John-un/-i   ton-i   philyoha-ci   an-h-ta
   J.-TOP/NOM   money-NOM   need-CLM   NEG-do-DEC
   'It is not the case that John needs money.'

In the same vein, the dative of the experiencer *Swunhi* in (2.2a) is shifted to NUN in

(2.2b) and to KA in (2.2c). Again *an* is not acceptable in (2.2d), but *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do' is

acceptable with the MNC in (2.2e)

2) Dative to NUN/KA (*Swunhi* = human N in the FAH)

a. Swunhi-eykey kay-ka   mwusewe-ss-ta. (Yang 1994)
   S.-DAT   dog-NOM   fear-PST-DEC
   'Soonhi feared the dog.'

b. Swunhi-nun   kay-ka   mwusewe-ss-ta.
   S.-TOP   dog-NOM   fear-PST-DEC
   'As for Soonhi, she feared the dog.'

c. Swunhi-ka   kay-ka   mwusewe-ss-ta.
   S.-NOM   dog-NOM   fear-PST-DEC
   'SOONHI feared the dog.'

d.#   Swunhi-ka   kay-ka   an   mwusewe-ss-ta.

| | S.-NOM | dog-NOM | NEG | fear-PST-DEC |

'Soonhi did not FEAR the dog.'

e. Swunhi-ka   kay-ka   mwusewep-ci   an-h-ass-ta.
     S.-NOM   dog-NOM   fear-CLM   NEG-do-PST-DEC
     'It is not the case that Soonhi fear the dog.'

The dative-marked *Yenghi* in (2.3a) below is shifted to NUN in (2.3b), and KA in (2.3c). And the *an* cannot occur with the MNC as seen in (2.3d), but *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do' can in (2.3e).

3) Dative to NUN/KA (*Yenghi* = human N in the FAH)

a. Yenghi-eykey   ot-i   cal   ewulli-n-ta.
     Y.-DAT   clothes   very   be.suit-PRES-DEC
     'The clothing is very suitable for Yenghi.'

b. Yenghi-nun   ot-i   cal   ewulli-n-ta.
     Y.-TOP   clothe   well   be.suit-PRES-DEC

c. Yenghi-ka   ot-i   cal   ewulli-n-ta.
     Y.-NOM   clothe   well   be.suit-PRES-DEC

d.#   Yenghi-ka   ot-i   cal   an   ewulli-n-ta.
     Y.-NOM   clothes   well   NEG   be.suit-PRES-DEC
     'The clothes are not well SUITED to Yenghi.'

e. Yenghi-ka   ot-i   cal   ewulli-ci   an-h-ta.
     Y.-NOM   clothe   well   be.suit-CLM   NEG-do-DEC
     'It is not the case that the clothes are well suited to Yenghi.'

(3)   Causee (Park 1995)

The dative-marked NP *ai-tul* 'children' in (3.1a) is shifted to NUN in (3.1b), and to KA in (3.1c). Again, the nuclear negation particle *an* in (3d) is not acceptable with the MNC, but *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do' is acceptable in (3.1e) below.

1) dative to NUN/LUL (*aitul* 'children' = intentional human N in the FAH)

a. Na-ka   ai-tul-eykey   pap-ul   mek-i-ess-ta.
   I-NOM   child-PL-DAT   rice-ACC eat-CAU-PST-DEC
   'I fed the children the cooked rice.

b. Ai-tul-un   nay-ka   pap-ul   mek-i-ess-ta.
   child-PL-TOP   I-NOM   rice-ACC   eat-CAU-PST-DEC
   'As for the children, I fed the cooked rice to them.'

c. Na-ka   ai-tul-ul   pap-ul   mek-i-ess-ta.
   I-NOM   child-PL-ACC   rice-ACC eat-CAU-PST-DEC
   'I fed the cooked rice to the children.'

d.#   Na-ka   ai-tul-ul   pap-ul   an   mek-i-ess-ta.
   I-NOM   child-PL-ACC   rice-ACC NEG   eat-CAU-PST-DEC
   'I did not FEED the cooked rice to the children.'

e. Na-ka   ai-tul-ul   pap-ul   mek-i-ci   an-h-ess-ta.
   I-NOM   child-PL-ACC   rice-ACC eat-CAU-CLM   NEG-do-PST-
                                                                        DEC
   'It was not the case that I feed the cooked rice to the children.'

(4)   Ablative (Space in the FAH)

1) Ablative to NUN/KA in state-verb sentences

The ablative-marked source NP *phwungsen* 'balloon' in (4.1a) in the state-verb

sentence is shifted to NUN in (4.1b), and to KA in (4.1c). *An* in (4.1d) is not acceptable with

the MNC, but *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do' is acceptable in (4.1e).

a. Phwungsen-eyse   palam-i   ppa-(e)ci-ess-ta[2]
   balloon-from   air-NOM   leak-PASS-PST-DEC
   'Air leaked out from the balloon.' (lit. 'Air was leaked from the balloon.')

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[2]The verb *ppay-* 'leak' is an accomplishment, but its passive form *ppa-(e)ci-* 'leak-PASS' is a result state verb.

b. Phwungsen-un   palam-i   ppa-(e)ci-ess-ta
   balloon-TOP   air-NOM   leak-PASS-PST-DEC
   'As for the balloon, air leaked out from it.'

c. Phwungsen-i   palam-i   ppa-(e)ci-ess-ta
   balloon-NOM   air-NOM   leak-PASS-PST-DEC
   'Air leaked out from the BALLOON.'

d.#   Phwungsen-i   palam-i   an   ppa-(e)ci-ess-ta
   balloon-NOM   air-NOM   NEG   leak-PASS-PST-DEC
   'Air did not leak from the balloon.'

e. Phwungsen-i   palam-i   ppa-(e)ci-ci   an-ass-ta.
   balloon-NOM   air-NOM   leak-PASS-CLM NEG-PST-DEC
   'It is not the case that air leaked from the balloon.'

2) Ablative to NUN/KA in nonstate-verb sentences

The ablative-marked source NP *phwungsen* 'balloon' in (4.2a) is shifted to NUN in

(4.2b), and KA in (4.2c). *An* in (4.2d) is not acceptable with the MNC, but *-ci an-h* 'NEG-

do' is acceptable in (4.2e).

a. Chelswu-ka   phwungsen-eyse   palam-ul   ppay-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   balloon-from   air-ACC   leak-PST-DEC
   'Chelswu let air out of the balloon.'

b. Phwungsen-eyse-nun Chelswu-ka   palam-ul   ppay-ess-ta.
   balloon-from-TOP   C.-NOM   air-ACC   leak-PST-DEC
   'As for the balloon, Chelswu let air out of it.'

c. Chelswu-ka   phwungsen-ul   palam-ul   ppay-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   balloon-ACC   air-ACC   leak-PST-DEC
   'Chelswu let AIR out of the BALLOON.'

d.#   Chelswu-ka   phwungsen-ul   palam-ul   an   ppay-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   balloon-from-ACC   air-ACC   NEG   leak-PST-DEC
   'Chelswu did not let air out of the balloon.'

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e. Chelswu-ka   phwungsen-ul   palam-ul   ppay-ci   an-h-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   balloon-ACC   air-ACC   leak-CLM   NEG-do-PST-DEC
   'It is not the case that Chelswu let air out of the balloon.'

(5)   1) Locative in state verb sentences (Space in the FAH)

The locative-marked NP *Seoul* in (5.1a) is shifted to NUN in (5.1b), and to KA in

(5.1b) forming a MNC. Here, again, *An* cannot occur in the MNC as seen in (5.1d), but *-ci*

an-h 'NEG-do' can so occur as seen in (5.1e).

a. Seoul-ey   pi-ka   nayli-n-ta.
    Seoul-LOC   rain-NOM   fall-PRES-DEC
    'It rains in Seoul.'

b. Seoul-un   pi-ka   nayli-n-ta.
    Seoul-TOP   rain-NOM   fall-PRES-DEC
    'As for Seoul, it rains there.'

c. Seoul-i   pi-ka   nayli-n-ta.
    Seoul-NOM   rain-NOM   fall-PRES-DEC
    'It rains in SEOUL.'

d.#   Seoul-i   pi-ka   an   nayli-n-ta.
    Seoul-NOM   rain-NOM   NEG   fall-PRES-DEC
    'It does not rain in Seoul.'

e. Seoul-i   pi-ka   nayli-ci   an-h-nun-ta.
    Seoul-NOM   rain-NOM   fall-CLM   NEG-do-PRES-DEC
    'It is not the case that it rains in Seoul.'

2) Locative in state verb sentences (Space in the FAH)

The locative-marked NP *Taegwu* in (5.2a) is shifted to NUN in (5.2b), and to KA in

(5.2b) forming a MNC. Again, *an* cannot occur in the MNC as seen in (5.2d), but *-ci an-h*

'NEG-do' can so occur as seen in (5.2e).

a. Taegwu-ey   sakwa-ka   manh-ta.
   Taegwu-LOC   apple-NOM   abundant-DEC
   'Apples are abundant in Taegwu.'

b. Taegwu-ey-nun   sakwa-ka   manh-ta
   Taegwue-LOC-TOP   apple-NOM   abundant-DEC
   'As for Taegwu, apples are abundant.'

c. Taegwu-ka   sakwa-ka   manh-ta
   Taegwu-NOM   apple-NOM   abundant-DEC
   'Apples are abundant in TAEGWU.'

d.#   Taegwu-ka   sakwa-ka   an   manh-ta
   Taegwu-NOM   apple-NOM   NEG   abundant-DEC
   'Apples are not ABUNDANT in Taegwu.'

e. Taegwu-ka   sakwa-ka   manh-ci   an-h-ta
   Taegwu-NOM   apple-NOM   abundant-CLM   NEG-do-DEC
   'It is not the case that apples are abundant in Taegwu.'

(6)   Locative in non-state verb sentences (Space in the FAH)

     1)

Contrary to state-verb sentences, the locative-marked NPs do not allow case-shifting in non-state verb sentences. Although *tosekwan* in (6.1a) is markedly shifted to NUN in (6.1b), it does not allow the case to shift to KA or LUL as seen in (6.1c).[3]

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[3]The example of Park (1995) in (1) below could be acceptable if we consider the verb *na-* 'break.out' a 'result state' sentence instead of an accomplishment. In fact, sometimes these two Aktionsart classes are hard to distinguish. Let us take into consideration the contrast between the locative *-ey* and KA in (2) below.

(1)   Thoyoil-i   kongcang-i   pwul-i   na-ass-ta.
        Saturday-NOM   factory-NOM   fire-NOM   break.out-PST-DEC
        'Fire broke out in the factory on Saturday.'
(2)   Cokum ceney   kongcang-ey/#-i   pwul-i   na-ass-ta.
        right.before   factory-LOC/-NOM   fire-NOM   break-out-PST-DEC
        'Fire just before broke out in the factory.'

When it occurs with an adverb like *cokum ceney* 'right before', the KA in (2) is unacceptable, but if it occurs with *thoyoil* 'Saturday' in (1), then KA is acceptable on *kongcang* 'factory'. This observation implies that the MNC is more likely compatible with the state verb sentence reading rather than the accomplishment reading.

a. Chelswu-ka   tosekwan-eyse   ca-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   library-LOC   sleep-PST-DEC
   'Chelswu slept in the library.'

b.? Tosekwan-eyse-nun   Chelswu-ka   ca-ess-ta.
    library-LOC-TOP   C.-NOM   sleep-PST-DEC
    'As for the library, Chelswu slept in it.'

c. Chelswu-ka   tosekwan*-i/*-ul   ca-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   library-NOM/-ACC   sleep-PST-DEC

2)

The same is true for *keli-eyse* 'street-locative' in (6.2a) below. Although it is shifted

to NUN in (6.2b), it does not allow the case to shift to KA. However, importantly, in (6.2c),

the locative-marked *keli-eyse* 'street-LOC' can be *lul*-marked. Here, we will analyze *lul* as

a locative *lul* (semantic case), which has the 'semantic feature [+global], and covers the entire

location from the departure to the arrival,' whereas *ey* 'at' of *Seoul-ey* in (6.1a) and *eyse* 'on'

of *keli-eyse* in (6.2a) refer to a specific portion of the entire location.[4]

a. Salamtul-i   keli-eyse   o-ka-n-ta.
   people-NOM   street-LOC   come-go-PRES-DEC
   'People come and go in the street.'

b. Keli-ese-nun   salamtul-i   o-ka-n-ta.
   street-LOC-TOP   people-NOM   come-go-PRES-DEC
   'As for the street, people come and go.'

c. Salamtul-i   keli-*ka/-lul   o-ka-n-ta.
   people-NOM   keli-NOM/-LOC   come-go-PRES-DEC

3) Locative in non-state verb sentences

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[4]See section 5.3.1 below. Park (1995) also sets apart the locative *lul* from the neutral focus marker LUL.

Following the same reasoning, the locative-marked *tosekwan-eyse* 'in the library' in (6.3a), and *canti-eyse* 'on the lawn' in (6.3b) cannot switch to locative *lul*, let alone LUL, since the entire location is not available for this context.

a. Chelswu-nun tosekwan-eyse/*-ul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta. (Park 1995:96)
   C.-TOP   library-LOC/-ACC   book-ACC read-PST-DEC
   'Chelswu read a book at the library.'

b. Chelswu-nun canti-eyse/*-ul kong-ul cha-ess-ta.
   C.-TOP   lawn-LOC/-ACC   ball-ACC kick-PST-DEC
   'Chelswu kicked a ball on the lawn.'

4) Locative in non-state verb sentences (locative case *lul*)

By contrast, *keli-lul* 'street-LOC' in (6.4a) and *hanul-ul* 'sky-LOC' in (6.4b) only have the locative *lul*, not the locative -*eyse* 'in or on', due to the semantic feature [+global].

a. sicheng-kkaci keli-*eyse/lul   ttwi-ess-ta.
   city.hall-to   street-LOC/LOC   run-PST-DEC
   '(He) ran to the City Hall on the street.'

b. Seoul-eyse   Pusan-kkaci   pihayngki-ka   hanul-*eyse/ul nal-ess-ta.
   Seoul-from   Pusam-to   airplane-NOM   sky-*LOC/ACC f l y - P S T -
                                                              DEC
   'An airplane flew in the sky from Seoul to Pusan.'

5) Locative in non-state verb sentences (locative case *lul*)

(6.5a) below shows that both the locative forms -*eyse* 'in or on' and the *lul* can occur with the adverbial phrase *hansikan-tongan* 'for an hour'. But when they occur with *hansikan-maney* 'in an hour', only the locative *lul* can occur as seen in (6.5b).

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a. Han   sikan-tongan ku   keli-eyse/-lul   kel-ess-ta.[5]
   one   hour-during   the   street-LOC/ACC   walk-PST-DEC
   '(He) walked down the street for an hour.'

b. Han   sikan-maney   ku   keli*-eyse/-lul kel-ess-ta.
   one   hour-during   the   street-LOC/ACC walk-PST-DEC
   '(He) walked down the street in an hour.'

(7)   Purposive (Idea in the FAH)

In a different manner from the previous cases, the purposive-marked NP *senmwul-lo*

'for present' in (7.1a) can have NUN added in (7.1b), but KA or LUL cannot be added in

(7.1c).[6]

1)
a. I   kulim-i   senmwul-lo   cektanha-ta.
   this picture-NOM   present-PURP   suit-DEC
   'This picture is suitable for a present.'

b. Senmwu-lo-nun   i   kulim-i   cektangha-ta.
   present-for-TOP   this picture-NOM   suit-DEC

c.* I   kulim-i   senmwu(-lo)-ka   cektangha-ta.
    this picture-NOM   present-PURP-NOM   suit-DEC
    This picture is suitable for a present.

(8)   Attribute (property) in the FAH

An attribute such as *Hamlet-ulo* 'as Hamlet' in (8.1a) also does not allow case-

stacking with KA as seen in (8.1c), although it allows NUN in (8.1b).

1)
a. Ku   yeynkuk-eyse, Chelswu-ka   Hamlet-ulo   nao-n-ta.
   that   play-in   C.-NOM   Hamlet-as   appear-PRES-DEC

---

[5]Due to the [+global] feature, this sentence may have an iterative meaning with *-lul*.
[6]Here, and afterward, we prefer case-stacking to case-shifting in forming pragmatic cases. This will be explained in section 5.3.16 in terms of a 'shifting-stacking hierarchy of pragmatic case marking'.

'Chelswu appears in that play as Hamlet.'

b. Ku   yeynkuk-eyse, Hamlet-ulo-nun   Chelswu-ka   nao-n-ta.
   that   play-in   Hamlet-as-TOP   C.-NOM   appear-PRES-DEC
   'As for Hamlet, Chelswu appears in the play as him.'

c. Ku yeynkuk-eyse,   Chelswu-ka   Hamlet-ulo*-ka/*-lul   nao-n-ta.
   that play-in   C.-NOM   Hamlet-as-NOM/ACC   appear-PRES-
                                                              DEC

(9)   Allative (Directional in the FAH)

The allative-marked NP *Seoul-lo* 'to Seoul' in (9a) can have NUN added in (9.1b),

but as expected, it does not allow KA/LUL.

1)
a. Chelswu-ka   Seoul-lo[7]   ka-ss-ta.
   C.-NOM   Seoul-ALL   go-PST-DEC
   'Chelswu went to Seoul.'

b. Seoul-lo-nun   Chelswu-ka   ka-ss-ta.
   Seoul-ALL-TOP   C.-NOM   go-PST-DEC
   'As for Seoul, Chelswu went to it.'

c. Chelswu-ka   Seoul-lo-*ka/-*lul   ka-ss-ta.
   C.-NOM   Seoul-ALL-NOM/ACC   go-PST-DEC

(10)   Instrument (Manner events in the FAH)[8]

1)

Instrument-marked NPs also do not sanction LUL. For instance, although the

instrument-marked NP *tol* 'stone' in (10.1a) can have NUN in (10.1b), it cannot have LUL

in (10.1c).

---

[7]The allative *-lo* 'to' has the same form as the purposive *-lo*.
[8]See section 5.3.1.6 for justification of 'instrument' as the manner event in the FAH.

a. Chelswu-ka   changmwun-ul   tol-lo   kkay-ess-ta.
C.-NOM   window-ACC   rock-with   break-PST-DEC
'Chelswu broke a window with a rock.'

b. Tol-lo-nun   Chelswu-ka   changmwun-ul   kkay-ess-ta.
rock-with-TOP   C.-NOM   window-ACC   break-PST-DEC
'As for the rock, Chelswu broke a window with it.'

c.* Chelswu-ka   changmwun-ul   tol(-lo)-lul   kkay-ess-ta.
C.-NOM   window-ACC   rock-with-ACC   break-PST-DEC

2)

Likewise, the instrument-marked NP 'fax' in (10.2a) can take NUN in (10.2b), but

it cannot take LUL in (10.2c).

a. Chelswu-ka   peynci-lul   fax-lo   ponay-ess-ta.
C.-NOM   letter-ACC   fax-by   send-PST-DEC
'Chelswu sent a letter by fax.'

b. Fax-lo-nun   Chelswu-ka   peynci-lul   panay-ess-ta.
fax-by-TOP   C.-NOM   letter-ACC   send-PST-DEC
'As for faxing, Chelswu sent a letter.'

c.* Chelswu-ka   peynci-lul   fax(-lo)-lul   ponay-ss-ta.
C.-NOM   letter-ACC   fax-by-ACC   send-PST-DEC
'Chelswu send a letter by fax.'

(11)   Passive (*by*-marked NP = rational human N in the FAH)

The oblique NP *Chelswu* in the passive, (11a), never allows case-shifting to KA in this

state-verb sentence.

a. Chelswu-ey uyhayse   totwuk-i   cap-hi-ess-ta.
C.-by   thief-NOM   arrest-PASS-DEC
'The thief was arrested by Chelswu.'

b.* Chelswu-ka   totwuk-i   cap-hi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM   thief-NOM   arrest-PASS-DEC

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(12)   Causative Passive (Kim and Maling 1993): the pragmatic (focus) case KA vs. the

semantic (accomplishment) case *lul* on frequency adverbials

The frequency adverbial *twu-pen* 'two times' in (12.1a) below may be marked by

either KA in (12.1b) or the *lul* in (12.1c); these two sentences have different semantic

interpretations. The former would be analyzed as a state-verb sentence and KA is the neutral

focus marker; but the latter is a so-called 'causative passive' sentence (Kim and Maling 1993),

having the accomplishment Aktionsart interpretation, so that the *lul* is a semantic

(accomplishment) case marker (Park 1995).

1)
a. Totwuk-i   twu-pen   cap-hi-ess-ta.
    thief-NOM   two-time   arrest-PASS-PST-DEC
    'Two (different) thieves were arrested.' [passive] or
    'The (same) thief got arrested twice.' [causative passive]

b. Totwuk-i   twu-pen-i   cap-hi-ess-ta.
    thief-NOM   two-time-NOM   arrest-PASS-PST-DEC
    'Two (different) thieves were arrested.' [passive]

c. Totwuk-i   twu-pen-ul   cap-hi-ess-ta.
    thief-NOM   two-time-ACC   arrest-PASS-PST-DEC
    'The (same) thief got arrested twice.' [causative passive]

5.2.2   NOM or ACC on Adverbial phrases

(13)   Time adverbial: semantic (accomplishment) case *lul*

The time adverbial *twu sikan* 'two hours' in (13a) below is marked by *lul* in (13b), but

not by KA in (13c). And unlike other types of adverbials, the nuclear negation particle *an* is

acceptable in (13d).

a. Chelswu-ka   twu sikan   ttwuy-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   2   hour   run-PST-DEC
   'Chelswu ran two hours.'

b. Chelswu-ka   twu sikan-ul   ttwuy-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   2 hour-ACC   run-PST-DEC

c.* Chelswu-ka   twu sikan-i   ttwuy-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   2 times-NOM   run-PST-DEC

d. Chelswu-ka   twu sikan-ul   an   ttwuy-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   2 hour-ACC   NEG   run-PST-DEC
   'Chelswu did not run two hours.'

(14)   Space adverbial: semantic (accomplishment) case *lul*

The space adverbial *twu kwuntay* 'two places' in (14a) below may also have *lul* as

seen in (14b) below. And as for *lul* on the time adverbial, when it cooccurs with *an*, it is

acceptable in (14c).

a. Na-nun   swulcip-ul   twu   kwuntay   ka-ass-ta.
   I-TOP   bar-ACC   two   place   go-PST-DEC
   'I went to two bars.' (lit. I went to two place of bars.)

b. Na-nun   swulcip-ul   twu   kwuntay-lul/*-i   ka-ass-ta.
   I-TOP   bar-ACC   two   CL-ACC/*-NOM go-PST-DEC

c. Na-nun   swulcip-ul   twu   kwuntay-lul   an   ka-ass-ta.
   I-TOP   bar-ACC   two   CL-ACC   NEG   go-PST-DEC
   'I did not go to two bars.'

(15)   Frequency Adverbial: semantic (accomplishment) case *lul*

(15a) displays no case on the frequency adverbial *twu pen* 'two times', whereas (15b)

shows it marked by *lul*. Once again, importantly, (15c) shows that *an* is acceptable.

    a.   Penkay-ka   twu-pen   chi-ess-ta.
        lightning-NOM   many.time   strike-PST-DEC
        'Lightning struck two times.'

    b.   Penkay-ka   twupen-ul/*-i   chi-ess-ta.
        lightning-NOM   many.time-ACC/-NOM   strike-PST-DEC
        'Lightning struck two times.'

    c.   Penkay-ka   twupen-ul   an   chi-ess-ta.
        lightning-NOM   many.time-ACC   NEG   strike-PST-DEC
        'Lightning did not strike two times (among ten).'

(16)   Manner adverbial: pragmatic (neutral focus) case LUL

By contrast to the time, space, and frequency adverbials, manner adverbials allow

neither NOM- or ACC-marking. The ungrammaticality of the three (activity) verb sentences

in (16) show that ACC-marking on manner adverbial phrases are not acceptable.[9]

    a.   Tom-i   coyonghi(*-lul)   wa-ss-ta. (Wechsler & Lee (1996: 631))
        Tom-NOM   silently(-ACC)   come-PST-DEC
        'Tom approached silently.'

    b.   Tom-i   kot-palo(*-lul)   wa-ss-ta.
        Tom-NOM   straight(-ACC)   come-PST-DEC
        'Tom approached directly.'

    c.   Tom-i   ku il-l   cal(*-ul)   hay-ss-ta.
        Tom-NOM   the job   well(-ACC)   do-PST-DEC
        'Tom did the job well.'

(17)   Postpositional periphery: pragmatic (neutral focus) case LUL

---

[9]Given their meaning manner adverbs typically modify activity logical structures (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 163).

The postpositional phrase such as *ponlay-pwute* 'from the beginning' in (17a) is optionally KA-marked in (17b).

   a. I   ket-un   ponlay-pwute   thull-ess-ta.
       this thing-TOP   beginning-from   wrong-PST-DEC

   b. I   ket-un   ponlay-pwute-ka   thull-ess-ta.
       this thing-TOP   beginning-from-NOM wrong-PST-DEC
       'This thing was wrong from the beginning.'

   c.# I   ket-un   ponlay-pwute-ka   an   thull-ess-ta.
       this thing-TOP   beginning-from-NOM NEG   wrong-PST-DEC

(18)   Emphatic words: pragmatic (neutral focus) case LUL

A emphatic word such as *totaychey* 'on earth' may be marked by KA.

   1)
   a. Totaychey   i   ket-un[10]   thull-ess-ta!
       on earth   this thing-CONT   wrong-PST-DEC
       'What on earth went wrong with this!'

   b. Totaychey-ka/#-lul   i   ket-un   thull-ess-ta.
       on earth-NOM/-ACC   this thing-CONT   wrong-PST-DEC
       'What on earth went wrong with this!'

   2)
   a. Na-nun   ku iywuy-lul   totaychey   moluket-ta.
       I-TOP   that reason-ACC   on earth   not.understand-DEC
       'I do not understand what on earth the reason is!'

   b. Na-nun   ku iywuy-lul   totaychey-ka/#-lul moluket-ta.
       I-TOP   that reason-ACC   on earth-NOM   not.understand-DEC
       'I do not understand what on earth the reason is!'

(19)   *wh*-word: pragmatic (neutral focus) case LUL

---

[10]This NUN is construed only as contrastive NUN, not neutral topic NUN in this sentence.

Optionally, a *wh*-word like *eti* 'where' can appear with KA in (19b) below.

    a. Eti   ku-len-key   iss-ni?
        where   such.thing   exist-Q

    b. Eti-ka   ku-len-key   iss-ni?
        where-NOM   such.thing   exist-Q
        'Is it somewhere?' or 'Where is such a thing?'

(20)   With a Serial Verb Construction (SVC): pragmatic (neutral focus) case LUL

    1)

    (20.1a) is a Korean serial verb construction (Core-cosubordination). And as seen in

(20.1b) below, when the first V^0 is focused, LUL can occur between two verbs in the SVC.

    a. Chelswu-ka   thokki-lul   cap-a-o-ass-ta.
        C.-NOM   rabbit-ACC   catch-LINK-come-PST-DEC
    b. Chelswu-ka   thokki-lul   cap-a-lul   o-ass-ta.
        C.-NOM   rabbit-ACC   catch-LINK-ACC   come-PST-DEC
        'Chelswu came in with a rabbit.'

This is a core juncture, ([$_{CORE}$ PRED] + [$_{CORE}$ PRED]), not an nuclear juncture, [(PRED$_{NUC}$

+ PRED$_{NUC}$)], among RRG juncture-nexus types (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 444). A crucial

piece of evidence for the claim is that there is an argument *thokki* 'rabbit' which is not shared

by the two predicates: i.e. *thokki* 'rabbit' is an argument of the first predicate *cap-* 'catch',

but it cannot be that of the second predicate *o-* 'come'. Therefore, each sentence in (20.1)

contains two cores, not one core.[11]

---

[11]For justification of this Core-Juncture within RRG Juncture-Nexus types see Han (1997). Yang (1994)
provides an analysis of a wide range of Juncture-Nexus types in Korean, which supports this claim.

2)

However, importantly, if the whole SVC is an instance of 'Nuclear Co-Subordination',

then LUL cannot occur between the two verbs as seen in (20.2b), which supports the fact that

KA/LUL can only occur on a PU (phrase).[12]

    a. Chelswu-ka   thokki-lul   cap-a-mek-ess-ta.
        C.-NOM   rabbit-ACC   catch-LINK-eat-PST-DEC
        'Chelswu caught a rabbit and ate it.'(lit. Chelswu caught-ate it)

    b.# Chelswu-ka   thokki-lul   cap-a-lul   mek-ess-ta.
        C.-NOM   rabbit-ACC   catch-LINK-ACC   eat-PST-DEC

Unlike (20.1a&b), the verbs in the sentences in (20.2a&b) share all their arguments: that is,

the two NPs, *Chelswu* and *thokki*, are simultaneously the direct core arguments of each

predicate, *cap-* catch, and *mek-* 'eat'. This supports the claim that the serial verb '*cap-a-mek*'

'catch-LINK-eat' is a nuclear juncture, $[(PRED_{NUC} + PRED_{NUC})]$.[13]

(21)   After the causative CLM -*key*: pragmatic (neutral focus) case LUL

    When the long form causative sentence marked by a CLM (Clausal Linkage Marker)

-*key* appears in the AFD, LUL can occur after -*key* as seen in (21b), but KA is not acceptable

in the causative sentence in (21c) due to the type of causative sentence (nonstate -verb

sentence).

    a. Cheslwu-ka   Yenghi-lul ka-key   hay-ess-ta.

---

[12]Here, this is expected because a single verb alone (Nucleus) cannot form a PU. For a detailed analysis of Korean SVCs see, Han (1997).
[13]Also see Yang (1994) for justification of this 'Nuclear Cosubordination' structure.

      C.-NOM   Y.-ACC   go-CLM   make-PST-DEC

b. Cheslwu-ka   Yenghi-lul ka-key-lul   hay-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   Y.-ACC   go-CLM-ACC   make-PST-DEC

c.* Cheslwu-ka   Yenghi-lul ka-key-ka   hay-ess-ta.
   C.-NOM   Y.-ACC   go-CLM-NOM   make-PST-DEC
   Chelswu made Yenghi go.

5.2.3 Case-Stacking from semantic to pragmatic case

As a final category, Case-Stacking of semantic and pragmatic case, in that order, is possible in many combinations. (22) below shows the case-stacking of locative *ey* and LUL, but as I demonstrate in (22b), the opposite order is not acceptable. In addition, with regard to the two types of negation: (preverbal) nuclear negation *an* vs. (postverbal) core negation *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do', there is a sweeping generalization that applies to case-stacking, namely, all case-stacking sentences except those with NUN cannot cooccur with *an*, but can with *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do'. This is evidenced below by the fact that each (c) version in (22) - (24) is acceptable, but each (d) version in (22) - (24) is not acceptable.

(23a) exhibits dative-LUL case-stacking, and again the opposite order is not acceptable, as in (23b). (24) shows that case-stacking of purposive-KA is acceptable. And (25a) shows that this kind of stacking is also possible between the locative and NUN, and again the opposite order is prohibited, as in (25b). (26a) demonstrates the case-stacking of the dative-NUN, but (26b) shows that the opposite order is not acceptable either.

(22)   a. Chelswu-ka   nayil   san-ey-lul   ka-n-ta.
          C.-NOM   tomorrow   mountain-LOC-ACC   go-PRES-DEC
          'Cheslwu is going to go to a mountain tomorrow.'

b.* Chelswu-ka   nayil   san-ul-ey   ka-n-ta.
   C.-NOM   tomorrow mountain-ACC-LOC go-PRES-DEC

c.# Chelswu-ka   nayil   san-ey-lul   an   ka-n-ta.
   C.-NOM   tomorrow mountain-LOC-ACC NEG   go-PRES-DEC
   'Cheslwu is not going to go to a mountain tomorrow.'

d. Chelswu-ka   nayil   san-ey-lul   ka-ci   an-nun-ta
   C.-NOM   tomorrow mountain-LOC-ACC go-CLM   NEG-PRES-DEC
   'It is not the case that Cheslwu is going to go to a mountain tomorrow.'

(23) a. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-eykey-lul   chayk-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
       C.-NOM   Y.-DAT-LUL   book-ACC   give-PST-DEC
       'Chelswu gave a book to Yenghi.'

     b.* Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-lul-eykey   chayk-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
       C.-NOM   Y.-ACC-DAT   book-ACC   give-PST-DEC

     c.# Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-eykey-lul   chayk-ul   an   cwu-ess-ta.
       C.-NOM   Y.-DAT-LUL   book-ACC   NEG   give-PST-DEC
       'Chelswu did not give a book to Yenghi.'

     d. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-eykey-lul   chayk-ul   cwu-ci   an-h-ess-ta.
       C.-NOM   Y.-DAT-LUL   book-ACC   give-CLM NEG-PST-DEC
       'Chelswu gave a book to Yenghi.'

(24) a. I   sikyey-nun   senmwul-lo-ka   cektangha-ta.
       this   watch-TOP   present-PURP-NOM   suitable-DEC
       'This watch is suitable for a present.'

     b.* I   sikyey-nun   senmwul-ka-lo   cektangha-ta.
       this   watch-TOP   present-NOM-PURP   suitable-DEC

     c.# I   sikyey-nun   senmwul-lo-ka   an   cektangha-ta.
       this   watch-TOP   present-PURP-NOM   NEG   suitable-DEC
       'This watch is not suitable for a present.'

     d. I   sikyey-nun   senmwul-lo-ka   cektangha-ci an-h-ta.
       this   watch-TOP   present-PURP-NOM   suitable-CLM NEG-do-DEC
       'It is not the case that this watch is suitable for a present.'

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(25) a. San-ey-nun   Chelswu-ka   nayil   ka-n-ta.
        mountain-LOC-TOP C.-NOM   tomorrow   go-PRES-DEC
        'As for the mountain, Chelswu is going to go to it tomorrow.'

    b.* San-nun-ey   Chelswu-ka   nayil   ka-n-ta.
        mountain-TOP-LOC C.-NOM   tomorrow   go-PRES-DEC

(26) a. Chelswu-eykey-nun   ton-i   philyo-ha-ta.
        C.-DAT-TOP   money-NOM   need-do-DEC
        'As for Chelswu, he needs money.'

    b.* Chelswu-nun-eykey   ton-i   philyo-ha-ta.
        C.-DAT-TOP-DAT   money-NOM   need-do-DEC

5.3   Analysis

The basic assumptions that were proposed and argued for in chapter 3 and 4 will also be applied to this chapter with little revision. That is, i) the 'Two Case Layers', ii) the grammatical values of 'nun', 'ka', and 'lul', and iii) the FAH constraint and semantic bleeding on the MNC and MAC.

One thing should be noted at this point. There is a general test, (preverbal) nuclear negation *an*, which can apply to all instances of pragmatic case. That is to say, when the scope of negation (=the AFD) is the final verb and the other parts of the sentence are in the topic domain, which is precisely the case with the preverbal *an*, then multiple NOM, ACC constructions are not acceptable. It could be explained in terms of focus conflict: namely, given that the scope of the nuclear negation *an* must be the primary focus element, then marking another NP as focal conflicts with this and violates the Gricean Maxim of Relevance in that assigning pragmatic case signals that the KA/LUL-marked element is the primary focal element in the clause. This explains the generalization made in 5.2.3 that *an* is never

compatible with case stacking.

5.3.1 Case-shifting from dative to NUN/KA/LUL

5.3.1.1 *Give*-type predicates

With *give*-type predicates such as in (1.1a) and (1.2a), the recipient NP *Yenghi* should

receive dative case, following the Case-Marking Rules for Korean. However, as I

demonstrated beforehand, dative can be shifted to NUN in (1.1b) and (1.2b) or KA in (1.1c)

and (1.2c). Moreover, as I showed in (1.1d) and (1.2d), when dative is shifted to KA or

LUL, the sentences cannot cooccur with the (preverbal) nuclear negation particle *an*, whereas

they can occur with the (postverbal) core negation *ci an-h* 'NEG-do', as seen in (1.1e) and

(1.2e). This proves that the above general statement as to the nuclear negation *an* holds for

(1.1d) and (1.2d).

There are two kinds of approaches that have been proposed, particularly referring to

the MAC in (1.2c). One of them is to assign a semantic accusative to the recipient NP *Yenghi*;

for instance, K.-S. Hong (1991) takes this position by saying that both recipient and theme

NPs have the 'Determinee' status due to the accomplishment interpretation of this sentence.

The idea of "Case Spreading" as in Nakamura (1997) is also closer to this approach: the

undergoerhood of the theme argument *kkot* 'flower' may spread to the recipient argument

Yenghi. However, this idea of undergoer spreading is rejected in RRG mainly due to the fact

that the unmarked case marking (no case spreading) and the marked case marking (case

spreading) have distinct grammatical functions: i.e, the former is a semantic case linking which

is neutral to contexts, whereas the latter is a pragmatic case linking sensitive to contexts. In

addition, undergoer is a discrete semantic role assigned to an argument, not a 'feature' which

can spread.

The other type of approaches base themselves on grammatical relations such as the

"Recipient Conversion" (cf. O-Grady 1991) or as the "P(ost-position)-incorporation" (J.-S.

Lee 1992). (27) below is J.-S. Lee's P-incorporation proposal, and Figure 1 shows the actual

procedure.

(27)   a.   There are two dative case forms in Korean:
overt: *-eykey* (animate), *-ey* (inanimate)
null: Ø
What undergoes incorporation is the null one, and not the overt one.
      b.   The null dative case is a verbal affix which has a morphological
subcategorization feature such that it must be bound to a verb.
      c.   Verbs have additional empty slots which host null P-incorporation.[14]

Figure 3

(a) / (b)
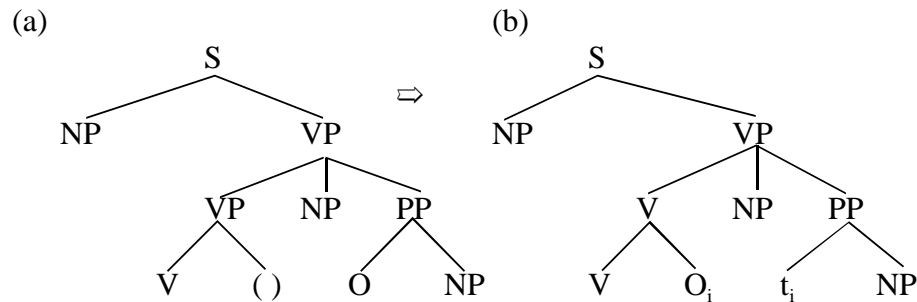
The application of null P-incorporation from (a) to (b) in figure 3, in which the null dative

case replaces the overt one *-eykey*, yields the MAC in (28b) below.

---

[14]J.-S. Lee (1992) adds that this is an alternative to the more common account, that is, the one where the incorporated affix is adjoined to the V.

(28) a. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-hanthay   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
          C.-NOM   Y.-DAT   flower-ACC   give-PST-DEC

     b. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-lul   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
          C.-NOM   Y.-ACC   flower-ACC   give-PST-DEC
          'Chelswu gave Yenghi a flower.'

The null dative case is forced to move to the empty slot of the verb due to the SAF below.

(29)   Stray Affix Filter
       *X if X is a lexical item whose morphological subcategorization frame is not satisfied
       at S-structure.

The essential idea here is that the incorporated P in figure 3 has a morphological

subcategorization feature which requires it to be bound to a verb.

       However, it would be fair to ask what we really obtain from this analysis concerning

the intuition that native speakers of Korean have with respect to this sentence. In fact, K.-S.

Hong (1991) is correct in saying that the MAC of (1.2c) involves an accomplishment reading

as demonstrated in (30) and (31); namely, in (31) we cannot deny the fact that '*Yenghi*

already has the flower', whereas this situation is possible in (30).

(30)   a. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-eykey   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ciman,
           C.-NOM   Y.-DAT   flower-ACC   give-PST-but
           Yenghi-nun   pat-ci   an-ass-ta.
           Y.-TOP   have-CLM   NEG-PST-DEC
           'Chelswu gave Yenghi a flower, but she did not have (it).'

       b.* Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-lul   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ciman,
           C.-NOM   Y.-ACC   flower-ACC   give-PST-but
           Yenghi-nun   pat-ci   an-ass-ta.
           Y.-TOP   have-CLM   NEG-PST-DEC
           'Chelswu gave Yenghi a flower, but she did not have (it).'

However, what K.-S. Hong (1991) does not capture is the fact that the accusative on

Yenghi may be the focus marker LUL simultaneously. For instance, consider (31) below.

(31)   a. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-hanthay   kkot-ul   [CWU-ESS-NI]?
             C.-NOM   Y.-DAT   flower-ACC   give-PST-Q
             'Did Chelswu GIVE Yenghi a flower?'

        b. Ani,   Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-hanthay   kkot-ul   an   [CWU-ESS-E].
             No,   C.-NOM   Y.-DAT   flower-ACC   NEG give-PST-DEC

        c.??Ani,   Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-lul kkot-ul   an   [CWU-ESS-E].
             'No,   C.-NOM   Y.-ACC   flower-ACC   NEG give-PST-DEC
             'No, Chelswu did not give Yenghi a flower.'

(31a) is a NFS (narrow focus structure) question whose focal accent falls on the main clause-

final verb, and which is paired with the following two answers (31b & c); the (31b) is the

answer with the nuclear negation particle *an*. It is felicitous for the question in (31a). In

contrast, however, (31c) which is an MAC (multiple ACC construction) is awkward in

answer to the question. However, as predicable form the above discussion, the core negation

-ci an-h has no problem with cooccurring with the MAC.

(32)   Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-lul   kkot-ul
         C.-NOM   Y.-DAT/ACC   flower-ACC
         cwu-ci   an-h-ess-e.
         give-CLM   NEG-do-PST-DEC

         'it is not the case that Chelswu gave Yenghi a flower.'
         Another example which shows that the first LUL-marked recipient NP *Yenghi* is in

the scope of the AFD involves the *wh*-word question which is inherently focal and the primary

focal element in the sentence. As seen in the MNC (multiple NOM construction) of (33b), it

is terribly awkward to replace only the second LUL-marked NP with a *wh*-word, whereas in

(33a), it is felicitous with the dative recipient *Yenghi*.

(33) a. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-eykey   mwuet-ul   cwu-ess-ni?
          C.-NOM   Y.-DAT   what-ACC   give-PST-Q
          'What did Chelswu give to Yenghi?'

      b.# Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-lul   mwuet-ul   cwu-ess-ni?
          C.-NOM   Y.-ACC   what-ACC   give-PST-Q

Reflecting on this puzzling observation, that is, that the first accusative-marked NP *Yenghi* in (28b) both leads to an accomplishment interpretation and bears focus, I would rather propose that the accusative on *Yenghi* in (28b) is the locative *lul* on the semantic case layer, but it is LUL on the pragmatic case layer according to the 'Two Case Layers' Hypothesis. This way of thinking is not new in Korean linguistics. For instance, H.-S. Woo (1996) proposes that the locative *lul* has the "semantic feature [+global], and covers the entire location from the departure to arrival," whereas other locative markers refer to specific portions of the location: *-eyse* for 'departure' or 'in', *-ey* for 'at' or 'arrival', and *-lo* for 'direction as 'to''.[15]

Therefore, I would claim that (28a), which I term the 'dative *cwu-* 'give' sentence', has the LS: [**do´** (Chelswu, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-to´** (Yenghi, flower)], and (28b), which I term the 'locative *cuw-* 'give' sentence', has the LS: [**do´** (Chelswu, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **have´** (Yenghi, flower)] respectively.

Finally, one very important matter remaining is the 'Pragmatic Case Linking' algorithm which I proposed in chapter 4 following the 'Two Case Layers' hypothesis.

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[15]The locative *-lul* will be discussed while dealing with the sentences in (5). There is an independent semantic feature which distinguishes it from the second macrorole marker *-lul*.

(34)   **Semantic case linking algorithm** (context neutral case linking (CNCL))
        Assign the core arguments the appropriate case markers/postpositions.
        Accusative privileged syntactic argument selection: default = Actor
        1   In the clause
             a.   Highest ranking macrorole according to the AUH takes nominative case.
             b.   The other macrorole argument takes accusative case.
             c.   Non-macrorole arguments take dative as their default case.
        2   In the NP
             a.   The single direct core$_N$ argument takes genitive case.
             b.   If the NP is headed by a deverbal nominal (DN), then assign genitive case
                  following Direct-Core$_N$-Argument linking Hierarchy (Undergoer > Actor)
             c.   Assign NPs appropriate cases or postpositions following the same rules as the
                  in clause.
                  (α) non-macrorole arguments take dative as their default case.
                  (β) actor is *eyuyhayse*-marked. ('by')

(35)   **Pragmatic case linking algorithm** (context sensitive case linking (CSCL))
        1   Determine the focus structure type of the sentence, based on what is activated (or
             presupposed) and what is inactive (asserted) in the context.
        2   (Re)arrange the word order according to the 'FAH' in (73) and (74).
        3   Depending on the focus structure types assign the appropriate topic and/or focus
             markers using the following steps in this order.
             a.   If it is a PFS, do one of the following (**case-shifting** or **-stacking**)
                  i)   The topic PU marked with NUN appears in the LDP (topicalization). But,
                       do not apply the second option if *-ka* and *-lul* are assigned in the semantic
                       case layer (case-stacking prohibited).
                  ii) To PUs in the AFD, assign KA if it is in a state-verb sentence, but LUL
                       if it is in a non-state verb sentence. Like (86.3ai), stacking is prohibited for
                       the semantic cases *-ka* and *-lul*. There are two more constraints in
                       applying it.
                       (α)FAH constraint: do not assign KA and LUL if a PU is prominently
                            focal in its inherent focal status according to the FAH (e.g. directional
                            or frequency adverbials)
                       (β) Semantic bleeding (only for case-shifting, not -stacking): do not
                            assign KA if a PU clearly lack exclusiveness; and do not assign LUL
                            if a PU clearly lack affectedness.
             b.   If it is a SFS
                  i)   apply (35.3aii)
             c.   If it is a NFS
                  i)   apply (35.3aii) and assign focal accent to the PU in the AFD.

What is crucial for (28a) and (28b) is (35.3aii) which brings us to the fact that both (28a) and (28b) will have the identical final lexical string after each of the pragmatic case linking is done as in (36) below.

(36)   Chelswu-nun   Yenghi-lul   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
        C.-TOP   Y.-ACC   flower-ACC   give-PST-DEC
        'As for Chelswu, he gave a flower to Yenghi.'

First, if we look at this example in more detail, as diagrammed in figure 4 below, the dative -*eykey* in (28a) on the goal NP *Yenghi* in the semantic case tier will go through the case shifting from the dative -*eykey* to the LUL in the pragmatic case tier, if this sentence is used as a PFS. The shifted LUL will appear in the final syntactic lexical string. By contrast, as diagrammed in Figure 5, the locative *lul*-marked NP *Yenghi* in (28b) will not take LUL because the stacking of *lul*-LUL, is not allowed under any circumstances.

Figure 4: The Case Linking Order of (28a).

[[Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul kkot-ul cwu-ess-ta]   morphosyntactic realization
                          ↑
[Chelswu-ka Yenghi-**LUL** kkot-ul cwu-ess-ta]   pragmatic case tier
                          ↑
[Chelswu-ka Yenghi-**eykey** kkot-ul cwu-ess-ta]   semantic case tier
                          ↑
LS: [**do´** (Chelswu, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-to´** (Yenghi, flower)]
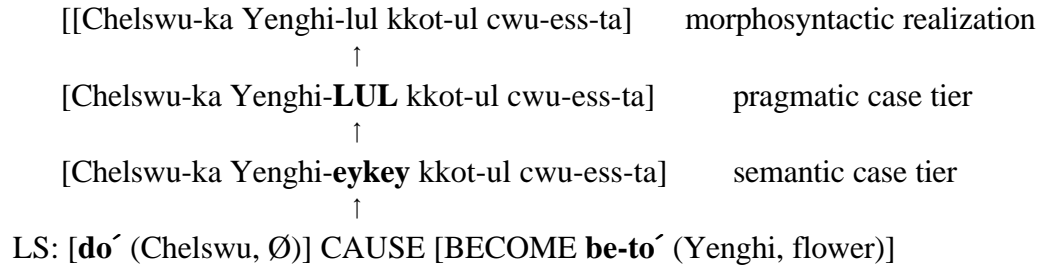
Figure 5: The Case Linking Order of the locative *cwu-* in (28b).

[[Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul[16] kkot-ul cwu-ess-ta]   morphosyntactic realization

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[16]Therefore, what I claim is that, at the final syntactic lexical string, the 'lul' on the locative NP *Yenghi* is made up of both the locative *lul* and the neutral focus marker LUL simultaneously.

$\uparrow$

[Chelswu-ka Yenghi-**lul-LUL** kkot-ul cwu-ess-ta]   pragmatic case tier

$\uparrow$

[Chelswu-ka Yenghi-**lul** kkot-ul cwu-ess-ta]   semantic case tier

$\uparrow$

LS: [**do´** (Chelswu, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **have´** (Yenghi, flower)]
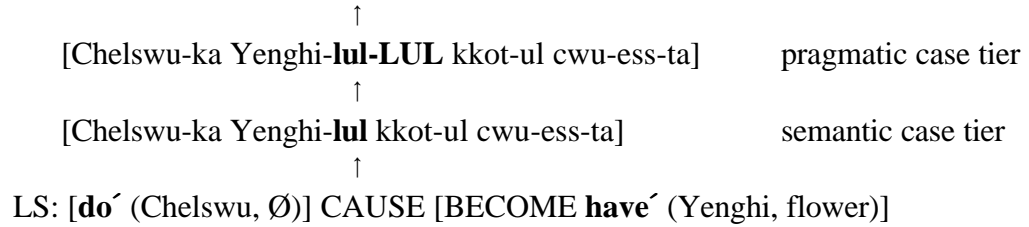
This analysis captures the native speaker's intuition as to the simultaneity of the accomplishment and focus reading which are associated with the MNC in (28b).

5.3.1.2   The Psych-Verb Construction

The data from (2) in section 5.2.1 display case-shifting in the so-called "psych-verb constructions". As we can see, all three sentences, (2.1), (2.2) and (2.3) demonstrate that the case-shifting from dative to NUN/KA is possible, which I would claim is motivated by focus structure. Here again, importantly, the unacceptability of each (d) version of (2.1), (2.2) and (2.3) shows that the shifted case is indeed driven by focus structure; i.e, each MNC is never compatible with the nuclear negation *an*.

For illustration, in (37) below, we have Yang (1994)'s analysis of (2.2a).

(37)   Case Marking of DAT-NOM Stative psych-verb constructions:

Syntatic Representation: Swunhi-eykey kay-ka   mwuse-wess-ta.
                                         -DAT   dog-NOM fear-PST-DEC
                                          | |
Syntactic Case: DAT   NOM
                                         / |
Semantic Macroroles: Undergoer
                                        / |
Thematic Relations: Experiencer   Theme
                                         | |
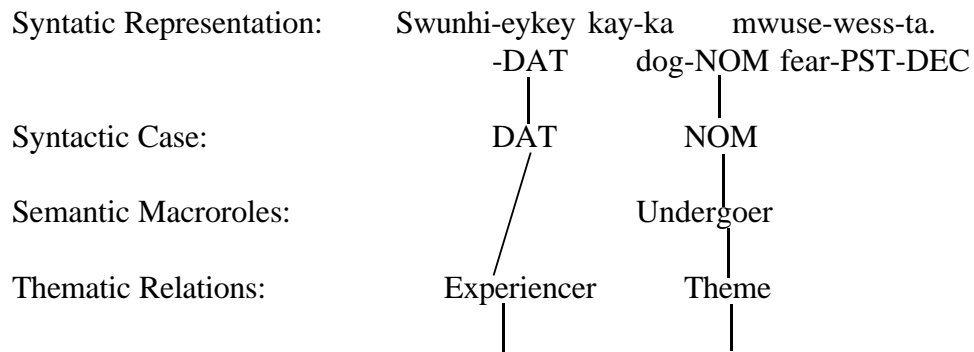
LS: **mwusep-ta´** (x,   y) [+MR][17]

Yang (1994) as well as Park (1995) analyze the MNC of (2.2c) in terms of focus structure, which is distinct from the dative subject sentence in (2.2a).

5.3.1.3   Lexical causative sentence

The data from (3) in section 5.2.1 display case-shifting in lexical causative sentences. As shown there, we can confirm that case-shifting from dative to NUN/LUL is driven by focus structure. Here, based on the FAH, there is a hierarchical distinction between the PSA (subject) *na* 'I' and the dative-marked causee *aitul* 'children'; that is, the former is the lowest ranking PU (speaker) in this sentence, and the latter is the human N, so that *na* 'I' is lower than *aitul* 'children' in the FAH.

5.3.1.4   Ablative (Space in the FAH)

The same generalization applies to the ablative case in (4) in section 5.2.1. All the sentences show that case-shifting from the ablative-marked NP *phwungsen* 'balloon' to NUN/KA/LUL is possible for the purpose of focus structure.

5.3.1.5   Locatives (Space in the FAH) in state and non-state verb sentences

The Locatives show a split between state verbs in (5) and non-state verb sentences in (6); the former sanctions case-shifting from locative to NUN/KA, but the latter does not

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[17][+MR] means there is only one macrorole (M-intransitive).

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sanction case-shifting from locative to KA/LUL as shown in (6.1c). I think there could be two reasons for this distinction with respect to the relative information statuses of Space relative to the state-of-affair type. First, the distinction between the categorical (subject-predicate type) versus the thetic judgment (subjectless predicate type) as in Kuroda (1972) may have to do with case-shifting. That is to say, a sentence like *Seoul-i pi-ka naylin-ta* 'it is raining in Seoul' in (5.1c) is an expression for a simple recognition of an event (thetic judgment) rather than an expression for a (given) entity for which the speaker wants to give a judgment (categorical judgment), which is the case for (5.1a&b). This being true, it is then more likely that the sentence-initial locative-marked NP *Seoul* in the state verb sentence in (5.1a&b) could be the topic for the categorical judgment in state-verb sentences (state-of-affairs); but the locative-marked NP *tosekwan* 'library' in the non-state verb sentence (state-of-affairs) in (6.1a) cannot be the topic for the categorical judgment since what is now construed as the topic in this sentence is already occupied by the rational human N *Chelswu* which is more topical than the Space N *tosekwan* 'library' according to the FAH. This is why (6.1b) is only markedly acceptable: that is, it would only be salvaged if the actual outside context required (in order to promote) the locative NP *tosekwan* 'library' to rank over the human N *Chelswu* on the FAH.

The second reason involves the semantic case 'locative *lul*' which I have mentioned above with respect to '*give*-type predicates' in (1.2b). Park (1995) convincingly argues that there is a semantic locative *lul* which should be distinguished from the neutral focus LUL. For instance, he mentions the locative *-eyse* in (6.3a) and (6.3b) which cannot be shifted to *lul*. This is so because they refer to different portions of the location; the former *-eyse* 'from or

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in' refers to the 'departure or in', and the latter refers to the entire 'global' location as H.-S. Woo (1996) states. Therefore, the two locative semantic cases, *eyse* and *lul,* are not compatible. This fact is also perceptible in the contrast between (6.4a) and (6.4b); that is, when the location must span over the entire range, then we have to use the locative *lul*, instead of the locative *eyse*: in (6.4a) he ran the entire span of the street, and in (6.4b) the plane flew the entire span of the sky. The examples in (6.5a) and (6.5b) prove that when the sentence is accompanied by an accomplishment expression such as *han sinkan-maney* 'in one hour', then the locative *eyse* cannot cooccur, but the locative *lul* can occur in (6.5b).

5.3.1.6   Purposive, Attribute, Directional, and Manner

From now on, the situation will change in the opposite direction. The purposive NP *senmwul-lo* 'for a present' in (7) in section 5.2.1 does not sanction case-stacking of KA, LUL, although it sanctions the stacking of NUN. This trend continues for the attribute (property) NP 'Hamlet' in (8) in section 5.2.1; and the allative (directional) NP *Seoul-lo* 'to Seoul' in (9). And lastly, the instrument-marked NP *tol* 'stone' in (10.1c) and *fax* in (10.2c) do not allow MACs even though they allow stacking of NUN as seen in (10.1b) and in (10.2b).

In particularly with respect to the instrument semantic role, 'semantic role (θ-role)' and 'pragmatic role' should be distinguished: the former is a relationship among arguments relative to the types of verbs, but the latter is a relationship among entities and state of affairs. Hence, although, the instrument NP *tol* 'stone' in (7a) has the instrument role relative to the verb, it constitutes a 'manner event' role in the FAH relative to the sentence (state of affair)

as 'by throwing a stone'.

Another matter of importance concerns the aforementioned two pragmatic case marking options, case-shifting vs. case-stacking. There is a general preference for case-stacking over case-shifting when it comes to oblique cases such as purposive, allative and instrument and so forth, as opposed to direct cases such as nominative, accusative and dative. To make it clear, let us take a look at the following 'shifting-stacking hierarchy of pragmatic case marking'.

Table 2: Shifting-Stacking hierarchy of pragmatic case marking

Case-shifting		NUN, KA, LUL		Case-stacking		
NOM	ACC	DAT	LOC (ABL)	PURP	ALL	INST
(Direct cases)						(Oblique cases)

['→' = increasing markedness of realization of semantic cases with shifting or stacking]
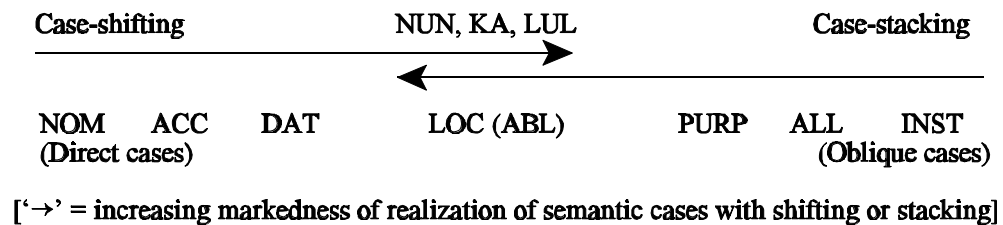
This hierarchy says that the closer a semantic case to the direct case end, the more use it tends to make of case-shifting (or the closer a semantic case to the oblique case end, the more use it tends to make of case-stacking). In fact, what we have in table 2 is a graded series of more and more unavoidably increasing semantic associations at the right end: that is, oblique cases are more likely associated with 'rich and concrete' semantic content than direct cases, whereas direct cases have virtually no specific semantics: i.e. NOM -*ka*, ACC -*lul* and DAT -*eykey* are assigned according to the 'Case marking rules for Korean' in (34) which are based

on the argument slot on logical structure, not on thematic relations.[18] Moreover, according to the case marking rules, DAT is a default choice for a non-macrorole argument for which virtually no specific semantics is necessary.

Based on these observations, if an oblique case which does not have any kind of semantic association on table 1 'the grammatical values of 'nun', 'ka', and 'lul' occurs with pragmatic cases KA or LUL, then it preferably use case-stacking over case-shifting, because it gives both as much semantic and pragmatic information as possible and they do not conflict with each other. By contrast, this way of coding both semantic and pragmatic information simultaneously is not necessary when it comes to direct cases, because there is no such specific semantics involved in the semantic cases NOM -*ka*, ACC -*lul* and DAT -*eykey*.

However, there is still one last thing to consider. As seen from the data in (7), (8), (9) and (10), unlike with NUN, the case-stacking with KA and LUL in these types of PUs are further constrained, and unacceptable. In order to account for the unacceptability with KA and LUL, we need to refer back to the FAH in figure 3. What we have to grasp from the hierarchy is that the PUs which are marked by purposive (idea), attribute (individual), allative (directional), instrument (manner event) are all lower in their topicality (or higher in their focality) than previously (semantic case) NOM *ka-* or ACC *lul*-marked argument NPs, so that they all violate the 'FAH constraint', which is reproduced below in (38) from chapter 4.4.2.2.1. On the other hand, these PUs are the types which tend to have the contrastive NUN reading when they cooccur with NUN, instead of the neutral topic reading.

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[18]See chapter 2 for this matter.

(38) FAH constraints:

    a. The word order of the MNC and MAC must conform to the FAH.

    b. The lower-ranking PU(s) in the PFD of a clause (in terms of the FAH) may undergo case shifting from the semantic cases to the pragmatic cases NUN, KA or LUL relative to the focus structure of the sentence regardless of whether it is a syntactic argument or not.

What is crucial about (38) is that an element lower in inherent topicality does not get a special focus marker since they are normally focal.

5.3.1.7   Passive

The passive sentence data in (11) are exclusively concerned with oblique-marked rational (being conscious of doing 'acts') NP (by-phrase) in the FAH. (11b) shows that the oblique NP *Chelswu* cannot shift to KA, which is otherwise expected, since it is the pragmatic peak[19] in this sentence (11a).

There is a simple explanation for why this case-shifting from the oblique-marked NP *Chelswu* to KA in passive sentences never occurs in (11b). That is to say, taken for granted the fact that the passive is chosen to promote the second macrorole argument *totwuk* 'thief' to the PSA (subject), making it the topic of this sentence, and demote the agent *Chelswu* to adjunct status, which makes it like a cause in the FAH, which is at the bottom of the hierarchy, hence, it should not take KA.

5.3.1.8   Causative Passive

The data in (12) in section 5.2.1 deal with the so-called 'causative passive' sentences.

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[19]the lowest ranking PU (according to the FAH) in the PFD of a clause. See chapter 4.4.2.2.1.

And as indicated there the frequency adverb *twu-pen* 'two times' can be marked either by KA in (12b) or by *lul* in (12c). The two readings are quite different; the former passive involving KA on the adverbial is a state verb sentence, whereas the latter involving *lul* on the adverbial is a 'causative passive' sentence. Following Park (1995), I assume that KA in (12b) is a focus marker, but *lul* in (12c) is a semantic case marker involving the accomplishment interpretation. Therefore, the reason why (12c) has the accomplishment Aktionsart with the causative interpretation is the existence of the accomplishment (semantic) marker *-lul*.

5.3.2 NOM- or ACC-marked adverbial phrases

The data in 5.2.2 concern case marking on adverbial phrases. Many examples demonstrate that case-marking, exclusively NOM or ACC, on adverbials is possible in Korean. And with respect to case on adverbial phrases, there are three options to choose from: Ø, NOM, or ACC. The use of NOM or ACC on adverbial phrases shows the complementary distribution between state and non-state verb sentences. The former sanctions NOM, whereas the latter exclusively sanctions ACC.

The data in (13b) display that the time adverbial phrase *twu sikan-ul* 'two hours' is *lul*-marked, whereas the one in (13a) is not. The readings are quite different. Although we can say that the sentence may have an accomplishment interpretation in (13b): i.e. *Chelswu* reached the end point, that reading is not expected in (13a).

The Space adverbial phrase in (14) and the frequency adverbial in (15) illustrate the same kinds of case-marking like, for example, the accomplishment *lul*, which can be covered by the account given in the case of the time adverbial sentences in (13).

In regard to frequency adverbials in (15), according to Kim & Maling (1993), there are sentences in which they can be marked either NOM or ACC. Consider the following sentence in (39).

(39)   = Kim & Maling (1993) (11)
        Tol-i   entek alay-lo   twu pen-i/ul   kwul-less-ta.
        stone-NOM   hill bottom-LOC   2 time-NOM/ACC   roll-PST-DEC
        a. ACC adverbial: the (same) stone rolled down the hill twice.
        b. NOM adverbial: it happened twice that a stone rolled down the hill.

According to them, (39) has two interpretations: with ACC *twupen* 'twice' in (39a) it means that the same stone rolled down the hill twice; with NOM in (39b), it can involve two different stones. They attribute the latter interpretation to being "similar to a floating quantifier one in which the frequency adverbial is associated with the subject NP," and thus agrees in case with the subject.

Within RRG, regarding the NOM/ACC case split on frequency adverbials, Park (1995) proposes that i) the Korean verb *kwul-* 'roll' is activity verb, which does not imply an end point. ii) The ACC marker is the accomplishment *-lul*, and the NOM marker is the pragmatic case KA (focus marker). His conclusion is based on the observation that unlike the first interpretation (39a), the second interpretation (39b) does not necessarily entail an end point; he says "we are not sure whether the stone reaches an end point in (39b)." In other words, the NOM on the frequency adverb *twupen* 'twice' may not involve accomplishment semantics (but an activity one).[20]

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[20]Despite all of these, some native speakers of Korean, including the present author, think the NOM-marked adverbial *twupen-i* '2 times-NOM' in (39) awkward, or markedly acceptable. That is to say, the second interpretation (39b) is more likely related to the bare frequency adverbials *twupen* '2 times' without any case

By contrast to the time, space, and frequency adverbials, manner adverbials do not allow ACC-marking: i.e. the ACC-marked adverbials in the three sentences in (16) are all ungrammatical.

Here are two things to point out. First, unlike the time, space, and frequency adverbials, manner adverbials such as *coyonghi* 'silently' in (16a) do not imply any terminal boundary, i.e. [-telic], therefore, no accomplishment semantics is involved. This can account for that why the (semantic) accomplishment case *-lul* cannot occur with manner adverbials.

Although put in a little different terminology, Wechsler & Lee (1996) also make a similar attempt to account for the contrast between the time (or duration), frequency adverbials in (13), (15) and manner adverbials in (16) in terms of the notion of "SITUATION DELIMITER," i.e. (situation-quantifying) extension measure expression. According to them (Ibid.: 632), " . . .[A]n adverbial which expresses duration, cardinal count, or path length temporally quantifies or 'delimit' the situation expressed by the predicate," whereas manner adverbials in general do not involve such delimitation, and "the domain of direct case assignment is expanded to include a situation delimiter (Wechsler & Lee (Ibid. : 629))."[21]

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markers. If this judgment is right, then this awkwardness is naturally accountable in terms of the FAH: i.e. frequency adverbials are inherently focal so that they cannot take the focus marker KA.

[21]In addition, in order to incorporate the observation that "direct case assignment extends beyond the arguments of a predicate to include also certain non-subcategorized phrases such as duration and frequency adverbials" Wechsler & Lee (1996: 640) offers the following two rules:

(1)   Case Domain Extenion (CDE):
        optionally assign the feature CASE to a dependent R, where R is a situation delimiter.

(2)   Korean Case Rule:
        (i) Assign ACC to any CASE dependent with an external co-argument.
        (ii) Assign NOM to any CASE dependent lacking an external co-argument.

However, these two seem not able to cover all the possible NOM-, ACC-marking in Korean. For instance, the pragmatic case (neutral focus marker) KA or LUL can be assigned to PUs because of focus structure as we

Second matter has to do with a question like 'why, then, the neutral focus marker KA or LUL cannot occur with manner adverbials either' in (16). In regard to it, recall the 'FAH constraints' which I first introduced in chapter 4.4.2.2, and reproduced in (38) above. According to (38b) "only high-ranking PU(s) in terms of the FAH may undergo case-shifting ...". With a little revision, we can apply it to adverbial phrases as well. That is, since manner adverbials are inherently focal located at the bottom of the FAH they should not take the neutral focus maker LUL.[22]

Let us turn to the data in (17). As seen in (17b) KA can occur with a postposition *ponlay pwute* 'from the beginning'. Here, it would be difficult to say that the KA is motivated by the semantic interpretation of accomplishment. Moreover, very importantly in case of case-stacking, there is no semantic interference as is of case-shifting. Hence, KA in (17b) has no accomplishment or affectedness meaning at all other than the neutral focus. The acceptability of (17c) with *an* confirms this fact.

An emphatic word like *toraychey* 'on earth' can be marked by the neutral focus marker KA in (18b). A *wh*-word like *eti* 'where' in (19b) can optionally be marked by the KA.

The serial verb construction (SVC) shows a very interesting contrast between (20.2) which is Nuclear Cosubordination, $[(PRED_{NUC} + PRED_{NUC})]$, and (20.1) which is a Core Cosubordination, $([_{CORE} PRED] + [_{CORE} PRED])$, in terms of RRG juncture-nexus types. The former does not allow LUL, but the latter does allow it, which means a nucleus in V+V

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have seen in many examples in chapter 4 and 5 thus far.

[22]Frequency adverbials also follow this generalization. Therefore, the ACC-marking on the frequency adverbials should be treated as semantic accomplishment case *-lul*, not as the focus marker LUL. Besides, the neutral focus marker KA is not relevant for this context, since manner and frequency adverbials by its meaning modify activity logical structure, not state.

cannot be a PU (phrase), whereas a Core in Core + Core can.[23]

(21) demonstrates that LUL can occur after the long form causative suffix *-key* when the verb phrase *ka-key* 'go-CLM' is in the AFD.

5.3.3 Case Stacking

The sentences in 5.2.3 exhibit the so-called "Case Stacking" which contrasts with the 'case-shifting' seen in previous sections. (22a) displays the locative case *ey* stacked next to LUL. And as can be seen in (22b), the opposite ordering is impossible. It is a good piece of evidence that pragmatic cases are always stacked at the rightmost position of a PU following semantic cases but not vice versa. In addition, the contrast between (22c) with *an* and (22d) with *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do' also proves that stacked pragmatic cases, KA or LUL, have focus implication.

(23) shows that LUL is stacked next to dative *eykey* and (24) illustrates that this case-stacking is also possible with NUN after the locative *ey*. Lastly, NUN is stacked following the semantic dative case marker *eykey* in (25).

In order to show the fact that only pragmatic cases can be stacked let us investigate two examples: one for case-shifting, and the other for case-stacking. The sentence in (40a=23a) is a case-stacking example, whereas that in (40b) a case-shifting example from dative *-eykey* to locative *-lul* (or may be two distinct case markers without case shifting).

(40)   a. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-eykey-lul   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
            C.-NOM   Y.-DAT-ACC   flower-ACC give-PST-DEC

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[23]Han (1997) deals with Korean serial verb constructions (SVCs).

'Chelswu gave a flower to Yenghi.'

   b. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-lul   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
       C.-NOM   Y.-ACC   flower-ACC   give-PST-DEC
       'Chelswu gave a flower to Yenghi.'

In (40a), since the stacked LUL has only a pragmatic implication (focus), it cannot have an

accomplishment interpretation as (41b=30b), but should have the same interpretation as

(41a=30a) due to the absence of semantic contribution: namely, in (41b) it is implied that

Yenghi already has the flower, whereas it is possible in (41a), which illustrates case-stacking,

that *Yenghi* may not have it.

(41)   a. Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-eykey-lul   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ciman,
          C.-NOM   Y.-DAT-ACC   flower-ACC   give-PST-but
          Yenghi-nun   pat-ci   an-ass-ta.
          Y.-TOP   have-CLM   NEG-PST-DEC
          'Chelswu gave Yenghi a flower, but she did not have (it).'

    b.* Chelswu-ka   Yenghi-lul   kkot-ul   cwu-ess-ciman,
          C.-NOM   Y.-DAT-ACC   flower-ACC   give-PST-but
          Yenghi-nun   pat-ci   an-ass-ta.
          Y.-TOP   have-CLM   NEG-PST-DEC
          'Chelswu gave Yenghi a flower, but she did not have (it).'

The same kind of generalization can apply to the contrast between (42a=22a), a case-

stacking example, and (42b), a case-shifting example. Here, (42b) includes the

aforementioned locative *-lul* with [+global] feature, which differs from ablative locative *-ey*

'to'.

(42) a. Chelswu-ka   san-ey-lul   ka-n-ta.
          C.-NOM   mountain-LOC-ACC   go-PRES-DEC
          'Chelswu goes to the mountain.'

      b. Chelswu-ka   san-ul   ka-n-ta.
          C.-NOM   mountain   go-PRES-DEC
          'Chelswu goes to the mountain.' (iterative meaning possible due to [+global])

As shown by the acceptability of (43a), it is possible that *Chelswu* did not arrive at the

mountain, but when there is case-shifting from allative locative *-ey* 'to' to [+global] locative

-lul, then it automatically implies that *Chelswu* is now in the mountain.

(43) a. Chelswu-ka   san-ey-lul   ka-ess-ciman,
          C.-NOM   mountain-LOC-ACC   go-PST-but
          ku-nun   tochakha-ci   an-ass-ta.
          he-TOP   arrive-CLM   NEG-PST-DEC
          'Chelswu went to the mountain, but he did not arrive.'

      b.* Chelswu-ka   san-ul   ka-ess-ciman,
          C.-NOM   mountain   go-PST-but
          ku-nun   tochakha-ci   an-ass-ta.
          he-TOP   arrive-CLM   NEG-PST-DEC
          'Chelswu went to the mountain, but he did not arrive.'

This being the case, the contrast between the sentences in (41) and those in (43) demonstrates

the difference between case-shifting and case-stacking: the latter has purely pragmatic (e.g.

focus) implications.

5.4   Conclusion

       In sum, I have shown in this chapter that 'case-shifting' in simple sentences from

semantic case to pragmatic case in Korean are also attributable to topic-/focalization relative

to the type of focus structure. And I have also accounted for the unacceptability of marking

some of the thematic roles with KA/LUL in terms of the FAH. Finally, I made a distinction

between case-shifting and case-stacking in terms of semantic and pragmatic contrast: i.e. only

pragmatic cases, NUN, KA or LUL, can be stacked with purely pragmatic implications (focus

or topic).