

Chapter 4

Topicalization and Focalization in the GEN construction

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter presented one of the core proposals of this dissertation, the ‘Two Case Layers’ hypothesis, along with a tentative taxonomy of information structure packaging in Korean. It was proposed that in order to fully account for the case-marking system in Korean, not only are semantic cases needed (based on the AUH), but pragmatic cases are also needed (based on the ‘FAH & Contexts’) and that the case order. Moreover, the latter was categorized as a type of morphological coding system of the topic/focus structures.

The purpose of this chapter is to show how the two case layers hypothesis, relative to the type of focus structure, can handle the multiple NOM and ACC¹ constructions which all have GEN counterparts.² It will be argued that the case shift from ‘GEN to NUN’ or ‘GEN to KA/LUL’ is a kind of topicalization/focalization of their GEN construction counterparts; and this shifting to focus or topic marker is possible because NPs can function as independent MIUs (phrases). And what is more crucial, the case-shifted NUN, KA or LUL

¹Henceforth, KA and LUL will be used.

²The multiple nominative (MNCs) and accusative constructions (MACs) that do not have their GEN counterparts will not be dealt with in this chapter, such as psych-verb construction like, *nay-ka/*-uy Chelswu-ka chota* ‘I am fond of *Chelswu*’. See Yang (1994), also Park (1995) for an RRG analysis of this construction. In contrast to their analysis, Kuno (1973) mentions objective *ga* as in (i) below besides his neutral description *ga* and the exhaustive listing of *ga*.

(i) Boku wa Mary ga suki desu. ‘I am fond of Mary.’
I TOP M.-NOM fond.be

However, the case-shifting of NUN, KA, LUL from other semantic cases except GEN, will be dealt with in the following chapter 5.

are all pragmatic cases that are used to mark different types of focus structures depending entirely on the FAH and the discourse context.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 4.2 presents an example of case shifting from GEN to NUN/KA/LUL in a variety of semantic and thematic ranges together with some examples that constrain it. Section 4.3 reviews previous work: Choe (1987), Kang (1987), Yoon (1989, 1990), and Y.-J. Kim (1990) in the GB framework; Chun (1986) in the RelG framework; and within RRG: Yang (1994) and Park (1995). I point out a number of problems with their analysis while making my analysis different from theirs. Section 4.4 proposes my analysis. I also discuss the pragmatic and semantic constraints that prevent case-shifting, for instance, a higher degree of inherent focal properties of directional and frequency adverbs based on the ‘focality accessibility hierarchy (FAH); the semantic content of KA such as ‘exclusiveness’, and the semantic content of LUL such as ‘affectedness’ will be dealt with. Section 4.5 concludes the chapter.

4.2 Data and Questions

Cross-linguistically it is well-known that a number of semantic relations or θ -roles can be realized as a GEN-marked NP syntactically with respect to a head noun, for instance, the possessor or theme argument of a deverbal nominal, and Korean is not an exception to this pattern.

- (1) John-uy kulim
 John-GEN picture
 John’s picture.

- (2) a. The picture that John drew (agent)
 b. The picture that John has (possessor)
 c. The picture given by John (source)
 d. The picture that represents John (theme)
 e. The picture that will be given to John (goal)³

The five meanings in (2) seem amenable to the GEN-marked NP ‘John’ of (1). This is a good indication that the GEN *-uy* does not mark any particular semantic relation. Apart from this fact, however, what is equally important in the light of information structure, as we will see shortly, is the fact that all the GEN-marked NPs above can, as an independent information unit, participate in the focus structure of the clause. In other words, the GEN-marked NP in (3) below, may be a focus or a topic element in the utterance depending on the context.

- (3) John-uy kulim-i phal-li-ss-ta.
 J.-GEN picture-NOM sell-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘The picture of John was sold.’

For a language like Korean that has rich morphological coding of focus structures, the actual consequences of being a part of the focus structure of the clause means shifting the GEN-marked NP to other focus or topic positions along with the appropriate markers as shown in (4) and (5).

- Topicalization (GEN to NUN)
 (4) John-un kulim-i phal-li-ss-ta.
 J.-TOP picture-NOM sell-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘As for John, his picture was sold.’

³The kinds of genitive are sorted out as follows: (1) source (origin), as in John’s method, (2) possession, as in John’s car, (3) agent, as in John’s arrival, (4) the theme, as in the children’s education, (5) appositive, as in St. Thomas’s Hospital, and (in Korean) (6) the partitive, as in *twu-meyng-uy hasksayng* ‘two’s student’, (7) group, as in *hankwu-uy yeyksa* ‘Korean’s history’ and so on.

- (5) Focalization (GEN to KA)⁴
 John-i kulim-i phal-li-ss-ta.
 J.-NOM picture-NOM sell-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘JOHN’s picture was sold.’

(4) displays an instance of case shifting from GEN to the neutral topic marker NUN, and (5) shows a similar kind of shifting from GEN to the neutral focus marker KA, while the previously NOM-marked *kulim* ‘picture’ (subject), remains unchanged.

The investigation of these cases shifting (from the semantic genitive of an NP to the focus markers KA, LUL, or topic NUN of a (main) clause) will be the main purpose of this chapter. The list is given in (6) below. Table 1 gives the pragmatic values of NUN, KA, LUL, which is reproduced here from chapter 2.

- (6) GEN -uy → NUN
 GEN -uy → KA
 GEN -uy → LUL

Table 1: The pragmatic articulation of NUN, KA and LUL

case type	sensitive areas		NUN	KA(-state)	LUL(-state)/KA(+state)
pragmatic(ally motivated syntactic) case	neutral	topic	+	-	-
		focus	-	+	+
	contrastive focus*		+	+	+

*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.⁵

⁴There are two phonologically conditioned allomorphs of KA: ‘ka’ and ‘i’.

⁵Shimojo (1995) analyzes the contrastive topic *-wa* as well as the contrastive focus *ga* as narrow focus markers, too. Additionally, it is to be noted that the often-cited “non-focus or activation (cf. Dryer 1996; Lambrecht 1994) *-ka*”, which can be termed as ‘plain’ KA in Korean (Yang 1994, Park 1995) is attributable to the ‘CNCL (context neutral case linking) as compared to CSCL (context sensitive case linking) in my ‘case

There is one more important thing to note with respect to the GEN construction.

There is no limit as to how many times the GEN can apply. For instance, the sentence in (7) below is GEN case-marked three times. (O’Grady 1991:177).

- (7) a. Na-nun ku mwune-**uy** tali-**uy** kkuth pwupwun-**uy**
 I-TOP the octopus-GEN leg-GEN end part-GEN
 cokum-**ul** cal-lass-ta.
 bit-ACC cut-PST-DEC
 ‘I cut off a little bit of the end part of the octopus’ leg.’
- b. Na-nun ku mwune-**lul** tali-**lul** kkuth pwupwun-**lul**
 I-TOP the octopus-ACC leg-ACC end part-ACC
 cokum-**ul** cal-lass-ta.
 bit-ACC cut-PST-DEC

What is striking is that the sentence in (7b) has a ‘multiple ACC construction’, that can be compared to the multiple GEN construction in (7a). Later on, I will analyze (7b) as an instance of the extended PFS (predicate focus structure) from the minimal PFS of (7a) which is underlined for ease of identification.

Before beginning the actual discussion of how it works, let us take a look at examples of this kind. The following examples are DNC (Double Nominative Constructions) or DAC (Double Accusative Constructions) formed by case shifting the GEN to NOM or ACC.

GEN → NOM

linking algorithm’, in (75) of section 4.4.3. That is to say, the semantic case can appear in the surface lexical string of the syntactic representation without making any reference to the context. Only in that case, can KA be interpretable as ‘topic’ relative to the context. See my ‘Case Linking Algorithm’ in (75) on this matter.

(8) 1) Possessor/Possessee (inalienable)

- a. Kkokkili-uy kho-ka kil-ta.
elephant-GEN nose-NOM long-DEC
'Elephants' noses are long.'
- b. Kkokkili-nun kho-ka kil-ta.
elephant-TOP nose-NOM long-DEC
'As for elephants, their noses are long.'
- c. Kkokkili-ka kho-ka kil-ta.
elephant-NOM nose-NOM long-DEC
'ELEPHANTS' noses are long.'

2) Possessor/Possessee (alienable): 'a contingent possession'

- a. Chelswu-uy cha-ka kocangna-ess-ta.
C.-GEN car-NOM break.down-PST-DEC
'Chelswu's car broke down.'
- b. Chelswu-nun cha-ka kocangna-ess-ta.
C.-TOP car-NOM break.down-PST-DEC
'As for Chelswu, his car broke down.'
- c. Chelswu-ka cha-ka kocangna-ess-ta.
C.-NOM car-NOM break.down-PST-DEC
'CHELSWU's car broke down.'

3) Whole/Part (H-M Shon, 1986)⁶

- a. Mikwuk-uy ttang-i khu-ta.
America-GEN land-NOM big-DEC
'America's land is big.'
- b. Mikwuk-un ttang-i khu-ta.
America-TOP land-NOM big-DEC
'As for America, its land is big.'

⁶The whole/part relation is based on the fact that the land is a part of what America is composed of; that is, in terms of a 'topic (America)-comment' construction in the PFS in (8.3b). But as will be explained later on, KA on *mikwuk* 'America' has exclusiveness semantics which excludes the domain of land to that of America. In that interpretation, of course, *mikwuk* 'America' is a part of the whole entire land.

c. Mikwuk-i ttang-i khu-ta.
 America-NOM land-NOM big-DEC
 ‘AMERICA’s land is big.’

d.* Mikwuk-i Alaska-ka khu-ta.
 America-NOM A.-NOM big-DEC
 ‘Alaska of America is big.’

4) Concrete Thing(theme)/Deverbal N

a. Kenmwul-uy chelke-ka sicak-toy-ess-ta.
 building-GEN demolition-NOM begin-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘The demolition of the building has begun.’

b. Kenmwul-un chelke-ka sicak-toy-ess-ta.
 building-TOP demolish-NOM begin-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘As for the building, the demolition of it was begun.’

c. Kenmwul-i chelke-ka sicak-toy-ess-ta.
 building-NOM demolish-NOM begin-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘The DEMOLITION OF THE BUILDING has begun.’

5) (Intentional) Recipient/Concrete Thing, but *drawer (as an effector)

a. Yenghi-uy kulim-i tochakha-ss-ta.
 Y.-GEN picture-NOM arrive-PST-DEC
 ‘The picture of Yenghi arrived.’

b. Yenghi-nun kulim-i tochakha-ss-ta.
 Y.-TOP picture-NOM arrive-PST-DEC
 ‘As for Yenghi, her picture arrived.’

c. Yenghi-ka kulim-i tochakha-ss-ta.
 Y.-NOM picture-NOM arrive-PST-DEC
 ‘The PICTURE OF YENGHI arrived.’

6) GEN-marked Space (or Location)

a. Seoul(-eyse)-uy ciphwoy-ka chwuyso-toy-ess-ta.
 Seoul-LOC-GEN convocation-NOM cancel-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘The Seoul CONVOCATION was canceled.’

- b. Seoul(-eyse)-nun ciphwoy-ka chwuyso-toy-ess-ta.
 Seoul-LOC-TOP convocation-NOM cancel-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘As for Seoul, the convocation in it was canceled.’
- c. Seoul(-eyse)-?ka ciphwoy-ka chwuyso-toy-ess-ta.
 Seoul-LOC-NOM convocation-NOM cancel-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘The CONVOCATION IN SEOUL was canceled.’

7) GEN-marked Directional Postposition

- a. Kohyang-ulo-uy kicha-ka chwulpalha-ess-ta.(K-H Kim)
 hometown-for-GEN train-NOM depart-PST-DEC
 ‘The train for (my) hometown departed.’
- b. Kohyang-ulo-?nun kicha-ka chwulpalha-ess-ta.⁷
 hometown-for-TOP train-NOM depart-PST-DEC
- c. Kohyang-ulo*-ka kicha-ka chwulpalha-ess-ta.
 hometown-for-NOM train-NOM depart-PST-DEC

8) GEN-marked Frequency Adverb

- a. Yeylepen-uy penkay-ka chi-ess-ta.
 many.time-GEN lightning-NOM strike-PST-DEC
 ‘Many times, the lightning struck.’
- b. Yeylepen-?un penkay-ka chi-ess-ta.⁸
 many.time-TOP lightning-NOM strike-PST-DEC
- c. Yeylepen*-i penkay-ka chi-ess-ta.
 many.time-NOM lightning-NOM strike-PST-DEC

(9) GEN → ACC

1) Possessor/Possessee (inalienable)

- a. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-uy son-ul cap-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM Y.-GEN hand-ACC hold-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu HELD Yenghi’s HAND.’
- b. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul son-ul cap-ess-ta.

⁷Here, NUN, here, is more likely the contrastive focus rather than the neutral topic.

⁸Here, the NUN is in the same situation as in (7b).

C.-NOM Y.-ACC hand-ACC hold-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu HELD YENGHI’S HAND.’

2) Possessor/Possessee (alienable)

a. Chelswu-ka tongsayng-uy chak-ul pel-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM brother-GEN book-ACC throw-PST-DEC
 Chelswu THROW OUT his brother’s BOOKS.

b.* Chelswu-ka tongsayng-ul chak-ul pel-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM brother-ACC book-ACC throw-PST-DEC

3) Whole/Part

a. Chelswu-nun mikwuk-uy ttang-i khu-tako sayngkakkan-ta.
 C.-TOP A.-GEN lang-NOM big-CLM think-DEC

b. Chelswu-nun mikwuk-i/-ul ttang-i/-ul khu-tako sayngkakkan-ta.
 C.-TOP A.-NOM/ACC land-NOM/ACC big-CLM think-DEC
 ‘Chelswu thinks that America’s land is big.’

c. Chelswu-nun mikwuk-*i Alaska-ka khu-tako sayngkakkan-ta.
 C.-TOP A.-NOM A.-NOM big-CLM think-DEC

d. Chelswu-nun mikwuk-ul Alaska-lul khu-tako sayngkakkan-ta.
 C.-TOP A.-ACC A.-NOM big-CLM think-DEC
 ‘Chelswu thinks that America’s Alaska is big.’

4) Concrete Thing (or theme)/Deverbal N

a. Salamtul-i kenmwul-uy chelke-lul sicakha-ess-ta.
 people-NOM building-GEN demolition-ACC begin-PST-DEC
 ‘The people BEGAN THE DEMOLITION of the building.’

b. Salamtul-i kenmwul-lul chelke-lul sicakha-ess-ta.
 people-NOM building-ACC demolition-ACC begin-PST-DEC
 ‘The people BEGAN THE DEMOLITION OF THE BUILDING.’

5) (Intentional) Recipient/Concrete Thing, but *drawer (as an effector)

a. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-uy kulim-ul ponay-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM Y.-GEN picture-ACC send-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu SENT Yenghi’s PICTURE.’

b. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul kulim-ul ponay-ess-ta.

C.-NOM Y.-ACC picture-ACC send-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu SENT YENGHI’S PICTURE.’ (No, if Yenghi is the drawer)

6) GEN-marked Space (or Location)

a. Cengpwu-ka Seoul-eyse-uy ciphwoy-lul chwuysoha-ess-ta.
 government-NOM Seoul-LOC-GEN convocation-ACC cancel-PST-DEC
 ‘The government CANCELED the Seoul CONVOCATION.’

b.? Cengpwu-ka Seoul-ul ciphwoy-lul chwuysoha-ess-ta.
 government-NOM Seoul-ACC convocation-ACC cancel-PST-DEC
 ‘The government CANCELED SEOUL CONVOCATION.’

7) GEN-marked (rational) human N (or agent)

a. Chelswu-ka cekkwun-uy kongkyek-ul mak-ass-ta.
 C.-NOM enemy-GEN attack-ACC defend-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu DEFENDED us against the ENEMY’S ATTACK.’

b.* Chelswu-nun/-ka cekkwun-ul kongkyek-ul mak-ass-ta.
 C.-NOM enemy-ACC attack-ACC defend-PST-DEC

8) GEN-marked Directional Postposition

a. Chelswu-ka kohyang-ulo-uy kicha-lul tha-ss-ta.
 C.-NOM hometown-for-GEN train-ACC get-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu GOT ON THE TRAIN headed for (his) hometown.’

b.* Chelswu-ka kohyang-ulo-lul kicha-lul tha-ss-ta.
 C.-NOM hometown-for-ACC train-ACC get-PST-DEC

9) GEN-marked Frequency Adverb

a. Chelswu-ka yeylepen-uy cenhwa-lul kel-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM many.time-GEN phone-ACC make-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu MADE PHONE CALLS many times.’

b.* Chelswu-ka yeylepen-ul cenhwa-lul kel-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM many.time-ACC phone-ACC make-PST-DEC

The majority of the examples in (8), except for (8.7) and (8.8), exhibits the case shifting from GEN to KA, rendering them double NOM construction or double ACC construction. And as I just indicated before, all the examples, except the two aforementioned, show the same kind of case shifting from GEN to NUN; so, an overall generalization could be made that case changes from GEN to KA, or GEN to NUN. If we look at it in more detail, the GEN-marked possessors irrespective of the difference between ‘inalienable’ or ‘alienable’ possession, can be shifted to NUN/KA, as seen in (8.1b.c) and (8.2b.c). And the GEN-marked Whole-NP *mikwuk* ‘America’ also can be shifted to being NUN/KA-marked as in (8.3b.c); but it is not the case if the second KA-marked Part-NP is a word such as ‘Alaska’ as in (8.3d)⁹. As regards the different semantic relations of the deverbal nominal head NPs such as *chelke* ‘demolition’ in (8.4), the GEN-marked theme (or patient) NP *kenmwul* ‘building’ is suitable for case shifting to NUN/KA in (8.4b.c). (8.5) represents the GEN-marked recipient (receiver) *Yenghi*, which allows the shift from GEN to NUN/KA as in (8.5b.c). But if *Yenghi* is construed as an agent (drawer), then it does not allow case shifting to KA. Although a little awkward, the GEN-marked locative NP *Seoul-eyse* ‘Seoul-at’ in (8.6) also sanctions the shift to NUN/KA as seen in (8.6b.c). On the contrary, the GEN-marked directional NP *kohyang-ulo* ‘hometown-for’ in (8.7c) and the GEN-marked frequency adverb *yeylepen* ‘many times’ in (8.7c) do not sanction the case to shift from GEN to KA, although they can allow the case to shift from GEN to NUN in (8.8b) and in (8.8b) if NUN is here construed as the contrastive focus rather than the neutral topic marker.

⁹According to H.-M. Shon (1986:194), “[t]he KA has a tenacious semantic content ‘exclusiveness’ which prevents using it in this context.” That is, semantic contents may constrain the use of KA and LUL. I will explain this relationship in terms of ‘semantic bleeding’ in section 4.4.2.2.2 later.

The same kinds of generalizations, yet with a few more constraints, can apply to ‘GEN to LUL’ case-shifting in nonstate verb sentences as presented in (9). (9.1b) shows that the GEN-marked inalienable possessor *Yenghi* can be shifted to LUL, but as is well-known from much of the literature, the GEN-marked alienable possessor *Yenghi* of (9.2b) cannot be shifted to LUL. In turning to the different semantic relations of a deverbal nominal head noun, the GEN-marked theme (or patient) NP *kenmwul* ‘building’ in (9.4b) displays case shifting from GEN to LUL. As in (8.5b), the GEN-marked NP *Yenghi* (receiver) sanctions case-shifting, but if *Yenghi* is construed as a drawer (i.e. as an effector), it does not sanction case shifting to LUL. Likewise, the example of the GEN-marked locative NP *Seoul-eyse* ‘Seoul-at’ in (9.6b) tells us that case shifting from GEN to LUL is marginally acceptable. However, as seen in (9.7b), the GEN-marked agent NP *cekkwun* ‘enemy’ cannot sanction case shifting from GEN to LUL. And, the GEN-marked directional NP *kohyang-ulo* ‘hometown-for’ in (9.8b) and the GEN-marked frequency adverb *yeylepen* ‘many times’ in (9.9b) do not sanction case shifting from GEN to LUL.

4.3 Previous Studies

Though with a diverse variety of approaches, a lot of literature has been devoted to an attempt to account for the so-called Multiple NOM Constructions (MNC) and the Multiple ACC Constructions (MAC). However, unfortunately, only a few of them have successfully provided a systematic account of pragmatic conditions relative to the types of focus structures, although some have mentioned this possibility (e.g. Yoon 1989). Often, they have been more concerned about how to account for case-marking in grammatical sentences than

how to account for it in the ungrammatical sentences that are contained in examples, (8) and (9).

Three major approaches to case-shifting of GEN to NUN/KA/LUL¹⁰ will be reviewed: GB (e.g. Choe 1987, Kang 1989, Yoon 1987, 1990), RelG (e.g. Choi 1988, Chun 1986, Gerdts 1991), and RRG (e.g. Yang 1994, Park 1995).

4.3.1 Movement to A-position: Choe (1987), Kang (1989)

With respect to the double LUL sentences in (10) below, Choe (1987) proposes an analysis that involves movement to an A-position. (11) is a summary of Choe (1987)'s proposal:

- (10) a. Yengmi-ka Chelswu-uy phal-ul ttayli-ess-ta.
 Y.-NOM C.-GEN arm-ACC hit-PST-DEC
 b. Yengmi-ka Chelswu-lul phal-ul ttayli-ess-ta.
 Y.-NOM C.-ACC arm-ACC hit-PST-DEC

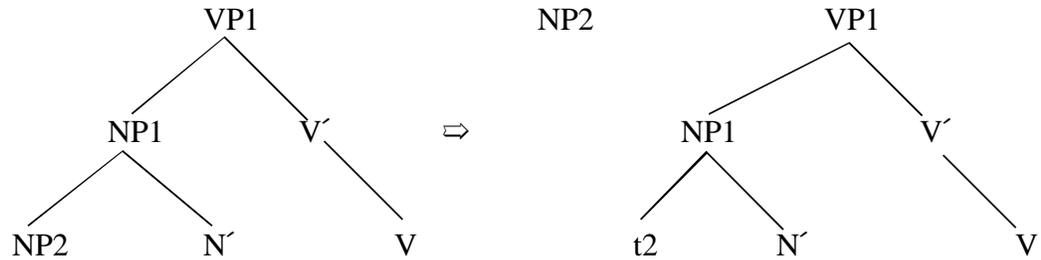
‘Yengmi hit Chelswu’s arm.’

- (11) a. Possessor raising is derived from syntactic adjunction (‘possessor-movement’, which is diagramed in figure 1.
 b. Syntactic adjunction creates A-position.

Figure 1: Possessor-Movement (Adjunction)



¹⁰For obvious reasons, much of the literature does not make any connection between KA/LUL and NUN because they do not see the possibility of KA/LUL being a focus/topic marker just like NUN.



As she herself points out in (11b), this movement to an A-position is peculiar, and importantly, it is against Chomsky (1986)'s proposal. She provides three pieces of evidence for this counterproposal. First, the possessor NP in (12) may be formulated as a *wh*-question:

- (12) Yengmi-ka nwukwu-lul phal-ul ttayli-ess-ni?
 Y.-NOM who-ACC arm-ACC hit-PST-Q
 'Who did Yenghmi's arm?'

Choe assumes that *wh*-movement in Korean occurs at LF (cf. Huang 1982) and argues that the possessor NP may be a variable at LF. She goes on to claim that since a variable should appear in A-position at LF, the possessor NP in (12) has to appear in A-position at S-structure.

However, as will be clear, in my analysis later, (12) is a natural result of the fact that the first 'LUL-marked NP' is in the AFD of the NFS due to the neutral focus marking of LUL; it does not necessarily need to become a (brand-new) syntactic argument of the main verb via movement. Moreover, the contrast between the following two examples displays that the first LUL-marked NP is indeed in the AFD.

- (13) * Yenghmi-ka Chelswu-lul eti-lul ttayli-ess-ni?
 Y.-NOM C.-ACC where-ACC hit-PST-Q

‘Which part of Chelswu did Yenghmi hit?’

(okay, in the ‘indefinite-nonspecific reading’, i.e. ‘Did Yenghmi hit Chelswu on somewhere?’)

- (14) Yenghmi-ka Chelswu-uy eti-lul ttayli-ess-ni?
Y.-NOM C.-GEN where-ACC hit-PST-Q
‘Which part of Chelswu did Yenghmi hit?’

The unacceptability of (13) proves that the first LUL-marked *Chelswu* is now in the AFD (actual focus domain) because the *wh*-word *eti*- ‘where’, which is inherently focal and the primary focal element in this sentence conflicts with the preceding focused element *Chelswu*. But, once the first NP becomes genitive-marked as in (14), the problem goes away.

The second piece of evidence that Choe (1987) proposes is that the possessor NP in (15b), which is adjoined to VP as shown in Figure 1 above may undergo passivization and causativization:

- (15) a. Yengmi-ka Chelswu-lul phal-ul putcap-ass-ta.
Y.-NOM C.-ACC arm-ACC grasp-PST-DEC
‘Yengmi grasped Chelswu by the arm.’
- b. Chelswu-ka Yengmi-eyuyhayse phal-ul putcap-hi-ess-ta.¹¹
C.-NOM Y.-by arm-ACC grasp-PASS-PST-DEC
‘Chelswu was grasped by the arm by Yengmi.’
- c. Nay-ka Chelswu-lul phal-ul putcap-hi-key ha-ess-ta.
I-NOM C.-ACC arm-ACC grasp-PASS-CLM do-PST-DEC
‘I made Chelswu’s arm grasped (by someone).’

¹¹Contrary to her claim, (13b) has an ‘adversity passive’ reading to many native speakers of Korean (Maling & Kim 1992) rather than a normal passive reading. The sentence she is referring to would rather be (1) below, where the second KA-marked NP is the sole obligatory syntactic argument of the sentence.

- (1) Chelswu-ka Yenghmi-eyuyhayse phal-i putcap-hi-ess-ta.
C.-NOM Y.-by arm-NOM grasp-PASS-PST-DEC
‘Chelswu was grasped by the arm by Yengmi.’

The fact that the possessor NP *Chelswu* in (15a) may undergo passivization in (15b) and causativization in (15c) suggests (according to Choe) that it is not in an A'-position.

The third piece of evidence comes from clefting. Assuming that clefting applies only to NPs in A-position, Choe claims that the fact that the possessor NP may undergo clefting provides another piece of evidence for the claim that the possessor NP is in A-position:

- (16) a. Yengmi-ka Chelswu-uy¹²/-lul phal-ul putcap-ass-ta.
 Y.-NOM C.-GEN/-ACC arm-ACC grasp-PST-DEC
 'Yengmi grasped Chelswu by the arm.'
- b. Yengmi-ka phal-ul putcap-un salam-un Chelswu-i-ta.
 Y.-NOM arm-ACC grasp-REL person-TOP C.-be.DEC
 'The person who Yengmi grasped by the arm is Chelswu.'
- c. Yengmi-ka Chelswu-uy son-ul putcap-un nal-un ecey-ess-ta.
 Y.-NOM C.-GEN hand-ACC grasp-REL day-TOP yesterday-
 PST-DEC
 'The day in which Yengmi grasped Chelswu by the arm was yesterday.'

Particularly in regard to (16b), it does not seem true that only syntactic arguments can undergo clefting, since as seen in (16c) the adverb *ecey* 'yesterday' can undergo this clefting. In fact, as it will be clearer in section 4.4, *Chelswu* in (16a) can undergo the clefting (syntactic focalization), since the GEN-marked NP is an independent pragmatic unit (PU), despite its being not a syntactic argument (ARG).

In addition, Yoon (1987) provides two potential problems associated with the movement to A-position analysis. First, [t]he 'movement' analysis, in general, violates

¹²The GEN *-uy* is inserted by the present author for expository reasons.

Subjacency as displayed in (17) below.

- (17) a. Nampanku-**ka** mwunmyengk>wukka-**ka** namca-**ka**
southern.hemisphere-NOM civilized.countries-NOM men-NOM
swmyeng-**i** ccalp-ta.
life.span-NOM short-DEC
‘It is the southern hemisphere that civilized countries are such that men are such
that their life-span is short.’
- b. [[[Nampanku-uy] mwunmyengk>wukka-uy] namca-uy]
southern.hemisphere-GEN civilized.countries-GEN men-GEN
swmyeng]-i ccalp-ta.
life.span-NOM short-DEC
- c. Nampanku-ka [[[t] mwunmyengk>wukka-uy] namca-uy]
swmyeng]-i ccalp-ta.

(17a) is a true MNC which the proponents of movement would derive from (17b). Crucially, however, (17c) demonstrates that in order to derive (17a) from the GEN construction, one has to raise the most deeply embedded SPEC in violation of Subjacency.¹³ The second problem comes from the Projection Principle (Chomsky1981); namely, it violates the Projection Principle because *ttayli-* ‘hit’ in (12) takes two obligatory arguments (i.e., is semantically transitive), so (12) cannot have three A-position unless there are some means to do so.¹⁴

¹³Yoon (1987) indicated that (17c) may not be a violation of Subjacency if extraction takes place from a structure like (1) given below.

- (1) [nampanku-uy [[mwunmyengk>wukka-uy namca-uy] swmyeng]-i ccalpta.
But as he pointed out, such an alternative structure is not available for the sentence below.
- (2) Chelswu-ka apeci-uy chinkwu-uy tonglyo-ka tonmangka-ss-ta.
C.-NOM father-GEN friend-GEN colleague-NOM run.out-PST-DEC
‘It was Chelswu whose father’s friend’s colleague ran away.’

whose DS under movement can only be:

- (3) [[[[Chelswu-uy] apeci-uy] chinkwu-uy] tonglyo]-ka tomangka-ss-ta.

¹⁴Moreover, one cited example from Choe (1987) is the ungrammaticality of (1b). She argues that the reason why we get disjoint reference here is that the possessor NP is in the same core as the subject NP.

- (1) a. Chelswu₁-ka ku₁-uy phal-ul ttayli-ess-ta.

4.3.2 An Account of Agreement: Y.-J. Kim (1990)

Y.-J. Kim (1990) attributes the identity of case on the possessor NP and the body-part NP to case agreement. The following is a summary of her proposal:

- (19)
- a. Multiple-accusative possessor-raising constructions are base-generated rather than derived from their genitive counterparts.
 - b. The possessee NP is not assigned accusative Case by the verb, but it gets morphological case of its possessor NP through case agreement mechanism.
 - c. Case agreement is based on the semantic relationship of inalienable possession between the possessor and the body-part NP.
 - d. The inalienable-possession relation may constitute a form of predication.

Y.-J. Kim (1990) cites sentences such as (20) and (21) in support of her proposal.

- (20)
- a. Emeni-ka Inho-lul uysa-lo/-lul mantul-es-ta.
mother-NOM I.-ACC doctor-INST/-ACC make-PST-DEC
'Mother made Inho a doctor.'
 - b. Yumi-ka ku ai-lul chinkwu-lo/-lul sam-ass-ta.
Y.-NOM that child-ACC friend-INST/-ACC make-PST-DEC
'Yumi made that child (his) friend.'
- (21)
- a. Ai-tul-i seys-i wul-ko iss-ta.
child-PL-NOM three-NOM cry-PROG be-DEC
'Three children are crying.'
 - b. Nay-ka haksayng-tul-ul twul-ul mana-ss-ta.
I-NOM student-PL-ACC two-ACC meet-PST-DEC
'I met two students.'

(20a&b) are, according to her, small clause constructions, while (21a.b) involve quantifier floating. But as we will see in chapter 7 'A focus structure: quantifier float', a rigid surface case agreement seems not to exist in Korean since we can give two different surface case forms to (20) and (21) as illustrated in (22) and (23) respectively.

- (22) a. Inho-nun Emeni-ka uysa-lo/-lul mantul-ess-ta.
 I.-TOP mother-NOM doctor-INST/ACC make-PST-DEC
 ‘As for Inho, mother made him a doctor.’
- b. Ku ai-nun Yumi-ka chinkwu-lo/-lul sam-ass-ta.
 that child-TOP Y.-NOM friend-INST/-ACC make-PST-DEC
 ‘As for that child, Yumi made him (his) friend.’
- (23) a. Ai-tul-un seys-i wul-ko iss-ta.
 child-PL-TOP three-NOM cry-PROG be-DEC
 ‘As for children, three (of them) are crying.’
- b. Haksayng-tul-un nay-ka twul-ul mana-ss-ta.
 student-PL-TOP I-NOM two-ACC meet-PST-DEC
 ‘As for students, I met two (of them).’

Furthermore, as Maling and Kim (1992) points out, when (20a.b) and (21a.b) are passivized as in (24) only the instrumental form is available.

- (24) a. Ai-ka uysa-lo/-*ka mantul-eci-ess-ta.
 child-NOM doctor-INST/NOM make-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘My child was made a doctor.’
- b. Ku ai-ka chinkwu-lo/-*ka sam-aci-ess-ta.
 that child-NOM friend-INST/NOM make-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘That child was made a friend.’

4.4.3 Subject Tests: Shibatani (1977), Kuno (1978) and Yoon (1989)

A number of tests for subjecthood have been proposed by Shibatani (1977). For example Subject honorification and being an antecedent of reflexives have often been used as diagnostics for subjecthood in both Japanese and Korean. Let us consider the honorification test in (25) below that is paraphrased from Shibatani’s Japanese examples by the present author.

- (25) a. Kim kyoswunim-uy pwuin-i celmu-si-ta.
 K. teacher-GEN wife-NOM young-HON-DEC
 ‘Prof. Kim’s (exalted) wife is young.’
- b. Kim kyoswunim-i pwuin-i celmu-si-ta.
 K. professor-NOM wife-NOM young-HON-DEC
 ‘It is Prof. Kim whose (exalted) wife is young.’

(25a) is a GEN construction, and (25b) is the MNC transformed via “subjectivization” (Kuno 1980). In terms of subjectivization, the newly made subject (the first NOM-marked NP) must now agree with the honorific word *-si-*; but it is not the newly NOM-marked *Kim kyoswu* ‘professor Kim’, but the original NOM-marked *pwuin* ‘wife’ toward which the speaker’s deference is directed (suggesting *pwuin* ‘wife’ is the real syntactic subject). The same kind of generalization is also made with reflexivization.

- (26) a. Kim sensayngnim_i-uy atul_j-i caki_{*i/j}-hantay silmangha-ess-ta.
 K. prof.-GEN son NOM self-DAT be.disgusted-PST-DEC
 ‘Prof. Kim_i’s son_j is disgusted with himself_{*i/j}.’
- b. Kim sensayngnim_i-i atul_j-i caki_{*i/j}-hantay silmangha-ess-ta.
 K. prof.-NOM son NOM self DAT be.disgusted-PST-DEC
 ‘Prof. Kim_i’s son_j is disgusted with himself_{*i/j}.’

(26) demonstrates that the reflexive *caki* is coreferential with the subject *atul* ‘son’, agreeing with what the Reflexivization test would predict. Now (26b) has the newly NOM-marked NP *Kim kyoswu* ‘Prof. Kim’; however, it is still the original KA-marked *atul* ‘son’ which must be coreferential with the reflexive pronoun *caki*.

By contrast, Kuno (1978) argues for Japanese that it is the first NOM-marked NP and not the second NOM-marked NP that is a “subject”, referring to the possibility of attributing

the honorific suffix; and that this seems to be true in Korean as well, as in (27b) below.

- (27) a.* Kim sacangnim-uy kohyang-i me-si-ta.
K. boss-GEN hometown-i far-HON-DEC
- b.? Kim sacangnim-i kohyang-i me-si-ta.
K. boss-NOM hometown-i far-HON-DEC
'Boss Kim's hometown is far.'

But as Yoon (1989) indicates, (27b) is a bit awkward for many native speakers of Korean including the present author, if not unacceptable.

As for the reflexivization test, there is a problem in arguments based on reflexives antecedency, since they assume that whatever is the antecedent of reflexives is a subject but this is certainly not the case as evidenced in (28) below. Here, the antecedent is the head of the relative clause outside of the clause.

- (28) (from Yang (1985))
[[tongsayg-i caki-uy ton-ul ta sseperi-n] Chelswu]
brother-NOM self_i-GEN money-ACC all spend-REL Chelswu_i
'Chelswu whose brother himself spent all the money.'

However, it is possible that there is a distinction between Core Binding where reflexives in Korean/Japanese obey the Subject Antecedent Condition, and Peripheral Binding where the condition does not hold; a distinction which may be similar to the distinction between anaphoric and logophoric pronouns. But even in that situation, as (26b) demonstrates, it is still the second KA-marked NP, not the first (newly) KA-marked NP that is coreferential with the reflexive *caki* 'self'.

The third potential candidate for subjecthood test is the ECM or the "subject to object

raising”, which Kuno (1978) also discusses. Kuno (1978) observes that the first NP of an MNC can undergo “Raising” (ECM) as shown in (29) and uses this to argue that it is a subject.

- (29) John-i Mary-lul [apeci-ka nulkes-tako] sayngkakha-ess-ta.
 J.-NOM M-ACC father-NOM old-CLM think-PST-DEC
 ‘John considered Mary’s father (to be) old.’

This argument rests on the assumption that whatever can be “raised” is a subject, but Yoon (1989) presents (30) below, where what is “raised” is the adverb *ecey* ‘yesterday’ with the LUL attached to it.

- (30) John-i ecey-lul [nalssi-ka chwuw-ess-tako] sayngkakha-ess-ta.
 J.-NOM yesterday-ACC weather-NOM cold-PSST-CLM think-PST-DEC
 ‘John thought the weather was cold yesterday.’

What these three subject tests altogether show is that it is more likely the second KA-marked NP, rather than the first KA-marked NP, which behaves as a syntactic subject.

4.4.4 A Relational Grammar account: Chun (1986)

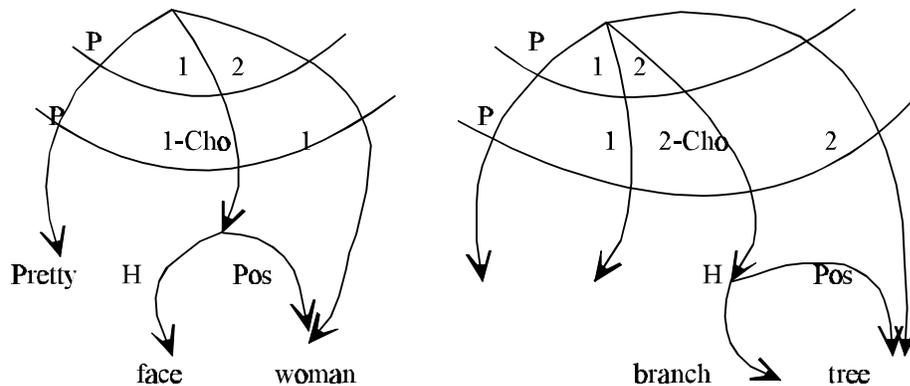
Within the Relational Grammar framework, Chun (1986) made an attempt to explain the difference between (10a) and (10b) in term of “Possessor Ascension”.

- (31) Ku yeyca-ka elkwul-i yeypu-ta.
 the woman-NOM face-NOM pretty-DEC
 ‘The woman’s face is pretty.’

- (32) Mary-ka ku namwu-lul kaci-lul cal-ass-ta.
 M.-NOM the tree-ACC branch-ACC cut-PST-DEC
 ‘Mary cut the branches of the tree.’

More specifically, the relation between the Possessor and the Possessee in (31) is initially a modifier-head relation as with any other possessive constructions. However, the Possessor *yeyca* ‘woman’ changed its modifier relation to the NP *elkwul* ‘face’ which bears the grammatical relation, **subject**, to the clause. Similarly in (32), the Possessor *namwu* ‘tree’ ascends in order to bear the object of the clause relation, putting the Head nominal “en chomage” (2-Cho) as represented in figure 3 below. The change of grammatical relation of the Possessor and its effect on that of the Possessee is represented in figure 3.

Figure 3: Stratal Diagram of (31) and (32)



One major problem with Chun (1986) is that she does not explain why both the possessor NP and the possessee NP in (32) have to receive KA case under the long form passivization *-e ci-ta* in (33) below, whose stratal diagram is given in figure 4 below:

- (33) a. Ku namwu-ka kaci-ka cali-eci-ess-ta.
 that tree-NOM branch-NOM cut-PASS-PST-DEC
- b.* Ku namwu-ka kaci-lul cali-eci-ess-ta.

that tree-NOM branch-ACC cut-PASS-PST-DEC

Figure 4: Stratal Diagram of (33a)

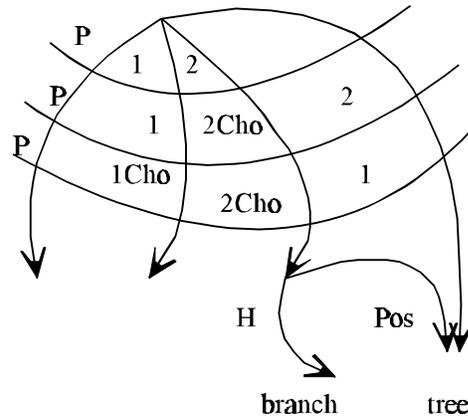


Figure 4 shows that “2” (*namwu* ‘tree’) at the second stratum is promoted to a “final 1” through “2-to-1 advancement”. However, it is unclear why the possessee NP *kaci* ‘branch’ gets NOM case under this passivization.

4.4.5 An RRG account: Yang (1994) and Park (1995)

Within Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), Yang (1994) and Park (1995) deal with focus structure in Korean. In particular, Park (1995) confines himself exclusively to Korean case-marking systems and claims that i) RRG provides the fundamental answers to the recurring problems of Korean case-marking. ii) the distinction between semantic case vs. pragmatic case is needed to account for Korean case marking.

According to him, ... “[t]he ‘pragmatic case’ means the use of Nominative or Accusative case, which is not directly derived from the Case Marking Rules, but determined by the pragmatic context. And pragmatic case involves the following characteristics: i) it is not restricted to an argument, unlike semantic cases, ii) a pragmatic case is permitted in the

environment where case alternation or case stacking occurs (except for adverbials), iii) the NP involving pragmatic case tends to function as a pivot in syntactic agreement in cross-clausal grammatical processes like *myense* construction, and so on.”

For instance, Park (1995) proposed a pragmatic case analysis to the alienable possessor constructions in (34) and (35) below. That is to say, the KAs on the alienable possessor *Chelswu* in (34b) and *Kim sensayngnim* ‘Professor Kim’ in (35b) are pragmatically motivated case markers.

- (34) a. Chelswu-uy tongsayng-i yeypu-ta.
 C.-GEN sister-NOM pretty-DEC
- b. Chelswu-ka tongsayng-i yeypu-ta.
 C.-NOM sister-NOM pretty-DEC
 ‘Chelswu’s sister is pretty.’
- (35) a. Kim sensayngnim-uy kwutwu-ka ccic-eci-ess-ta.
 Kim teacher-GEN shoes-NOM tear-PASS-PST-DEC
- b. Kim sensayngnim-i kwutwu-ka ccic-eci-ess-ta.
 Kim teacher-NOM shoes-NOM tear-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘Professor Kim’s shoes have been torn.’

By contrast, he claims that the first KA of an inalienable possessor construction in (36b), and the first LUL of the kind in (37b) should be treated as semantic cases rather than pragmatic cases.

- (36) a. John-uy meli-ka apu-ta.
 J.-GEN head-NOM sick-DEC
- b. John-i meli-ka apu-ta,
 J.-NOM head-NOM sick-DEC

‘John has a headache.’

- (37) a. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-uy son-ul cap-ess-ta.
C.-NOM Y.-GEN hand-ACC catch-PST-DEC
- b. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul son-ul cap-ess-ta.
C.-NOM Y.-ACC hand-ACC catch-PST-DEC
‘Chelswu held Yeonghi’s arm.’

Under his analysis, it seems inevitable that any time we encounter a case-maker, we have to choose one or the other, semantic cases or pragmatic cases.

However, several unsolved problems remains. First, there are many examples which virtually block forming the otherwise desired MNC, MACs, for which the simple dichotomy between alienable versus inalienable possessor constructions seems not to work.¹⁵

- (8.3c) * Mikwuk-i Alaska-ka khu-ta.
America-NOM A.-NOM big-DEC
‘Alaska in America is big.’
- (8.7b) * Kohyang-ulo-*ka kicha-ka chwulpalha-ess-ta.
hometown-for-NOM train-NOM depart-PST-DEC
‘The train for (my) hometown departed.’
- (8.8b) * Yeylepen-i penkay-ka chi-ess-ta.
many.time-NOM lightning-NOM strike-PST-DEC
‘Many times, the lightning struck.’
- (9.5b) * Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul kulim-ul ponay-ess-ta.
C.-NOM Y.-ACC picture-ACC send-PST-DEC
‘Chelswu sent Yenghi’s picture.’ (No, if Yenghi is the drawer)
- (9.7b) * Chelswu-ka cekkwan-ul kongkyek-ul mak-ass-ta.

¹⁵There are pragmatic and semantic constraints which prevent applying pragmatic cases KA or LUL. See Section 4.4.2.2 for pragmatic constraints and Section 4.4.2.3 for semantic constraints.

C.-NOM enemy-ACC attack-ACC defend-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu defended ourselves the enemy’s attack.’ (‘enemy’ is an agent)

(9.8b) * Chelswu-ka kohyang-ulo-lul kicha-lul tha-ss-ta.
 C.-NOM hometown-for-ACC train-ACC get-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu got in the train for (his) hometown.’

(9.9b) * Chelswu-ka yeylepen-ul cenhwa-lul kel-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM many.time-ACC phone-ACC make-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu made phone calls many times.’

Second, there are other kinds of examples which show that (36b) and (37b) do have a focus interpretation, so that they are sensitive to topic and focus status as the following sentences prove.

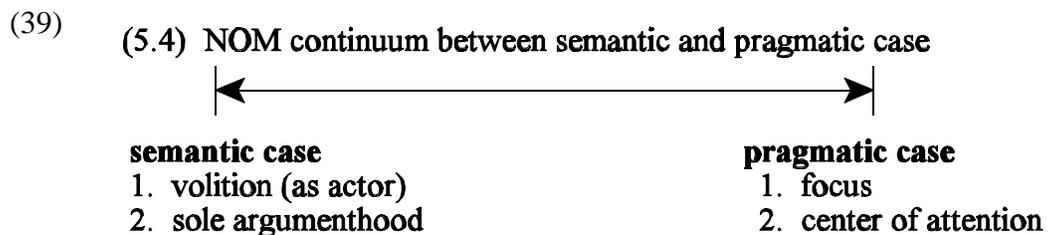
(38) (After John has swallowed a Tylenol for his headache, his mother questions his brother. His mother knows that his brother knows that John had a headache and took a Tylenol beforehand).

- a. #Icey, [John-i meli-ka]_{TOP} an [apu]_{FOC}-ni?
 by now, J.-NOM head-NOM NEG sick-DEC
 ‘By now, is John’s head not sick?’
- b. Icey, [John-uy meli]_{TOP}-nun an [apu]_{FOC}-ni?
 by now, J.-GEN head-TOP NEG sick-DEC
 ‘By now, as for John’s head, is it not sick?’
- c. Icey, [John-i meli-ka apu]_{FOC}-ci an-h-ni?
 by now J.-NOM head-NOM sick-CLM NEG-do-DEC
 ‘By now is it true that John’s head is not sick?’

The question, (38a), is uttered while John’s mother knows that his brother knows that John had a headache and took a Tylenol beforehand, so that now the two propositions that ‘John had a headache’ and ‘John took a Tylenol’ are all activated (or presupposed) for the speaker (John’s mother) and the addressee (John’s brother). But as we can see, (38a) which contains

the nuclear negation particle *an* ‘NEG’ and where the scope of the negation is V^0 (equal to the scope of the AFD), is not acceptable. By contrast, (38b) which has the neutral topic marker NUN after ‘John’s head’ is the most appropriate question in this context. And finally (38c) which contains the sentential negation *ci an-h* ‘NEG-do’, where the whole sentence is included in the AFD, is felicitous as well. What this means is that the MNC cannot occur in the topic domain.

As a matter of fact, Park (1995) mentioned ... “[w]hen I say that the NOM concerned is a pragmatic NOM case, I do not mean that the case involves only the pragmatic case function. SOMETIMES it may involve semantic case characteristics. Remember that Korean case markers NOM and ACC are hovering around along the semantic case-pragmatic case continuum. For example, NOM falls along the following continuum.”



Unfortunately, however, in his actual analysis, for instance, in the “inalienable possessor construction,” he does not consistently keep track of the insight that is contained in figure (5.4) above. As a result, he is never able to account for the possibility of KA’s being both semantic and pragmatic cases simultaneously.¹⁶

¹⁶As pointed out by Prof. Stephen Wechsler, the term ‘continuum’ may cause an unnecessary meaning that there is an infinite number of KA’s, ranging from very ‘semantic’ to very ‘pragmatic’.

4.4 Proposal

At first glance, in the data provided above, it seems a great number of semantic elements and θ -roles are related to the GEN construction, and the GEN case can (or cannot), for whatever reasons which will be explained in detail, be shifted to NOM or ACC case, leading to the well-known MNC or MAC. To uncover the reasons for case-shifting, let us explore the grammatical (semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic) nature of the GEN construction and then try to account for the data above in terms of a case-shifting construction from the semantic case (GEN) to the pragmatic cases (focus and topic) for the purpose of encoding the focus structure of a sentence.

4.4.1 GEN and Focus Structure

To start with, let us first go over the Korean GEN constructions in connection with focus structure. The relevant inquiry for this matter would be: “can the GEN case be derived from any focus or topic relation?”; in other words, “is the GEN case pragmatically licensed or only semantically?” To explore this question, we need to take seriously into consideration the difference between Korean and English genitive constructions. As noticed by many scholars (Comrie (1976), Comrie and Thompson (1985)), very few languages besides English have the double genitive construction like (40) below, i.e. both the prenominal *'s* GEN and the post-nominal *of* GEN. Korean does not have the post-nominal *of*-GEN, but the prenominal type of GEN *-uy*, and (41) is the only way of saying (40) in Korean.

(40) The enemy's destruction of the city

- (41) Cekkwan-eyuyhan tosi-uy phakwuey
 enemy-by city-GEN destruction
 ‘The destruction of the city by the enemy.’

In her RRG analysis of English deverbal noun phrase structure, Nunes (1993) shows that the two genitive constructions in English, in fact, have distinct grammatical motivations. That is to say, the linking of arguments to the post-nominal *of*-marked direct core argument should be accounted for by the “U > A Hierarchy” given in (42) below. And she has explained the linking of arguments to the prenominal NPIP_{arg} in terms of the “NPIP (NP Initial Position) Linking Hierarchy” in (42) below bearing on the ‘Topical Function’ of the nominal’s NPIP.

- (42) Direct-Core_N-Argument Linking Hierarchy: Undergoer > Actor

- (43) NPIP_{arg} Linking Hierarchy: EXP (A/U) > PAT (U) > A[-EXP]

She further claims that English deverbal nominals are inherently S-intransitive; that is, they never take more than one direct core_N argument, which is realized by the *of*-marked NP as in (40). As to which argument is chosen as the single direct core_N argument, Nunes (1993) affirms that for nominals, the Undergoer outranks Actor which is directly opposite to what happens in the case of verbal predicates. This means that if the verb from which it is derived contains a state, an achievement, or an accomplishment predicate, the undergoer will be the *of*-marked NP, and if a verb contains only an activity predicate, then, the actor will be the *of*-marked NP. So in this regard, verbs divide into ‘activity’ versus ‘non-activity’.

According to (42), (44a) below is grammatical since the Undergoer argument, *the city* of the causative accomplishment predicate *destroy*, is realized by the *of*-marked NP, and the

actor *enemy* is marked by the oblique *by*-phrase. The Korean examples (44b) which is grammatical shows the same case marking procedure with the exactly reversed word order. Contrastingly, in (45) the reverse case linking is applied, that is, the Undergoer *the city* is linked to the oblique case and the Actor *the enemy* to the *of*-marked NP, resulting in ungrammaticality. Following the same reasoning, Korean, (45b), is ungrammatical.

- (44) a. The destruction of the city_U by the enemy_A
- b. Cekkwun_A-ey uyhan tosi_U-uy phakwuey
 enemy-by city-GEN destruction
 ‘The destruction of the city by the enemy.’
- (45) a.* The destruction of the enemy_A by the city_U
- b.* Tosi_U-ey uyhan cekkwun_A-uy phakwuey
 city-by enemy-GEN destruction
 ‘The destruction of the enemy by the city.’

Let us turn to the prenominal genitive construction *'s*, illustrated in (46) - (49) below. In Deane’s (1987) analysis of English possessives, topical NPs include information which is central but backgrounded in discourse, generally reflecting what the discourse is about. Nunes (1993) also relies in her analysis of the prenominal GEN *'s* on the notion of topic which defines the function of the NPIP in English. Nunes’s NPIP linking hierarchy, (43) above is therefore a sort of Focality Accessibility Hierarchy in an unmarked discourse condition. Taking these into consideration, (46) is ungrammatical due to the fact that the undergoer argument *the enemy* is not realized by *'s* marked NP¹⁷ violating the NPIP linking hierarchy

¹⁷Of course, the sole NP, ‘the city’s destruction’, is okay. The problem is caused by the existence of the ‘of enemy’ along with the city’s destruction.

as in (43). Certainly (47) is grammatical since *the enemy* is realized by 's GEN, and the Undergoer *the city* is realized by the *of*-marked NP as desired. However, a majority of languages do not have this Double Genitive Construction (DGC), but only ones like (48) and (49).

(46) * The city_U's destruction of the enemy_A

(47) The enemy_A's destruction of the city_U

(48) a. City_U's destruction
 b. Tosi_U-uy phakwuey

(49) a. Enemy_U's destruction
 b. Cekkwun_U-uy phakwuey

Immediately, two questions come to mind. First, assuming Korean lacks the DGC of English, what is the Korean GEN *-uy* likely equivalent to, the prenominal 's or the postnominal *of*? Second, if the Korean GEN is more likely to be the equivalent of the postnominal *of*-marked construction, then how does Korean grammatically code the topical function that is carried out by the 's prenominal marking of NP in English?

Evidently, as for the first question, the contrast between (44b) and (45b) shows that it is the *of*-marked GEN and not the 's marked NP, the equivalent of the English 's marked NP is the *-ey uyhayse* 'by-phrase' in Korean. As for the second question, it is most likely that the Korean *uy*-marked NP is neutral ('ambiguous') as to the focus structure of the main verb. This is due to the following two reasons that (1) both focus and topic elements can occur with the GEN *-uy* case so that without context provided, it is difficult to recognize what kinds of focus structures it is associated with; however, the pragmatic cases, i.e. the neutral

topic/focus NUN, KA, LUL in table 1 above, are much predictable. (2), Though technical but very important, the ‘Minimal Information Unit (MIU)’ according to Lambrecht (1994) is the NP, which means that as long as the GEN-marked NP is (newly) shifted to KA-/LUL-marked NP under an ARG node in the constituent structure projection, it should be construed as being an independent MIU that can be a topic or focus element of the sentence.

With respect to the MIU, the GEN construction shows a very interesting disparity between syntax and pragmatics. Syntactically it is clear that the GEN-marked NP is not an argument of the main verb, but, pragmatically, it is perfectly acceptable for the GEN-marked NP to be a member of the focus structure of the clause since it is composed of an independent NP which is, in fact, the minimal requirement for being a unit in the focus structure of a clause.

To incorporate these observations, and, on the other hand, to exclude verbs¹⁸ from the MIU, henceforth, I will use the term ‘**Pragmatic Unit (PU)**’ which means ‘a phrasal unit (NP, ADVP, or PP) in the PFD of a clause (except for the main verb) regardless of its syntactic argumenthood.’

One advantage of adapting the notion of PU is that we may not have to rely on the claim that the first NOM-marked NP *Yenghi* is a syntactic argument just like the second NOM-marked NP *cha* ‘car’ in (50b); and in a similar vein, the first ACC-marked NP *Chelswu* is a syntactic argument just as the second ACC-marked NP *phal* ‘arm’ in (51b). That is to say, all syntactic ARGs, e.g., [NP-GEN NP]_{PU}, are automatically PUs, but all PUs, e.g., [NP-

¹⁸In many respect verbs behave differently from any other PUs, due to their special function as an anchor in a clause. I will leave this issue open as a future research topic.

NOM/ACC]_{PU} [NP]_{PU} are not necessarily syntactic ARGs. Accordingly, I would claim that the first KA-marked NP *Yenghi* in (50b) and the first LUL-marked NP *Chelswu* in (51b) are PUs, but not the syntactic arguments of the verbal predicates.

- (50) a. *Yenghi-uy cha-ka kocangna-ess-ta.*
 Y.-GEN car-NOM break.down-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi’s car broke down.’
- b. *Yenghi-ka cha-ka kocangna-ess-ta.*
 Y.-NOM car-NOM break.down-PST-DEC
 ‘YENGHI’s car broke down.’
- (51) a. *Yenghi-ka Chelswu-uy phal-ul ttalyli-ess-ta.*
 Y.-NOM C.-GEN arm-ACC hit-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi hit Chelswu’s ARM.’
- b. *Yenghi-ka Chelswu-lul phal-ul ttalyli-ess-ta.*
 Y.-NOM C.-ACC arm-ACC hit-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi hit CHELSWU’S ARM.’

Choe (1987) would argue that due to the fact the adverb *ecey* ‘yesterday’ cannot occur between the two NPs in (52a) and (53a), but can in (52b) and (53b), all the first and second KA-marked NPs in (52b); and all the first and the second LUL-marked NP should be treated as independent syntactic ARGs of the main verb.

- (52) a.* *Yenghi-uy ecey cha-ka kocangna-ess-ta.*
 Y.-GEN yesterday car-NOM break.down-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi’s car broke down yesterday.’
- b. *Yenghi-ka ecey cha-ka kocangna-ess-ta.*

Y.-NOM yesterday car-NOM break.down-PST-DEC
 ‘YENGHI’s car broke down yesterday.’

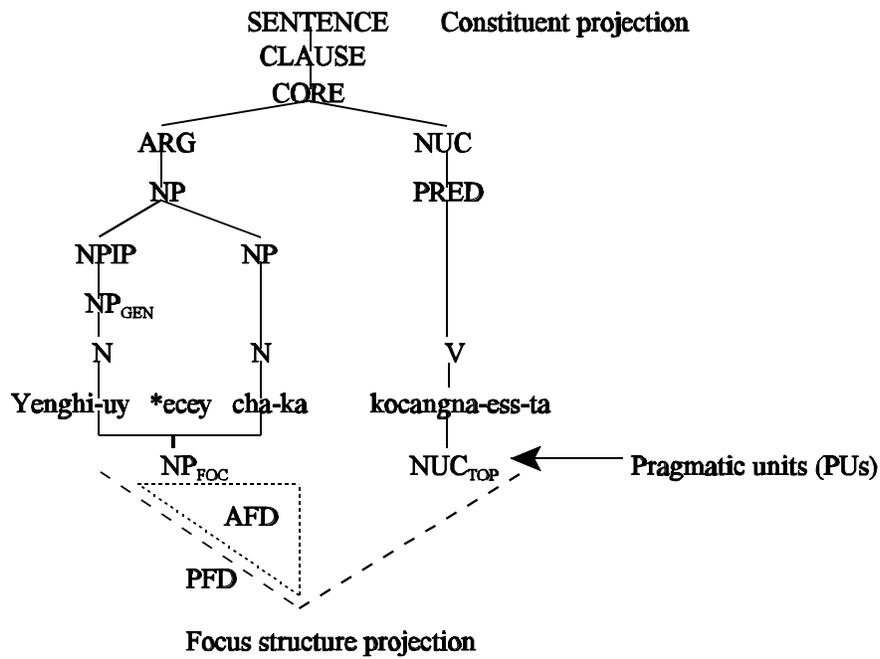
- (53) a.* Yenghi-ka Chelswu-uy ecey phal-ul ttalyli-ess-ta.
 Y.-NOM C.-GEN yesterday arm-ACC hit-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi hit Chelswu’s ARM yesterday.’
- b. Yenghi-ka Chelswu-lul ecey phal-ul ttalyli-ess-ta.
 Y.-NOM C.-ACC yesterday arm-ACC hit-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi hit CHELSWU’S ARM yesterday.’

However, crucially, there is counter-evidence that cast doubts on the argument status of the first NOM-marked NP *Yenghi* in (52b) and the first ACC-marked NP *Chelswu* in (53b). First, NP operators which are not PUs such as numerals, adjectives, and deictic expressions cannot occur between the two NOM-marked NPs and the two ACC-marked NPs as demonstrated in (54b) and (55b), but they are acceptable in the GEN constructions in (54a) and (55a).

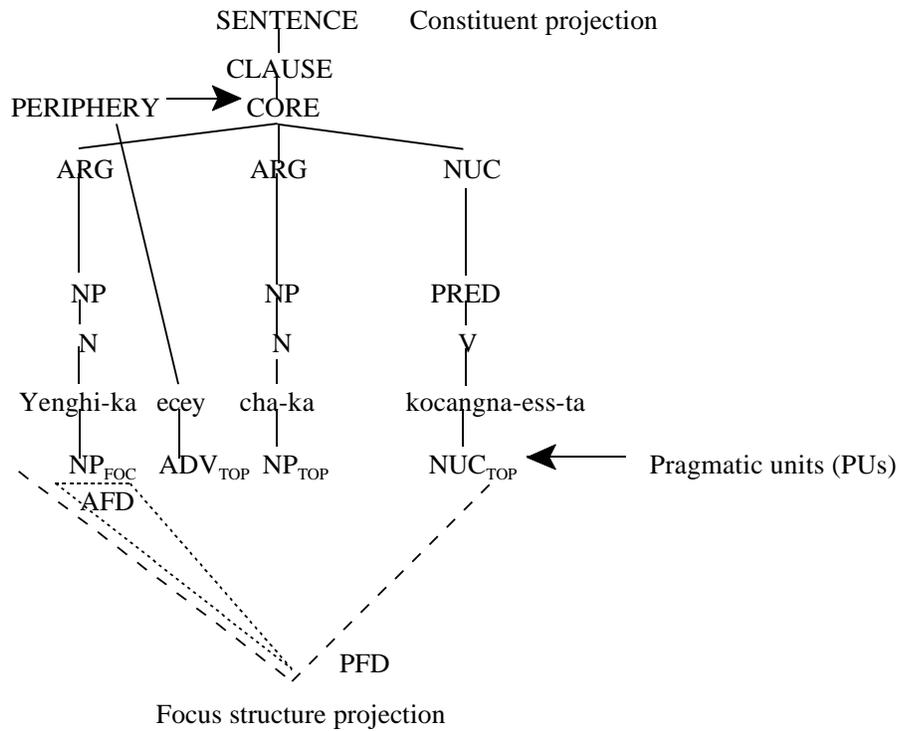
- (54) a. Yenghi-uy ppalkan/twu/ce cha-ka kocangna-ess-ta.
 Y.-GEN red/two/that car-NOM break.down-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi’s red/two/that car broke down.’
- b. Yenghi-ka *ppalkan/*twu/*ce cha-ka kocangna-ess-ta.
 Y.-NOM red/two/that car-NOM break.down-PST-DEC
 ‘YENGHI’s red/two/that car broke down.’
- (55) a. Yenghi-ka Chelswu-uy aphun/han/woyn phal-ul ttalyli-ess-ta.
 Y.-NOM C.-GEN wounded/one/left arm-ACC hit-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi hit Chelswu’s wounded/one/left ARM.’
- b. Yenghi-ka Chelswu-lul *aphun/*han/*woyn phal-ul ttalyli-ess-ta.
 Y.-NOM C.-ACC wounded/one/left arm-ACC hit-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi hit CHELSWU’S ARM.’

This shows that the first KA-marked NP cannot be separated from the second KA-marked NP in (54b); and the first LUL-marked NP cannot be separable from the second LUL-marked NP in (55b) since they are syntactically a single unit on the constituent projection. But on the focus projection, the adverb *ecey* ‘yesterday’ is a PU unlike the NP operators, so that the PU can occur between PUs, $[NP\text{-KA/LUL}]_{\text{PU}} [NP]_{\text{PU}}$, although the PU cannot occur within a single PU $[NP\text{-GEN NP}]_{\text{PU}}$ ‘Yenghi’s car’ as in (50b). In other words, PU constituency in the focus projection is independent of ARG(NP) constituency in the constituent projection and may override it as in (54b) and (55b). For easy of explanation, the formal representations of the layered structures of the two sentences, (52a) and (52b), are provided below in (56) and (57) respectively. As seen in (56), there is only one PU *Yenghi-uy cha* Yenghi’s car in the genitive construction, whereas in (57), the MNC, there are two PUs *Yenghi* and *cha* ‘car’ so that another PU *ecey* ‘yesterday’ can occur between PUs, but it cannot occur in the PU in (56).

(56) The formal representation of the layered structure of (52a) in NFS.



(57) The formal representation of the layered structure of (52b) in NFS



A couple of things need to be made explicit regarding (57). First, this is analogous to ‘possessor raising’ in RRG except there is no claim that, e.g. *Yenghi* takes over the syntactic argument status of *cha* ‘car’.¹⁹ Second, having an NP under an ARG node even though it is not semantically an argument of the predicate in the nucleus is well attested in matrix-coding constructions.²⁰ Although, the first NOM-marked NP *Yenghi* in (57) is now under the ARG node, it is pragmatically (focus) motivated, not semantically motivated as the second NOM-marked NP *cha* ‘car’; in other words, ARG is composed of two types of independent units in the constituent projection (pragmatic unit and syntactic argument); and importantly they are represented in the focus projection differently; i.e. in (57) *Yenghi* (pragmatic unit) is in the AFD, whereas *cha* ‘car’ (syntactic argument) is not. Third, on the other hands, the first NOM-marked NP *Yenghi* in (57) under the ARG should be treated differently from the GEN-marked NP *Yenghi* in (56), since the former is pragmatically motivated, and able to form a PU (linked via the ‘context sensitive case marking’ (CSCM)), whereas the latter is semantically motivated, and never able to form a PU (‘context neutral case marking’ (CNCM)).²¹

¹⁹Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 258) deals with Acehnese ‘possessor raising’ examples. In this construction, a possessed noun is compounded with the main predicate, and the possessor is treated as an independent syntactic argument of the verb. In (1) below the possessive NP is the undergoer of the intransitive predicate *seunang* ‘happy’ in (a, b). Here, as seen in (1b), the possessed noun can be compounded with the predicate and the possessor is treated as the undergoer of the clause.

- (1) a. Seunang até lôn.
 happy liver 1sg
 ‘I am happy.’ (lit.: ‘My live is happy.’)
 b. Lôn seunang-até.
 Isg happy-liver
 ‘I am happy.’

²⁰See Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 561) for the notion of ‘matrix coding constructions’. For instance, the English verb *seem* has the LS, [**seem**] ((x), y) [MR0]], where the *x* argument is an (optional) PERCEIVER which is realized in English by a *to* PP as in *Harold seems to me to be a nice guy*.

²¹The same kind of generalization and formal representations applies to the MAC in (53a) and (53b).

Another piece of evidence for PU different from ARG comes from the word order; namely, if the first NOM-marked *Yenghi* in (50b) and the first ACC-marked NP *Chelswu* should be syntactic arguments due to the NOM-marking and the ACC-marking, then why can't it appear after the second NOM-/ACC-marked NP; syntactically there should be no reason not to be able to reverse the order of the NPs. But unlike syntactic arguments, the PU is a pragmatic unit for which the word order is extremely sensitive.²²

- (58) a.* Cha-ka Yenghi-ka kocanna-ess-ta.
 car-NOM Y.-NOM break-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi’s car broke down.’
- b.* Yenghi-ka phal-ul Chelswu-lul ttalyli-ess-ta.
 Y.-NOM arm-ACC C.-ACC hit-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi hit Chelswu’s arm.’

There are several reasons, to believe that the GEN *-uy* case is ambiguous in relation to and not derived from a focus or topic motivation. First, a topic element can occur with the GEN case as in (59c) below.

- (59) a. Chelswu-ka etteh-tako?
 C.-NOM what-Q
 ‘What happened to Chelswu?’
- b. Chelswu-nun cha-ka kocangna-ss-e.
 C.-TOP car-NOM breakdown-PST-DEC
 ‘As for Chelswu, his car broke down.’
- c. Chelswu-uy cha-ka kocangna-ss-e.
 C.-GEN car-NOM breakdown-PST-DEC

²²See the FAH in the NP in (74) regarding the word orders. That is, ‘Possessor’ NP *Chelswu* must precedes ‘Possessed’ NP *phal* ‘arm’ in the MAC (58b), since possessors are lower in the focality hierarchy than possessee.

d.# Chelswu-ka cha-ka kocangna-ss-e.
 C.-NOM car-NOM breakdown-PST-DEC

(59a) is a question intended to elicit a predicate focus structure (PFS) answer, where ‘*Chelswu* is available as a topic for comment *x*’. And as shown, both the topic NUN-marked NP in (59b) and the GEN *uy*-marked NP in (59c) are acceptable. But the MNC in (59d) is not acceptable in this context.

As a second piece of evidence, it has long been noted that only the asserted part of an utterance can be interpreted as being negated, the presupposed part not being negated (Jackendoff 1972, Givon 1984). Accordingly, if a constituent can be negated in a conversational exchange, then it is a possible focus. This can be illustrated by the contrast between the GEN-marked NP in (60a) and the MNC as in (61a).

(60) a. Chelswu-uy tongsayng-i cwuk-ess-e.
 C.-GEN brother-NOM die-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu’s brother died.’ (*Chelswu* does not bear emphatic stress)

b.# Ani, Yenghi.
 No, Y.
 ‘No, Yenghi.’

(61) a. Chelswu-ka tongsayng-i cwuk-ess-e.
 C.-NOM brother-NOM die-PST-DEC
 ‘It is Chelswu whose brother died.’

b. Ani, Yenghi.
 No, Y.
 No, Yenghi.

The fact that this is an infelicitous exchange shows that *Chelswu-uy* cannot be negated, and therefore it is not a possible focus in (60) unless there is a strong emphatic stress on *Chelswu*.

By contrast, (61) shows it is a felicitous exchange; that is, we can deny the first NOM-marked NP *Chelswu* was the one who died by saying (61b) in this context.

It is also true that the GEN-marked NP position can serve as a focus element. That is, *wh*-words that are focal in nature can freely occur without causing any problem, which means that they can serve as NFSs. Consider (62) and (63) below. (62a) shows that the *wh*-word *nwukwu-uy* ‘whose’ occurs in the GEN position, and as noted by the two different English glosses, this sentence is ambiguous between the narrow focus question ‘whose’ and the indefinite-specific pronoun ‘someone’ of Yes-No question. In order to be an NFS (narrow focus structure), it seems necessary to have phonological coding (focal accent) on the *wh*-word *nwukwu-uy* ‘whose’ as indicated in (63). However, if we use an MNC as in (62b), then, the ambiguity disappears:

- (62) a. Nwukwu(-uy) cha-ka kocangna-ess-ni?
 whose car-NOM break-PST-Q
 ‘Did someone’s car break down?’
 ‘Whose car broke down?’
- b. Nwu-ka cha-ka kocangna-ess-ni?
 who-NOM car-NOM break-PST-Q
 ‘Whose car broke down.’
 ‘*Did someone’s car break down.’
- (63) a. Nwúkwu(-uy) cha-ka kocangna-ess-ni?
 whose car-NOM break-PST-Q
 ‘Whose car broke down?’
- b. Chélswu-uy cha-ka pwuseci-ess-eyo.
 whose car-NOM break-PST-DEC
 ‘It is Chelswu whose car broke down.’

This kind of ambiguity between the *wh*-question and the indefinite specific pronoun

is also reported in Van Valin & LaPolla (1997:616-619) regarding Lakhota.

- (64) Súka ki táku Ø-Ø-yax táka he?
 dog the what 3sgU-3sgA-bite Q
 ‘What did the dog bite?’ or ‘Did the dog bite something?’

Just like (62) above, the Lakhota example (64) is ambiguous between a ‘*wh*-question’ and a ‘Yes-No question’. But what is striking with respect to this example is that when this sentence is embedded in a noun phrase complement, in other words, the clause is embedded within a complex NP with a lexical head noun, the ambiguity disappears as illustrated in (65) below.

- (65) Wíchása ki [[Súka wa táku Ø-Ø-yax táke] ki le] wa-Ø-Ø-yáka he?
 man the dog a what 3sgU-3sgA-bite the this 3sgU-3sgA-see Q
 ‘Did the man see the dog which bit something?’
 ‘*What did the man see the dog which bit?’

It is a crucial piece of evidence that the embedded sentence is outside the PFD (potential focus domain), whereas (64) is inside of it.²³ That is to say, on account of being within the PFD, *táku* in (65) can be construed as either ‘what’ or ‘someone’ depending on the focus structure, but *táku* in (64) is always the indefinite-specific pronoun ‘something’ due to its

²³Interestingly, Korean analogs of the Lakhota examples seem to display the same kind behavior, which can be used as evidence to show that the notion of PFD also plays an important role in Korean complex sentences. For instance, in (1) below the word *mwuet* is ambiguous between a *wh* interpretation (interrogative pronoun) and indefinite-specific pronoun interpretation as indicated by the distinct English glosses. However, (2) in which the clause is embedded shows no ambiguity, but only the Yes-No question reading.

- (1) Yenghi-ka kekise mwuet-ul sa-ess-ni?
 Y.-NOM there what-ACC buy-PST-Q
 ‘What did Yenghi buy there?’ or ‘Did Yenghi buy something there?’
- (2) Ne-nun Yenghi-ka kekise mwuet-ul sa-nun ket-ul po-ass-ni?
 you-TOP Y.-NOM there what-ACC buy-REL thing-ACC see-PST-Q
 ‘Did you see Yenghi who bought something?’
 ‘*What did you see Yenghi who bought?’

being always outside the PFD.

Now turning to the Korean example (62), Korean use alternative grammatical codings in order to diminish considerably or to disambiguate the two aforementioned readings even within a simple sentence. This is done by case shifting from the semantic case GEN to the pragmatic case NUN, KA, and LUL depending on the discourse context. To see this, compare (66) to (67) below.

- (66) Chelswu-ka nwukwu(-uy) cha-lul kocanna-y-ess-ni?
C.-NOM who-GEN car-ACC break-CAUS-PST-Q
'Whose car did Chelswu break down?' or 'Did Chelswu break down someone's car?'
- (67) Chelswu-ka nwukwu-lul cha-lul kocanna-y-ess-ni?
C.-NOM who-ACC car-ACC break-CAUS-PST-Q
'Whose car did Chelswu break down?' (#'Did Chelswu break down someone's car?')

As seen in (66) the *wh*-word *nwukwu* 'who' occurs with the genitive, whereas in (67) it occurs with the neutral focus marker LUL so that although *nwukwu* in (66) can be interpreted as either the indefinite-specific pronoun 'someone' or the *wh*-word 'who', *nwukwu* in (67) can only be interpreted as the *wh*-word 'who'.

What all these examples together demonstrate is the fact that the Korean GEN *-uy* is assigned on the basis of the Direct Core Argument Linking Hierarchy: Undergoer > Actor in (39) in the case of deverbal nominals or other types of semantic relation such as possessor-possessed, Whole-Part, Class-Member, and so forth. In sum, the GEN-marked NP does not specifically bear any type of information unit, topic, or focus marking.

Next, let us discuss the issue of the MIU (Minimal Information Unit) that Lambrecht (1994) proposed to see whether or not the GEN-marked NP is entitled to be a focus or topic

This generalization is certainly true for Korean too. As illustrated in (69) above, the question (69a) can be answered by the full sentence *ppalkan ket-lul sa-ss-e* ‘(I) bought the red one’ or the full noun phrase *ppalkan cha* ‘the red car’ but not with the adnominal *ppalkan* ‘red’ alone. By comparison, take a look at the GEN construction in (69b), where what is questioned in this NFS is the GEN-marked NP, and as seen before, the NP *Chelswu* alone is enough to answer the question. In other words, the GEN-marked NP is entitled to be a PU of the clausal PFD, even though it is not a syntactic or semantic argument of the main verb. Every NP is within the scope of the potential focus domain in simple sentences.

To conclude this section, I first argued that the genitive NP can be the focus or topic due to its being a pragmatic unit of the PFD of a clause, even though it is not a syntactic or semantic argument of a verb. Second, because it is a pragmatic unit, the semantic GEN case can be shifted to a pragmatic case, such as the topic/focus marker NUN, KA, and LUL in table 1 depending on the type of focus structure.

4.4.2 The Case-Shifting of GEN to NUN/KA/LUL

In this section, I will first provide examples where the different types of focus structure lead to a preference for one sentence form over the others. Second, the ungrammatical sentence data in (8) and (9) which I provided in section 4.2 will be accounted for in terms of i) the ‘FAH’ constraint, and ii) ‘semantic bleeding’ through the pragmatic cases KA and LUL.

4.4.2.1 PFS, NFS and SFS in the GEN construction

In this subsection, the three basic focus structures introduced in chapter 2 are put to use in relation to the topic/focalization of the shifting of GEN to NUN/KA/LUL. As mentioned in section 4.4, the KA- or LUL-marked NP shifted from the genitive NP is a pragmatic unit which is entitled to be a distinct part of the focus structure.

As a first approximation, let us take into account the case-shifting of GEN to NUN. As I have indicated in table 1 about the ‘pragmatic values of NUN, KA, LUL’, NUN can either be the neutral topic marker or the contrastive focus marker.

(70) Predicate Focus Structure

(In an elementary school class)

- a Teacher: Chelswu-ya!, khokkili-ey tayhayse a-nun-ket-ul
 C.-VOC elephant-GEN about know-REL-thing-ACC
 mal-hay-pol-lay?
 tell-do-try-EXH
 ‘Chelswu!, can you tell me something you know about elephants?’
- b Chelswu: Khokkili-uy kho-ka kil-eyo. (CNCL)
 elephant-GEN nose-NOM long-DEC
 ‘Elephants’ nose are long.’
- c. Chelswu: Khokkili-nun kho-ka kil-eyo. (CSCL)
 elephant-TOP nose-NOM long-DEC
 ‘As for elephants, their nose are long.’
- d.# Chelswu: Khokkili-nún kho-ka kil-eyo.
 elephant-CONT nose-NOM long-DEC
- e.# Chelswu: Khokkili-ka kho-ka kil-eyo.
 elephant-NOM nose-NOM long-DEC
- f.# Chelswu: Khokkili-ká kho-ka kil-eyo.
 elephant-CONT nose-NOM long-DEC

(70’) Information Structure

- Sentence: *Khokkili-uy kho-ka kil-eyo.* or *Khokkili-nun kho-ka kil-eyo.*
 ‘Elephant’s nose are long’
- Presupposition: *Khokkili* (elephant) is available as a topic for comment x.
- Assertion: x = *khoka kilta* ‘nose are long’

Focus: *khoka kilta* ‘noses are long’
Focus domain: verb plus remaining preverbal NP(s)

(70a) is intended to elicit a PFS sentence response, and there are two acceptable answers, (70b) and (70c); the former is the GEN construction, and the GEN-marked NP ‘elephants’ is shifted to the neutral topic marker NUN in the latter. The three other sentences are not acceptable in the context. (70´) is the information structure that exhibits what is asserted (focus) and what is presupposed (or inactivated) in the context.

Here, the ‘CNCL’ means context neutral case linking, and the ‘CSCL’ context sensitive case linking. Basically, I assume that Korean has three different types of case linking ways: (i) CNCL (semantic case only), (ii) CSCL (case shifting to pragmatic cases), and (iii) case stacking (semantic case plus pragmatic case). With respect to the GEN, the third option never occurs. This could be explained as follows. “Given that [NP-GEN NP] is always one PU, the case stacking is ruled out, since each PU must be a distinct PU for case stacking to occur.”²⁵

(70c), which has the contrastive focus marker NUN, is not acceptable in this situation since it evokes a contrastive counterpart of some other kind of animal such as *kilin-un mok-i kil-eyo* ‘As for giraffes, their necks are long’. The neutral focus marker KA also cannot occur in this context because it involves a SFS. Finally, the contrastive focus marker KA plus the focal accent cannot occur in this context, due to the fact that it is used for NFS.

Here, a comparison between (70b) with the GEN-marked NP and (70c) with the NUN-marked NP needs to be noted. As mentioned in 4.4.1, the information status of the

²⁵Van Valin (personal communication).

GEN construction is ambiguous as to whether it is topic or focus. Therefore, the interpretation of this GEN-marked NP in terms of focus structure largely depends on context. Evidently, the question (70a) above presents the *khokkili* ‘elephant’ as the topic of the conversation, therefore, the GEN-marked NP *khokkili* of (70b) is now safely under the scope of the topic. Compared to (70b), the neutral focus NUN-marked NP *khokkili* of (70c) is informationally unambiguous; it is the topic marker of this PFS sentence.

As a second type of focus structure, let us take into consideration the following NFS sentence.

(71) Narrow Focus Structure
(In an elementary school class)

- a. Teacher: Chelswu-ya, etten tongmwul-i kho-ka ki-ni?
C.-VOC, which animal-NOM nose-NOM long-Q
‘Chelswu, which animal has a long nose?’
- b. Chelswu: Khokkili-uy kho-ka kil-eyo.(CNCL)
elephant-GEN nose-NOM long-DEC
- c. Chelswu: Khókkili-ka kho-ka kil-eyo.(CSCL)
elephant-NOM nose-NOM long-DEC
‘It is the elephant whose nose is long.’
- d. Chelswu: Khókkli-yo.
ELEPHANT.
- e.# Chelswu: Khokkili-nun/-nún kho-ka kil-eyo.
- f.? Chelswu: Khokkili-ka kho-ka kil-eyo.

- (71') Sentence: *Khokkili-ká kho-ka kil-eyo.*
Presupposition: *x*'s nose is long
Assertion: ‘*x*=elephant’
Focus: *khokkili* ‘elephant’
Focus domain: NP

(71a) is intended to elicit a NFS sentence response, and there appear to be three acceptable responses to this question. (71b) is the GEN construction, and as mentioned before, since it is informationally ambiguous it is not preferred although it is acceptable in this context. The two most preferable responses are (71c) and (71d); the former has the neutral focus KA along with the focal accent on the NP *khokkili-ka*, whereas the latter has the focal accent on the NP but no neutral focus marker KA. These two examples demonstrate that the focal accent is necessary to mark a NFS. As (71e) shows, both the neutral topic marker NUN and the contrastive focus marker NUN are not acceptable in this context. Finally, the neutral focus marker KA without the focal accent on it is low in its acceptability.

The third type of focus structure is the SFS as in (72).

(72) Sentence Focus Structure

(Five-year-old Chelswu went to a zoo yesterday for the first time, and he discovered that elephants have (really) long noses.)

- a Chelswu: Khokkili-ka kho-ka kil-eyo!
 elephant-NOM nose-NOM long-DEC
 ‘The elephant’s nose is long!’
- b.# Chelswu: Khokkili-nun/nún kho-ka kil-eyo.
- c.# Chelswu: Khókkili-ka kho-ka kil-eyo

- (72´) Sentence: *Khokkili-ka kho-ka kil-eyo.*
 Presupposition: none
 Assertion: ‘The elephant’s nose is long’
 Focus: ‘The elephant’s nose is long’
 Focus domain: clause

(72a) is uttered out of the blue in a surprising manner, and the neutral focus marker KA on *khokkili* ‘elephant’ of (72b) is the most suitable response for this context. As shown in (72b), irrespective of neutral or contrastive use, NUN is not felicitous in this context. Finally, the neutral focus marker is a marker on which the focal accent is not acceptable

either. The information structure in (72') tells us that in the context of (72) there is nothing presupposed (or activated) before the utterance, and the whole sentence is now under the AFD of the SFS.

By and large, these kinds of topic/focus structures which account for the case- shifting of GEN to NUN/KA/LUL can account for all the aforementioned grammatical and acceptable sentences in (8) and (9). That is to say, the following GEN NPs can be shifted to NUN or KA in state verb sentences, the alienable possessor NP *Chelswu* in (8.2); the Whole-NP *mikkwuk* 'America' in (8.3); the theme NP *kenmwul* 'building' in (8.4); the recipient or agent NP *Yenghi* in (8.5); and the locative NP *Seoul-eyse* 'in Seoul'. The following GEN NPs can be shifted to LUL in non-state verb sentences: the possessor NP *Yenghi* in (9.1); the Whole-NP *mikkwu* 'America' in (9.3); the theme NP *kenmwul* 'building' in (9.4); the recipient NP *Yenghi* in (9.4); finally, the locative NP *Seoul-eyse* 'in Seoul'.

With respect to the unacceptable sentences in (8) and (9), they can roughly be grouped into two types: one that concerns thematic roles which are closely bound to the 'FAH', and the other that concerns semantics values such as the 'exclusiveness' for KA and the 'affectedness' for LUL. Let us go over these two types of examples in that order.

4.4.2.2 Pragmatic constraints: The Focality Accessibility Hierarchy

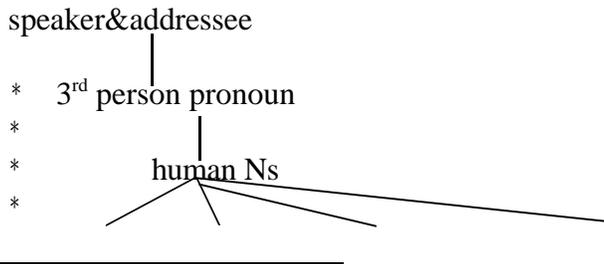
In this subsection, I am going to investigate six unacceptable sentences among ten of them. There could be grouped as follows in terms of types of constraints they involve.

Table 2	Group A: FAH constraint (8.7b);(8.8b); (9.8b);(9.9b)	Group B: Semantic bleeding constraint (8.3c); (8.5b) of the agent; (9.2b); (9.3c); (9.5b); (9.7b)
---------	--	---

Group A includes the directional NP *Seoul-lo* ‘to Seoul’ in (8.7b), and in (9.8b); the frequency adverb NP *yeylepen* ‘many times’ in (8.8b), and (9.9b). The unacceptable sentences in Group B will be dealt with in the next section, the ‘semantic bleeding’.

In order to account for the unacceptability of the sentences in Group A, it is necessary for us to draw on the ‘FAH,’ that I proposed in chapter 3 and reproduce here for the sake of convenience.

(73) The Focality Accessibility Hierarchy (FAH) in the clause²⁶



²⁶For justification of this hierarchy see chapter 2. The basic idea of this hierarchy is that there is a ‘pure’ lexical content hierarchy among PUs. And this dimension corresponds roughly to proposed “animacy hierarchy” in Van Valin & Wilkins (1994) and “Silverstein’s hierarchy” in Silverstein (1981).

For instance, in (75), although true that the speaker *na* ‘I’ is the lowest-ranking PU in the hierarchy, the topic of the sentence is *Chelswu*, not *na* ‘I’ due to the outside context at hand.

- (75) a. Chelswu-to ne-lul ttayli-ess-ni?
 C.-too you-ACC hit-PST-DEC
 ‘Did Chelswu hit you, too?’
- b. Chelswu-nun na-lul ttayli-ci an-h-ass-ta.
 C.-TOP I-ACC hit-CLM NEG-do-PST-DEC
 ‘As for Chelswu, he did not hit me.’

4.4.2.2.1 Goal and Frequency Adverb

Armed with the knowledge of these hierarchies, then let us return to the previously unacceptable sentences in the Group A above. The unacceptability of those sentences in Group A will be accounted for in terms of the FAH: the directional and the frequency adverb are considerably most focal (or least topical) in their inherent lexical hierarchy such that it is unlikely or unacceptable that those NPs become focus-marked in order to parallel the less focal (or more topical) NPs which are their head nouns, e.g. *penkay* ‘lightning’ in (8.8b) and (9.9b).

What this means is that only less focal (or more topical) PU can form the MNC and MAC, as the following ‘FAH constraint on the MNC and the MAC’ in Korean reads as in (76):

- (76) 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 the focus structure of the sentence regardless of whether it is

a syntactic argument or not.

There are three important implications of (76). First, KA and LUL are focus markers in the sense that they mark a more topical element which is closer to the sentence-initial position (the unmarked topic position) as having the same status as the focus element that is closer to the immediately pre-verbal position. Second, when PUs are marked by an identical series of focus markers such as KA and LUL, then there is no other way except through linear word order that they can preserve their original inherent lexical place in the focality hierarchy. Third, as a result of the second implication, the more focal element cannot precede less focal elements in the word order if it is marked by identical pragmatic case markers. Fourth, particularly with respect to (76b), I propose the notion of ‘**pragmatic peak**’, which means the lowest ranking PU (according to the FAH) in the PFD of a clause.²⁷

This linear order constraint of the MNC and MAC can be seen in the unacceptability of the examples below in all their permutations which are paraphrased from (8) and (9).

- | | | | |
|--------|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (8.1c) | #Kho-ka
nose-NOM
‘Elephants’ noses are long.’ | khokkili-ka
elephant-NOM | kil-ta.
long-DEC |
| (8.2c) | #Cha-ka
car-NOM
‘Chelswu’s car is pretty.’ | Chelswu-ka
C.-NOM | yeyppu-ta.
pretty-DEC |
| (8.3c) | #Ttang-i
land-NOM
‘America’s land is big.’ | mikwuk-i
America-NOM | khu-ta.
big-DEC |

²⁷For actual instances of this notion see chapter 7.4.3 example (52-53).

- (8.4c) #Chelke-ka kenmwul-i sicak-toy-ess-ta.
demolition-NOM building-NOM begin-PASS-PST-DEC
'The destruction of the building has begun.'
- (8.5c) #Kulim-i Yenghi-ka tochak-toy-ess-ta.
picture-NOM Y.-NOM arrive-PASS-PST-DEC
'Yenghi's picture is arrived.'
- (8.6c) #Ciphoy-ka Seoul-eyse-ka chwuyso-toy-ess-ta.
convocation-NOM S.-LOC-NOM cancel-PASS-PST-DEC
'The convocation in Seoul was canceled.'
- (9.1c) #Chelswu-ka son-ul Yenghi-lul cap-ass-ta.
C.-NOM hand-ACC Y.-ACC catch-PST-DEC
'Chelswu held Yenghi's hand.'
- (9.2c) #Chelswu-ka chak-ul tongsayng-ul peli-ess-ta.
C.-NOM book-ACC brother-ACC throw-PST-DEC
'Chelswu threw out his brother's book.'
- (9.3c) #Chelswu-ka ttang-i mikwuk-i khu-tako sayngkakha-ta.
C.-NOM land-NOM America-NOM big-CLM think-DEC
'Chelswu thinks that America's land is big.'
- (9.4c) #Salamtul-i chelke-lul kenmwul-ul sicakha-ess-ta.
people-NOM demolition-ACC building-ACC begin-PST-DEC
'The people began the demolition of the building.'
- (9.5c) #Chelswu-ka kulim-ul Yenghi-lul ponay-ess-ta.
C.-NOM picture-ACC Y.-ACC send-PST-DEC
'Chelswu sent Yenghi's picture.'
- (9.6c) #Cengpwu-ka cipwoy-lul Seoul-ul chwuysoha-ess-ta.
government-NOM convocation-ACC S.-ACC cancel-PST-DEC
'The government canceled the Seoul convocation.'
- (9.7c) #Chelswu-ka kongkyek-ul cekkwun-ul mak-ass-ta.
C.-NOM attack-ACC enemy-ACC defend-PST-DEC
'Chelswu defended us against the enemy's attack.'

Only two types of PUs in the data in (8) and (9), i.e. the goal *kohyang-ulo* 'for hometown' and the frequency adverb *yeylepen* 'many times', can occur after the head nouns

with the important caveat that, in these sentences, the PP *kohyang-ulo* ‘for hometown’ in (8.7c) and the ADV *yeylepen* ‘many times’ in (8.8c) can no longer be treated as ones that are case-shifted from their otherwise correspondent GEN-marked NPs.

(8.7c) Kicha-ka [kohyang-ulo ka-nun ket]-i chwulpalha-ess-ta.²⁸
 train-NOM hometown-for go-REL thing-NOM depart-PST-DEC
 ‘As for trains, one that is for (my) hometown departed.’

(8.8c) Penkay-ka yeylepen-i chi-ess-ta.
 lightning-NOM anytime-NOM strike-PST-DEC
 ‘The lightning struck many times.’

(9.8c) Chelwu-ka kicha-lul [kohyang-ulo ka-nun ket]-ul tha-ss-ta.
 C.-NOM train-ACC [hometwon-for go-REL thing]-ACC get-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelwu got on the train that is headed for (his) hometown.’

(9.9c) Chelwu-ka cenhwa-lul yeylepen-ul kel-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM phone-ACC many.time-ACC make-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelwu made phone calls many times.’

4.4.2.3 Semantic Bleeding

The sentences in Group B in table 2 represented in the previous section 4.4.2.2 involve the second type of constraint, i.e., semantic constraints that may prevent case-shifting from (otherwise) forming the MNC and MAC. These are ‘exclusiveness’ and ‘affectedness’,

²⁸The following sentence is less preferable although not unacceptable.

(1) Kicha-ka kohyang-ulo-ka chwulpalha-ess-ta.
 train-NOM hometown-for-NOM depart-PST-DEC
 ‘As for trains, one that is for (my) hometown departed.’

Furthermore, it is important to point out that the NP-complement sentence in (8.7c) differs from the usual relative sentence in (2).

(2) [Kohyang-ulo ka-nun] kicha-ka chwulpalha-ess-ta.
 hometown-for go-REL train-NOM depart-PST-DEC
 ‘The train that is bound to (my) hometown departed.’

summarized in table 3 below.

Table 3 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		-	-	<i>lul(-state)</i>

There are several things to point out in table 3. First, as indicated above, ‘nun’, ‘ka’, and ‘lul’ have different grammatical areas which determine their use. Second, there is ‘semantic bleeding’ through (or semantic interference with) pragmatics. That is to say, 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 the NP is in the AFD. Third, however, as I set forth in chapter 3 in the ‘Two Case Layers’ hypothesis, these two cases (semantic and pragmatic) are NOT mapped (or linked) onto the syntactic representation in a ‘once and for all’ fashion. As we will see in abundance in next chapter 5, ‘Case Stacking’, the semantic case is always assigned first to the NP, and then pragmatic cases come later with a special relationship to outside contexts.

Examples pertaining to the category are in (8.3c), (8.5b), (9.2b), (9.3c), (9.5b) and (9.7b). I have reproduced them below for the sake of convenience.

- (8.3c) *Mikwuk-i Alaska-ka khu-ta.
 America-NOM Alaska-NOM big-DEC
 ‘America’s Alaska is big.’
- (8.5b) *Yenghi-ka kulim-i tochakha-ess-ta.
 Y.-NOM picture-NOM arrive-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi’s picture arrived.’ (If Yenghi is the one who drew the picture.)
- (9.2b) *Chelswu-ka tonsayng-ul chak-ul peli-ess-ta.
 C.-NOM brother-ACC book-ACC throw-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu threw (his) brother’s book.’
- (9.5b) * Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul kulim-ul ponay-ess-ta.
 C.NOM Y.-ACC picture-ACC send-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu sent a picture to Yenghi.’
- (9.7b) * Chelswu-nun/-ka cekwun-ul kongkyek-ul mak-ass-ta.
 C.-TOP/NOM enemy-ACC attack-ACC defend-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu defended the enemy’s attack.’

As for the ungrammatical sentence in (8.3c), H-M Shon (1986:194) claims that:

“[t]he reason that *ka/i* is not accepted in (38)[=(8.3c) in my example] is, however, due to the tenacious semantic content of the particle, i.e. exclusiveness. If *ka/i* were a pure subject marker without exclusiveness meaning, there would be no reason why (38) with *i* should not be acceptable. Since Alaska is nowhere else except in America, there is no point to exclusively specify America in order to describe the largeness of Alaska. We can say *mikwuk-i ttang-i khu-ta* ‘it is America whose land is big’ or ‘America has a big land’ because land exists in any country.” In order to account for these contrast, he proposed the following chart.

(77)		<i>ka/i</i>		(n)un
	theme relevance	+		+

case sensitivity	+	-
contrastiveness	-	+
exclusiveness	+	-

From the observation, I would claim that the unacceptability of (8.5b), (9.2b), (9.5b) and (9.7b) stems from the (tenacious) semantic interference of ‘affectedness’ that the *lul* (-state) and the *ka* (+state) have on the semantic case layer: that is, the application of the semantic ‘affectedness’ of *lul* to an NP bleeds (or deprives) the application of pragmatic ‘focus’ LUL although the NP is in the AFD.

At this point, it is extremely important to point out that we cannot say that ‘ka’ and ‘lul’ have only the semantic content like ‘exclusiveness’, ‘actorhood’, ‘affectedness’, and ‘undergoerhood’. This is so because it is also true that if an NP occurs in a clear-cut topic position, then KA for the state verb sentences and LUL for non-state verb sentences cannot co-occur even though they have the aforementioned semantic content.

The first kind of evidence comes from *wh*-words, that is, we cannot form into a question the second NPs in the MNC and the MAC by using a *wh*-word as illustrated below.

(8.1b) (i) Kkokkili-ka kho-ka kil-ta.
 elephant-NOM nose-NOM long-DEC
 ‘Elephants’ nose is long.’

(ii) Kkokkili-uy/*-ka eti-ka kil-ni?
 elephant-GEN/-NOM which-NOM long-Q
 ‘Which part of elephants is long?’

(9.1b) (i) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul son-ul cap-ass-ta.
 C.-NOM Y.-ACC hand-ACC hold-PST-DEC
 ‘Chelswu held Yenghi on the hand.’

(ii) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-uy/*-lul mwe-lul cap-ass-ni?
 C.-NOM Y.-GEN/-ACC what-ACC hold-PST-DEC

‘Which part of Yenghi did Chelswu hold?’

The unacceptability of (8.1.b.ii) and that of (9.1.b.ii) proves that although they are not in conflict with the semantic content of ‘ka’ and ‘lul’, they cannot occur in the non-focus (topic) domain because *wh*-words are inherently focal. This is a kind of Gricean explanation for this marking the possessor with KA or LUL signals that it is the main focus of the clause, which conflicts with the *wh*-word, which must be the primary focal element in the question.

The second kind of evidence has to do with the nuclear negation maker *an* ‘NEG’ in Korean as presented below.

- (78) Khokkili-uy/-??ka kho-ka an **kil**-ta.
elephant-GEN/-NOM nose-NOM NEG long-DEC
‘Elephants’ nose is not long.’
- (79) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-uy/-??lul son-ul an **cap**-ass-ta.
C.-NOM Y.-GEN/-ACC hand-ACC NEG held-PST-DEC
‘Chelswu did not hold Yenghi on the hand.’

(78) demonstrates that although there is a possessor and a possessee relationship between *khokkili* ‘elephant’ and *kho* ‘nose’ which could otherwise sanction the desired MNC, it is awkward, if not unacceptable due to the fact that the focus (the scope of the negation) is now on the final verb *kil*- ‘long’ such that the neutral focus marker KA cannot occur in this topic position. In a similar vein, (79) shows that although there is a clear sense of the ‘affectedness’ meaning between *Yenghi* and *son* ‘hand’, it is unacceptable in this sentence because the focus of this sentence is on the final verb *cap*- ‘held’.

In addition, the following alternative sentences of these MNC and the MAC are also

Both (82) and (83) display inalienable possession constructions. However, (82a,b) which are ‘result state verb sentences’, show that the case-shifting from genitive to KA is acceptable. In contrast, (83a,b) which are causative accomplishment verb sentences, show that the desired case-shifting from genitive to LUL for the purpose of focus structure is constrained. This contrast tells us that the constraints in (83b) do not necessarily stem from the semantic dichotomy between alienable vs. inalienable possession, (if so (82b) should be unacceptable too), but the different semantic association expressed in figure 5.

Finally, one very important fact, which will be stated in more detail in chapter 5.3.3 ‘Case Stacking’, to point out with regard to the semantic constraints is that they apply to only case-shifting, not to case-stacking, in which only pragmatic cases, NUN/KA or LUL, can be stacked at the outermost position of a PU. This is so, because the relevant semantics are carried out through the preceding semantic case layer, the stacking would have purely pragmatic (i.e. focus or topic) implication.

4.4.3 The Formal Representation of GEN to NUN/KA/LUL

In the two previous two sections, I have made three important claims. First, the GEN-marked NP is a pragmatic unit that is eligible for a focal or a topical constituent within the focus structure irrespective of its syntactic argumenthood. Second, NUN, KA, and LUL are used not only for the semantic case but also for pragmatic case. Third, the case-shifting of GEN to NUN/KA/LUL are a kinds of topic/focalization from the semantic case layer to the

pragmatic case layer.

In what follows, the actual case linking algorithm from the semantic GEN case to the pragmatic NUN/KA /LUL cases will be presented based on the proposal ‘Two case layers’ in chapter 3 within the RRG framework.

4.4.3.1 The Case Linking Algorithm for ‘GEN to NUN/KA/LUL’

4.4.3.1.1 The Layered Structure of the topic/focalization of GEN to NUN/KA/LUL

RRG (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997) adopts three grammatical projections in its syntax: constituent, operator, and focus structure projections respectively. These three grammatical projections start from the LS of the verb and link them to the three projections either in a bottom-up (semantics → syntax) or a top-down (syntax → semantics) fashion. Partly due to the focus of this dissertation, I will only concentrate on the first type of the linking algorithm (semantics → syntax).

A formal representation of (84) below shows how these three projections are.⁴⁰ These three grammatical structure projections are all linked from the LS by applying the linking algorithm which was introduced in chapter 2, section 2.3.2 for semantic cases, and chapter 3, section 3.4.2 for pragmatic case (preliminary). We can assume that the LS carries all the relevant constituent, operator, and focus structure information which is mapped onto the formal representation of the sentence. It is important to note at this preliminary stage that all three grammatical projections, that is, the constituent, the operator, and the focus structure projection, overlap on the same lexical string.

⁴⁰The operator projection is not represented here due to its being irrelevant to the issues at hand.

- (86) **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 (86.3aii)
 - c. If it is a NFS
 - i) apply (86.3aii) and assign focal accent to the PU in the AFD.

Let us briefly discuss the semantic and pragmatic case linking of the sentence in (84).

To formulate the LS of the verb *kil-* 'be long', several things need to be noted. First, syntactically, the verb *kil-* 'be long' is an one-place state verb due to the sole argument (*khokkili, kho*) 'elephants' nose'. Second, the semantic relation between *khokkili* 'elephant' and *kho* 'nose' is inalienable possession, and *kho* 'nose' is the head of the NP. Third, semantically, the predicate *kil-* 'long' is attributive. Based on these observations, its LS would be something similar to [**be'** ([**have.as.part'** (*khokkili, kho*)], [**long'**])].

As for semantic case linking, first, according to (85.1a), the sole macrorole argument (*khokkili, kho*) 'elephant's nose' is an undergoer because the LS of the verb *kil-* 'be long' is

a state predicate. And the highest ranking macrorole, in this case, the sole macrorole (undergoer), (*khokkili, kho*) ‘elephant’s nose’ takes nominative case. (85.1b&c) do not apply because there is no other argument. Finally, since the sub-LS, **have.as.part** (*khokkili, kho*), is now in the NP, (85.2) should apply, and according (86.2a) the single core_N argument *khokkili* ‘elephant’ takes genitive case. And as the head noun of this NP is not a deverbal nominal, (86.2b) does not apply.

In regard to pragmatic case linking, the sentence in (84) chooses the context neutral case linking (CNCL), that is, semantic cases only. As a result, any of the pragmatic case linking rules in (86) do not apply.

To compare CNCL (semantic cases only) with CSCL (semantic and pragmatic cases), the three basic focus structures that I have dealt with in section 4.4.2.1 will be reproduced here in order to display their case linking algorithms: the PFS sentence (70c), the NFS sentence (71c), and the SFS sentence (72a) respectively.

(87=70c) Predicate Focus Structure

Khokkili-nun kho-ka kil-eyo.
 elephant-TOP nose-NOM long-DEC
 ‘As for elephants, their nose is long.’

(88=71c) Narrow Focus Structure

Khókkili-ka kho-ka kil-eyo.
 elephant-NOM nose-NOM long-DEC
 ‘It is elephants whose noses are long.’

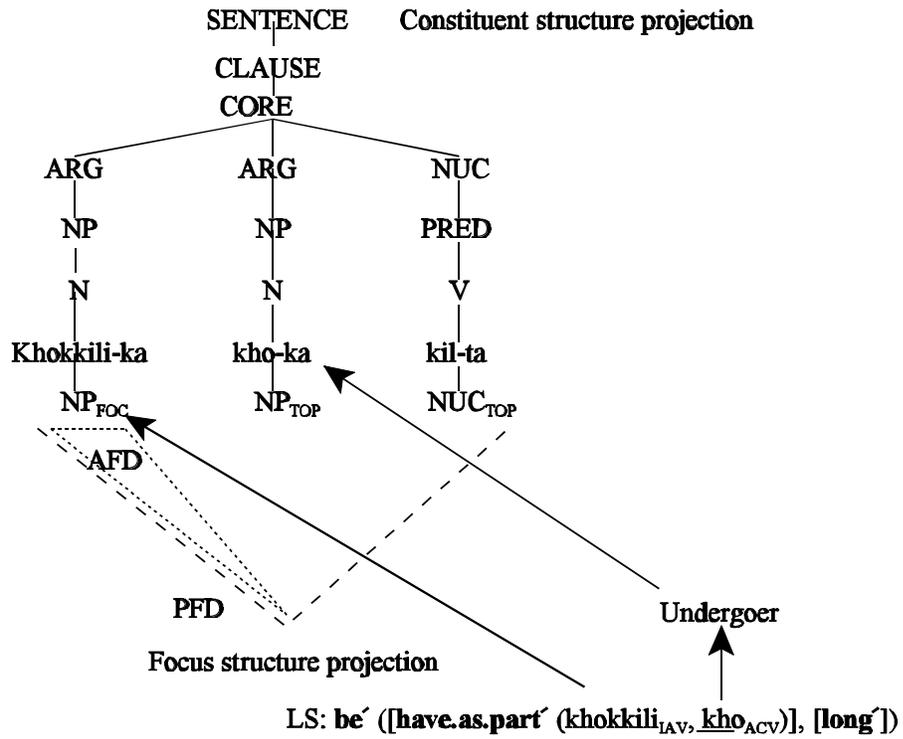
(89=72a) Sentence Focus Structure

Khokkili-ka kho-ka kil-eyo.

elephant-NOM nose-NOM long-DEC
'Elephants' noses are long.'

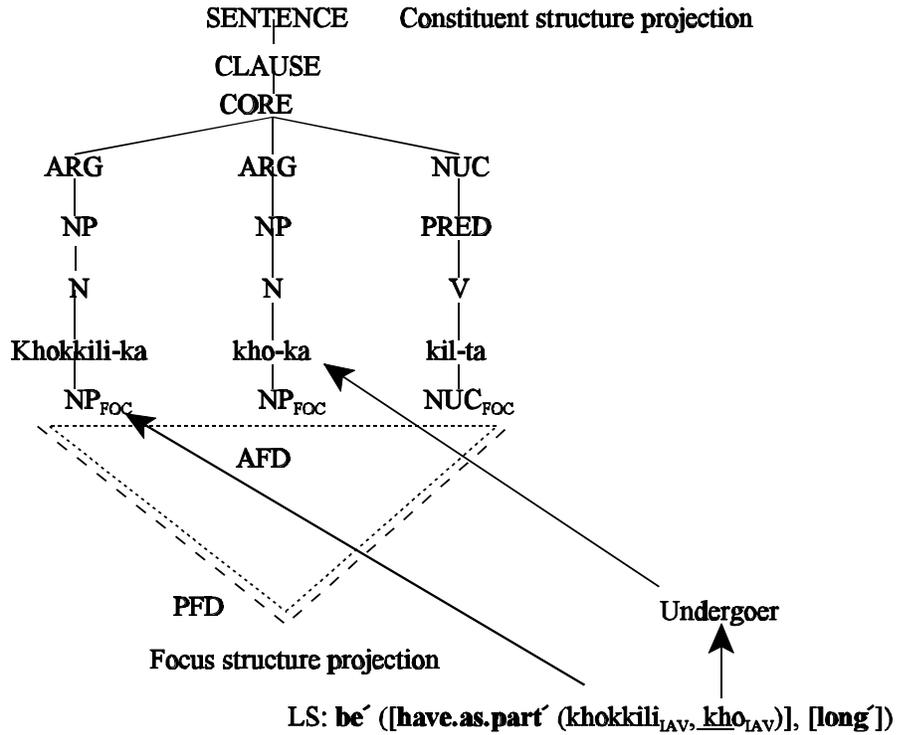
Let us discuss (87), a PFS, first. The semantic case linking follows the steps in (85). In the semantic case marking rules in (85), according to (85.2a), the sole macrorole argument (*khokkili*, *kho*) takes nominative, but other rules in (85) do not apply because there is no other arguments. Let us turn to the pragmatic case linking rules in (86). To determine (87)'s focus structure, there are two things to recall. First, the first PU *khokkili* 'elephant' is now the topic of this PFS. Second, the remaining PUs of the sentence besides *khokkili* 'elephant' are now under the AFD. In contrast, the sentence in (88) is a NFS, where the first NP *kkhokkili* is the only PU in the AFD. Finally, the sentence in (89) is a SFS, where all PUs are in the AFD. Based on these observations we propose the following formal representation of these three sentences as follows.

(91) The Formal representation of the layered structure of the NFS sentence (88)



By contrast, since the sentence in (91) is a NFS, the pragmatic case linking applies according to (86.3ci). According to it, the only focal PU *khokkili* ‘elephant’ is assigned the neutral focus marker KA in (91).

(92) Formal representation of the layered structure of the SFS sentence (89)



Finally, since the sentence in (92) is a SFS, (86.3bi) applies. According to it, the two PUs, *khokkili* ‘elephant’ and *kho* ‘nose’ can be assigned by the neutral focus marker KA, but as said, the second case linking option (case-stacking) for the PSA *kho* ‘nose’ is prohibited.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated the Korean GEN construction in relation to types of focus structure. I have made the following claims. First, a GEN-marked NP is eligible for being a pragmatic unit (PU) which is a minimal information unit at the clausal level which can be a focus or topic element within the PFD in a clause. Second, the case-shifting of GEN to NUN/KA/LUL is a shift from semantic case to pragmatic case. Third, the shifted cases such

as NUN, KA and LUL are all pragmatic cases which are sensitive to different types of focus structure. Fourth, the ‘Focality Accessibility Hierarchy (FAH)’ is necessary to account fully for the extent to which certain types of PUs have higher degrees of salience than other types of PUs in forming the multiple KA and LUL constructions: 1) the lowest-ranking PU based on the FAH, regardless of its syntactic argumenthood, receive a pragmatic case; 2) the word order of the MNC and MAC must conform to the FAH. Fifth, there is ‘semantic bleeding’ (or ‘semantic interference’) which prevents the certain uses of the pragmatic case markers, KA and LUL: the semantic content ‘exclusiveness’ of *ka*, or ‘affectedness’ of *lul* may bleed the application of the pragmatic case marker KA or LUL. Finally, I have proposed the ‘case linking algorithm’ which starts from GEN to NUN/KA/LUL in accordance to my ‘Two Case Layers’ Hypothesis which I have proposed in chapter 3 within an RRG framework.