

So-called Double Object Constructions in Korean: With Special Attention to Syntactic Causative Pattern*

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1. Introduction

Case markers in Korean have been generally assumed to represent grammatical relations (GR), or grammatical functions in traditional terms, at the surface level. It follows from this assumption that nominative markers and accusative markers encode GRs such as subject and object of the nominals which bear those markers. Accordingly, sentences are apt to be analyzed as double object constructions (DOC), if they contain two consecutive nominals attached with an accusative marker, supposing that the sentences in question are monoclausal. Below are some possible cases of DOCs.¹

- (1) John-i enehak-ul kongpwu-lul ha-n-ta.
 -N linguistics-A study-A do-PRES
 'John studies linguistics.'

* The earlier versions of this paper were orally presented at the 7th International Conference on Korean Linguistics held at Osaka, Japan and at the winter seminar of Linguistic Society of Korea held on Feb. 1, 1991. This paper, including two slightly different versions, is roughly equivalent to the synopsis of my doctoral dissertation (K. Lee 1991) in some sense.

The Yale romanization system is adopted for the transcription of Korean and the abbreviations in this paper are the followings:

N = Nominative	A = Accusative
DAT = Dative	G = Genitive
H = Honorific	CAUS = Causative
P = Predicate	PRES = Present Tense
PAST = Past Tense	PL = Plural
CP = Complementizer	SE = Sentence Ender
RC = Relative Clause	PASS = Passive Marker
TOP = Topic Marker	

¹ I will call the given structures *ha-ta* pattern, ditransitive pattern, syntactic causative pattern, lexical causative pattern, and possessor ascension pattern in the order given in numbers.

- (2) John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CP do-PAST
 'John made Sue read the book.'
- (3) John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A give-PAST
 'John gave Mary a book.'
- (4) Emeni-ka ai-lul sakwa-lul mek-i-si-n-ta.
 mother-N child-A apple-A eat-CAUS-H-PRES
 'The mother feeds the child an apple.'
- (5) Kay-ka haksayng-ul tali-lul mwul-ess-ta.
 dog-N student-A leg-A bite-PAST
 'The dog bit the student on the leg.'

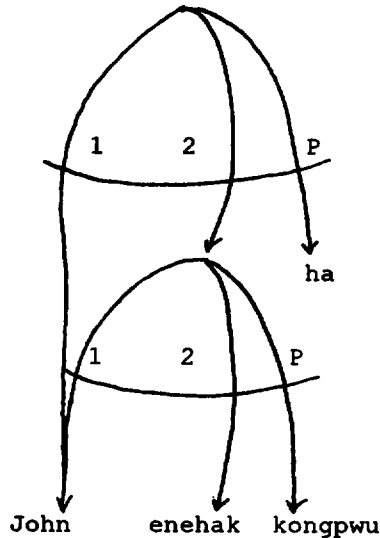
In K. Lee (1988, 1990, 1991), a biclausal structure has been proposed for the *ha-ta* pattern of example in (1). The fundamental aims there were to show that sentences like (1) are biclausal even though their surface structures look simple, because they are disguised due to unrevealed morphological circumstances, and to claim that the *ha-ta* pattern, which has been suggested as an instance of DOCs by B. Park (1981), consequently does not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law (SUL), which allows no stratum to contain more than one 1-arc, one 2-arc, or one 3-arc. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to look for further possibilities to extend the Biclausal Analysis, proposed for the *ha-ta* pattern of (1) in K. Lee (1988, 1990, 1991), to DOCs of the other patterns given above.

In this paper, the Biclausal Analysis is applied to the syntactic causative pattern of example (2) among the constructions given above, and it is also shown what characteristics both of the patterns (1) and (2) share and how different the remainder of the patterns exemplified are from the ones in (1) and (2). Further, it is discussed that the acceptance of the Biclausal Analysis for the syntactic causative pattern affect the case marking system being practiced within Relational Grammar (RG) studies in terms of simplicity based on 'markedness'. The RG framework of Perlmutter and Postal (1974, 1977, 1983, 1984, etc.) is assumed, and any discussion directed to direct comparison between analyses relying on different frameworks is avoided throughout this paper.

2. *Ha-ta* Pattern

A biclausal structure depicted below has been proposed for the analysis of sentences like (1) in K. Lee (1988, 1990, 1991).

(6)



K. Lee claims that *kongpwu* 'study' in (1=6) is a verb, a predicate in RG terms, not a noun, and that the clause [*John-i enehak-ul kongpwu*] is embedded as a direct object (DO) into a matrix clause [*John-i ha-n-ta*]. The sequence of the two accusative case markers in (1), therefore, is the duely expected consequence, because clauses can be also attached with case markers in Korean. That is, the two consecutive accusative markers are the mere representations of the DO of the embedded verb *kongpwu* and the matrix verb *ha*, respectively.² The motivations of the Biclausal Analysis of the *ha-ta* pattern follow from the fact that the verb *ha* takes a DO, and that a clause can also serve as a DO in Korean.

3. Syntactic Causative Pattern

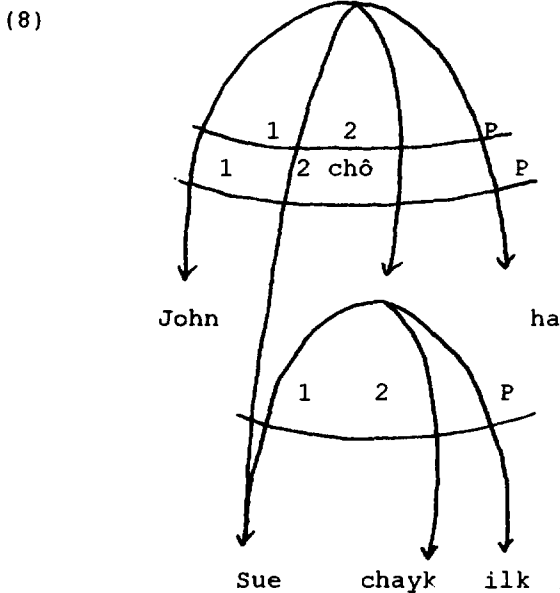
² See K. Lee (1988, 1990, 1991) for the discussion and arguments.

In this section, the Bicausal Analysis is applied to the syntactic causative pattern (example 2), and an appropriate account for the alternations of the case markers of the pivot nominal³ (i.e., causee nominal) is provided. Further, the syntactic causative pattern is compared with the *ha-ta* pattern to show that the two patterns share the same bicausal characteristics.

3.1. Bicausal Structure of the Syntactic Causative Pattern

To conclude first, the application of the Bicausal Analysis of the *ha-ta* pattern to the sentence of (2=7) yields the structure in which the pivot nominal *Sue* is raised to the 2 of the matrix clause from the 1 of the embedded clause. Accordingly, the stratal diagram of (7) is (8).⁴

(7=2) John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CP do-PAST
 'John made Sue read a book.'



³ I will adopt the neutral term 'pivot nominal' rather than 'causee nominal' in this paper.

⁴ I omit glosses for sentences which are repeated frequently to save space.

The stratal diagram (8) shows that *Sue* and *chayk* 'book' in (7) get accusative markers because *Sue* assumes a final 2-relation in the matrix clause through 'Subject-to-Object Raising' (SOR) and *chayk* a final 2-relation in the embedded clause.

3.2. Against Monoclausal Analyses

Although there have been a handful of monoclausal analyses, it seems to have been generally agreed that the syntactic causative sentences under consideration are biclausal in their structures (e.g., B. Park 1972, Patterson 1974, Y. Kang 1984, K. Park 1986, E. Cho 1987, 1988, and others).⁵ However, there is some controversy in accounting for the alternations of the case markers of the pivot nominal and the final clausal status of some related sentences. Before justifying the proposed analysis, I will briefly discuss monoclausal analyses, especially Gerdt's (1986) Clause Union Analysis. Let us first examine the following sentences:

- (9) a. John-i Sue-ka ttena-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N leave-CP do-PAST
 'John made Sue leave.'
- b. John-i Sue-lul ttena-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A leave-CP do-PAST
 'John made Sue leave.'
- (10) a. John-i Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-CP do-PAST
 'John made Sue read a book.'
- b. John-i Sue-eykey chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A read-CP do-PAST
 'John made Sue read a book.'

⁵ See Kuroda (1965), Kuno (1973), Harada (1973), Shibatani (1973), Tonoike (1978), Dubinsky (1985), and many others for the various analyses and discussion of the causative sentences in Japanese.

The above illustrated are causative counterparts of an intransitive clause, (9), and a transitive clause, (10), respectively. Claiming that syntactic causative sentences in Korean are initially biclausal but finally monoclausal, and following Perlmutter & Postal (1974) and Gibson & Raposo (1986), Gerdts (1986) proposes a Clause Union Analysis to account for sentences (9-10).⁶

In Perlmutter & Postal's theory of Clause Union, union constructions are biclausal at the initial stratum but every dependent of the downstairs clause assumes a GR in the upstairs clause, and, consequently, such constructions are monoclausal at the final stratum. The first stratum in the upstairs clause where the downstairs elements bear GRs is referred to as the Union Stratum. Regarding the GRs borne in the Union Stratum by the dependent elements, Perlmutter & Postal claim that (i) the P(predicate) of the complement clause bears the Union Relation (UR) in the Union Stratum, (ii) the final 1 of an intransitive stratum is revalued as a 2 in the Union Stratum, and (iii) the final 1 of a transitive stratum is revalued as a 3 in the Union Stratum. Gibson & Raposo (1986:328) have further proposed that other downstairs nominal elements are assigned GRs in accordance with the Inheritance Principle saying that if the Predicate in a complement clause *b* bears the Union GR in the main clause, then a nominal bearing a final GR_x in *b* bears the same GR_x or the Chô GR at the Union Stratum of the clause union construction.

Therefore, these Clause Union Laws predict that *Sue* is assigned an accusative case in (9b) because it is the final 2 of the matrix clause, that *Sue* is assigned a dative case in (10b) because it is the final 3 of the matrix clause, and that *chayk* is assigned an accusative case in (10b) because it inherits a 2-relation from the complement clause.⁷ However, these Clause Union Laws cannot take

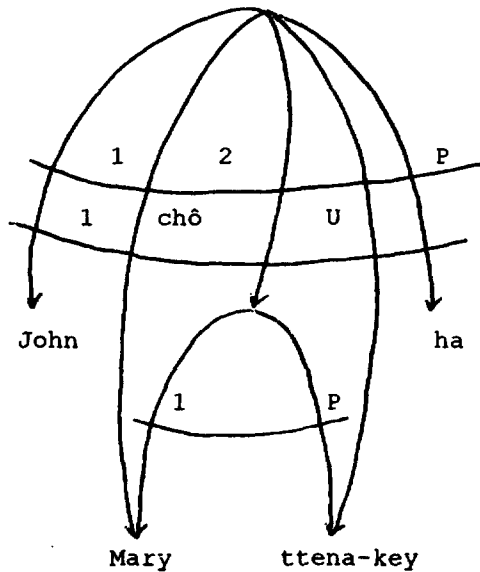
⁶ See Dubinsky (1985) for the Clause Union Analysis of Japanese causative constructions. Dubinsky follows the model from Davies and Rosen (1988) unlike Gerdts. Davies and Rosen's point is that the predicate can also be put en chmage so that the dependents of the embedded clause belong to the inner P-sector whereas the matrix predicate becomes a chmeur. Following Davies and Rosen, Dubinsky proposes the final monoclausal analysis of the causative constructions in Japanese. I will not discuss Dubinsky's analysis in this paper. See Chapter 5 in Dubinsky (1985) for a detailed discussion.

⁷ The nominal bearing a GR_x in the complement clause bears the Ch GR at the Union Stratum if there is a nominal bearing a same GR_x in the main clause. See Gibson & Raposo's (1986) for the details of the Inheritance Principle.

care of the sentences (9a) and (10a) at all. That is, *Sue*, the pivot nominal, remains as nominative in both cases, contrary to what the Clause Union Laws predict.

To remedy this, following Rosen (1983, 1984), Gerdts (1986) proposes that in Korean there is another type of Clause Union which does not allow the final 1 of the complement clause to undergo revaluation. Therefore, according to her, (9a) and (10a) are the causative sentences formed by Clause Union Without Revaluation whereas (9b) and (10b) are the ones formed by Clause Union With Revaluation. Thus, her analysis admits two different types of Clause Unions. At first glance, with these two Clause Unions, her analysis seems to provide a correct and proper account for the syntactic causative sentences. However, even putting aside other theoretical drawbacks pointed out by Dubinsky (1985:112-3),⁸ her analysis has a theory internal problem. That is, she allows an illegal *chômeur* which violates the *Chômeur Law* and the *Motivated Chômage Law*. Let us take a look at the following stratal diagram:

(11)



⁸ Dubinsky (1985:112-3) points out: (i) the formalization of clausal union introduces several very complicated but unmotivated definitions, (ii) the notion of U(nion) Relation, acquired by the embedded predicate in the matrix clause, is neither adequately explained nor independently motivated, (iii) for the GR supposedly borne by the embedded clause, there is nor direct evidence that the embedded clause actually bears a GR, nor evidence as to what that GR might be, (iv) the GR borne by the embedded clause (whatever it may be) disappears in the Union Stratum.

(11) is the stratal diagram of (9a) provided by Gerdts (1986). According to her, the final 1 of the downstairs clause is put en chômage in the Union Stratum because of the upstairs final 1. However, Perlmutter & Postal (1983:96, and elsewhere) clearly state that if some nominal, N_a , bears a given term relation in a stratum, c_j , and some other nominal, N_b , bears the same (term) relation in the following stratum (c_{j+1}), then N_a bears the chômeur relation in c_{j+1} . In other words, N_a and N_b should be in the relation of a predecessor and a successor in the sense of Johnson and Postal (1980) so that N_a can be put en chômage by N_b . Here, successor is the arc assuming a new GR but predecessor is the arc losing its GR and being put en chômage. This is the Chômeur Law.

However, the Chômeur Law does not seem to predict which nominal, the matrix 1 or the embedded 1, will be put en chômage. This follows from the fact that both nominals come into the Union Stratum together to get their final GRs. In other words, neither of them are predecessor nor successor in the strict sense. Nevertheless, the embedded subject is put en chômage simply by stipulation in Gerdts's analysis. Furthermore, chômeurs should exist only under the conditions described in the Chômeur Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1983c:91 and elsewhere). This is the Motivated Chômage Law. As examined above, even though one of the two nominals (the embedded 1 or the matrix 1) should be put en chômage somehow, there is no *a priori* reason that only the embedded subject should be put en chômage. This follows from the fact that the chômage of the embedded subject is not motivated by the Motivated Chômage Law. If the embedded subject is indeed a chômeur in the Union Stratum, then it must be an unmotivated or a spontaneous chômeur which is not permissible in the RG framework. Furthermore, the final chômage of the embedded subject in her analysis can be easily falsified by the fact that the pivot nominal can trigger Subject Honorification and Reflexivization which chômeurized subjects cannot trigger. This matter will be addressed in the later part of this section.

In addition to the theory internal inadequacies pointed out by Dubinsky and mentioned above, Gerdts's analysis seems not adequate in accounting for the empirical data, either. Consider the following sentences:

- (12) a. John-i Sue-eykey ttena-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -DAT leave-CP do-PAST
 'John made Sue leave.'

- b. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -A book-A read-CP do-PAST
 'John made Sue read a book.'

If her analysis and other analogous analyses based on Clause Union Hypothesis are correct, the sentences in (12) should be ungrammatical, but they are in fact grammatical. Notice that the Clause Union Laws predict that the final 1 of the intransitive downstairs clause should be revalued as a 2 and the final 1 of the transitive downstairs clause should be revalued as a 3. But this is not the case in (12). Rather, (12) shows an opposite case. For the reasons mentioned so far, I will therefore reject Gerdts's analysis.

Arguing against Gerdts's claim of the surfacial monoclausality of the syntactic causative sentences, within the Categorical Grammar framework, O'Grady (to appear) proposes that the above syntactic causative sentences, except (7=12b) and (9b), have a biclausal structure.⁹ I will not go over his analysis here. However, one thing should be noted since it is relevant to the current discussion. Let us turn to sentences (7) and (9b), repeated here as (13a,b), again.

- (13) a. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 b. John-i Sue-lul ttena-key ha-yess-ta.

Claiming that sentences in (13) are not biclausal but monoclausal, O'Grady accounts for the accusative case assigned to the pivot nominal, *Sue*, in (13) through SOR¹⁰ and a minor change in the lexical properties of *ha-ta*. However, if the sentences in (13) are indeed monoclausal, then the question arising next is how to account for sentences (14).

⁹ Categorical Grammar assumes only one structure, surface structure, unlike RG or GB. See O'Grady (to appear) for counter arguments to Gerdts's claims.

¹⁰ O'Grady's SOR is somewhat different from the SOR of the RG literature. However, I will not pursue this matter in this paper.

- (14) a. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key-lul hayessta.
 b. John-i Sue-lul ttena-key-lul ha-yess-ta.

In brief, he seems not to be able to account for the occurrence of the accusative marker between a complementizer *-key* and *-ha-ta* (a causative verb in his terms) as far as the above are monoclauses.

Rather, it seems worthy of note that clauses can be assigned case markers in Korean. Then, the embedded clause in the syntactic causative sentences would be also assigned an accusative marker because it serves as the DO of the verb *ha* within the proposed Biclausal Analysis. This prediction is borne out, as the sentences in (15) show:

- (15) a. John-i Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key-lul hayessta.
 b. John-i Sue-ka ttena-key-lul ha-yess-ta.

Further, note that it has been proposed in the previous section that the syntactic causative pattern results from the application of the SOR to the sentences like (10a). Consequently, it would be expected that the accusative marker assigned to the embedded clause in (15) is maintained with the syntactic causative pattern. And it is so, as shown in (14). As shown in (15) and (14), the accusative marker takes place between the embedded verb and the matrix verb. The proposed Biclausal Analysis is straightforward in accounting for this phenomenon. That is, the accusative marker appearing between the embedded verb and the matrix verb is the mere representation of the GR of DO that the embedded clause bears. This point will be again discussed in 3.4 in connection with the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern.

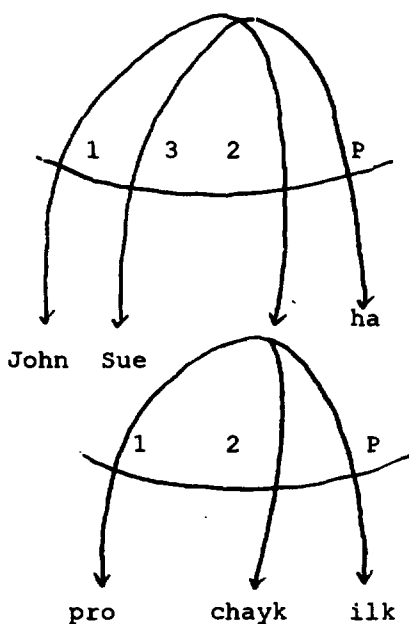
3.3. Biclausal Analysis

Assuming that the sentences in (16) will be assigned the surface constituent structures (17), E. Cho (1987, 1988)¹¹ proposes biclausal structures for those sentences and provides (18a-c) as the stratal diagrams of (16a-c), respectively.

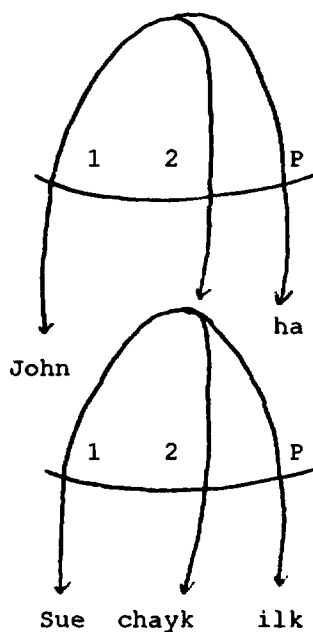
¹¹ Following Patterson (1974), E. Cho (1988), unlike E. Cho (1987), proposes a different underlying structure for (16c). He assumes that the subject of the complement clause of (16c) is a

- (16) a. John-i Sue-eykey chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 b. John-i Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 c. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
- (17) a. [John-i Sue-eykey [0 chayk-ul ilk-key]
 ha-yess-ta]
 b. [John-i [Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key] ha-yess-ta]
 c. [John-i Sue-lul [chayk-ul ilk-key] hayessta]

(18) a.

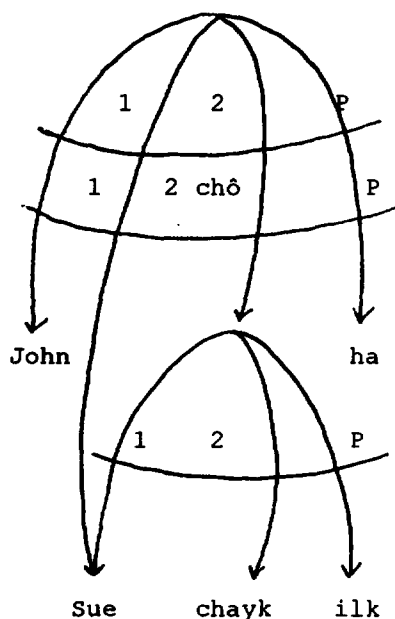


b.



phonologically null pronoun while the subject of the complement clause of (16a) is a phonologically overt pronoun. However, E. Cho's (1988) structure for (16c) violates the SUL because the pivot nominal and the complement clause take the same grammatical relation, i.e., 2-relation, at the same stratum (if it is translated into the RG framework). Therefore, I will just admit E. Cho (1987), not E. Cho (1988).

c.



According to him, the pivot nominal *Sue* in (16a) is assigned a dative case because it is the final 3 of the matrix clause, *Sue* in (16b) is assigned a nominative case because it is the final 1 of the embedded clause, and *Sue* in (16c) is assigned an accusative case because it is the final 2 of the matrix clause due to SOR. Thus, his analysis seems to provide an accurate account for the sentences in question, although he does not deal with the intransitive causatives.

The motivations for his analysis are the fact that *ha-ta* has two types of subcategorization (i.e., relational valences in RG terms) and the fact that there are sentences in which the embedded clause has a lexical subject, as in (19-20), respectively.

- (19) a. *ha* : V, ((SUBJ), (DIR. OBJ))
 Nay-ka swukcey-lul ha-yess-ta.
 I-N homework-A do-PAST
 'I did a homework.'

b. *ha* : V, ((SUBJ), (IND. OBJ), (DIR. OBJ))

Nay-ka Mary-eykey yok-ul ha-yess-ta.

I-N -DAT abuse-A do-PAST

'I slandered Mary.'

(20) Nay-ka Sue_i-eykey kunye_i-ka chayk-ul ilk-key

I-N -DAT her-N book-A read-CP

ha-yessta.

do-PAST

'I made her read a book.'

(19) shows that the verb *ha* can take an NP as its DO or two NPs as its indirect object and DO, and (20) shows that *ha* can also take a clause as its DO.

E. Cho (1987) provides several pieces of evidence as supporting arguments for his analysis. They are Passive argument, Object Honorific '*tuli-(ta)*' argument, and Time Adverb argument, all of which involve sensitivity to a clause boundary. These arguments serve to make clear that syntactic causative sentences contain a clause boundary. I will accept his arguments as well as his analysis with slight modifications.¹²

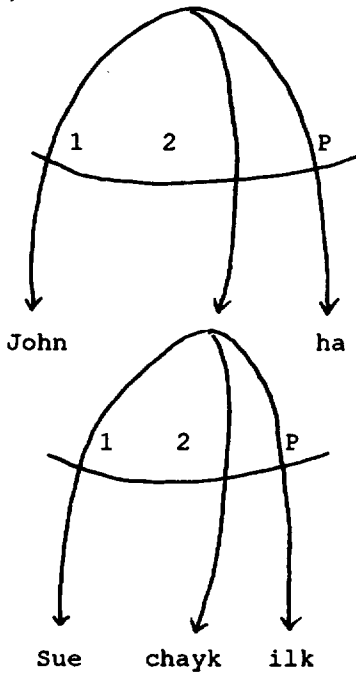
Let us now turn to the current issue of this section. The Biclausal Analysis provides stratal diagrams for (10a) and (7), as (21) and (22), respectively.

¹² However, I will take a slightly different structure for (16a) from E. Cho's (1987), though not relevant to the current issue. He posits *pro* as a subject of the embedded clause to account for (16a). But I will posit a full NP, namely, *Sue*, assuming that *Sue* in (18a) is multi-attached across strata, and that *Equi* interacts with pronominalization. Therefore, (20) is the result of the application of Pronominalization to emphasize the pivot nominal. Note that (20) conveys only an emphatic meaning compared with (16a), and that (20) is ungrammatical if the pronoun *kunye* has a reference disjoint from the pivot nominal.

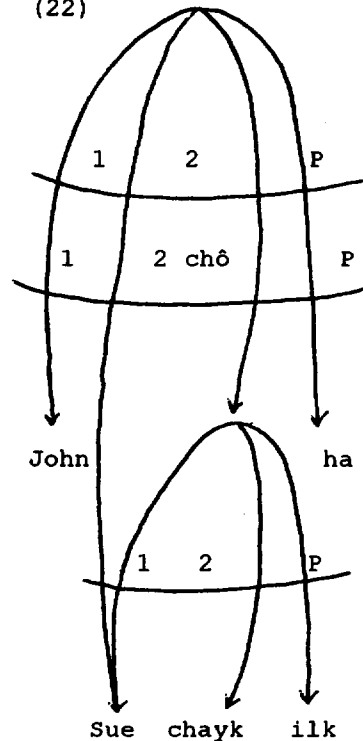
(10) a. John-i Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.

(7) John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.

(21)



(22)



As mentioned earlier, the pivot nominal *Sue* is the final 1 of the embedded clause (cf. 21) but the final 2 of the matrix clause due to SOR (cf. 22). In what follows, I will show that the syntactic causative pattern DOC (7) behaves identically to the raising constructions (which are considered biclausal) regarding several syntactic processes, which are especially sensitive to a clause boundary, to provide evidence for the biclausal structure of sentences like (7).¹³ I will first show that the syntactic causative sentences are biclausal.

First, the final 2 of the embedded clause cannot undergo passivization in the matrix clause. The same phenomenon can be found in causative clauses (cf. 23-24).

- (23) a. John-i Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 -N -N book-A read-PAST-SE-CP
 mit-ess-ta.
 believe-PAST
 'John believed that Sue read a book.'
- b. *Chayk-i John-eyuyhay Sue-ka ilk-ess-ta-ko
 book-N -by -N read-PAST-CP
 mit-e ci-ess-ta.
 believe-PASS-PAST
 '*The book was believed Sue read by John.'
- (24) a. John-i Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 -N -N book-A read-CP do-PAST
 'John made Sue read a book.'
- b. *Chayk-i John-eyuyhay Sue-ka ilk-key
 book-N -by -N read-CP
 -toy-ess-ta.¹⁴
 -PASS-PAST
 '*The book was made Sue read by John.'

The final 2 of the embedded clause cannot be passivized even after raising takes place. The syntactic causative pattern displays the same behavior (cf. 25-26).

¹³ The Passive argument and the Time Adverb argument are from E. Cho (1987, 1988). However, unlike E. Cho, I will discuss only the double accusative causative sentence. See E. Cho (1987, 1988) for the discussion of the above arguments for the full range of transitive causative constructions.

¹⁴ *Toy* is a passive counterpart of *ha*.

- (25) a. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 -N -A book-A read-PAST-CP
 mit-ess-ta.
 believe-PAST
- b. *Chayk-i John-eyuyhay Sue-lul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 mit-e ci-ess-ta.
- (26) a. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 b. *Chayk-i John-eyuyhay Sue-lul ilk-key
 toy-ess-ta.

As is well known, Passive is a rule sensitive to a clause boundary. Given the constraint that Passive applies only within the clause boundary, the Biclausal Analysis can provide a consistent account for the syntactic causative pattern as well as the raising construction. However, any monoclausal analysis of the syntactic causative pattern has to admit an ad hoc constraint prohibiting the revalued final 2 from being passivized (although 3-to-2 advancee and possessor ascende from 2 can be passivized), provide two different Passive rules, or two different constraints to account for (23-26), at best.

Second, it is generally assumed that each clause, more precisely each verb, allows at most one independent time adverb such as *ecey* 'yesterday' or *nayil* 'tomorrow', as far as clause level constituents go (cf. Fodor 1970). Therefore, in simplex sentences, only one time adverb can occur, as shown in (27).

- (27) a. John-i ecey Sue-lul manna-ss-ta.
 -N yesterday -A met-PAST
 'John met Sue yesterday.'
- b. *John-i ecey Sue-lul nayil manna-ssta.
 -N yesterday -A tomorrow met-PAST

However, the syntactic causative pattern as well as raising sentences allow two different time adverbs like complex sentences (cf. 28-29).

- (28) a. John-i ecey Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 -N yesterday -N book-A read-PAST-SE-CP
 onul mit-ess-ta.
 today believe-PAST
 'Today John believed that Sue read a book
 yesterday.'
- b. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ecey ilk-ess-ta-ko
 onul mit-ess-ta.
- (29) a. John-i Sue-ka onul chayk-ul ilk-key ecey
 -N -N today book-A read-CP yesterday
 ha-yess-ta.
 do-PAST
 'Yesterday John made Sue read a book today.'
- b. John-i Sue-lul onul chayk-ul ilk-key ecey
 ha-yess-ta.

Third, Gerdts (1986), following Perlmutter's (1985) morphological condition,¹⁵ argues that the fact that adverbials such as *ecey* or *onul* cannot occur between the upstairs verb and the downstairs verb for almost half of Korean speakers (Gerdts 1986:134) (cf. (30 =Gerdts's 113c)) is evidence that the downstairs verb and the upstairs verb form a single verb in the Union Stratum. However, her argument does not seem convincing. First of all, the grammaticality judgement of the illustrated sentence is not determinate because over half of Korean speakers admit (30) as a grammatical sentence, as she indicates. And note that the sentences in (29) sound natural.

¹⁵ Perlmutter's morphological condition, taken from Gerdts (1986:134), is as follows:

If two elements are word-mates in morphological structure, then the elements that determine them are clausemates in the syntactic structure.

- (30) %Haksayng-i sensayngnim-ul ttena-key onul/ecey
 student-N teacher-A leave-CP today/yesterday
 ha-yess-ta.
 do-PAST

'The student made the teacher leave today/yesterday.'

Moreover, Y. Kim (1988) observes that negation words such as *an* 'not' or *mos* 'unable' can intervene between two predicates of the *ha-ta* pattern. Similarly, E. Cho (1988:195) observes that those negation words can also occur between the two predicates of the syntactic causative pattern, unlike other morphologically single words -e.g., *po-ta* 'to see' and *po-i-ta* (see-CAUS-ind) 'to show', as in (31-32). The same phenomenon can be observed in the raising construction in (33).

- (31) a. John-i Sue-eykey chayk-ul an/mos
 -N -DAT book-A not/unable
 po-i-ess-ta.
 see-CAUS
 'John did (could) not show Sue a book.'
- b. *John-i Sue-eykey chayk-ul po-an/mos-i-ess-ta.
- (32) a. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul an/mos ilk-key
 -N -A book-A not/unable read-CP
 ha-yess-ta.
 do-PAST
 'John made Sue not (not be able to) read a book.'
- b. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key an/mos
 -N -A book-A read-CP not/unable
 ha-yess-ta.
 do-PAST
 'John did (could) not make Sue read a book.'
- (33) a. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul an/mos
 -N -A book-A not/unable
 ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 read-PAST-SE-CP believe-PAST
 'John believed that Sue did (could) not read
 a book.'

- b. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 -N -A book-A read-PAST-SE-CP
 an/mos mit-ess-ta.
 not/unable believe-PAST
 'John did (could) not believe that Sue read
 a book.'

Given the assumption that negation words can occur in front of the predicate within the same simplex clause (Y. Kim 1988:97), the exemplified sentences in (31-32) tell us that the syntactic causative pattern has a biclausal structure. That is, the scope of negation in (32a,b) are the embedded clause and the matrix clause, respectively. This biclausality of the construction under discussion can be further confirmed by the fact that the syntactic causative pattern as well as the raising construction can be doubly negated, as shown in (34).

- (34) a. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul an/mos ilk-ess-tako
 an/mos mit-ess-ta.
 b. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul an/mos ilk-key
 an/mos ha-yess-ta.

However, monoclausal analyses seem to experience difficulties in accounting for the above facts, since they rely on the assumption that the downstairs verb and the upstairs verb form a single verb at the surface level.¹⁶

So far, it has been argued that the syntactic causative pattern is biclausal. In what follows, it will be discussed that the pivot nominal of the syntactic causative sentence is not the final 1-chômeur but behaves as a subject of the embedded clause, contrary to what Gerdts claims.

First, the final subject, but not nonsubject (ignoring 'dative subject'), can generally trigger Subject Honorification within the same clause level, as in (35). The parallel phenomenon can also be observed from the syntactic causative sentences, as in (36).

¹⁶ See K. Lee (1991:188-9) for another analogous argument in conjunction with verb compounding and the insertion of negation words.

- (35) a. Emeni-ka Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 mother-N -N book-A read-PAST-SE-CP
 mit-usi-ess-ta.
 believe-H-PAST
 'The mother believed that Sue read a book.'
- b. *Emeni-ka Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta-ko
 mit-ess-ta.
- c. *Emeni-ka Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 mit-ess-ta.
- (36) a. Emeni-ka Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-si-essta.
 mother-N -N book-A read-CP do-H-PAST
 'The mother made Sue read a book.'
- b. *Emeni-ka Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-usi-key hayssta.
- c. *Emeni-ka Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.

The same phenomenon can be found in the syntactic causative pattern as well as the raising construction, as in (37-38).

- (37) a. Emeni-ka Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 mit-usi-ess-ta.
- b. *Emeni-ka Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta-ko
 mit-ess-ta.
- c. *Emeni-ka Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko
 mit-ess-ta.
- (38) a. Emeni-ka Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key
 ha-si-ess-ta.
- b. *Emeni-ka Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-usi-key
 ha-yess-ta.
- c. *Emeni-ka Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.

Regarding the Subject Honorification in the sentences illustrated above, the proposed analysis can provide a consistent analysis. That is, the pivot nominal *Sue* in (36) is the final 1 of the embedded clause and (38) is the sentence resulting from

Subject Honorification followed by SOR. An identical account applies to (35) and (37). Thus, the Biclausal Analysis can maintain a single account of the Subject Honorification in the sentences (35-38). However, Gerdt's analysis is not only inconsistent in accounting for Subject Honorification but also has to provide different accounts for Subject Honorification in nominative causatives and accusative causatives. Moreover, the monoclausal analysis may not be able to account for sentences like (39) in which the embedded subject and the matrix subject trigger Subject Honorification at the same time.

- (39) a. Apeci-ka emeni-ka/-ul chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess
 father-N mother-N/-A book-A read-H-PAST
 -ta-ko mit-usi-ess-ta.
 -SE-CP believe-H-PAST
 'The father believed that the mother read
 a book.'
- b. Apeci-ka emeni-ka/-lul chayk-ul ilk-usi-key
 father-N mother-N/-A book-A read-H-CP
 ha-si-ess-ta.
 do-H-PAST
 'The father made the mother read a book.'

Furthermore, only final 1s can be marked by the nominative honorific marker -*kkeyse* (Y. Choi 1988:55) but the pivot nominal in both constructions above can be marked by *kkeyse*, as shown below:

- (40) a. John-i emeni-kkeyse chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta
 -ko mit-ess-ta.
- b. John-i emeni-kkeyse chayk-ul ilk-usi-key
 ha-yess-ta.

It is certain, then, that the pivot nominal in the syntactic causative sentence is not a 1-chômeur but a final 1, and, consequently, the sentence in question is biclausal which results from the application of SOR to the syntactic causative sentence.

Second, it has been generally agreed that in Korean a final subject can be an antecedent of the reflexive pronoun *caki* or *casin*¹⁷ although being anteceded by reflexive pronouns does not necessarily mean being a subject. Then, the pivot nominal in (41) should not serve as an antecedent of reflexive pronouns at all if it is the final 1-chômeur as Gerdts claims. However, this seems wrong, as shown in (41).

- (41) a. Mary_i-ka Sue_j-ka caki_{i/j}-uy pang-eyse
 -N -N self-G room-at
 chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 book-A read-CP do-PAST
 'Mary_i made Sue_j read a book in
 self's_{i/j} room.'
- b. Mary_i-ka Sue_j-ka casin_{j/*i}-uy pang-eyse
 -N -N self-G room-at
 chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 book-A read-CP do-PAST
 'Mary_i made Sue_j read a book in
 self's_{j/*i} room.'

Sue, the final 1-chômeur in Gerdts's analysis, serves as an antecedent to reflexive pronouns, contrary to what would be expected. Further, the fact that the first reading of *caki* in (41a) is not *Mary* but *Sue*, and that *casin* in (41b) can refer only to *Sue* clearly reveals that *Sue* is the final 1, not a final 1-chômeur. The same phenomenon is found in complex clauses, as in (42).

- (42) a. Mary_i-ka Sue_j-ka caki_{i/j}-uy pang-eyse
 -N -N self-G room-at
 chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 book-A read-PAST-SE-CP believe-PAST
 'Mary_i believed that Sue_j read a book in
 self's_{j/i} room.'

¹⁷ See D. Yang (1983, 1990) and Y. Kang (1986) for the Subject Antecedent Condition of the reflexive pronoun.

- b. Mary_i-ka Sue_j-ka casin_j/*_i-uy pang-eyse
 -N -N self-G room-at
 chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 book-A read-PAST-SE-CP believe-PAST
 'Mary_i believed that Sue_j read a book in
 self's_i/*_j room.'

Moreover, the syntactic causative pattern and the raising construction work the same way, as can be seen below:

- (43) a. Mary_i-ka Sue_j-lul caki_j/_i-uy pang-eyse
 -N -A self-G room-at
 chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 book-A read-CP do-PAST
 'Mary_i made Sue_j read a book in
 self's_j/_i room.'
- b. Mary_i-ka Sue_j-lul casin_j/*_i-uy pang-eyse
 chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 'Mary_i made Sue_j read a book in
 self's_j/*_i room.'
- (44) a. Mary_i-ka Sue_j-lul caki_j/_i-uy pang-eyse
 -N -A self-G room-at
 chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 book-A read-PAST-SE-CP believe-PAST
 'Mary_i believed that Sue_j read a book in
 self's_j/_i room.'
- b. Mary_i-ka Sue_j-lul casin_j/*_i-uy pang-eyse
 chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.
 'Mary_i believed that Sue_j read a book in
 self's_j/*_i room.'

From the above examples, it can be concluded that the pivot nominal is the final 1 of the embedded clause and that it is raised into the final 2 of the matrix clause in both constructions. However, the Clause Union Analysis or other

analogous monoclausal analyses of causative structures have to provide two different accounts for the above phenomena. Moreover, Gerdts would have to provide an otherwise unmotivated condition stating that the final 1-chômeur can be an antecedent of the reflexive pronoun in some cases like (41).

So far, it has been argued against the claim that the syntactic causative sentences are monoclausal, and has been argued that the syntactic causative pattern has a biclausal structure by showing that the first accusative marked NP (i.e., the pivot) behaves identically to the raised NP of the raising construction with respect to the several syntactic processes mentioned above.

3.4. Comparison to the *Ha-ta* Pattern

In this section, the syntactic causative pattern DOC is compared to the *ha-ta* pattern DOC to conclude that the sequence of embedded verb, complementizer, and accusative marker in both constructions, which is the result of clausal complementation to the verb *ha*, behave identically. Let us first look at the two patterns again.

- (45) Columbus-ka mikwuk-ul palkyen-ul ha-yess-ta.
 -N America-A discover-A do-PAST
 'Columbus discovered America.'

- (46) a. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yess-ta.
 b. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key-lul hayessta.
 'John made Sue read a book.'

In K. Lee (1988, 1990, 1991), a collection of tests was provided to show that the second accusative element of the *ha-ta* pattern (45) is a verbal predicate, not an NP (consequently, not a DO). Those tests are clefting, pronominalization, scrambling, relativization, and passivization. The purpose of applying the given tests was to determine that the second accusatively marked constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern is the string combined with an embedded verb, a complementizer (Null), and a case marker, not the string combined with a noun and a case marker. What is relevant here is therefore to compare *palkyen-ul* in (45) to *ilk-key-lul* in (46b), not to compare the two accusatively marked constituents in (46a) to the two

accusative constituents in (45). Moreover, some of those tests are irrelevant here because *ilk-key-lul* is evidently not the combination of a noun and a case marker. For this reason, I will confine myself to showing that the two strings under consideration behave identically to each other with respect to scrambling, by looking at word order restrictions in active sentences and their corresponding passive counterparts.

The claim in K. Lee (1988, 1990, 1991) was that *palkyen* cannot be scrambled at all, even within the embedded clause, because it is a verb of the embedded clause. This follows from the fact that Korean is an SOV language in which the order of V is fixed at the end of clauses. For this reason, the following are not possible sentences.

- (47) a. *Palkyen-ul Columbus-ka mikwuk-ul ha-yess-ta.
b. *Columbus-ka palkyen-ul mikwuk-ul ha-yess-ta.

However, DOs can scramble even if they are clauses. For this reason, the following sentences are possible.

- (48) a. Mikwuk-ul Columbus-ka palkyen-ul ha-yess-ta.
b. [0 Mikwuk-ul palkyen-ul] Columbus-ka
ha-yess-ta.

(48a) results from scrambling the DO of the embedded clause, and (48b) has the whole embedded clause, [0 *mikwuk-ul palkyen*], scrambled as the DO of the matrix clause.

The same phenomenon can be observed in the syntactic causative pattern, regarding the string *ilk-key-lul*. Let us consider (49).

- (49) a. *Ilk-key-lul John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul hayessta.
b. *John-i ilk-key-lul Sue-lul chayk-ul hayessta.
c. *John-i Sue-lul ilk-key-lul chayk-ul hayessta.

All the sentences above are ungrammatical because the verb of the embedded clause (precisely speaking, verb + complementizer + case marker) scrambles.

However, scrambling of any NP marked accusative does not affect grammaticality, as can be seen in (50).

- (50) a. Sue-lul John-i chayk-ul ilk-key-lul hayessta.
 b. Chayk-ul John-i Sue-lul ilk-key-lul hayessta.
 c. Sue-lul chayk-ul John-i ilk-key-lul hayessta.
 d. Chayk-ul Sue-lul John-i ilk-key-lul hayessta.

Of course, the embedded clause [*Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key*] in the syntactic causative sentence can also scramble because it is a DO of the matrix clause, as shown in (51).

- (51) a. John-i Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key-lul hayessta.
 b. Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key-lul John-i hayessta.

By the same token, the affected embedded clause [*0 chayk-ul ilk-key*] in the syntactic causative pattern would be also expected to scramble because it is still an embedded clause, though it bears a *chômeur* relation. However, this seems not to be the case, as illustrated in (52)

- (52) a. John-i Sue-lul chayk-ul ilk-key-lul hayessta.
 b. *Chayk-ul ilk-key-lul John-i Sue-lul hayessta.

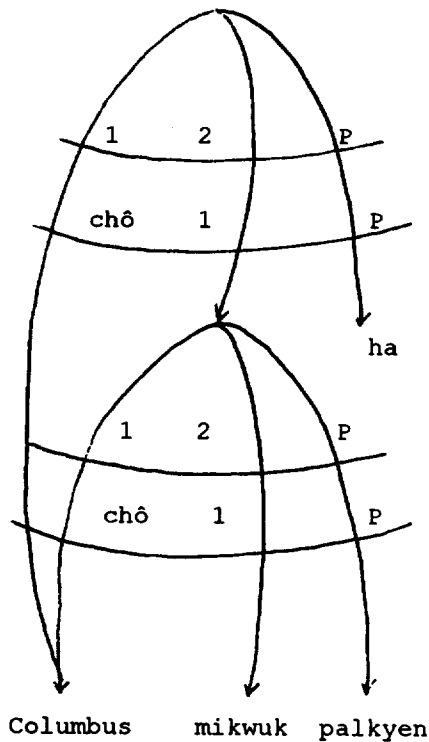
Regarding this matter, I have at present little to say but speculating that it seems to be the matter of nature of rules: raising may block the application of scrambling. This line of reasoning may not be unreasonable if raising is assumed as a rule in syntax but scrambling in PF in the sense of Chomsky (1981). This speculation may be confirmed by the fact that the raising construction works the same way:

- (53) a. Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko(-lul) John-i
 -N book-A read-PAST-SE-CP- (A) -N
 mit-ess-ta.
 believe-PAST
 'John believed that Sue read a book.'
 b. *Chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta-ko(-lul) John-i Sue-lul
 mit-ess-ta.

Now let us talk briefly about word order restrictions in corresponding passive clauses. (54) is the passive counterpart of (45), and (55) is the stratal diagram of (54).

- (54) Mikwuk-i Columbus-eyuyhay palkyen-i toy-ess-ta.
 America-N -by discover-N PASS-PAST
 'The book was discovered by John.'

(55)



The claim in K. Lee (1988, 1990, 1991) was that *palkyen* 'discovery' cannot scramble within the embedded clause in (54) because it is the verb of the passivized embedded clause. Therefore, (56) is ungrammatical.

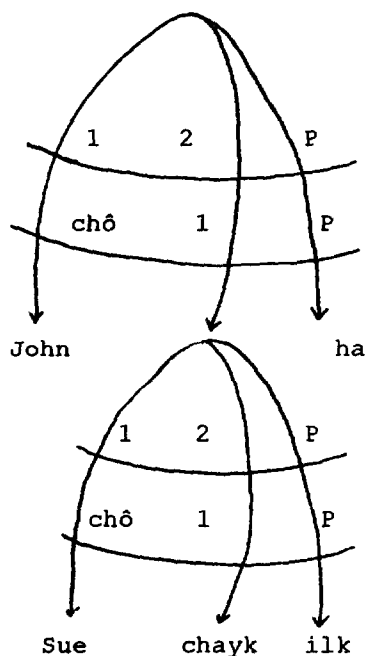
- (56) a. *Palkyen-i chayk-i John-eyuyhay toy-ess-ta.
 b. *Chayk-i palkyen-i John-eyuyhay toy-ess-ta.

The syntactic causative pattern shows the same behavior in this regard. However, as discussed in the previous section, the raised object does not passivize. Therefore, I will treat the nominative syntactic causative sentences, such as (57), as parallel to the syntactic causative pattern for the matter of passivization.

(57) John-i Sue-ka chayk-ul ilk-key-lul ha-yess-ta.

(58) John-eyuyhay chayk-i Sue-eyuyhay ilk-e ci-key
 -by book-N -by read-PASS-CP
 (-ka) toy-ess-ta.
 (-N) PASS-PAST
 'The book was made to read by Sue by John.'

(59)



(58) is the passive counterpart of (57), and (59) is the stratal diagram of (58). As discussed in K. Lee (1988, 1990, 1991), (59) shows that *chayk*, the 2-nominal of the embedded clause, is first passivized, and the embedded clause itself is passivized again. Then, we can get sentences in (60) in which the verb of the embedded clause is scrambled within the embedded clause. The proposed

Biclausal Analysis predicts that they should be ungrammatical, and they are in fact so, as shown in (60).

- (60) a. *ilk-e ci-key-ka John-eyuyhay chayk-i
Sue-eyuyhay toy-ess-ta.
b. *John-eyuyhay ilk-e ci-key-ka chayk-i
Sue-eyuyhay toy-ess-ta.
c. *John-eyuyhay chayk-i ilk-e ci-key-ka
Sue-eyuyhay toy-ess-ta.

Before concluding this section, it seems worthwhile noting two facts with respect to case marking. One is that the second accusative constituent of the *ha-ta* pattern (e.g., *palkyen* in (46)) is marked by a nominative marker in the corresponding passive sentence. It was claimed in K. Lee (1988, 1990, 1991) that this was a piece of evidence that the embedded clause *per se* was passivized. The same thing can be observed in the passive counterpart of the raising constructions. In (58), *ilk-e ci-key* can be also attached with a nominative marker (though this is not quite natural for certain other reasons).¹⁸

The other is that we do not need any other case marking device as far as the two accusative NPs in the syntactic causative pattern is concerned. This is because both of the two accusatively marked NPs are assigned case markers by their final GRs as we have seen so far. However, let us turn to the stratal diagram (22) and the sentences (14) again. As shown clearly in (22), the embedded clause *per se* is put en chômage due to SOR in the syntactic causative pattern. This fact requires us to add another case marking system which states that the Acting 2s are assigned accusative case in Korean.¹⁹ In this regard, I will also admit the Acting Term Case Marking system. This rule is also required to account for the case marking phenomena of other patterns. The Acting Term Case Marking rule will be discussed later in connection with the simplicity based on 'markedness'.

¹⁸ This matter is not dealt with since it is beyond the scope of current issue.

¹⁹ Y. Choi (1988), S. Chun (1985, 1986), and Gerds (1986) adopt Acting Term Case Marking system. Acting 2 includes a final 2 and a final 2 chômeur. See aforementioned studies for discussion in detail.

4. Other Patterns

In this section, I will discuss other patterns: namely, the ditransitive pattern, the lexical causative pattern, and the possessor ascension pattern. To the best of my knowledge, however, there seems no possible way to extend the Biclausal Analysis to these patterns. Therefore, I will consider only one of these, the ditransitive pattern, to save space, and I will briefly discuss the difficulties which might be encountered if the Biclausal Analysis is given to it, and I will show that the ditransitive pattern DOC displays different behavior from the *ha-ta* pattern DOC with respect to the syntactic processes mentioned in K. Lee (1988, 1990, 1991).²⁰

4.1. Ditransitive Pattern

Let us first consider the ditransitive pattern DOC given in (61=3).

- (61) John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -A book-A give-PAST
 'John gave Mary a book.'

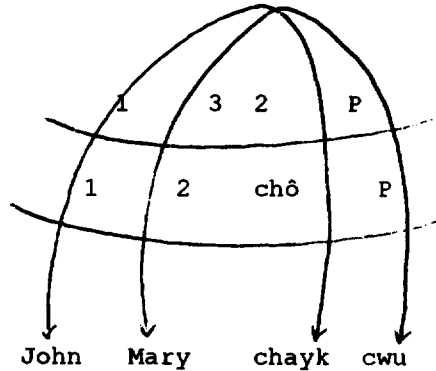
This construction is generally treated as an instance of 3-to-2 advancement in Korean linguistic literature within the RG framework (cf. I. Kim 1985, Gerdts 1986, Y. Choi 1988 and others). This advancement analysis, i.e., a monoclausal analysis, is grounded on the fact that the above sentence exhibits an alternation with the sentence below:

- (62) John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -DAT book-A give-PAST
 'John gave a book to Mary.'

²⁰ Though I will not discuss the rest patterns in this section, I will include some of the discussion if relevant and necessary.

In the Advancement Analysis, this sort of alternation is attributable to the fact that *Mary* assumes initially a 3 relation but finally a 2 relation, as illustrated in the stratal diagram (63).²¹

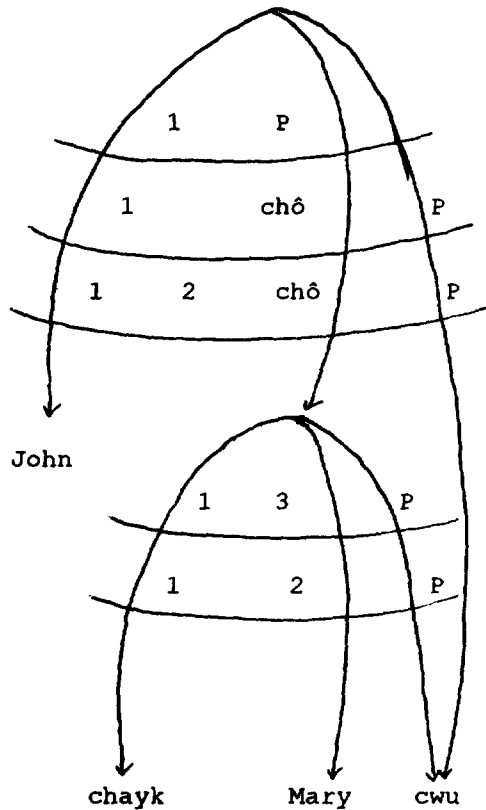
(63)



However, Larson (1988) provides a biclausal structure for (61) within the GB framework. Roughly speaking, he assumes that *chayk* in (61) is a specifier of the VP (in other words, according to Larson, *chayk* forms a clause-like structure with the VP *Mary-eykey cwu-ess-ta*) and that it gets an accusative Case through a V movement (i.e., Head-to-Head Movement in the sense of Chomsky 1986). Therefore, if Larson's idea is translated, ignoring details, within the RG framework, the stratal diagram will be something like (64).

²¹ Within the GB framework, Y. Kang (1986) argues that this pattern is base generated, and he assigns accusative Case to the two objects, claiming that both of them are sisters of V. However, this base generated hypothesis violates the SUL if it is applied within RG framework. For this reason, Y. Kang's analysis is ignored in this paper even though the violation of the SUL is an irrelevant issue in GB.

(64)



Then, what we can observe from (64) are (i) *Mary* advances to the 2-relation from the 3-relation in the embedded clause, (ii) *cwu*, the predicate of the embedded clause, raises to the matrix clause (this is equivalent to Larson's verb raising),²² and (iii) *chayk*, the initial 1 of the embedded clause, raises to the matrix clause and consequently gets a 2-relation through the Relational Succession Law (Perlmutter & Postal 1983, and others). Through these several processes, sentence (61) finally results. However, it should be noted that all the processes applied in (64) are optional in RG. If this is the case, it would be expected that other sentences in (65) result from (62).

²² It has been newly claimed by Postal (1986) and Davies & Rosen (1988) that the relation of Predicate can also be put en chômage. See Postal (1986) for the details.

- (65) a. John-i chayk-ul Mary-eykey cwu-ess-ta.
 b. *John-i chayk-i Mary-eykey cwu-ess-ta.
 c. *John-i chayk-i Mary-lul cwu-ess-ta.

If the 3-to-2 Advancement does not apply, then we can get (65a) which is grammatical. However, the non-application of raising to the embedded I (and/or the non-application of the 3-to-2 Advancement) inevitably results in (65b) or (65c) which are ungrammatical. Putting aside other potential problems, I feel this is enough to reject Larson's idea because of this overgeneration problem in Korean. Instead, I will follow the generally accepted analysis of (63).

4.2. Comparison to the *Ha-ta* Pattern

Then, let us now see how differently the ditransitive pattern behaves from the *ha-ta* pattern. K. Lee (1991) shows that the two accusative constituents of the *ha-ta* pattern work the different way with respect to pronominalization, clefting, scrambling, relativization, and passivization. That is, the first accusative constituent undergoes these processes whereas the second one consistently does not. However, this is not the case for the ditransitive pattern. As can be seen below, both of the two accusative constituents undergo all the aforementioned processes.

- (66) a. John-i kunye-lul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N her-A book-A give-PAST
 'John gave her a book.'
 b. John-i Mary-lul kukes-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 -N -A it-A give-PAST
 'John gave it to Mary.'
- (67) a. John-i chayk-ul cwu-n-kes(salam)-un
 -N book-A gave-thing(people)-TOP
 Mary-i-ta.
 -be
 'Who John gave a book was Mary.'

b. John-i Mary-lul cwu-n-kes-un chayk-i-ta.
 -N -A gave-thing-TOP book-be
 'What John gave Mary was a book.'

(68) a. Mary-lul John-i chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 b. Chayk-ul John-i Mary-lul cwu-ess-ta.

(69) a. John-i e chayk-ul cwu-n Mary
 -N book-A gave-RC
 'Mary who John gave e a book.'
 b. John-i Mary-lul e cwu-n chayk
 -N -A gave-RC book
 'the book which John gave Mary e

However, passivization does not seem to be consistent with the above, as can be seen in (70).

(70) a. *Mary-ka John-eyuyhay chayk-ul cwu-e ci-essta.
 -N -by book-A give-PASS-PAST
 '*Mary was given a book by John.'
 b. *Chayk-i John-eyuyhay Mary-lul cwu-e ci-essta.
 book-N -by -A give-PASS-PAST
 'The book was given Mary by John.'
 c. Mary-ka John-eyuyhay chayk-i cwu-e ci-ess-ta.
 -N -by book-N give-PASS-PAST
 'Mary was given a book by John.'
 d. Chayk-i John-eyuyhay Mary-eykey cwu
 book-N -by -DAT gave
 -e ci-ess-ta.
 -PASS-PAST
 'A book was given to Mary by John.'

(70a,b) show that neither of the two objects in the ditransitive pattern can be passivized, as is the case with the two accusative constituents in the *ha-ta* pattern.

Moreover, (70c) shows that (70a) can even be a well-formed sentence if the accusative marker is replaced by the nominative marker, as for the *ha-ta* pattern.

However, these seem to be facts due to other reasons. Let us consider the stratal diagram (63) again. (63) shows that *chayk* is a final 2-chômeur which is a final 2 no longer. Since Korean allows final 2s to passivize only when there is no nominal bearing a final 2-chômeur under the same clause node (cf. E. Cho 1987:9), (70a) is ungrammatical. Instead, the final 2, *chayk*, can passivize if the 3, *Mary*, does not advance to the final 2. The non-application of the 3-to-2 Advancement in (63) can, therefore, result in (70d), which is grammatical. However, (70c) seems a little bit strange. Though speculative and a little bit digressive, I will remark that this seems to provide evidence for 3-to-1 Advancement in Korean.²³ The same phenomenon can be observed for the lexical causative pattern in (71).

- (71=4) a. Emeni-ka ai-lul sakwa-lul mek-i-n-ta.
 mother-N child-A apple-A eat-CAUS-PRES
 'The mother feeds the child an apple.'
- b. Emeni-ka ai-eykey sakwa-lul mek-i-n-ta.
 mother-N child-DAT apple-A eat-CAUS-PRES

The lexical causative pattern provides us a sweet allurement to analyze it as a biclausal structure since it contains another clause structure in terms of a thematic structure (i.e., *ai* = Agent, *sakwa* = Patient, *mek* = Predicate). However, I will not go into the discussion of the lexical causative pattern here. Rather, I will just assume that this is another instance of 3-to-2 Advancement in Korean.²⁴

²³ If this is the real case, then Korean is a language which violates the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (Perlmutter & Postal:1984) which prohibits more than one Advancement to 1. This is because *Mary*, the initial 3, advances to the 1-hood although *chayk* is advanced to 1-hood through passivization.

²⁴ H. Jeong (1988) postulates two different structures for (71a) and (71b). She considers that *ai* in (71a) is a Correspondent NP, and that *ai* in (71b) is a Locative NP within the Lexicase Theory. However, K. Park (1986) treats the lexical causative pattern DOC as a structure which is biclausal at underlying structure but monoclausal at surface structure through the 'Morphological Merger'.

Therefore, under current assumptions, (71a) results from 3-to-2 Advancement applied to *ai*, the 3, in (71b). Let us now take a look at further examples:

- (72) a. **ai-ka emeni-eyuyhay sakwa-lul mek-i*
 child-N mother-by apple-A eat-CAUS
 -e ci-ess-ta.
 -PASS-PAST-SE
 'The child was fed an apple by the mother.'
- b. **sakwa-ka emeni-eyuyhay aki-lul mek-i*
 apple-N mother-by child-A eat-CAUS
 -e ci-ess-ta.
 -PASS-PAST-SE
 'An apple was fed the child by the mother.'
- c. *ai-ka emeni-eyuyhay sakwa-ka mek-i*
 child-N mother-by apple-N eat-CAUS
 -e ci-ess-ta.
 -PASS-PAST-SE
 'The child was fed an apple by the mother.'
- d. *sakwa-ka emeni-eyuyhay ai-eykey mek-i*
 apple-N mother-by child-DAT eat-CAUS
 -e ci-ess-ta.
 -PASS-PAST-SE
 'An apple was fed to the child by
 the mother.'

As shown above, the lexical causative pattern shows the same behavior as the ditransitive pattern with respect to passivization. In the lexical causative, neither of the accusative constituents can be passivized (72a,b), as for the ditransitive pattern. (72c) shows that (72a) can be a well-formed sentence if an accusative marker is replaced by a nominative marker, as for the ditransitive pattern. Moreover, (72d) tells us that (72a) and (72b) are ungrammatical due to the aforementioned constraint on passivization in Korean.

From the discussion given in this section, I will conclude that the ditransitive pattern DOC and the lexical causative pattern DOC are instances of 3-

to-2 Advancement in Korean.²⁵ I will further conclude that the different behavior of the two accusative constituents of the both patterns from the two accusative constituents of the *ha-ta* pattern (by implication, the syntactic causative pattern) is due to the fact that the two accusative constituents of the former patterns are nouns whereas the second accusative constituent of the latter pattern is a verb.

5. Case Marking System

It has been claimed that the two accusatively marked constituents of the *ha-ta* pattern are assigned accusative case because they are final 2s, although the aim in K. Lee (1988, 1990, 1991) was not to propose a case marking rule which can apply across various multiple accusative patterns. From the discussion in this paper, we have seen that what is needed is another case marking rule. This is because final 2-chômeurs (in the ditransitive pattern, the lexical causative pattern, the possessor ascension pattern,²⁶ and even in the syntactic causative pattern -i.e., the embedded clause is a final 2-chômeur in the syntactic causative pattern DOC) can take an accusative case marker. Therefore, I will admit another case marking rule saying that the final 2-chômeurs can also be assigned an accusative marker. Then, the combined case marking rule will be: "Acting 2s are assigned accusative case in Korean." (cf. S. Chun 1985, 1986, Gerds 1985, 1986, Y. Choi 1988, etc.).

However, this new case marking rule does not weaken the Biclausal Analysis given for the *ha-ta* pattern and the syntactic causative pattern. It is worth while noting that the term "Acting 2s" is a composite of final 2s and final 2-chômeurs. In other words, the acting term case marking system is a really set of two rules. Furthermore, final terms are an unmarked option in terms of case marking rules compared with the final chômeurs. That is, the case marking rules by the final terms are default rules. If this is the case, the Biclausal Analysis,

²⁵ The two accusative marked elements of the lexical causative pattern also show the same behavior with respect to the given syntactic processes as seen in the ditransitive pattern. But these are not illustrated here.

²⁶ I did not discuss the possessor ascension pattern DOC. There might be some problems in the Possessor Ascension Analysis. However, I will assume that Possessor Ascension takes place only with the direct object in Korean assuming that there might be more semantic constraints than discussed in Y. Choi (1988), S. Chun (1985, 1986), and S. Park (1987).

proposed for the *ha-ta* pattern (and the syntactic causative pattern for this matter), will turn out to be better than any other analysis based on the acting term case marking rules since the proposed Bicausal Analysis relies much more on the case marking rule by the final terms, which is an unmarked default rule.

6. Conclusion

This paper has argued that syntactic causative sentences are bicausal, and that the syntactic causative pattern DOC also has a bicausal structure. To show that the syntactic causative pattern DOC is bicausal, four arguments have been provided which are based on passivization, time adverbs, and insertion of negation words, and it has been further shown that the syntactic causative pattern behaves identically to raising constructions with respect to these syntactic processes. To prove that the pivot nominal in the syntactic causatives is not a final 1-chômeur as Gerdtz (1986) claims, two arguments have been provided which rely on Subject Honorification and reflexivization. The syntactic causative pattern has been compared to the *ha-ta* pattern to show that (*ilk-key-lul*) in the syntactic causative pattern indeed behaves identically to (*kongpwu-0-lul*) in the *ha-ta* pattern because both strings are the sequence of an embedded verb, a complementizer, and a matrix verb. In addition to the comparison between the syntactic causative pattern and the *ha-ta* pattern, it has been argued that the two assumed objects of the ditransitive pattern, which is monoclausal, behave identically with each other regarding several syntactic processes, whereas the two assumed objects in the *ha-ta* pattern do not. We subsequently saw that these comparisons confirm that the *ha-ta* pattern has a bicausal structure. Finally, it has been shown that the acting term case marking system is needed to account for the case marking phenomena of the various multiple accusative constructions in Korean. However, it has been also shown that the Bicausal Analysis does not make the grammar more complicated, but rather makes it simple from the markedness perspective. Therefore, I conclude that the *ha-ta* pattern and the syntactic causative pattern should be considered bicausal structures unlike other patterns, and that this bicausal structure of the two constructions should be understood from the perspectives of the verb *ha*'s subcategorizational characteristics in Korean. Further, I conclude that the Stratal

Uniqueness Law consequently is still valid so far as these constructions are concerned.

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