

# Double Subject Constructions in Korean and The Stratal Uniqueness Law\*

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## 1. Introduction

It has been generally assumed that case markers in Korean represent grammatical relations, or grammatical functions in traditional terms, at the surface level. It follows from this assumption that nominative markers and accusative markers encode grammatical relations such as subject and object of the nominals which bear those markers. Consequently, sentences are apt to be analyzed as instances of double subject constructions (DSC), if they contain two consecutive nominals attached with a nominative marker, supposing that the sentences in question are monoclausal. Below are some possible cases of DSCs in Korean.<sup>1)2)</sup>

- (1) a. Swuni-ka son-i khu-ta.  
-N hand-N big  
'Swuni has a big hand.'

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\* The Yale romanization system is adopted in the transcription of Korean and the following abbreviations are taken in this paper:

N = Nominative	A = Accusative	G = Genitive
Dat = Dative	H = Honorific	Past = Past Tense
PL = Plural	P = Predicate	POS = Possessor
SPEC = Specifier	HD = Head	cho = chomeur
Comp = Complementizer	SE = Sentence Ender	

1. This paper aims at providing a biclausal analysis for the construction like (1a) within the framework of Relational Grammar, and showing that constructions (1a) and (1b) can be consistently accounted for under the Biclausal Analysis. See Lee (1988, 1990, 1991) for the discussion of the so-called double object constructions under the Biclausal Analysis within the framework of Relational Grammar.

2. It seems to be confusing in referring to the illustrated examples. They are frequently considered to be DSCs but they are sometimes treated as double nominative constructions (DNC). For example, Choi (1988) treats (1a) as a double nominative construction (of a possessor ascension type) whereas he analyzes (1b) as a DSC. On the other hand, Oh (1988) treats (1a) and (1b) as a property DNC and a psycho DNC, respectively. However, 'double subject construction' will be taken as a cover term without any theoretical implication to denote both constructions for the purpose of argumentation.

- b. *Nay-ka kay-ka silh-ta.*  
 I-N dog-N not be fond of  
 'I am not fond of a dog.'

Lee (1988, 1990, 1991) has recently proposed a biclausal analysis for the so-called double object construction (such as *Swuni-ka yenge-lul kongpwu-lul ha-yess-ta.*), discussed by B. Park (1973, 1981), under the hypothesis that the two consecutive accusative markers of the construction are merely representations of the grammatical relation which the direct objects of an embedded clause and a matrix clause respectively assume. This paper also departs from the hypothesis that the two consecutive nominative markers in the sentences above are mere representations of the grammatical relation which subjects of a matrix clause and an embedded clause respectively bear and, accordingly, a biclausal structure could be provided for an analysis of the so-called DSCs in Korean.

Thus, the purposes of this paper are (1) to argue against monoclausal analyses which should mobilize inconsistent peculiar constraints by showing that constructions at stake are due to the interaction of a biclausal structure with a syntactic phenomenon such as Unaccusative Advancement, (2) to claim that the Biclausal Analysis of seeming DSCs, consequently, shows that the Stratal Uniqueness Law, which precludes the stratum containing more than one nominal bearing a same term relation, is still valid as far as the constructions in question are concerned, otherwise it would be violated, and (3) to claim that the Biclausal Analysis can make rather principled predictions, not just interpretations, about phenomena such as the distribution of degree adverbs, the restriction on word order, and subject honorification.

To fulfill the purposes described above, discussions in this paper will go as follows. In Section 2, previous analyses of the construction (1a) and their problems will be first examined. In Section 3, the Biclausal Analysis will be proposed for the construction (1a) and Lee (1991, 1993)'s Biclausal Analysis of the construction (1b) will be introduced. In Section 4, it will be shown that two constructions (1a) and (1b) work the same way with respect to degree adverbs, word order, and subject honorification. And the Relational Grammar represented by Perlmutter and Postal (1974, 1983, 1984, etc.) is assumed in this paper.

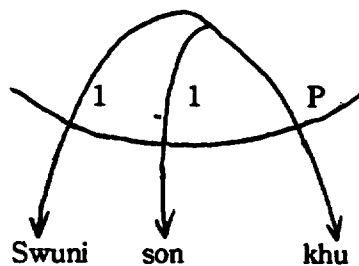
## 2. About the So-called Double Subject Constructions

In the first part of this section, the Stratal Uniqueness Law will be first introduced to make it clear from the perspectives of Relational Grammar why the existence of DSCs in Korean is problematic. In the later part of this section, previous analyses of the construction (1a) and their problems will be discussed.

### 2.1 The Stratal Uniqueness Law

Since, as mentioned in Section 1, case markers in Korean have been generally assumed to represent grammatical relations, say, grammatical functions in traditional terms, at the surface level, nominative markers *-i/ka* have been considered to encode the grammatical function of subject to the nominals bearing those markers. Accordingly, there have been strong tendencies that sentences are treated as instances of DSCs, if they contain two consecutive nominals attached with a nominative marker, under the alleged assumption that sentences in question are monoclausal. If the sentences in (1) are indeed instances of DSCs, then the stratal diagram of (1a), for example, will be (2) below.

(2)



However, Perlmutter and Postal (1974, 1983) claim that there is a universal law which limits the number of distinct term arcs (e.g., 1-arcs, 2-arcs, 3-arcs) in a single stratum. According to this law, no stratum can contain more than one 1-arc, one 2-arc, or one 3-arc. This law is called the Stratal Uniqueness Law. Therefore, this Stratal Uniqueness Law precludes the stratal diagram (2) as an ill-formed structure. However, the Stratal Uniqueness Law would be falsified, as far as the sentences in (1) are claimed to be instances of real DSCs. This is a central issue to be addressed throughout this paper and other two issues mentioned in the previous section will be addressed in depth in the course of discussion.<sup>3)</sup>

## 2.2 Previous Analyses

Scholars treating sentences like (1a) have been roughly divided into two major groups.<sup>4)</sup> One is the group considering that (1a) is derived from a presumably more basic structure, and the other is the group ignoring any derivative relation. The former will be referred to as Transformational Analysis<sup>5)</sup> and the latter Base Generation Analysis in this paper for convenience' sake. In what follows, the analyses of the two groups will be briefly reviewed and their problems will be discussed. In the course of discussion, any discussion directed to direct comparisons between analyses based on different frameworks will be avoided since direct comparisons among different frameworks are almost impossible. Instead, their basic ideas will be discussed and compared with.

### 2.2.1 Transformational Analysis

One frequently taken view of the DSCs in Korean (and Japanese) is that they are derived from the non-DSC sources by a transformation. For example, Kuno (1973:62-78, 1978:240-256) argues that certain double subject construction in Japanese are derived by Subjectivization, quoted in (3) below.<sup>6)</sup>

(3) Subjectivization (Kuno 1973:71)

Change the sentence-initial NP-[Gen] to NP-[Nom], and make it the new subject of the sentence.

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3. Readers unfamiliar with the framework of Relational Grammar are advised to consult Perlmutter, ed. (1983), Perlmutter and Rosen, eds. (1984), Postal and Joseph, eds. (1990), Davies (1981:77-120), Rosen (1981:6-42), Bickford (1987:12-40), Blake (1990), Choi (1988:1-21), Lee (1991:18-48), etc.

4. There are also numerous studies based on other perspectives. However, they are not included in the discussion of this paper. See Cho (1988), Li and Thompson (1976), and others for analyses based on other perspectives.

5. Possessor ascension analyses (such as Chun (1985, 1986), S. Park (1985) and Choi (1988)) will be treated as a sub-group of the Transformational Analysis although the tenet in Relational Grammar is totally different from the one in Transformational Grammar. This is because possessor ascension analyses also admit the relation between basic sentences and DSCs, although it is not the same derivative relation as the Transformational Analysis postulates. See Choi (1988:17-8) for the discussion about conceptual and empirical differences between the Possessor Ascension Analysis and the Transformational Analysis such as Kuno (1973)'s Subjectivization.

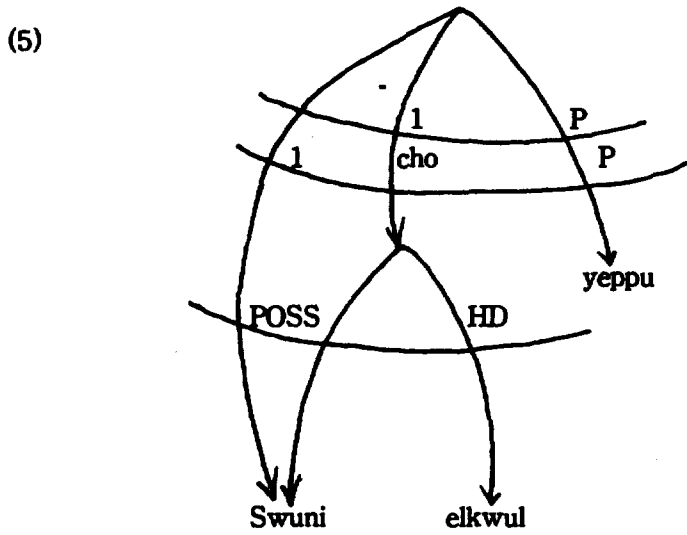
6. Shibatani (1977) criticizes that Kuno (1973) confuses grammatical relations with surface cases. Instead, Shibatani claims that it should be not Subjectivization but Nominativization.

This view is held in Korean linguistic literature by Kang (1985, 1986) Choe (1987), and D. Yang (1975)<sup>7)</sup>, and many others. According to them, (4a) is derived from (4b) through a kind of transformation, namely, Subjectivization (Kang 1985, etc.) or Possessor Movement (Choe 1987), etc.

- (4) a. Swuni-ka elkwul-i yeppu-ta.  
           -N face-N pretty  
       'Swuni has a pretty face.'
- b. Swuni-uy elkwul-i yeppu-ta  
           -G           -N pretty  
       'Swuni's face is pretty.'

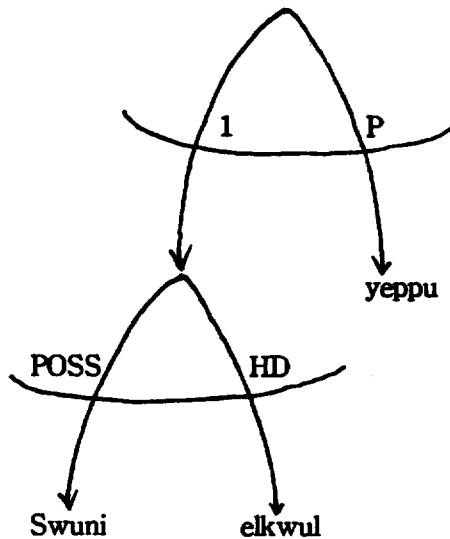
2.2.2 Possessor Ascension Analysis

Within the Relational Grammar framework, S. Park (1985), Chun (1985 1986), and Choi (1988) propose a Possessor Ascension Analysis for the sentences in (4) above. According to them, (4a) is the sentence in which the first NP ascended to a final 1 through the process of Possessor Ascension. Therefore, the stratal diagrams of (4a) and (4b) are (5) and (6), respectively.



7. D. Yang (1975) proposes a different transformational process through which a topical sentence is derived. His analysis could be treated as one of transformational analyses in the sense that one sentence is derived from another more basic sentence.

(6)



Unlike the proponents of the Transformational Analysis, they claim that (4a) is not an instance of DSCs because, as shown in (5), *Swuni*, the possessor nominal, advances to a final subject but *elkwul*, the possessee nominal, is put en chomage which cannot serve as a subject any more. The Possessor Ascension Analysis differs from the Transformational Analysis in that the latter claims that (4a) is the sentence containing two subjects, which might be a counter-example of the Stratal Uniqueness Law whereas the former claims that (4a) is rather a double nominative construction, not a double subject construction, and, consequently, (4a) does not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law.

### 2.3 Problems in Both Analyses

One of the general objections about the Transformational Analysis is that it cannot capture the changes of meanings between the two related sentences because transformations are not assumed to change meanings at all. B. Park (1982:650-652) argues that the possessive NP *ce namwu-uy* in (7a) and the subject NP *ce namwu-ka* in (7b) show different syntactic (and/or semantic) behavior in the process of pronominalization, as can be seen in (8).

- (7) a. *Ce namwu-uy iph-i khu-ta.*  
 that tree-G leaf-N big  
 'The leaves of that tree are big.'

- b. Ce namwu-ka iph-i khu-ta.  
 that tree-N leaf-N big  
 'That tree has big leaves.'

- (8) a. Ce namwu-uy iph-i khu-ta. Kulayse, (kukes-i) ssulmo-ka iss-ta.  
 and so it-N use-N exist  
 'The leaves of that tree are big. So, they are useful.'  
 b. Ce namwu-ka iph-i khu-ta. Kulayse, (kukes-i) ssulmo-ka iss-ta.  
 and so it-N use-N exist  
 'That tree has big leaves. So, it is useful.'

He further argues that the fact that the deleted pronoun *kukes* refers to *ce namwu-uy iph* in (8a) but to *ce namwu* in (7b) reveals that the possessive NP *ce namwu* is not a subject in any sense. Thus, he contends, it would be problematic for the Transformational Analysis in which the possessive NP is the deep structure source of the subject in (7b).

On the other hand, the Possessor Ascension Analysis and the Transformational Analysis (*mutatis mutandis*) are not consistent in their predictions. What they claim in general is that the first NP bearing a possessor relation to the second NP can be converted to a subject. However, this does not always seem to be the case, as can be seen in (9).

- (9) a. Swuni-uy yenphil-i kil-ta.  
 -G pencil-N long  
 'Swuni's pencil is long.'  
 b. \*Swuni-ka yenphil-i kil-ta.  
 -N pencil-N long  
 'Swuni has a long pencil.'

As shown above, *Swuni* does not, however, become a subject although it is in the relation of possessor to the head noun *yenphil*. To exclude sentences like (9b), possessor ascension analyses (and transformational analyses) need to put a constraint on the rule of Possessor Ascension (and Subjectivization). The constraint taken in general is that Possessor Ascension (and Subjectivization) is only allowed when the possessor and the possessee are in the relation of body parts, kinship, whole and part, etc.<sup>8)</sup>

Despite peculiar constraints mentioned above, the Possessor Ascension Analysis (and Subjectivization) would not be able to account for the following sentences.

- (10) a. Swuni-uy emeni-ka yeppu-si-ta.  
           -G mother-N beautiful-H  
           'Swuni's mother is beautiful.'
- b. Swuni-ka emeni-ka yeppu-si-ta.  
           -N mother-N beautiful-H  
           'Swuni has a beautiful mother.'
- (11) a. Swuni-uy emeni-ka sicang-e ka-si-ess-ta.  
           -G mother-N market-to go-H-Past  
           'Swuni's mother went to the market.'
- b. \*Swuni-ka emeni-ka sicang-e ka-si-ess-ta.  
           -N mother-N market-to go-H-Past  
           'Swuni has a mother who went to the market.'

As expected, *Swuni* ascends (or subjectivizes) in (10). However, *Swuni* does not ascend in (11) although *Swuni* and *emeni* are in kinship relation, contrary to what the constraint predicts.

On the other hand, the strongest claim of the Possessor Ascension Analysis is that it can provide a consistent account even when possessor and possessee relation is kept in an object position. However, it does not seem to be the case. Inconsistencies are easily observed when a possessor and a possessee are in an object position. Let us take a look at the following sentences:

- (12) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-uy elkwul-ul kuli-ess-ta.  
           -N           -G face-A draw-Past  
           'Chelswu drew Swuni's face.'
- b. Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul elkwul-ul kuli-ess-ta.  
           -N           -A face-A draw-Past  
           'Chelswu drew Swuni's face.'

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8. I. Yang (1972) proposes the notion of 'multiplication of case markers' which is a realization of a deep-seated psycho-linguistic phenomenon, say, 'macro-micro' relation to account for DSCa. This relation is a concept of asymmetrical inclusion where an NP is conceptually divided into the whole NP itself (i.e., macro-NP) and a subpart of it (i.e., micro-NP). However, his analysis is excluded in the discussion of this paper since his analysis concerns the matter of case assignment only.



- (13) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-uy emeni-lul manna-ss-ta.  
           -N          -G mother-A meet-Past  
       'Chelswu met Swuni's mother.'
- b. \*Chelswu-ka Swuni-lul emeni-lul manna-ss-ta.  
           -N          -A mother-A meet-Past  
       'Chelswu met Swuni's mother.'

As shown above, *Swuni* ascends in (12), but not in (13) notwithstanding that possessor and possessee relation is maintained in an object position in both sentences. In other words, the examples above show that Possessor Ascension from direct objects does not always occur even when a possessor and a possessee are in the relation of kinship. For this matter, Choi (1988:89) states that Possessor Ascension from direct objects is not possible when kinship terms are involved, although he claims that the line of Possessor Ascension in Korean is drawn at direct object.<sup>9)</sup>

To rule out sentences like (13b), Choi proposes that Possessor Ascension from direct objects is possible only when a possessor and a possessee are in the inalienable relation such as body-parts or names. Even though this peculiar constraint is admitted, it is not possible to rule out (11b) since it is not a direct object position but a subject position in which kinship relation is held. Moreover, this constraint does not seem to cover all the relevant data either, as can be seen in (14).

- (14) a. Swuni-ka Chelswu-uy sonthop-ul ccall-ass-ta.  
           -N          -G nail-A cut-Past  
       'Swuni cut Chelswu of the nails.'
- b. \*Swuni-ka Chelswu-lul sonthop-ul ccall-ass-ta.  
           -N          -A nail-A cut-Past  
       'Swuni cut Chelswu of the nails.'

According to the additional constraint, say, inalienability condition, Possessor Ascension should take place on the case of the sentence (14a) because *sonthop* is certainly a body-part and, consequently, is in the inalienable relation to *Swuni*. However, (14b) is not a grammatical sentence contrary to what the Possessor

9. Unlike Choi (1988), S. Park (1985) claims that the Possessor Ascension in Korean occurs on an absolute base. However, (11) and (14) show that it is not true.

Ascension Analysis predicts. Of course, another constraint could be added on Possessor Ascension to rule out (14b), as the advocates of the Possessor Ascension Analysis do. However, it is still problematic for the Possessor Ascension Analysis to account for (15b), even though another constraint based on semantic notion is taken to account for (14b).

- (15) a. Swuni-uy sengcek-i                    tteleci-ess-ta.  
           -G academic records-N fall down-Past  
           'Swuni's academic records fell down.'  
       b. Swuni-ka sengcek-i                    tteleci-ess-ta.  
           -N academic records-N fall down-Past  
           'Swuni's academic records fell down.'

As shown above, *Swuni* and *sengcek* are not in the relation of inalienability in any sense at all but *Swuni* ascends. As a consequence, (15b) is a grammatical sentence. If this is the case, the Possessor Ascension Analysis cannot but propose inconsistent, ad hoc, and asymmetrical (between subject and object) constraints to account for the sentences discussed above.

In sum, the Possessor Ascension Analysis seems at first glance to provide an answer concerning the Stratal Uniqueness Law but it exposes three fundamental theoretical problems. The first problem is how to define or delineate 'inalienability' to cover the cases across subject and direct object positions in a consistent manner. The second problem is why the 'inalienable relation' triggers ascension even though we admit that it can be defined somehow successfully. The last problem is, then, why the inalienability can cause ascension in some languages but cannot in other languages such as English.

## 2.4 Base Generation Analysis

Unlike the proponents of the Transformational Analysis and the Possessor Ascension Analysis, B. Park (1973, 1982), Yim (1984, 1985), Han (1987 and others propose that DSCs and their non-DSC sources are base generated, respectively.<sup>10</sup>) B. Park (1982:646-650) *inter alios* points out that (7a) concerns a property of 'the leaves of that tree,' whereas (7b) concerns a property of 'that

10. Sohn (1980) also proposes that DSCs are base generated. However, the matrix subject in Shon's analysis is treated as a topic, not a subject.

tree.' Let us take a look at the sentences (7a) and (7b), repeated in (16a) and (16b), respectively, at this place.

- (16) a. Ce namwu-uy iph-i khu-ta.  
that tree-G leaf-N big  
'The leaves of that tree are big.'
- b. Ce namwu-ka iph-i khu-ta.  
that tree-N leaf-N big  
'That tree has big leaves.'

B. Park claims that 'the leaves of that tree' have a property of 'being big,' while the latter expresses that 'that tree' has a property of 'its leaves being big', and, therefore, (16a) and (16b) are two distinct propositions, namely, two different sentences.

As noted in Section 2.3, B. Park also observes the difference in meaning with respect to the process of pronominalization. Let us again take a look at the sentences (8a) and (8b), repeated in (17a) and (17b), respectively.

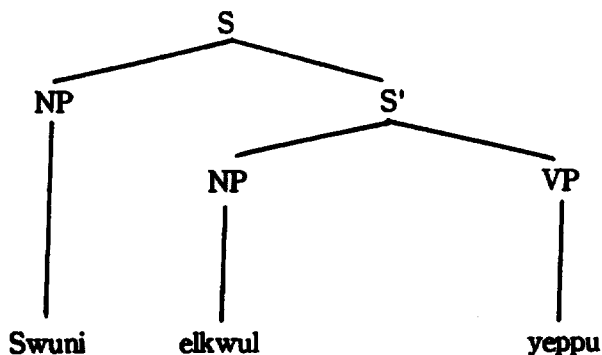
- (17) a. Ce namwu-uy iph-i khu-ta. Kulayse, (kukes-i) ssulmo-ka iss-ta.  
and so it-N use-N exist  
'The leaves of that tree are big. So, they are useful.'
- b. Ce namwu-ka iph-i khu-ta. Kulayse, (kukes-i) ssulmo-ka iss-ta.  
and so it-N use-N exist  
'That tree has big leaves. So, it is useful.'

As discussed by B. Park (see Section 2.3), the deleted pronoun *kukes* should refer to the same referent in both (17a) and (17b) if (16a) and (16b) are indeed in the derivative relation as claimed by the advocates of the Transformational Analysis (and the Possessor Ascension Analysis *mutatis mutandis*). However, as noted, the deleted pronoun *kukes* refers to *ce namwu-uy iph* in (17a) but to *ce namwu* in (17b). He argues that this disparity again reveals that (16a) and (16b) are again two distinct sentences.

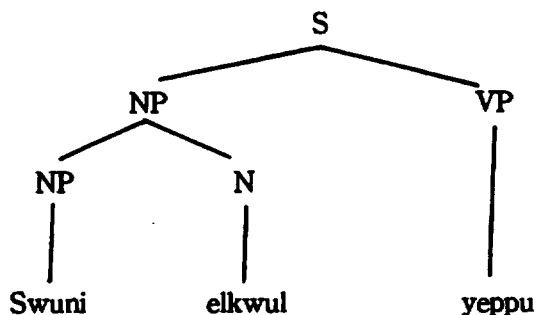
Thus, B. Park proposes that the sentences (16a) and (16b) should be base-generated, respectively. Pointing out that the so-called DSCs describe a property of the individual and the property is expressed by a 'sub-sentence' (i.e., S' in (17a) in his terms), he further claims that the sub-sentence is the predicate of the whole sentence which bears 'about relation' to subject.

Therefore, the structures of (4a) and (4b) are (18a) and (18b), respectively, under B. Park's analysis.<sup>11)12)</sup>

(18) a.



b.



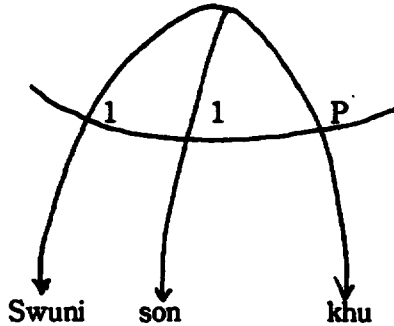
As discussed above, the Base Generation Analysis can clearly show the reason why the so-called double subject sentences and their assumed source sentences cannot be related. An apparent reason is that they are two distinct sentences generated from the base. As a consequence, the Base Generation Analysis needs no constraint at all to account for two seemingly related sentences as the Possessor Ascension Analysis (and the Transformational Analysis) do since phrases serving as a sentential predicate should be always *about* their subject.

11. Yim (1985)'s and Han (1987)'s structures are slightly different from B. Park's in that they provide analyses within the different framework, say, Government and Binding Theory, from the one which B. Park counts on. However, their analyses are considered to be identical to B. Park's in this discussion. It follows from the fact that they propose an identical idea to B. Park's. One difference is that they take a notion 'predication' whereas B. Park adopts a notion 'predicate'.

12. Teng (1974) has presented an essentially similar view to B. Park's in his analysis of double nominatives in Chinese. The difference between Teng's analysis and B. Park's analysis seems to be notational. Teng has proposed that VP is rewritten as S whereas B. Park proposes the notion of sentential predicate, namely, S'.

However, from a Relational Grammar's standpoint, the Base Generation Analysis allows that in Korean there might be constructions violating the Stratal Uniqueness Law which bans the multiple occurrence of the nominals bearing a same grammatical relation within a same clause, as shown in (2), repeated in (19) below.

(19)



This line of reasoning follows from the fact that B. Park takes the view that the sentences in question have two distinct subjects and those sentences are simplex clauses.

### 3. Proposal: Biclausal Structure

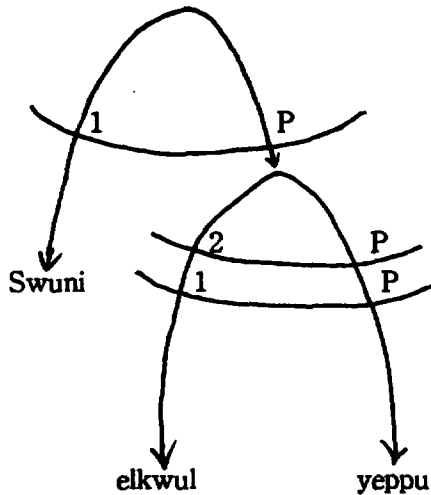
In the previous section, the Transformational Analysis and the Possessor Ascension Analysis have been reviewed and their problems have been discussed. It has been shown that the Base Generation Analysis, especially B. Park's analysis, can overcome difficulties that the Transformational Analysis experiences. It has been, however, shown that the Base Generation Analysis admits DSCs violating the Stratal Uniqueness Law which bans the multiple occurrence of the nominals bearing a same grammatical relation within a same clause. In this section, a biclausal analysis will be proposed to solve problems which the Transformational Analysis, the Possessor Ascension Analysis and the Base Generation Analysis expose.

As observed in the previous section, it has been proposed by B. Park (1973, 1982), Yim (1984, 1985), and Han (1987) that the sub-sentence (in B Park's terms) of the so-called DSCs functions as a predicate of the whole sentence. On the other hand, Perlmutter (1978) and Perlmutter and Postal (1984) propose that adjectives and predicates describing states of mind are initially

unaccusative.<sup>13</sup>) Perlmutter and Postal (1984) further propose the Universal Alignment Hypothesis which, informally, says that there exist principles of universal grammar which predict the initial relation borne by each nominal in a given clause from the meaning of the clause.<sup>14</sup> Now, if B. Park's idea of sentential predicate and Perlmutter and Postal's Unaccusative Hypothesis are taken, the stratal diagrams of the sentences (4a) and (4b), repeated in (20a) and (20b), will be (21) and (22), respectively.

- (20) a. Swuni-ka elkwul-i yeppu-ta.  
           -N face-N pretty  
           'Swuni has a pretty face.'  
       b. Swuni-uy elkwul-i yeppu-ta  
           -G       -N pretty  
           'Swuni's face is pretty.'

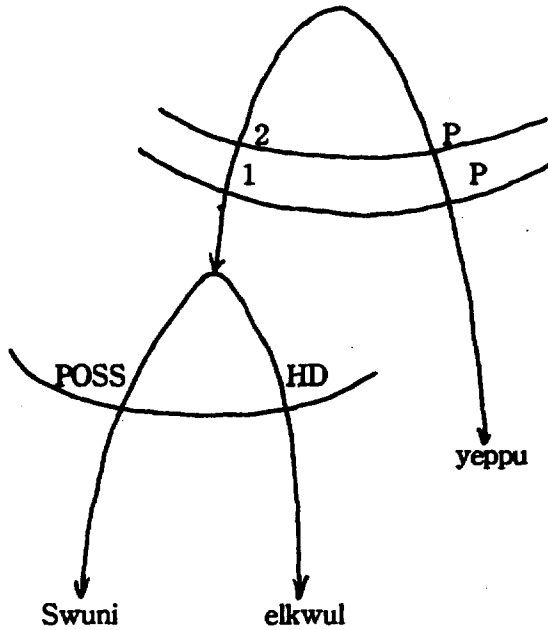
(21)



13. An unaccusative predicate is an intransitive verb which permits the initial strata of its relational networks to contain a 2 (i.e., direct object) alone.

14. The Universal Alignment Hypothesis is a claim about the linkage between initial relations and semantic roles. Rosen (1984:53) proposes the Little Alignment Hypothesis instead of the Universal Alignment Hypothesis. The claim of the Little Alignment Hypothesis is that for any one predicate in any one language, there is a fixed mapping which aligns each semantic role with an initial grammatical relation and the alignment remains invariant for all clauses with that predicate. Although the Universal Alignment Hypothesis had been argued against and amended as the Little Alignment Hypothesis by Rosen, Perlmutter and Postal's Universal Alignment Hypothesis is assumed in this paper in the absence of the evidence that adjectives and predicates describing states of mind are not unaccusative predicates in Korean. See Perlmutter and Postal (1984) and Rosen (1984) for the details of each hypothesis.

(22)



As the Base Generation Analysis does, the proposed analysis admits that the so-called DSC (i.e., (20a)) and its non-DSC source (i.e., (20b)) are two distinct sentences. Accordingly, stratal diagrams (21) and (22) have been posited for the two distinct sentences (20a) and (20b), respectively. The stratal diagram (21) shows that the downstairs clause *elkwul-i yeppu-ta* bears the grammatical relation of the predicate of the upstairs clause whereas the stratal diagram (22) shows that *Swuni-uy elkwul* (as a constituent) assumes the grammatical relation of the subject of the whole clause. In other words, stratal diagrams (21) and (22) clearly show that (20a) is the sentence whose structure is biclausal but (20b) is the sentence whose structure is monoclausal.

In the stratal diagram (21) above, *Swuni* gets a nominative marker because it is the final subject of the upstairs clause and *elkwul* also gets a nominative marker because it assumes the final subject relation of the downstairs clause owing to the Final 1 Law.<sup>15</sup> In other words, the stratal diagram (21) clearly shows that the two subsequent nominative markers of the sentence (20a)

15. The Final 1 Law is one of the well-formedness conditions within the framework of Relational Grammar. It can be informally stated as follows:

Final 1 Law

Every basic clause must contain a final-stratum 1-arc.

are mere representations of the subjects of the matrix clause and the embedded clause, respectively, and that the construction under discussion consequently does not violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law. On the other hand, the stratal diagram (22) shows that *elkwul* gets a nominative marker because the noun phrase *Swuni-uy elkwul* is the final subject of the whole clause, and that *Swuni* gets a genitive marker because it bears the relation of possessor to *elkwul* within a same noun phrase.

Before providing supporting arguments for the proposed Biclausal Analysis of the so-called DSC like (1a), it seems to be worthwhile observing an interesting phenomenon which psychological predicates exhibit. Psychological predicates such as *coh-ta* 'be fond of', *silh-ta* 'not be fond of', *mwusep-ta* 'be afraid of' take as a seeming subject (or, seeming complement in some sense) a nominal bearing a theme role, as can be seen below:

- (23) a. *Swuni-ka coh-ta.*  
           -N be fond of  
           '(I) am fond of Swuni.'
- b. *Swuni-ka silh-ta.*  
           -N be not fond of  
           '(I) am not fond of Swuni.'
- c. *Kay-ka mwusep-ta.*  
           dog-N be afraid of  
           '(I) am afraid of a dog.'

These predicates are subjective in that they involve an emotion or the psychological reaction of a speaker to things or people. In other words, psychological predicates express the speaker's purely subjective opinion about things or people (B. Park 1972:10). In this regard, these psychological predicates belong to the category of stative verbs, say, adjectives, and require that the subject be first person (or second person in questions). Such characteristics of psychological predicates render the sentences in (24) acceptable, but preclude the sentences in (25).<sup>16)</sup>

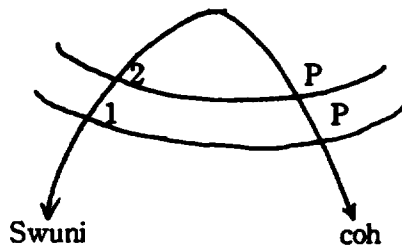
16. B. Park (1972:11) claims that it is only I, the speaker, who can say how feel about things and people at the present moment since it would be inconceivable for an other person to express my own feelings in the present tense unless he and I were the same person. For this reason, sentences like (3) are considered to be ungrammatical although quite a few studies treat them as grammatical sentences.



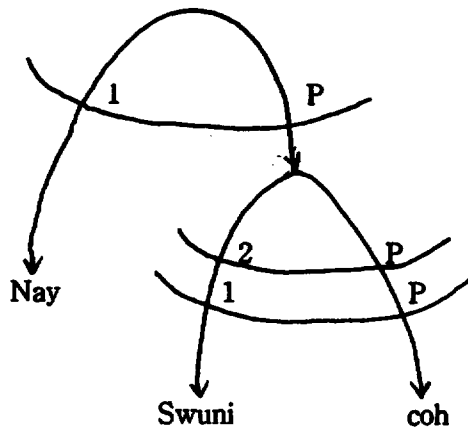
- (24) a. *Nay-ka Swuni-ka coh-ta.*  
 I-N                      -N be fond of  
 'I am fond of Swuni.'
- b. *Nay-ka Chelswu-ka silh-ta.*  
 I-N                      -N be not fond of  
 'I am not fond of Chelswu.'
- (25) a. \**Ney/\*Ku/\*Chelswu-ka Swuni-ka coh-ta.*  
 you/he                      -N                      -N be fond of  
 'You/He/Chelswu are/is fond of Swuni.'
- b. \**Ney/\*Ku/\*Swuni-ka Chelswu-ka silh-ta.*  
 you/he                      -N                      -N be not fond of  
 'You/He/Swuni are/is not fond of Chelswu.'

Following Perlmutter and Postal (1978, 1984)'s Unaccusative Hypothesis and B. Park (1972)'s idea of sentential predicate, Lee (1991:227-229, 1993:262-26) proposes the stratal diagrams (26) and (27), for the sentences (23a) and (24a).

(26)



(27)



As shown in (26), the initial (direct) object, *Swuni*, advances to the final subject in accordance with the requirement of a final subject within a clause (cf. the Final 1 Law). As a result of Unaccusative Advancement, the initial complement of psychological predicate is assigned a nominative marker. On the other hand, the stratal diagram (27) shows that the nominal of an experience role (i.e., *Nay* in (24a)) gets a nominative marker because it is the final subject of the upstairs clause, and that the nominal of a theme role (i.e., *Swuni* in (24a)) also gets a nominative marker because it assumes the final subject relation of the downstairs clause owing to the Final 1 Law.<sup>17</sup> That is, the stratal diagram (27) clearly shows that the two subsequent nominative markers of the sentence (24a) is mere representations of the subjects of the matrix clause and the embedded clause, respectively, and that the construction under consideration does not consequently violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law.

In this section, it has been shown that the same biclausal structure can be postulated to account for the constructions (1a) and (1b) which have been frequently considered to have different structures in many studies, and that the matter of case assignment in both constructions can be accounted for in a consistent manner. It has been accordingly shown that the Stratal Uniqueness Law is still valid as far as the constructions in question are concerned; otherwise it would be violated. Further, it may be the greatest advantage of the Biclausal Analysis if it can provide a same account for other phenomena (which might be attributed to the structural characteristics of both constructions) can be accounted for consistently under the proposed analysis.

#### 4. Supporting Arguments for Biclausal Analysis

In Section 2, various analyses have been reviewed and their problems have been discussed. In Section 3, the Biclausal Analysis has been proposed for the constructions like (1a) and (1b). In this section, it will be shown that both constructions (1a) and (1b) work the same way with respect to degree adverbs, word order, and subject honorification.

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17. As shown above, the proposed analysis provides a sufficient account not only for the matter of case marking but also for the dual character of the nominal of a theme role in the psychological predicate construction like (24a). See (Lee 1991, 1993) for the details of arguments for the proposed analysis.

#### 4.1 Degree Adverbs

It has been well known that degree adverbs such as *ajwu* 'very' or *maywu* 'very' must occur before adjectives which they modify, and that ungrammatical sentences result, if they take place elsewhere, as can be seen in (28) below.

- (28) a. Swuni-ka ajwu/maywu alumtap-ta.  
           -N very                  beautiful  
           'Swuni is very beautiful.'
- b. ?\*ajwu/?\*maywu Swuni-ka alumtap-ta.  
           very                          -N beautiful  
           'Swuni is very beautiful.'

As described above, (28a) is a grammatical sentence but (28b) is not because a degree modifier occurs in the sentence initial position instead of occurring before an adjective which the degree modifier modifies and in turn functions as a predicate of the given sentence.

With respect to degree modifiers, B. Park (1982:648) observes that those adverbs freely occur before the embedded clauses as well as the adjectives of the construction (1a).

- (29) a. Swuni-ka nwun-i ajwu/maywu khu-ta.  
           -N eye-N very                  big  
           'Swuni has very big eyes.'
- b. Swuni-ka ajwu/maywu nwun-i khu-ta.  
           -N very                  eye-N big  
           'Swuni has very big eyes.'

What he argues with respect to degree adverbs is that the occurrence of degree adverbs before the embedded clause of the sentences under consideration makes it clear that embedded clauses are in fact predicates; otherwise the description of degree adverbs would be unnecessarily complicated.

On the other hand, those degree adverbs show the same distribution in the psychological predicate construction under discussion, as can be observed below:

- (30) a. Kay-ka ajwu/maywu coh-ta.  
           dog-N very               be fond of  
           '(I) am very fond of a dog.'
- b. ?\*Ajwu/?\*Maywu kay-ka coh-ta.  
           very               dog-N be fond of  
           '(I) am very fond of a dog.'
- (31) a. Nay-ka kay-ka ajwu/maywu coh-ta.  
           I-N    dog-N very               be fond of  
           'I am very fond of a dog.'
- b. Nay-ka ajwu/maywu kay-ka coh-ta.  
           I-N    very               dog-N be fond of  
           'I am very fond of a dog.'

The fact that degree adverbs show the same distribution in the psychological predicate construction makes it clear that embedded clauses serve as a predicate in this construction, too.

An apparent assumption underlying the Biclausal Analysis is that embedded clauses are predicates of the constructions in question. Therefore, it can be said that the above observation regarding degree adverbs confirms that embedded clauses are predicates in both constructions.<sup>18)</sup>

#### 4.2 Word Order Restriction

Korean has been known as a language of which word order is relatively free except that predicates are sentence-final. For this reason, scrambling of objects is possible:

- (32) a. Swuni-ka Chelswu-lul kitali-ess-ta.  
           -N                   -A wait-Past  
           'Swuni waited for Chelswu.'

18. Note that the sentence *Swuni-ka son-i khu-ta* expresses an idiomatic (or metaphoric) meaning ('Swuni is generous.') in addition to a literal meaning ('Swuni has a big hand.'). At present, I know of no reason why sentences like (1b) do not show this phenomenon. But, if idiomatic meanings are due to the meaning of predicate phrase (cf. idioms such as *kick the bucket* in English), the idiomatic meaning of the construction might be ascribed to the meaning of the embedded clause. Then, it can be said that the above phenomenon again reveals that the embedded clause, as a constituent, functions as the predicate of the construction.

- b. Chelswu-lul Swuni-ka kitali-ess-ta.  
           -A          -N wait-Past  
       'Swuni waited for Chelswu.'

Scrambling of objects are also possible from embedded clauses, as can be seen below:

- (33) a. [Sensayngnim-kkeyse [Swuni-ka Chelswu-lul  
           teacher-N                          -N          -A  
           kitali-ess-ta-ko] mit-usi-ess-ta.]  
           wait-Past-SE-Comp believe-H-Past  
       'The teacher believed that Swuni had waited for Chelswu.'
- b. [Chelswu-lul] [sensayngnim-kkeyse [Swuni-ka e  
                   -A techer-N                          -N  
                   kitali-ess-ta-ko] mit-usi-ess-ta.]  
           wait-Past-SE-Comp believe-H-Past  
       'The teacher believed that Swuni had waited for Chelswu.'

However, subjects do not seem to work the same way. Let us take a look at the following:

- (34) a. [Sensayngnim-kkeyse [Swuni-ka Chelswu-lul  
           teacher-N                          -N          -A  
           kitali-ess-ta-ko] mit-usi-ess-ta.]  
           wait-Past-SE-Comp believe-H-Past  
       'The teacher believed that Swuni had waited for Chelswu.'
- b. [Swuni-ka] [sensayngnim-kkeyse [ e Chelswu-lul  
                   -N techer-N                          -A  
                   kitali-ess-ta-ko] mit-usi-ess-ta.]  
           wait-Past-SE-Comp believe-H-Past  
       \*The teacher believed that Swuni had waited for Chelswu.'  
       'Swuni believed that the teacher had waited for Chelswu.'

As shown above, ungrammatical sentences are resulted in if subjects move out from embedded clauses, or resultant sentences convey unintended meanings. This is due to the fact that the predicate of matrix clause should be a property about the matrix subject whereas the predicate of embedded clause should

concern a property about the subject of embedded clause (cf. Section 2.4). In other words, it is the matter of the domain of subjects: subjects cannot move across their clause boundary.

On the other hand, if the constructions under discussion are biclausal, it would be then expected that scrambling of an embedded subject results in ungrammatical (or uninterpretable) sentences. Lets us take a look at the following:

- (35) a. Swuni-ka emeni-ka celm-usi-ta.  
           -N mother-N young-H  
           'Swuni has a young mother.'
- b. \*Emeni-ka Swuni-ka celm-usi-ta.  
           mother-N           -N young-H  
           'Swuni has a young mother.'
- (36) a. Swuni-ka khi-ka khu-ta.  
           -N height-N tall  
           'Swuni is tall.'
- b. khi-ka Swuni-ka khu-ta.  
           height-N           -N tall  
           '\*Swuni is tall.'  
           'As for height, Swuni is tall.'
- (37) a. Nay-ka kohyang-i kulip-ta.  
           I-N hometown miss  
           'I miss my hometown.'
- b. \*Kohyang-i nay-ka kulip-ta.  
           hometown-N I-N miss  
           'I miss my hometown.'

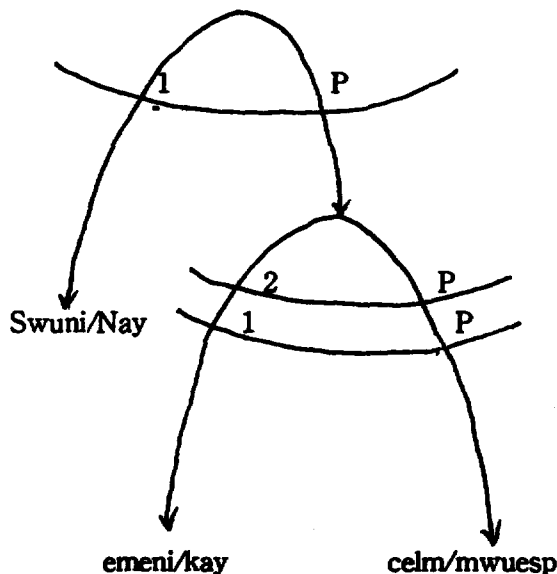
As shown above, switching of subjects maker sentences ungrammatical or convey another meaning (if interpreted as a topicalization with a sufficient pause). From this observation, it may not be unreasonable to draw a conclusion that scrambled subjects are the subjects of embedded clauses; otherwise, regardless of the phenomenon shown in (34), some other peculiar constraints might be needed to preclude the examples illustrated in (35b), (36b) and (37b) which will inevitably make the description of grammar more complicated.

### 4.3 Subject Honorification

Subject honorification is one of the topics which call forth lots of controversies. Syntactic factor such as subject-hood seems to trigger subject honorification, though it seems to be sometimes affected by pragmatic factors. Anyway, it is generally assumed that honorific marker 'si' is triggered by the final subject of clause, although I know of no study which satisfactorily account for tricky phenomena. As being practiced, assuming that subject honorification is triggered by the final subject of clause, let us take a look at the following sentences and their corresponding stratal diagrams:

- (38) a. Swuni-ka emeni-ka celm-\*(usi)-ta.  
           -N mother-N young-H  
           'Swuni has a young mother.'  
       b. Nay-ka kay-ka mwusep-(\*usi)-ta.  
           I-N dog-N be afraid of(-H)  
           'I am afraid of a dog.'

(39)



As discussed in the previous section, the Biclausal Analysis claims that the initial object of embedded clause (i.e., *emeni* and *kay* in (38)) advances to the

final subject of embedded clause (cf. Unaccusative Advancement and (39)). Consequently, if subject honorification is determined by the final subject of clause, it would be expected that the final subjects in (38a) and (38b) (i.e., *emeni* and *kay*) trigger subject honorification. And such a prediction seems to be borne out. As shown above, *emeni*, in (38a), triggers subject honorification because it is respectable whereas *kay*, in (38b), does not trigger subject honorification because it is not respectable.

However, the following examples seem to be problematic under the Biclausal Analysis. Let us take a look at the following examples.

- (40) a. Sensayngnim-i khi-ka khu-\*(si)-ta.  
 teacher-N height-N tall(-H)  
 'The teacher is tall.'
- b. Nay-ka sensayngnim-i mwusep(-\*usi)-ta.  
 I-N teacher-N be afraid of(-H)  
 'I am afraid of the teacher.'

What the Biclausal Analysis predicts with respect to the examples above is that *khi*, in (40a), should not trigger subject honorification since it is not a respectable referent whereas *sensayngnim*, in (40b), should trigger subject honorification since it is the referent of respect. However, the examples in (40) show that it is not the case. Then, an arising question is, does subject honorification provide counter-evidence to the proposed analysis?

In this regard, it seems worthwhile noting that the structure of the sentences in question is somewhat peculiar in that the predicates in (40) serve as a predicate of the embedded clause and the embedded clause in turn serves as a predicate of the matrix clause, as depicted in (39). This structural peculiarity seems to make the final subject of the matrix clause in this construction easily accessible to triggering subject honorification.

For this, Y. Yim (1984:203, 1985:103) proposes X-bar Transparency claiming that a syntactic relation (with an external element) holds through any number of branching nodes of the same category type with immediate dominance between them or with the same head. Though Y. Yim's X-bar Transparency is a claim relying on X-bar structure within the framework of GB, it amounts to saying that the subject of the matrix clause has a syntactic relation of subject to the predicate of the embedded clause in the stratal diagram (39).



If this is the case, it is obvious why subject honorification is controlled by the matrix final subject *in lieu of* the embedded final subject in sentences like (40). An obvious answer is that the structural property of the sentences makes it possible for the matrix final subject to behave as a subject of the embedded predicate with respect to subject honorification. This line of reasoning may not be unreasonable. It may be further supported by the fact that the final subject of the embedded clause is not an initial subject but an initial object. Put differently, the final subject of the embedded clause is not a proper subject but a complement to the embedded predicate in some sense. Accordingly, it may easily yield up some properties of subject (such as property of triggering subject honorification) to the matrix subject in this peculiar construction. If the reasoning here is on the right track, the seeming problematic phenomenon with respect to subject honorification might not be a genuine counter-evidence for the proposed Biclausal Analysis. Rather, it may be a supporting evidence because, under the Biclausal Analysis, the consistent and principled account is possible for subject honorification in connection with the constructions under discussion.

Now, it seems to be worthwhile noting how the monoclausal analysis discussed in section 2 account for the tricky phenomenon of subject honorification. First of all, it would be problematic for monoclausal analyses to decide which subject triggers subject honorification, as far as two distinct subjects are maintained within a same simplex clause. As examined in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3, the Possessor Ascension Analysis, *inter alia*, may be an analysis which denies the existence of two distinct subjects within a same clause. Let us then take a look at the sentences (38a) and (40a), repeated in (41a) and (41b) respectively.

- (41) a. Swuni-ka emeni-ka celm-\*(usi)-ta.  
           -N mother-N yong-H  
           'Swuni has a young mother,'  
       b. Sensayngnim-i khi-ka khu-\*(si)-ta.  
           teacher-N height tall-H  
           'The teacher is tall.'

According to the Possessor Ascension Analysis (cf. Choi (1988)), possessor nominals (i.e., *Swuni* in (41a) and *sensayngnim* in (41b)) put the possessee nominals (i.e., *emeni* in (41a) and *khi* in (41b)) into chomage (cf. Section 2.2.). Thus, possessee nominals are no longer subjects in the above

sentences. It would be then expected that final subjects might trigger subject honorification. As expected, *sensayngnim* in (41b) triggers subject honorification. However, it is not the case in (41a). *Swuni* is expected to trigger subject honorification but it does not. On the contrary, subject honorification is triggered by *emeni* which has lost its subject properties.

Like this, the Possessor Ascension Analysis and other monoclausal analyses cannot but experience difficulties or be inconsistent in accounting for the tricky phenomenon with respect to subject honorification. On the contrary, however, the proposed Biclausal Analysis is consistent and provides rather principled account for the same phenomenon, as discussed above.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper has reviewed and argued against various monoclausal analyses of the so-called double subject constructions in Korean. Instead, under the assumption that adjectives and psychological predicates are initially unaccusative (cf. Perlmutter and Postal (1984)), this paper has proposed the Biclausal Analysis based on the notion of sentential predicate (cf. B. Park 1973, 1982). It has been further shown that the Biclausal Analysis can provide proper accounts not only for the case marking phenomenon of the constructions discussed but also for the related syntactic phenomena such as the distribution of degree adverbs, the restriction of word order, and subject honorification.

To recapitulate, the claims of this paper are: (1) The so-called double subject constructions in Korean are constructions which are resulted in by the interaction of biclausal structures and the Unaccusative Advancement. (2) Accordingly, the two consecutive nominative markers of the constructions are merely representations of the subjects of matrix clause and embedded clause, respectively. (3) As a consequence, the Stratal Uniqueness Law, which excludes the stratum containing more than one nominal bearing a same term relation, is still valid as far as the constructions discussed are concerned.

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