

Non-oblique syntax for a dative experiencer in Korean*

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Kim, Kyumin. 2017. Non-oblique syntax for a dative experiencer in Korean. *Linguistic Research* 34(1), 77-106. This paper provides an analysis of a dative experiencer in Korean and argues that not all semantically oblique experiencers have the syntax of a PP. I argue that experiencers in Korean are not represented by a PP, and I show evidence that they behave differently from PPs. The properties of the Korean-type experiencers can be accounted for by assuming an applicative approach, as has been suggested in previous studies for a similar type of experiencers in other languages. In an applicative structure, an experiencer is introduced by an applicative head, and the applicative phrase merges externally to VP. The present study suggests that the syntax of experiencers can be heterogeneous, and that not all semantically similar arguments are mapped onto the same structural position. This counters a semantics-syntax mapping in the spirit of the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) (Baker 1988), often assumed in the literature. (Cheongju University)

Keywords experiencer, dative, locative, P, applicative

1. Introduction

In a recent approach to experiencers, Landau (2010) claims that they are universally oblique, i.e., the grammatical relation generally indicated by an adposition or adpositional affix (e.g., locative). In particular, he claims that those oblique experiencers have oblique syntax, i.e., locative PPs (see (2b)). This includes Class III psych-constructions,¹ which, in a nominative/accusative case-marking language, are those in which an experiencer has dative case and a theme bears nominative case

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¹ Landau (2010) also argues that Class II psych-constructions (i.e., Object experiencer constructions) have locative PP experiencers.

(Belletti and Rizzi 1988). Class III constructions are exemplified in Korean (1); note that the experiencers all bear the dative case-marker *-eykey* and the themes are all nominative-marked.²

- (1) a. Mini-eykey Inho-ka coh-ass-ta
 Mini-dat Inho-nom be likable-past-dec
 ‘Mini was fond of Inho.’
 b. ku namca-eykey koyangi-ka kekcengi-ess-ta
 that man-dat cat-nom worry-past-dec
 ‘That man worried about the cat.’

In some languages, however, a Class III experiencer can be marked by a preposition, as illustrated with Irish in (2a): The experiencer X is marked with a preposition *ag* ‘at’. Landau argues that these are locative PPs internal to VP as illustrated by the structure in (2b), where P is the locus of the inherent dative marker.³

- (2) a. Tá fuath do Y ag X
 is hatred to Y at X
 ‘X hates Y’ (McCloskey and Sells 1988)
 b. [_{VP} [_{PP} P Exp-DAT] [_{V'} [V DP]] (Landau 2010)

Obliqueness of the experiencer is supported both conceptually and morphologically (Landau 2010). Conceptually, experiencers have been viewed as the mental location of the mental state described by the predicate (*e.g.*, Jackendoff 1990; Arad 1998), and cross-linguistically experiencers are marked with P (see Landau 2010 for a wide range of examples). Accordingly, the locative semantics and morphology of experiencers are accounted for by the locative PP structure in (2b).

In addition, it is noted that class III psych-constructions are always non-agentive, in contrast with class I psych-constructions (Class I has transitive syntax with a nominative experiencer subject and an accusative theme (Belletti and Rizzi 1988)). Structure (2b)

² In this paper, the Korean data without citation comes from consultation with three native speakers.

³ I neither pursue the question of how each of three classes of psych-predicates can be analyzed nor provide overview of all three classes of psych-predicate. However, they will be discussed when they become relevant. I refer readers to Belletti and Rizzi (1988) for classic properties of three classes of psych-predicates, and Kim (1990) for those of Korean psych-predicates.

captures the non-agentive semantics of class III psych-constructions: There is no agent-introducing head, *e.g.*, Voice [+AG] (where AG represents agentivity). That is, the locative structure proposed for the experiencer does not have an external argument, but only internal arguments: an experiencer PP and a theme DP. According to Landau (2010), the VP-internal status of the experiencer is supported by the fact that it bears inherent case, which will be further discussed in Section 5.

Contra Landau (2010), this paper shows that not all semantically oblique experiencers are universally represented by oblique-syntax such as the locative PP structure (2b), and not all experiencers are internal arguments. The evidence comes from the psych-constructions in Korean (1) that correspond to Class III in Belletti and Rizzi (1988). I argue that although they may have locative semantics or morphology, Korean experiencers of the kind shown in (1) are not syntactically locative PPs as in (2b), which is also noted in Kim's (2015a) comparison of experiencers to existential constructions. Thus, contra Landau (2010), the semantics and morphology of class III experiencers do not necessarily imply oblique PP syntax with internal-argument experiencers. As an alternative to a PP syntax in (2b), I propose that experiencers in Korean are well accounted for by a non-oblique syntax such as applicative analyses as proposed in previous studies (Cuervo 2003, 2010; Adger and Ramchand 2005; Kim 2015a). A dative experiencer in Korean is also introduced by an applicative (Appl) head that merges externally to VP.⁴

Major contribution of this paper is to expand the possible syntax of locative experiencers, revealing syntactic differences among them, *e.g.*, between PP and ApplP experiencers. Moreover, this paper suggests that similar semantic roles may not necessarily be mapped onto the identical structural positions, in contrast with generally assumed semantic-syntax mapping theories that share a similar spirit with the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) (Baker 1988).

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 shows that an experiencer in Korean may be locative at an abstract level. However, Section 3 demonstrates that having locative semantics does not necessitate that an experiencer is a PP. In Section 4, building on previous applicative approaches to experiencers, I propose that Appl, not P, must be the head that introduces a dative experiencer in Korean. Section 5 provides further evidence for the proposal that inherent case on the experiencer is

⁴ This type of Appl is called high Appl (Pylkkänen 2008). As this paper mainly discusses high Appl, I refer to it as Appl throughout.

assigned externally, and it shows that with respect to idiom formation, experiencers behave like external arguments rather than internal arguments such as PPs. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. The locative semantics of experiencers

This section presents previous analyses that argue for the locative *semantics* of experiencers, which I assume in this paper. However, in the following section, it will be shown that their locative semantics does not necessitate that the experiencer should be syntactically represented as PP. As will become clear in this section the main evidence offered in the literature in support of the view that an experiencer is *semantically* locative stems from locative *morphological* marking on the experiencer.

The proposal that dative experiencers in Korean (3a) have locative semantics is not new. Kim (1990) argues that dative experiencers have the Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS) in (3b). The motivation behind (3b) is that psych-constructions have properties similar to locative existential clauses (4)⁵; for instance, the dative marker in Korean is homophonous with the locative marker in the language (see also (7) below). The marker *-ey* is used for inanimate entities, while the marker *-eykey* is used for animate entities.

- (3) a. Mini-eykey emeni-ka musew-ess-ta
 Mini-dat mother-nom afraid-past-dec
 ‘Mini was afraid of her mother.’
- b. LCS [BE (x [being afraid of] [AT y])]
 STATE PLACE
 Where x is a theme and y is an experiencer.
 ‘At y, x is in the state of being feared.’
- (4) i maul-ey kang-i iss-ess-ta
 This town-dat river-nom be-past-dec
 ‘In this town, there is river.’

⁵ Dative experiencer and existential constructions are also argued to be syntactically similar (Kim 2015a).

In terms of the LCS (3b), the experiencer is the “place” where the state described by the verb phrase is located. Thus, in (3a) the dative experiencer ‘Mini’ is the place where ‘mother’ is in the state of being feared. A similar view has been suggested in other literature (e.g., Jackendoff 1990; Bouchard 1995; Arad 1998). For example, Arad (1998) treats experiencers as mental locations (or containers) of mental states.

Morphological facts also suggest that experiencers may be *semantically* locative. In Landau (2010), it is mentioned that many different languages express experiencers as locative adpositions (e.g., Hebrew, French, Navajo, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, etc.), as exemplified in Irish (2a), repeated as (5a), with an additional example in (5b): the experiencer ‘X’ is marked with the locative prepositions *ag* ‘at’ (5a) or *ar* ‘on’ (5b).

- (5) a. Tà fuath do Y **ag** X
 is hatred to Y **at** X
 ‘X hates Y.’
- b. Tà eagla roimh Y **ar** X
 is fear before Y **on** X
 ‘X is afraid of Y.’

(McCloskey and Sells 1988)

Similar data from Scottish Gaelic is provided as evidence for the semantic locative view on experiencers (Adger and Ramchand 2005). In this language, an experiencer can appear as a prepositional phrase, as illustrated in (6). The experiencer *orm* ‘I’ is marked with the locative preposition ‘on’.

- (6) a. tha cùram orm
 be-pres anxiety on.me
 ‘I am anxious.’
- b. bha fearg orm
 be-past anger on.me
 ‘I was angry.’

(Adger and Ramchand 2005)

The data presented in this section suggest that PP experiencers are *semantically* close to abstract locative PPs as they share a similar *morphological* marking with

locative PPs.

Korean seems to show a similar pattern as far as morphology is concerned. As shown in (3a) and (4), the dative marker that marks experiencers is homophonous to the locative marker, suggesting that dative experiencers are semantically locative. Some additional examples of locatives are illustrated in (7):

- (7) a. *kuney-eykey/cip-ey kangaci-ka tolaoa-ss-ta*
 she-p/home-p puppy-nom return-past-dec
 ‘The puppy returned to her/home.’
- b. *ku namca-eykey/hakkyo-ey umsik-i paytaltwoy-ess-ta*
 that man-p/school-p food-nom be.delivered-past-dec
 ‘The food was delivered to that man/the school.’

The animate locative DPs are marked with *-eykey*, which is homophonous with the dative marker on experiencers. Inanimate DP locations can appear in the same position as animate DP locations; for instance, in (7a), the inanimate location *cip* ‘home’ appears in the same position as *kuney* ‘she,’ but the former is marked with *-ey*, the morpheme used with locative inanimate DPs. Animacy does necessitate an experiencer interpretation; although animate entities appear in (3a), (1a-b), and (7), the ones in (3a) and (1a-b) are interpreted as experiencers, whereas the ones in (7) are interpreted as locations.

The fact that the same morpheme *-eykey* appears on different types of arguments suggests that these arguments are similar at some abstract level of semantics; that is, they may be locative, as has been argued in previous studies (e.g., Kim, Y. J. 1990; Arad 1998; Landau 2010; Adger and Ramchand 2005). However, this homophony in and of itself does not suggest that the relevant arguments would be *syntactically* similar, *i.e.*, PPs. We can only conclude that there is a syntactic parallel between experiencers and locative PPs if we find syntactic similarities between them. Thus, the homophony of the marker on experiencers and locatives does not imply that experiencer and locative arguments are syntactically similar.

3. Experiencer phrases do not pattern with PPs

As discussed in the previous section, experiencers could have abstract locative

meaning, and this is what is claimed by Landau (2010). As a consequence of this claim, Landau (2010) argues that the experiencers of the Class III are oblique and thus they are syntactically PPs (2). The structure of the Class III is repeated in (8):

- (8) [VP [PP P Exp-DAT] [V' [V DP]]

In (8), the experiencer is the complement of P, and PP is an internal argument of VP. Dative case on the experiencer is assigned by P. The PP structure in (8) predicts that PP experiencers will pattern with other types of PPs, as has been shown by Landau (2010) and Adger and Ramchand (2005) for experiencers such as those discussed in the previous section (6). For instance, they argue that prepositional experiencers like *orm* ‘on me’ in (6) are structurally parallel to locative prepositional phrases like *aig an doras* ‘at the door’ in (9a), as illustrated in (9b).

- (9) a. *tha am ministear aig an doras*
 be.pres the minister at the door
 ‘The minister is at the door.’
 b. [TP [T be [_{PredP} the minister/fear [Pred [_{PP} at the door/on me]]]]]
 (Adger and Ramchand 2005)

One piece of evidence for the claim that an experiencer in sentences such as (6) may have locative syntax, *i.e.*, a PP structure as in (9b), is provided from causativization (Adger and Ramchand 2005). They argue that experiencers and locatives show the same behavior in causative constructions. Consider the causativization of locatives as illustrated in (10):

- (10) a. *bha am peann air a’bhord*
 be-past the pen on the table
 ‘The pen was on the table.’
 b. *Chir i am peann air a’bhord*
 put.past she the pen on the table
 ‘She put the pen on the table.’
 (Adger and Ramchand 2005)

(10a) is a simple predication with a locative phrase ‘on the table’, while (10b) is its causative counterpart, derived via the verb *cure* ‘put’. Locative experiencer clauses such as (6b) undergo causativization by employing the same verb ‘put’, as in (11).

- (11) chuir e fearg orm
 put.past he anger on.1sg
 ‘He made me angry.’

(Adger and Ramchand 2005)

Given the similarity between locative PPs and PP experiencers with respect to causativization, Adger and Ramchand (2005) argue that the PP experiencers in (6) are syntactically identical to abstract locative PPs.

Importantly, however, the semantic similarity between experiencers and PPs, without syntactic evidence such as (11), is not sufficient to infer that any experiencer which appears with a preposition has a locative PP structure. In other words, the fact that experiencers and locative PPs share the same morphological marking does not indicate that they share a syntactic structure. Adger and Ramchand (2005) illustrate this with another type of experiencer in Scottish Gaelic (see (12a)), which behaves differently from the ones in (6) in causative constructions. For example, in (12a), the experiencer is marked with the locative preposition (‘at’), like the locative experiencer in (6), which is also marked with the locative preposition (‘on’). On the surface, the experiencer in (12a) appears to be semantically locative, as are those in (6), as all are marked with a locative preposition. Unlike the experiencers in (6), however, this type of experiencer (12a) does not allow causativization with the verb ‘put’, as shown in (12b).

- (12) a. tha gaol **agam** ort
 be-pres love **at.me** on.you
 ‘I love you.’
 b. *chuir e gaol agam air
 put-past he love at.1sg on.3sg
 ‘He made me love him.’

(Adger and Ramchand 2005)

The unavailability of causativization in (12b) suggests that the experiencer in

(12a) cannot have the same structure as the one in (9b) whose structure is a locative PP. This is what is argued by Adger and Ramchand (2005): Experiencers, such as those in (12a), which do not allow causativization are *not syntactically* locative PPs, although they could be semantically locative.

The presence of an experiencer in (12a) that patterns differently from those in (6) suggests that not all semantically locative experiencers can be introduced by a P. The experiencers in Korean, like the PP experiencers in Scottish Gaelic, are marked with a morpheme that is homophonous with a locative postposition. While they could be abstract locative PPs like those in (6), they could also be a different type of phrase if, like the Scottish Gaelic experiencers in (12a), they do not pattern syntactically with locative PPs. In the following sections, I provide evidence that in Korean the second hypothesis is true; the properties of Korean experiencers suggest that they are not PPs syntactically. I provide the following evidence for support: case alternation, agreement, and plural copying, which has been noted in Korean literature for similar arguments made in this paper (*e.g.*, Gerds and Youn 1988; Youn 1990; Kim 2015a). The contribution of this paper regarding these pieces of evidence is the demonstration that dative experiencers are unlike PP experiencers which appear internal to VP.

3.1 Case alternation

In literature on Korean, it is well known that nominative case can alternate with dative case on experiencers (Gerds and Youn 1988, 1989; Youn 1990). The Class III experiencer clause in (13) can alternate its case with nominative:

- (13) yecatul-eykey/-i ku sosik-i sulph-ess-ta
 women-dat/-nom that news-nom sad-past-dec
 ‘The women were sad with that news.’

In contrast, canonical PPs as in (7) cannot undergo case alternation, as exemplified for (7a) in (14). Thus, dative experiencers and locative PPs differ with respect to case alternation.

- (14) *Mini-ka/Mini-lul kangaci-ka tolaoa-ss-ta
 Mini-nom /Mini-acc puppy-nom return-past-dec
 ‘The puppy returned to Mini.’

3.2 Agreement and plural copying

It has been shown that PP experiencers do not agree with T (MacFadden 2004, Baker 2012). For example, in Amharic as shown in Baker (2012), experiencers do not trigger subject agreement (15).

- (15) a. Aster fǝnnəkʻ-ə-at
 Aster.f worry-3ms-3fo
 ‘Aster is worried.’
 b. Almaz ammə-ə-at
 Almaz.f hurt-3ms-3fo
 ‘Almaz is sick, Almaz hurts.’

Baker (2012)

The experiencers ‘Aster’ (15a) and ‘Almaz’ (15b), which are argued to be PPs with null heads, do not trigger subject agreement. In (15), per Baker (2012), the verb shows default third person masculine agreement (this marker, /ə/, is unpronounced before a vowel-initial suffix, but I represent it overtly in (15) to emphasize that there is a phonological element which corresponds to a *default* subject agreement marker in the language). Given the lack of subject agreement with PP experiencers in (15), Baker argues that they cannot satisfy the EPP feature of T because P blocks agreement with T.⁶

The opposite pattern is found in Georgian experiencers, which are dative-marked and introduced by an applicative morpheme *u-* on the verb, as illustrated in (16):

- (16) Gela-s u-qvar-s Nino
 Gela-dat appl-love-3pres.pl Nino.nom
 ‘Gela loves Nino.’
(Harris 1981)

⁶ PP experiencers in Amharic show object agreement, as the 3rd person feminine object suffix (*i.e.*, *-at*) in (15) on the verb indicates. Baker (2012) assumes that a null-headed PP cannot satisfy the EPP feature of a head such as T, and thus it cannot agree with T. Under this assumption, object agreement in Amharic is predicted to be possible, consistent with (15), as a functional head relevant to object agreement does not require an EPP feature. Moreover, the fact that Ps may behave differently with respect to agreement does not undermine the claim made in this paper, as *DPs* (*e.g.*, dative experiencers in Korean or Georgian) always show agreement with T if they are structurally in the right position.

The experiencer ‘Gela’ is marked with the dative case *-s* and the theme ‘Nino’ is nominative. Interestingly, the verb is marked with the applicative morpheme *u-* when the experiencer is added to the clause (Harris 1981, McGinnis 1998). Unlike Amharic experiencers (15), an experiencer in Georgian shows subject agreement, as illustrated in (17):

- (17) deideb-s gela u-qvar-Ø-t.
 Aunts-dat Gela.nom appl-love-pres-pl
 ‘The aunts love Gela.’ (McGinnis 1998)

In (17), the experiencer ‘aunts’ is plural and the theme ‘Gela’ is singular. The presence of the plural agreement marker *-t* on the verb reveals that the applied experiencer triggers number agreement on the verb. This shows that the experiencer occupies subject position, the specifier of TP, as pointed out by McGinnis (1998). This contrast between Georgian and Amharic is crucial to the current discussion: First, Georgian experiencers provide morphological evidence that an experiencer can indeed be introduced by Appl and dative-marked. Second, an applied dative experiencer can trigger subject agreement, in contrast with a PP experiencer. Unlike Amharic experiencers, Georgian experiencers are not PPs (as suggested in Harris 1981 and McGinnis 1998), and thus there is no P to block agreement.

If dative experiencers in Korean were PPs, we would expect them to lack any form of agreement with T, as Amharic experiencers do. However, if they are applied arguments as in Georgian, it will be possible for them to show certain type of agreement with T. The data indicate that Korean experiencers are not PPs; rather, they pattern with applied experiencers. This can be illustrated via honorific agreement, which in Korean is analyzed as agreement with T (Ura 1999). As shown in (18a), the dative experiencer ‘my mother’ triggers honorific agreement on the verb. In contrast, as shown in (18b), a nominative theme does not trigger such agreement. However, when nominative case alternates with dative case on the experiencer, the experiencer can still show honorific agreement, as indicated in (18a).⁷

⁷ Korean has a multiple nominative construction (*e.g.*, Yeon 1989; Yoon 2007). In terms of case marking on nouns, a multiple nominative construction appears to be similar to the sentence in (18) where the experiencer is nominative marked. Although interesting, this paper does not provide an analysis of a multiple nominative construction, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

- (18) a. **wuli emenim-eykey/-ka** ttal-i kekcengi-**si**-ess-ta
we mother-dat/-nom daughter-nom worry-**hon**-past-dec
 ‘My mother₁ worried about her₁ daughter.’
- b. ttal-eykey **wuli emenim-ka** kekcengi-(***si**)-ess-ta
 daughter-dat **we mother-nom** worry-**hon**-past-dec
 ‘Her₁ daughter worried about my mother₁.’

Importantly, in contrast with the dative experiencer in (18a), PPs do not trigger honorific agreement. In (19), the PP ‘to father’ cannot license the honorific morpheme on the verb.⁸

- (19) apenim-eykey kangaci-ka tolao-(***si**)-ess-ta
 father-p puppy-nom return-hon-past-dec
 ‘The puppy returned to (my) father.’

The phenomenon of plural copying in Korean provides a similar conclusion. Plural copying refers to a situation where the plural marker on a subject is copied onto other constituents (*e.g.*, an object or an adverb), but not vice versa (Kuh 1987; Song, J. 1997, Kim 1994). The presence of copied plural markers on non-subject constituents indicates the plurality of the subject, not the plurality of the non-subject constituents (Kuh 1987; Gerdts and Youn 1988, 1989; Youn 1990; Kim 1994).⁹ I present examples with an adverb in the position of a non-subject constituent, and the copied plural marker is notated as *tul* rather than *pl*. Consider the examples in (20).

- (20) a. ku haksayng-**tul**-i ppang-ul maisskey-**tul** mek-ess-ta
 dem student-**pl**-nom bread-acc deliciously-**tul** eat-past-dec
 ‘The students ate bread deliciously.’

⁸ In section 5, it is mentioned that in Korean postpositional datives are PPs. These PPs cannot be tested for agreement, honorification, or plural copying, as they merge below the subject argument. As they cannot be passivized, we also cannot test those properties with passive versions of postpositional datives.

⁹ The analysis of plural copying is unsettled: syntactic as well as semantic analyses have been proposed (*e.g.*, Kim 1994; Song 1997). Resolving this issue is outside the scope of this paper.

- b. ku haksayng-i ppang-ul maisskey-(***tul**) mek-ess-ta
 dem student-nom bread-acc deliciously-**tul** eat-past-dec
 ‘The student ate bread deliciously.’

In (20a), the plural marker on the subject ‘the students’ is copied onto the adverb ‘deliciously’. However, the plural marker cannot be copied onto the adverb when the subject is singular (20b); that is, there is no plural marker to be copied onto the adverb. The same pattern is observed with psych-constructions, as shown in (21).

- (21) a. ku haksayng-**tul**-eykey ppang-i manhi-**tul** coh-ass-ta
 dem student-**pl**-dat bread-nom much-**tul** be.likable-past-dec
 ‘The students were fond of the bread very much.’
 b. ku haksayng-eykey ppang-i manhi-(***tul**) coh-ass-ta
 dem student-dat bread-nom much-tul be.likable-past-dec
 ‘The student was fond of the bread very much.’

In (21a), the experiencer is plural, as the plural marker *-tul* indicates, thus the plural marker can be copied onto the adverb ‘much’. However, as with the canonical transitive clause in (20b), there is no plural marker to be copied onto the adverb when the experiencer is singular (21b). When nominative case alternates with dative case on the experiencer (22), the experiencer behaves in the same way.

- (22) a. ku haksayng-**tul**-i ppang-i manhi-**tul** coh-ass-ta
 dem student-**pl**-nom bread-nom much-**tul** be.likable-past-dec
 ‘The students were fond of the bread very much.’
 b. ku haksayng-i ppang-i manhi-(***tul**) coh-ass-ta
 dem student-nom bread-nom much-**tul** be.likable-past-dec
 ‘The student was fond of the bread very much.’

In contrast, PPs cannot trigger plural copying. In (23), the PPs are plural, as the plural marker *-tul* on the DP ‘the student’ suggests. However, the plural marker in this position cannot license the plural morpheme on the adverb ‘quickly’ in (23) in the same clause: the sentence in (23) is ungrammatical.

- (23) ku haksayng-**tul**-eykey kangaci-ka ppali-(***tul**) tolao-ass-ta
 that student-**pl-p** puppy-nom fast-**tul** return-past-dec
 ‘The (lost) puppy returned to the students quickly.’

The difference between the dative experiencer in (22) and the PP in (23) with respect to plural copying can be accounted for in terms of their agreement with T. The morphological realization of *-tul* on non-subject constituents has been argued to be the result of agreement between these constituents and the corresponding subjects (e.g., Choe 1988; Kim 1994). Under current syntactic assumptions (e.g., Chomsky 2000), the agreement argued in those studies would take place via T.

Abstracting away from the technical details of agreement, an important point with respect to the current discussion is that the copied *-tul* on non-subject constituents is the realization of subject agreement. Unlike regular agreement with T, which is usually realized on the verb (e.g., honorific agreement), with the plural copying in (20)–(23), agreement morphology occurs on the adverb, not on the verb. Thus, dative experiencers can agree with T, but PPs cannot, as the contrast with plural copying shows. This result suggests that Korean dative experiencers pattern with Georgian applied experiencers, not with Amharic PP experiencers. Given these agreement facts, along with the evidence from case alternation discussed in the previous section, I conclude that dative experiencers in Korean are not PPs.

Another conclusion emerging from the agreement facts is that dative experiencers in Korean are like so-called quirky subjects found across languages. Like Landau (2010), I assume that a quirky subject raises to subject position, namely to the specifier of TP (see Section 4.2 for more discussion). I conclude that case alternation with PPs shown in Section 3.1 is not available because, unlike dative experiencers, PPs cannot raise to the specifier of TP, as the agreement pattern indicates.

4. Non-oblique syntax of a dative experiencer

The evidence discussed in the previous section indicates that a dative experiencer is not like a VP-internal locative PP. Rather, it may be a non-oblique argument that merges higher than a theme argument, as honorific agreement and plural copying indicate. In other words, a dative experiencer may be a DP that appears external to VP.

In this section, I pursue such an approach, building on previous analyses of quirky subject experiencers - for instance, an applicative approach in which an experiencer is introduced by an Appl head merged outside VP (in the sense of Pylkkänen 2008).

4.1 Previous analyses of experiencers: ApplP approaches

The proposal that an experiencer may be introduced by Appl is not new; for example, a similar approach has been proposed in McGinnis (1998), Cuervo (2003, 2010), Adger and Ramchand (2005), Kim (2015) among others.¹⁰ Similarly, the Georgian experiencers discussed in Section 3 provide morphological support for an applicative analysis. For instance, Cuervo (2003, 2010) proposes that with Spanish class III predicates, an experiencer merges in the specifier of Appl, which takes an event type phrase (expressed by various *v* heads) as a complement, as illustrated in (24). In (24b), the dative experiencer ‘Vera’ merges in the specifier of Appl, not as an argument of the verb, but as an extra, external argument to the *v*P_{BE}. This type of Appl illustrated in (24a) appears external to an event, VP, like a Voice head (Pylkkänen 2008). Subsequent studies since Pylkkänen (2008) have further established that semantics of Appl is non-agentive, unlike Voice, which introduces an agent (Kim 2011, 2012; Schäfer 2012). Thus, the semantic property of an experiencer, being non-agentive, naturally follows from this property of Appl.

- (24) a. A Vera le gustan los gatos
 Vera.dat cl.dat like.pl the cats
 ‘Vera likes cats.’

- b. [_{ApplP} DP_{DAT} Appl [_vP_{BE} DP _vBE *v*gustar]]
 A Vera le los gatos

(Cuervo 2010)

Cuervo (2003) points out that the importance of the structure in (24b) is that the applicative structure can account for the way dative case is marked and the

¹⁰ Kim (2015a) provides similar range of data to those in this paper; for example, honorification, plural copying and an idiom. Unlike the main contribution of this paper in which a dative experiencer is external to VP unlike an internal PP experiencers, however, the main claim of her paper is that psych-predicates together with existentials are pseudo-transitive lying somewhere between transitive and intransitive.

internal/external argument status of a dative argument. This fact remained stipulative in Belletti and Rizzi (1988), who argued that dative case is inherent case expressed in a case grid associated with the verb in the lexicon. Under the assumption that inherent case is assigned VP-internally, the dative experiencer is a verb-internal argument, not an external argument. Cuervo points out that under this view, there is no relation between dative case and hierarchical structure.

However, in an applicative theory wherein a dative argument is introduced by Appl, the relation naturally falls out. In an Appl construction such as (24b), dative case is inherently assigned by Appl, and the asymmetric c-command relation between the dative applied argument and the nominative theme is a property of Appl. Importantly, Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) assumption that inherent case is assigned verb-internally, which was central evidence for the locative PP approach in Landau (2010) (see Section 1), is no longer necessary; rather, a dative argument introduced by Appl may be an external argument. In section 5, from Korean, assuming Woolford (2006), I provide evidence that inherent case can be assigned externally to VP by a head such as Appl, not necessarily internally to VP, contra Landau (2010).

Adger and Ramchand (2005) also argue that a certain set of experiencers in Scottish Gaelic (see (12a)) is introduced by Appl, unlike a locative experiencer in the language (see (6)), as discussed in Section 2. Recall the experiencer constructions that do not allow causativization (12a). Crucially, Adger and Ramchand (2005) propose that, despite its locative semantics, the experiencer in (12a) is not introduced by P but by Appl. This Appl is syntactically similar to Appl in Cuervo (2010), discussed in (24b) above, and the Appl head proposed in this paper (see (27b)) in that it merges externally to the predicate. Main evidence for their claim comes from the hierarchical relation between the experiencer and the theme, a well-known diagnostic for an argument introduced by Appl (*e.g.*, Marantz 1993). Like an applied argument, an experiencer asymmetrically c-commands the theme, as the contrast between (25a) and (25b) below shows. Recall that this type of experiencer is marked with the preposition 'at'. In (25a), the experiencer *agam* 'at me' can bind the reflexive theme *orm-fhèin* 'myself'. In contrast, in (25b), the theme *orm* 'I' cannot bind the reflexive experiencer *agam-fhèin* 'at myself', as the ungrammaticality of (25b) shows.

- (25) a. *tha gaol agam orm-fhèin*
 be-pres love at-1sg on-1sg-self
 ‘I love myself.’
 b. **Tha gaol agam-fhèin orm*
 be-pres love at-1sg-self on-1sg
 ‘I love myself.’

(Adger and Ramchand 2005)

In what follows, I demonstrate that a dative experiencer in Korean has non-oblique syntax such as applicative syntax proposed by other scholars discussed in this section.

4.2 A dative experiencer in Korean as an applied argument

As shown earlier, facts from honorification and plural copying already suggest that an experiencer occupies a higher position than a theme. Moreover, similar to Scottish Gaelic, asymmetric c-commanding relation between an experiencer and theme is observed for Korean (Kim 2015a). For instance, as illustrated in (26), a dative experiencer takes scope over a nominative theme argument, but not vice versa.¹¹ In (26), a quantified dative experiencer takes scope over the universal quantified nominative theme, allowing the interpretation (26i). However, the scope relation cannot be reversed, as the unavailability of the interpretation (26ii) suggests.

- (26) *etten haksayng-eykey motun chayk-i silh-ess-ta*
 some student-dat every book-nom hate-past-dec
 (i) ‘There is a particular student who hated all the books.’
 (ii) *‘For every book, there is a possibly different student who hated it.’

(Kim 2015a)

¹¹ Kim (2015a) also showed that scrambling of a nominative theme across a dative experiencer does not change the scope fact shown in (26). For the purpose of this paper, I do not discuss further detail.

A dative experiencer asymmetrically c-commands a theme as honorification, plural copying, and scope facts demonstrate, and this can be accounted for by the previous ApplP approaches, but not by the type of PP approach offered by Landau (2010) (see (2b)).

Taking these pieces of data as initial evidence, I propose that dative experiencers in Korean are applicative rather than adpositional, as illustrated in (27b).¹²

- (27) a. Mini-eykey Inho-ka coh-ass-ta
 Mini-dat Inho-nom be.likable-past-dec
 ‘Mini was fond of Inho.’
 b. [_{ApplP} Exp-eykey [_{Appl}’ [_{VP} theme V] Appl [DAT]]]

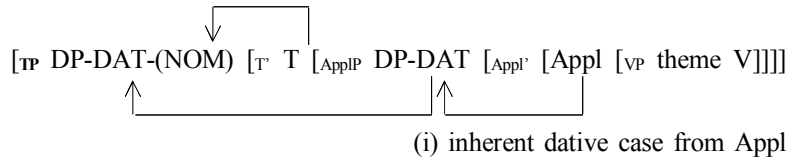
Dative case on the experiencer is assigned by Appl (see (34i) below) (Cuervo 2003, McFadden 2004), a head external to VP; in Section 5, I provide new evidence from Korean for this claim.

Like quirky subjects cross-linguistically, I assume that experiencers in Korean move to the specifier of TP to satisfy an EPP feature on T (Masullo 1992; Fernández-Soriano 1999; Ura 1999; Cuervo 2003, 2010), as illustrated in (28). Experiencers agree with T in terms of their relevant phi-features, which can result in honorific agreement and plural copying. Inherent case on experiencers is assigned by the Appl head which merges externally to VP (28i), as is further detailed in Section 5.

The proposal in (27b) can account for the case stacking and alternation between dative and nominative case discussed in Section 4.2. Descriptively, a dative-marked DP in the specifier of ApplP raises to the specifier of TP satisfying an EPP feature on T, and in this position it can be assigned nominative case, which results in dative-nominative case stacking (28ii). Note that in addition to the case-stacked argument, there is another nominative argument (*i.e.*, theme) in the same sentence, which this language allows (Ura 1999). Alternatively, the dative experiencer in the specifier of ApplP can raise to the specifier of TP without being marked with nominative case, as indicated by a bracket on nominative case in (28ii). The case feature of T can still be checked by the theme argument.

¹² I assume that the complement of Appl in (27b) also has a similar type of an event head to that of Spanish in (24b), but I neither indicate nor question it, which lies outside scope of this paper.

(28) (ii) nominative case from T resulting in case stacking



4.3 Inherent case

In Korean, it is well known that dative case is not structural (*e.g.*, Urushibara 1991; Park and Whitman 2003). For example, as in (29), the dative case *-eykey* can be stacked with a structural case, which is only possible when case is inherent, or if the case marker is P (Gerds and Yoon 1988).¹³

- (29) Mini-**eykey-ka** paym-i musew-ess-ta
 Mini-dat-nom snake-nom be.afriad-past-dec
 ‘Mini was afraid of a snake.’

The dative case on an experiencer also passes a standard diagnostic for inherent case: case resistance in an A-movement context (*e.g.*, Butt 2006, Woolford 2006). For example, Subject-to-Object Raising (SOR) (*i.e.*, Exceptional Case Marking (EMC)) in Korean is an instance of A-movement (see *e.g.*, Yoon 1989; Yoon 2004, 2007).¹⁴ A SOR sentence is exemplified in (30).

- (30) Cheli-nun Yenghi-**lul** yenglihay-ss-ta-ko mitnun-ta.
 Cheli-top Yenghi-acc smart-past-dec-comp believe-dec
 ‘Cheli believes Yenghi to have been smart.’ (Yoon 2007)

What is relevant to the current discussion of inherent case of experiencer is that SOR is argued to be an instance of A-movement. If so, it is predicted that dative case

¹³ Case stacking is also possible with a postposition in the language. This commonality between a postposition and inherent case has been argued to be because they are theta-related cases, which is the view I assume in this paper. As shown in section 5, however, case expressed by a postposition is a type of lexical case, not inherent case, differently from dative case on an experiencer.

¹⁴ The name SOR is chosen over ECM, following Yoon (2007) without assuming a particular theoretical assumption or analysis.

on the experiencer in Korean will show case resistance. That is, the dative case will be maintained, and the typical accusative case for a SORed object may not be allowed. The prediction is borne out, as a SOR of an experiencer construction (31) shows.

- (31) Inho-nun kuney-eykey/*-lul ku sosik-i kekcung-iess-ta-ko
 Inho-top she- dat/-acc that news-nom worry-past-dec-comp
 mitnun-ta
 believe-dec
 ‘Inho believes her to have been worried about.’

In (31), the dative case is the only option allowed for the experiencer and the accusative case is ungrammatical.¹⁵

The SOR example in (31) provide additional evidence that dative case on the experiencers is inherent in Korean; thus, they support the applicative analysis in (27b) where inherent dative is assigned by Appl.¹⁶ However, inherent case is also captured under a locative PP analysis in Landau (2010), as discussed earlier. The difference between Landau (2010) and the current proposal is in the position in which inherent case is assigned, *i.e.* whether it is internal or external to VP. In what follows, in support of the applicative approach argued in this paper, I provide new evidence, not given in previous applicative approaches, that dative case on a Korean-type experiencer is assigned VP-externally, rather than VP-internally.

5. An applied argument vs. oblique argument: External vs. internal

In arguing for a PP analysis of Class III experiencers, Landau claims that they

¹⁵ One may question whether a nominative theme can undergo SOR. According to Yoon (2007), unlike an English- type SOR, Korean SOR raises a DP that satisfies certain semantic condition identified as ‘characteristic property’ (*e.g.*, Yoon 2004 based on Kuno 1973). SOR of a theme may be possible if it meets this condition. Thus, the possibility that a theme can be SORed does not contradict the current analysis in which a dative experiencer asymmetrically appears higher than a theme object.

¹⁶ Inherent case does not always have to be dative, and an applied argument is not always marked with inherent case. In some languages (*e.g.*, Bantu), applied arguments bear non-dative case. In Korean DOC, as will be shown in (34), an applied argument bears structural case.

are not external arguments, but internal arguments. He argues that the internal status of the experiencer follows from the fact that the experiencer bears inherent case. This argumentation is embedded in the universal generalizations shown in (32), although why (32b) should be a universal generalization does not seem to be clearly justified.

- (32) a. Universally, non-nominative experiencers bear inherent case.
 b. Inherent case is only assigned to internal arguments. (Landau 2010)

Cross-linguistic facts introduced by Landau (2010) suggest that (32a) is universally true: Class III experiencers bear inherent non-nominative case. Thus, as suggested by generalization (32b), they must be internal arguments. Assuming current syntactic theories (*e.g.*, Chomsky 2000), Landau mentions that the dividing line between external and internal syntax is the VP projection. In Landau's PP approach, a PP experiencer merges in internal position (namely inside VP), and inherent case is assigned by P, an element inside VP. This is in line with the generalizations in (32).

Building on current syntactic theories on case like that of Woolford (2006), however, I show that inherent case may be assigned VP-externally, rather than only inside VP. Under this view, the generalization that an experiencer bears inherent case as in (32a) may hold, but it does not necessarily follow that such case is assigned in an internal position as in (32b).

I also provide further supporting evidence for the external-argument status of experiencers: a dative experiencer behaves similarly to an external argument in idiom-formation contexts, as opposed to behaving like PPs that appear in VP internal positions.

5.1 Inherent case outside VP vs. lexical case inside VP

Woolford (2006) argues that non-structural case can be further divided into inherent and lexical case. Inherent and lexical case are grouped together as non-structural because both exhibit diagnostic behaviours of non-structural case, *e.g.* case preservation under A-movement (SOR or passive) as shown above with Korean dative experiencers. Important differences between the two cases are (i) in their

predictability, and (ii) the positions where they are licensed. Lexical case is idiosyncratic and licensed by a lexical head such as V or P. However, inherent case is regular and licensed by a functional head above VP. Further evidence for this distinction is based on the observation emerging from the cross-linguistic facts that the two cases are in complementary distribution. For instance, lexical case is restricted to internal arguments such as a theme or an object of P, whereas inherent case is never associated with those internal arguments but, rather, with arguments external to VP, *e.g.* DP goals in Double Object Constructions (*e.g.*, Yip, Maling, and Jackendoff 1987; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Jónsson 2003). An important piece of support relevant to the current discussion, provided by Woolford (2006), is that *adpositional datives* are, cross-linguistically, instances of *idiosyncratic lexical case* assigned inside VP, in contrast with *shifted DP goals* that take *an inherent or structural case* assigned outside VP (*e.g.*, Yip, Maling, and Jackendoff 1987, see Woolford 2006 for more references), as schematically represented in (33). The arrow indicates a boundary between inherent and idiosyncratic lexical case assignment.

- (33) case assignment
- | | | |
|-------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| [_{FP} DP goal | ↓ | [_{VP} V PP] |
| inherent or | | idiosyncratic lexical case |
| structural case | | |

This is also borne out in Korean: A DP goal in Korean is marked with structural (accusative) case, while adpositional case, homophonous to dative on the experiencer, is idiosyncratic lexical case. Consider the following Double Object Construction (DOC) (34a) and Postpositional Dative (PD) (34b) in Korean.

- (34) a. Mini-ka Inho-lul hankul-ul kaluchi-ess-ta
 Mini-nom Inho-acc Korean-acc teach-past-dec
 ‘Mini taught Inho Korean.’
- b. Mini-ka Inho-eykey hankul-ul kaluchi-ess-ta
 Mini-nom Inho-p Korean-acc teach-past-dec
 ‘Mini taught Korean to Inho.’

In Korean, the difference between the DOC and the PD is expressed by

differential marking on the indirect object, unlike English, where the difference is indicated by word order and the preposition ‘to’ (Jung and Miyagawa 2004). In the DOC (34a), the indirect object ‘Inho’ is marked with the accusative case marker *-lul*, but the postpositional dative in (34b) is marked with the postposition *-eykey* ‘to’.¹⁷ Recent studies on the structure of DOC and PD have shown that the adpositional dative in Korean PD constructions appears inside VP and a DP goal appears outside VP (e.g., Kim 2015b), which supports the structural distinction between inherent and lexical case assignment in (33).

Additional support comes from the fact that the marker *-eykey* on the postpositional dative in (34b) is idiosyncratic, as predicted by Woolford’s (2006) account (see (33)), in contrast with the homophonous dative marker on the experiencer. In other words, unlike the inherent dative on an experiencer, this postpositional dative is lexical case realized as P. Postpositional nominals as in (34b) do not always have to be marked with *-eykey*, but can be marked with other postpositions, depending on the particular meaning of the verb, as illustrated in (35) below. The verbs in (35) are typical verbs that appear in PD; however, the particular meanings of the verbs are not the same, and depending on their meanings, P can vary as shown in (35): *-loputhe* ‘from’ (35a) or *-ulo* ‘to’ (35b).

- (35) a. ku namca-ka kunye-loputhe senmul-ul pat-ass-ta
 the man-nom she-from present-acc receive- past-dec
 ‘The man received a present from her.’
 b. emma-ka cip-ulo ton-ul ponay-ess-ta
 mother-nom home-to money-acc send- past-dec
 ‘Mother sent money to home.’

With experiencers, however, the dative case marker is always *-eykey*, regardless of the meaning of the verb, as the ungrammaticality of other markers in (36) shows. The contrast between (35) and (36) clearly indicates that *-eykey* on an experiencer is different from *-eykey* on a postpositional nominal being inherent, *i.e.* it is not idiosyncratic, but regular and predictable.

¹⁷ What is claimed in this paper is that Appl can account for inherent dative case on the experiencers. It is not the goal of this paper to provide an account of how the structural case, *i.e.* accusative case, on indirect objects in Korean DOC appears.

- (36) *Mini-loputhe/-lo paym-i musew-ess-ta
 Mini-from/-to snake-nom be.afraid.of-past-dec
 ‘Mini was afraid of a snake.’

The contrast between the dative case on a postpositional argument (35) and an experiencer (36) is exactly the same contrast shown in Woolford (2006) in support of her claim that inherent and lexical case are licensed in different positions, *i.e.* external to VP vs. inside VP. Interestingly, the head that Woolford (2006) identifies as assigning inherent case outside VP to a goal (a head proposed in McGinnis (1998), which is also the head that introduces an experiencer in Georgian, see (16-17)) is identical to the argument-introducing functional head often identified as Appl in literature (Pylkkänen 2008). The data presented in this section show that dative experiencers are not introduced by a P internal to VP, but rather by a head such as Appl, external to VP.

5.2 Idiom formation: External vs. internal

Idiom formation also provides support for this paper’s proposal. I show that idiom formation in Class III psych-constructions patterns with external arguments and goals in DOC that appear external to VP, but differently from PP goals in PD and canonical PPs that appear internal to VP. This contrast constitutes strong evidence that an experiencer is an external argument, not an internal argument as argued in Landau (2010).¹⁸

The generalization that can be drawn from studies of idioms is that material outside VP does not tend to belong to an idiom, while material inside VP easily tends to form an idiom with the verb. For example, Marantz (1997) proposed that an agent argument outside VP (introduced by Voice (*v* in Marantz 1997)) usually does not form part of the idiom, but an object inside VP frequently does. Recent approaches to idioms (Svenonius 2005; Kishimoto 2008; Kim 2015b) suggest that this is not merely a distinction between agents and objects, but that the distinction

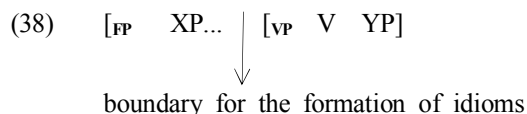
¹⁸ One idiom (see (39)) is provided in Kim (2015a) to support the non-PP status of dative experiencers. Unlike Kim (2015a), however, this paper embeds idiomatic expressions with dative experiencers in the much broader context of idiom formation and shows that dative experiencers are similar to external arguments with respect to idiom formation.

can also be generalized to one between elements inside vs. outside VP. For example, Japanese provides evidence that the VP is a crucial boundary for idiomatic expressions. In Japanese ditransitives, a dative DP and V can form an idiom, as illustrated in (37), in which the dative (*-ni*) DP forms an idiomatic expression with the verb.

- (37) a. *omotta koto-o [kuti-ni/*-e das]-u*
 thought thing-acc mouth-dat/-to let.out-pres
 ‘Say what’s on his mind.’
 b. *sainoo-o [hana-ni/*-e kake]-ru*
 talent-acc nose-dat/-to hang-pres
 ‘Boast of a talent.’ (Kishimoto 2008)

In Japanese, the possibility of substituting *-ni* with the postposition *-e* is diagnostic of the distinction between case-marking *-ni* and postpositional *-ni*. Case-marking *-ni* cannot be substituted with *-e*, whereas postpositional *-ni* can. In (37), the ungrammaticality of *-e* indicates that the *-ni*-marked arguments are DPs, not PPs.

Importantly, Kishimoto (2008) shows that dative arguments of the type in (37) merge inside VP, unlike dative goals in DOCs which merge outside VP (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004). Unlike VP-internal datives (37), VP-external dative goals in DOCs do not appear in idiomatic expressions in Japanese (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004). Thus, the Japanese data show that non-agentive DPs can form idiomatic expressions with V when merged inside VP but cannot do so when merged outside VP. Previous studies on idioms suggest a general dichotomy between positions external and internal to VP for idiom formation, as schematically represented in (38).¹⁹



Given (38), an experiencer under the ApplP approach proposed in this paper would be predicted to be excluded from idiomatic expressions. In contrast, a PP

¹⁹ This type of boundary is identified as a phase head (Svenonius 2005; Kim 2015b), which I do not further explore here.

experiencer in Landau's account would be predicted to be included in idiomatic expressions. The data in Korean support the prediction made by the ApplP approach. With Class III psych-predicates, the dative experiencer is not found belonging to idiomatic interpretations, as exemplified in (39). In fact, a survey of idioms in Korean (Hong 1998) has shown that no experiencers participate in idiom formation.

- (39) [ApplP Swuni-eykey [Appl' [VP kam-i o-] Appl]]-ass-ta
 Suni-dat feeling-nom come-past-dec
 'Suni figured it out.' (Lit. To Suni, the feeling came.) (Kim 2015a)

More examples from the Korean idiom dictionary distributed by *The National Institute of the Korean language* lend further support to the view that experiencers are generally excluded from an idiomatic expressions that consist of a nominative theme and a verb:²⁰

- (40) a. nun-i nao-ta
 eye-nom come out-dec
 'be very surprised.'
 b. pay-ka apu-ta
 tummy-nom ache-dec
 'be jealous about something.'

PPs in Korean show a different pattern from that of the dative experiencers in (39) and in (40) with respect to idiom formation. Recall that in Korean PD, dative goals are PPs, as discussed in the previous section. Unlike dative experiencers, which are excluded from the idioms, dative goal PPs can form idioms with VP (e.g., Kim 2015b), as illustrated in (41). In (41a), the idiom 'according to one's morals' consists of the PP 'on the chest' and the VP 'put one's hand (on)', and in (41b) the idiom 'criticize (X)' consists of the PP 'on a cutting board' and V 'put (X) up (on)'.

- (41) a. [VP [PP kasum-ey] [son-ul enc]]-ko
 chest-p hand-nom put on-comp

²⁰ Idioms without citation are from the Korean Idiom Dictionary distributed by the *National Institute of the Korean Language*

- sangkak-hay poa-la
 think-do see-imperative
 ‘Think (something) according to your morals.’
- b. Mini-ka ku il-ul tasi
 Mini-nom that accident-acc again
 [_{PP} toma-wi-ey] [_V ollyeo.noh]-ess-ta
 cutting board-on-p put up on-past-dec
 ‘Mini criticized that accident again.’

The data on idioms in Korean discussed here suggests that there is a clear contrast between Appl and P with respect to idiom formation, as predicted by (38). If an experiencer in Korean were an oblique PP merged inside VP, as argued in Landau (2010), we would predict that it could belong to an idiomatic expression, contrary to fact.

6. Conclusion

This paper argues that not all semantically oblique experiencers are represented by a locative PP syntax. Although Korean dative experiencers appear to have abstract locative semantics, they are best represented by an applicative structure rather than a PP. I have shown that the experiencer does not behave like a PP, but rather like an argument external to VP, by providing several forms of evidence, *e.g.* from inherent case and idiom formation. The conclusions argued for in this paper thus suggest that not all semantically similar arguments are mapped onto the same structural position, which has been often the assumption in the literature in the spirit of UTAH (Baker 1988, 1997).

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