



Korean reformulative multiple accusative construction as vacuous reformulative apposition*

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Kim, Okgi. 2023. Korean reformulative multiple accusative construction as vacuous reformulative apposition. *Linguistic Research* 40(2): 217-244. This paper explores one type of Multiple Accusative Construction (MAC), namely “reformulative” MACs (previously referred to as “topic-type” MACs) (e.g., *Mimi-ka kwail-ul sakwa-lul cohaha-n-ta*), where the second accusative-marked NP (e.g., *sakwa-lul*) specifies a value for the variable introduced by the first accusative-marked NP (e.g., *kwail-ul*). In doing so, the paper first reviews two previous analyses: one proposed by Chae and Kim (2008) and the other by Kim (2006, 2010). Chae and Kim try to account for the formation of (reformulative-)MACs by appealing to a construction-specific rule (Recursive Rule) in the HPSG framework. Kim, on the other hand, takes the construction to be derived via PF-ellipsis in an underlying sentential structure. The previous analyses, however, encounter some empirical problems. This paper, therefore, offers an alternative perspective by treating reformulative MACs on a par with vacuous reformulative appositions in English (e.g., *Kim likes fruit – likes apples*) which are analyzed as involving coordinative syntax according to Griffiths (2015). Specifically, the paper proposes to analyze reformulative MACs as involving a coordinate VP structure created by overt across-the-board movement of a main verb. This coordination analysis, without positing any construction-specific rule or ellipsis, provides a streamlined way of accounting for general as well as idiosyncratic aspects of reformulative MACs. (Kyung Hee University)

Keywords multiple accusative construction, vacuous reformulative apposition, specificational copular clause

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1. Introduction

1.1 Reformulative multiple accusative construction

The present paper aims to investigate one type of Multiple Accusative Construction (MAC) in Korean, exemplified in (1) below (Kim 2006, 2010; Chae and Kim 2008; Park 2013; Yoon 2015; among others).

- (1) Kim-i kwail-ul sakwa-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 Kim-NOM fruit-ACC apple-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Kim likes fruit, apples.’

As we can see here, the construction allows (more than) two accusative NPs to occur together with a strict transitive verb, i.e., one which takes as its complement only one accusative NP to be projected into a verbal phrase.

The construction is also interesting from a semantic point of view in that it expresses a reformulative/specificational relationship between the first and second accusative NPs, that is, the latter elaborates on the former by specifying its meaning. (1), thus, can be paraphrased as *Kim likes fruit x, and x is apples*. Henceforth, this type of MAC will be referred to as *reformulative* MACs (R-MACs) rather than the previously used term *topic-type* MACs in the literature (Yoon 2015).

1.2 Differences from inalienable possession MACs

Another type of MAC, which has received much attention in recent years, is exemplified in (2):

- (2) Kim-i Mary-lul son-ul ttayli-ess-ta.
 Kim-NOM Mary-ACC hand-ACC hit-PST-DECL
 ‘Kim hit Mary on the hand.’

Unlike those in R-MACs, the first accusative (possessor) and the second accusative (possessed) form an inalienable possession relationship. Because of this reading, MACs like (2) have been called “inalienable possession” MACs in the literature (Maling and

Kim 1992; Sim 2004; Park 2013; Yoon 2015).

Inalienable possession MACs also behave differently from R-MACs in many syntactic aspects. For one thing, the first NP in inalienable possession MACs can be marked by genitive Case instead of accusative Case, as in (3a), whereas that in R-MACs cannot, as in (3b) (Maling and Kim 1992; Tomioka and Sim 2007; Kim 2010):

- (3) a. Kim-i Mary- $\{lul/uy\}$ son-ul ttayli-ess-ta.
 Kim-NOM Mary-ACC/GEN hand-ACC hit-PST-DECL
 ‘Kim hit Mary on the hand.’
 b. Kim-i kwail- $\{ul/*uy\}$ sakwa-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 Kim-NOM fruit-ACC/GEN apple-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Kim likes fruit, apples.’

Another crucial difference between R-MACs and inalienable possession counterparts relates to the possibility of clefting (Kim 2006, 2010). Consider the contrast below:

- (4) a. Mimi-ka tali-lul kochi-n kes-un chayksang-i-ta.
 Mimi-NOM leg-ACC repair-MOD KES-TOP desk-COP-DECL
 ‘It is the desk that Mimi repaired the legs of.’
 b. */#Mimi-ka sakwa-lul sa-n kes-un kwail-i-ta.
 Mimi-NOM apple-ACC buy-ACC KES-TOP fruit-COP-DECL
 ‘(lit.)It is the fruit that Mimi bought the apple.’

As seen in (4a), the first NP in inalienable possession MACs can be clefted, but that in R-MACs cannot, as shown in (4b).

Due to these apparent differences, and others discussed in the literature (see, among others, Kim 2006; Yoon 2015), it has been assumed that inalienable possession MACs should not be treated as the same construction as R-MACs, hence militating against analyzing the two types of MAC in a uniform way (cf. Park 2013). Following this perspective, the current study limits its focus to investigating and analyzing R-MACs.

1.3 Overview of the main proposal of the paper

The main goal of the paper is to present a new perspective on the study of R-MACs by treating them on a par with English sentences like (5), which Griffiths (2015) dubs Vacuous Reformulative Appositions (VRAs).

(5) Kim likes fruit — likes apples.

According to Griffiths's view, the VRA in (5) is analyzed as involving a coordinate structure in which the second VP *likes apples*, which functions as the apposition, is conjoined with the first VP *likes fruit*, which functions as the anchor, as represented in (6).

(6) Kim [_{&P} [_{VP} likes fruit] &⁰ [_{VP} — likes apples]]

With respect to its meaning, the NP *apples* in the apposition, which Griffiths calls the 'subapposition', enters into a reformulative relationship with the NP *fruit* in the anchor, which he calls the 'subanchor'; that is, the former specifies a value for the variable introduced by the latter.

Building on Griffiths's analysis of VRAs, the present paper argues that R-MACs are syntactically and semantically parallel to VRAs. Specifically, it is argued that (i) R-MACs involve coordination of remnant VPs created by overt across-the-board raising of a main verb, (ii) the first VP conjunct functions as the anchor and the second VP conjunct as the apposition, and (iii) a reformulative relationship holds only between the first and second accusative NPs. This novel coordination analysis, as we will see, can provide a streamlined way of accounting for general as well as idiosyncratic properties of R-MACs.

1.4 Content of the paper

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 surveys two previous analyses of R-MACs—an HPSG-based analysis proposed by Chae and Kim (2008) and an ellipsis-based analysis proposed by Kim (2006, 2010)—and presents previously undiscussed examples of R-MACs which are problematic for the analyses. Section 3 then

proposes an alternative coordination analysis and discusses some of its welcome predictions. Section 4 concludes with future research direction.

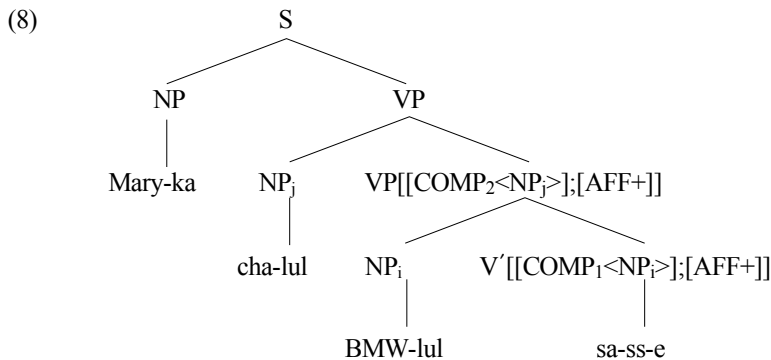
2. Previous analyses and their limits

2.1 A non-movement, non-ellipsis analysis

Chae and Kim (2008) (C&K) provide an HPSG-based unified approach to MACs. C&K observe that the predicates that are used in MACs have the meaning of ‘ACTION’ in the sense of Jackendoff (2007). They use the feature [AFF(ected)+] to refer to ACTION predicates such as *ilk* ‘read’, *sa* ‘buy’, and *cohaha* ‘like’.

In order to capture the multiplicity of accusative NPs in MACs, C&K employ a Recursive Rule which states that when a VP with [AFF+] has an NP as its sister, the VP can take the NP as its complement (see C&K for details). This construction-specific syntactic mechanism therefore makes it possible for multiple accusative NPs to be licensed in a transitive construction, just in case those NPs are sisters of VPs with [AFF+]. On this analysis, the R-MAC in (7) is analyzed as involving the syntactic structure given in (8), where the two accusative NPs do not form a syntactic constituent.

- (7) Mary-ka cha-lul BMW-lul sa-ss-e.
 Mary-NOM car-ACC BMW-ACC buy-PST-DECL
 ‘Mary bought a car, a BMW.’



C&K's analysis briefly described above has the advantage of accounting for the fact that a VP-modifying adverb can occur between the two accusative NPs, as shown in (9).¹

- (9) Mary-ka cha-lul(,) mollay BMW-lul sa-ss-e.
 Mary-NOM car-ACC secretly BMW-ACC buy-PST-DECL
 'Mary secretly bought a car, a BMW.'

On their proposal, the VP-adverb is taken to modify the lower VP *BMW-lul sa-ss-e*, as roughly represented in (10).

- (10) Mary-ka [_{VP} cha-lul [_{VP} mollay [_{VP} BMW-lul sa-ss-e]]]

While C&K's non-movement analysis provides a clear account of some grammatical properties of R-MACs, including the multiplicity and non-constituency of accusative NPs and others, it faces non-trivial issues in other respects, especially regarding the following hitherto undiscussed data: those where the coordinating conjunction *kuliko* 'and', along with an adverb, intervenes between the first and second accusative NPs:

- (11) a. Mary-nun cha-lul(,) kuliko thukhi BMW-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 Mary-TOP car-ACC and especially BMW-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 'Mary likes cars, and especially BMWs.'
- b. Kim-un uyca-lul(,) kuliko tewuki phyenanha-n uyca-lul
 Kim-TOP chair-ACC and moreover comfortable-MOD chair-ACC
 chac-ko iss-ta.
 look.for-CONN COP-DECL
 'Kim is looking for a chair, a comfortable chair.'

C&K's analysis would fail to accommodate this kind of example without positing a syntactic structure in which the coordinating conjunction can be licensed.

¹ Some native speakers of Korean suggest that inserting a pause after the first accusative, by means of a comma, makes it easier to read and interpret sentences like (9). In a similar vein, Kim (2000) notes that there is a clear intonational break between accusative NPs (although her examples are inalienable MACs).

2.2 An ellipsis-based analysis

Another previous analysis of R-MACs that we are particularly interested in here is one proposed by Kim (2006, 2010). Kim (2006) is only concerned with R-MACs and offers an interesting proposal that the construction involves an underlying bi-clausal structure, followed by ellipsis at PF under syntactic identity. This view takes the R-MAC in (12) to involve the underlying structure given in (13).

- (12) Kim-i tampay-lul Tisu-lul sa-ss-ta.
 Kim-NOM cigarette-ACC This-ACC buy-PST-DECL
 ‘Kim bought a cigarette called This.’
- (13) Kim-i tampay-lul sa-ss-nuntey Tisu-lul
 Kim-NOM cigarette-ACC buy-PST-CONJ(while) This-ACC
 sa-ss-ta.
 buy-PST-DECL
 ‘When Kim bought a cigarette, he bought This.’

The underlying structure is further analyzed as having the following VP structures, both of which are created under the assumption that an overtly Case-marked accusative moves to Spec-*v*P to check off its Case:

- (14) a. [_{VP} tampay-lul [_{VP} t sa] v] for the *-nuntey* ‘while’ clause
 b. [_{VP} Tisu-lul [_{VP} t sa] v] for the matrix clause

In the underlying structure, the VP (alongside the tense marker *-ss* and the conjunction *nuntey*) in the subordinate clause undergoes PF-ellipsis under syntactic identity with that in the matrix clause, as depicted in (15), resulting in (12).

- (15) Kim-i [_{VP} tampay-lul [~~_{VP} t sa~~] v]-ss-nuntey, [_{VP} Tisu-lul [_{VP} t sa] v]-ss-ta.

The ellipsis-based analysis, as Kim (2006) notes, has the advantage of capturing various grammatical patterns of R-MACs. By way of example, it can offer a clear account of the contrast given in (16).

- (16) a. Kim-i tampay-lul Tisu-lul han kap sa-ss-ta.
 Kim-NOM cigarette-ACC This-ACC one CL buy-PST-DECL
 ‘Kim bought a pack of cigarette called This.’
- b. *Kim-i tampay-lul han kap Tisu-lul sa-ss-ta.
 Kim-NOM cigarette-ACC one CL This-ACC buy-PST-DECL
 ‘Kim bought a pack of cigarette called This.’

To account for the ungrammaticality of (16b), Kim assumes that the numeral classifier (CL) *han kap* with the covert Case is situated within the VP in the *-nuntey* clause in the underlying structure, in which case the PF-ellipsis is not licensed because, as seen in (17), the syntactic identity between the two VPs in question is not satisfied.

- (17) a. [_{VP} tampay-lul [_{VP} t han kap sa] v] for the *-nuntey* ‘while’ clause
 b. [_{VP} Tisu-lul [_{VP} t sa] v] for the matrix clause

In the meanwhile, (16a) is acceptable since the VP in the *-nuntey* clause syntactically matches that in the matrix clause, as shown in (18), hence allowing the former VP to be deleted at PF in the underlying bi-clausal structure, as shown in (19).

- (18) a. [_{VP} tampay-lul [_{VP} t han kap sa] v] for the *-nuntey* ‘while’ clause
 b. [_{VP} Tisu-lul [_{VP} t han kap sa] v] for the matrix clause
- (19) Kim-i [_{VP} tampay-lul [~~_{VP} t han kap sa~~] v]-ss-nuntey, [_{VP} Tisu-lul [_{VP} t han kap sa] v]-ss-ta.

The ellipsis-based analysis proposed by Kim (2006), however, has one unclear point: what functions as the subject of the matrix clause? If we assume that in (16a) the nominative NP *Kim-i* is the subject of the matrix clause, then the subject of the *-nuntey* clause should be an empty category like *pro*. By contrast, if the nominative NP in question is the subject of the *-nuntey* clause, the matrix subject is forced to be an empty category. To address this issue and others related to it, Kim attempts to develop the ellipsis analysis in his subsequent work (Kim 2010) by arguing that the *-nuntey* clause is an adjunct clause and its subject is an empty category (specifically, *pro*).² On this

2 See Kim (2010) for supporting data for the developed analysis in terms of repair-by-deletion.

view, for example, (16a) is derived from the following underlying sentential structure:

(20) Kim-i [_{AdjunctC} \emptyset tampay-lul han kap sa-ss-nuntey] Tisu-lul han kap sa-ss-ta

Quite convincing though the updated PF-ellipsis analysis seems to be, it would have difficulty in accounting for examples like (21), where both the first and second accusative NPs appear to have undergone fronting to the sentence-initial position.

(21) cha-lul BMW-lul Mimi-ka cohaha-n-ta.
 car-ACC BMW-ACC Mimi-NOM like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Mimi likes cars called BMWs.’

On Kim’s (2010) analysis, its underlying structure would be something like (22) and it would be further derived through PF-ellipsis, as illustrated in (23).

(22) Mimi-ka [_{AdjunctC} \emptyset cha-lul cohaha-nuntey] BMW-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 (23) Mimi-ka [_{AdjunctC} ... [_{vP} cha-lul [_{vP} t cohaha] v]-nuntey] [_{vP} BMW-lul [_{vP} t cohaha] v]-n-ta.

Since the two accusative NPs in question do not form a syntactic constituent, there would be no way for the two NPs to be fronted together. Moreover, it would be implausible to assume that each of the accusatives moves separately to generate (21) from the underlying structure, since, as shown in (24), the accusative NP in the matrix clause is disallowed to be fronted alone.

(24) *BMW-lul Mimi-ka cha-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 BMW-ACC Mimi-NOM car-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘(int.)Mimi likes cars called BMWs.’

Kim’s analysis in turn would fail to account for data like (21).

3. A proposal: R-MACs as vacuous reformulative appositions

In the previous section, we have examined the pros and cons of the two previous analyses of R-MACs: one is the non-movement, non-ellipsis analysis proposed by Chae and Kim (2008) and the other the ellipsis-based analysis proposed by Kim (2006, 2010). This section lays out an alternative novel analysis, according to which the construction involves a coordinate structure. This simple coordination analysis, as we shall see below, offers a streamlined way of accounting for general as well as idiosyncratic aspects of R-MACs.

3.1 Griffiths's (2015) analysis of vacuous reformulative appositions

The paper aims to propose a novel approach to R-MACs, according to which the construction is syntactically and semantically analogous to vacuous reformulative appositions in English. As briefly introduced at the outset above, Griffiths (2015) argues that English VRAs like that in (25), repeated from (5), involve a coordinate structure headed by a phonologically null conjunction, as illustrated in (26).

(25) Kim likes fruit — likes apples.

(26) Kim [_{&P} [_{VP} $\overbrace{\text{likes fruit}}^{\text{anchor}}$] &⁰ [_{VP} — $\overbrace{\text{likes apples}}^{\text{apposition}}$]]
subanchor subapposition

The first conjunct functioning as the anchor is coordinated with the final one functioning as the apposition. The VRA in (25) is interpreted as *Kim likes fruit x, and x is apples*, where the subapposition—the prosodically prominent element in the apposition—specifies the meaning of the subanchor by providing a value for its variable *x*. In the meanwhile, the deaccented rest of the apposition (i.e., *likes*)—the element that is repeated from the anchor—is merely echoic, employed for its form alone, and “vacuous” with respect to illocutionary force.³

3 VRAs also can be clausal, in which case Griffiths (2015) argues that such VRAs (i.e., clausal VRAs) are derived via clausal ellipsis. This is illustrated in (i) (the bolded expression and the underlined expression indicate the subanchor and the subapposition, respectively, and < > indicates elided parts).

(i) a. **It's** a nice game, chess <is a nice game>.

(clausal ellipsis)

The phonologically null conjunction head $\&^0$, which Griffiths takes not to have the same lexical semantics as a regular coordinator, can be overtly realized in the syntax by so-called reformulation markers such as (*and*) *especially*, *namely*, and *that is to say* (see Griffiths 2015 and Heringa 2011 for other reformulation markers):

- (27) a. Kim likes fruit, and especially likes apples.
 b. The rumour that John kissed Norma — that is to say, kissed Marilyn Monroe — has no truth to it. (adapted from Griffiths (2015))

Reformulation markers like *and especially* are taken as “fixed” markers, while those like *that is to say* as “floating” markers, in that unlike the latter, the former must precede the apposition:

- (28) a. *Kim likes fruit, likes apples and especially. (cf. (27a))
 b. The rumour that John kissed Norma — kissed Marilyn Monroe, that is to say — has no truth to it. (cf. (27b))

Crucially, Griffiths treats fixed markers as the phonological exponents of the null conjunction head in reformulative appositions.

Griffiths presents several constraints on licensing VRAs in English. First, vacuous appositions are not allowed to contain elements that are not repeated from the anchor:

- (29) That he’s leaving — in other words that Toby’s (*unfortunately) leaving — is upsetting to hear. (Griffiths 2015: (33))

However, this constraint, as Griffiths notes, does not apply to subappositions and reformulative markers.

Another constraint is that vacuous appositions must reproduce the entire contents of their anchors, as evidenced by (30).

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- b. That **he**’ll be late (that Godot will <be late>) is hardly surprising. (predicate ellipsis)
 c. The **last** pizza slice, the sixth <slice>, was reserved for me! (noun phrase ellipsis)
 d. **He** went **there** last year — Sting <went> to New York, I mean. (gapping)

See Griffiths (2015) for detailed discussion on clausal ellipsis in VRAs like (ia).

- (30) Jean gave it to Simone, that is to say he gave the book *(to her).
 (Griffiths 2015: (33))

The last constraint concerns the inability of vacuous appositions to reproduce expressions that linearly follow them.

- (31) a. Because she'd been rude — because the waitress had been rude (*Pete was angry) — Pete was angry.
 b. That someone had to be fired — that the cleaner had to be fired (*is unfortunate) — is unfortunate. (Griffiths 2015: (35))

In what follows, based on Griffiths's analysis of VRAs, I suggest a novel analysis of R-MACs.

3.2 A coordination analysis of R-MACs

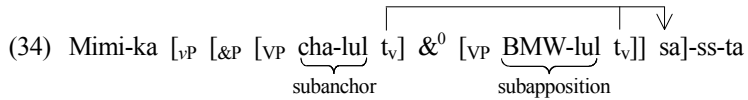
The semantic relation between the first and second accusative NPs in R-MACs is very similar to that between the subanchor and subapposition in English VRAs: in each construction, the former expression specifies the meaning of the latter expression. Consider the following examples for each construction:

- (32) Mimi-ka cha-lul BMW-lul sa-ss-ta.
 Mimi-NOM car-ACC BMW-ACC buy-PST-DECL
 'Mimi bought a car, a BMW.'
 (33) Mimi bought a car — bought a BMW.

Both of the sentences can be construed as *Mimi bought a car x, and x is a BMW*, where the second NP provides a value for the variable set up by the first NP.

The natural move to make at this point is to pose a question about whether R-MACs involve a similar syntactic structure to English VRAs, i.e., a coordinate structure, if they are viewed as a type of VRA. The current study answers the question by proposing that R-MACs involve remnant-VP coordination created by overt V-raising in an across-the-board (ATB) manner. On this coordination approach, for example, the R-MAC

in (32) is assumed to derive the syntactic structure presented in (34), where the verb *sa* ‘buy’ has undergone overt ATB raising into *v*, resulting in remnant-VP coordination.⁴



In terms of semantics, the first VP conjunct (e.g., *cha-lul t_v*) functions as the anchor and the second VP conjunct (e.g., *BMW-lul t_v*) as the apposition, and only the subanchor (e.g., *cha-lul*) and the subapposition (e.g., *BMW-lul*) form a reformulative relationship: i.e., the subapposition provides more specific descriptive content for the subanchor, yielding the reformulative/specificational interpretation in the same manner as VRAs.

Under the assumption that Korean R-MACs are recognized as a type of VRA, the analysis proposed above follows Griffiths’s view that VRAs involve a coordinate structure and further that a reformulative relation only holds between the subanchor and subapposition. But, the analysis of Korean VRAs (= R-MACs) differs from that of English VRAs in that in the former construction the coordinate structure is derived via overt ATB movement of a main verb to *v*. This syntactic assumption, as we will see below, enables us to account for various grammatical aspects of Korean VRAs. Hereafter, I intentionally use the term *R-MACs* instead of *VRAs*.

3.3 Predictions

This section presents key syntactic features of R-MACs and discuss how they can be accounted for by the coordination analysis proposed above.

3.3.1 Licensing of accusative-marked NPs

The following are the fundamental theoretical questions that need to be addressed in the analysis of (R-)MACs.⁵

4 Koizumi (2000) argues for the existence of overt V-raising in head-final languages such as Japanese and Korean. In particular, he argues that the verb raises all the way up to C. Building on a proposal of Koizumi (2000), I assume the overt V-raising to *v* for R-MACs, but avoid here discussing whether the verb raises all the way to C, since it is not crucial for the purpose of this paper. I leave open the issue of the exact final landing site of the raised verb.

5 These questions hold for all types of MACs.

- How can a strict transitive verb license (more than) two object NPs?
- How can (more than) two NPs bear accusative Case in a strict transitive clause?

In licensing multiple accusative Case in (R-)MACs, three syntactic mechanisms have been considered in the literature. One mechanism ensures that the multiple accusative Case assignment is achieved in a one-to-one manner: under the mechanism, Tomioka and Sim (2007) postulate a phonologically null verb *affect* that takes the first accusative NP as its complement, with the second accusative NP taken by the lexical verb. However, as pointed out by Yoon (2015), this kind of approach has a critical weakness in that it needs to posit a plethora of unmotivated null verbs when more than two accusatives occur in (R-)MACs. The other multiple Case assignment mechanisms are either direct, multiple assignment of accusative Case from the lexical verb (Yoon 1990; Maling and Kim 1992; Park 2013), or a singly assigned accusative spreading to other NPs through case agreement or concord (Kim 1989). The second option, i.e., Case agreement, however, has been rejected by Maling and Kim (1992). In the meanwhile, those pursuing the first option, i.e., direct, multiple Case marking by the lexical verb, are under the necessity of requiring additional (construction-specific) syntactic stipulation to deal with a problem related to Case theory.

The current coordination analysis, on the other hand, can provide simple and straightforward answers to the aforementioned questions. On the analysis, R-MACs involve underlying VP coordination, schematized in (35).

(35) *Underlying VP coordination prior to overt ATB raising of V to v:*
 [CP [TP [VP [VP NP V] & [VP NP V] v] T] C]

The first and second object NPs are assumed to receive structural accusative Case before the two identical transitive verbs undergo ATB-movement to *v*, hence licensing the two different accusative-marked object NPs without resorting to any construction-specific Case-related rules or stipulations.⁶ A similar Case-assignment mechanism is also

6 The Case values in Korean can be divided into structural (or grammatical) and semantic Cases. The structural Cases include nominative (*-i/ka*), accusative (*-(l)ul*), and genitive (*-uy*) while the semantic Cases have dative (*-eykey*), goal (*-eylo*), source (*-lopwuthe*), and so forth. The structural Cases are typically assigned by structural configurations or grammatical rules while the semantic Cases are assigned by a predicate. See Kim (2016) for detailed discussion on Korean Case systems.

discussed in Johnson (1991) to account for object shift in so-called verb-particle constructions. Consider (36).

- (36) a. John looked up the reference.
 b. John looked the reference up.

According to Johnson's view, the NP *the reference* in (36a) is assigned structural accusative Case before the verb *looked*, forming a lexical verb with the particle *up*, undergoes head movement to a higher head. In this case, the NP remains in the object position of the verb. On the other hand, if accusative Case is assigned after the verb has moved, the NP should move to the specifier position of VP, configured above the particle *up*. This thus explains the 'Verb+Object+Particle' order as in (36b). What I hope to have shown here is that the assignment of structural accusative Case to the object before the verb moves to a higher head like *v* is theoretically possible.

The current analysis further readily accounts for the inability of the first NP to be genitive-Case marked, as in (37), repeated from (3b).

- (37) Kim-i kwail- {ul/*uy} sakwa-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 Kim-NOM fruit-ACC/GEN apple-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 'Kim likes fruit, apples.'

Since the first nominal *kwail* functions as the direct object of the verb *cohaha* 'like' in the first conjunct, it cannot be assigned genitive Case.

3.3.2 Reformulation markers between accusative NPs

The treatment of R-MACs as involving coordinative syntax offers a natural explanation for the occurrence of the coordinator *kuliko* 'and' between accusative NPs. Consider (38), repeated from (11).

- (38) a. Mary-nun cha-lul(,) kuliko thukhi BMW-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 Mary-TOP car-ACC and especially BMW-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 'Mary likes cars, and especially BMWs.'

- b. Kim-un uyca-lul(,) kuliko tewuki phyenanha-n uyca-lul
 Kim-TOP chair-ACC and moreover comfortable-MOD chair-ACC
 chac-ko iss-ta.
 look.for-CONN COP-DECL
 ‘Kim is looking for a chair, a comfortable chair.’

The proposed analysis takes (38a) to derive the syntactic structure given in (39), where the coordinating conjunction *kuliko* constitutes the phonological realization of $\&^0$.

- (39) Mary-nun [$\&P$ [VP cha-lul t_v] [$\&'$ kuliko thukhi [VP BMW-lul t_v]]
 cohaha-n-ta

The same reasoning applies to (38b).

Here I suggest that the sequence *kuliko thukhi/tewuki* used in R-MACs functions as a reformulation marker to explicitly encode the intended semantic relationship between accusative NPs: for example, in (38), the reformulation marker is used to denote a partial identification relationship between the two accusatives.

The reformulation-marker status of *kuliko thukhi/tewuki* can be supported by its similar behavior to reformulation markers used in VRAs—e.g., *and especially*—in several respects. For one thing, as indicated by (40), the presence of reformulation markers is optional in both of the constructions.

- (40) a. Mary likes cars, (and especially) likes BMWs.
 b. Mary-nun cha-lul (kuliko thukhi) BMW-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 Mary-TOP car-ACC and especially BMW-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Mary likes cars, (and especially) BMWs.’

Another striking similarity comes from the fact that in both R-MACs and VRAs, the coordinator *kuliko/and* is allowed to serve as a reformulation marker, just in case it occurs with another reformulation marker—i.e., an adverb like *thukhi/especially*—forming a larger reformulation marker. This view is empirically verified by the fact that if the aforementioned adverb is absent in (40), the resulting sentence becomes semantically ill-formed, as in (41).

- (41) a. #Mary likes cars, and likes BMWs.
 b. #Mary-nun cha-lul kuliko BMW-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 Mary-TOP car-ACC and BMW-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘#Mary likes cars, and BMWs.’

The above infelicitous sentences have no reformulative reading, since the expression *kuliko/and* can be only used as a coordinating conjunction, not as a reformulation marker, resulting in the awkward interpretation.

On the other hand, an adverb like *thukhi/especially* can serve as a reformulation marker on its own without the help of another marker, as evidenced by the following well-formed VRA and R-MAC examples:

- (42) a. Mary likes cars, especially likes BMWs.
 b. Mary-nun cha-lul thukhi BMW-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 Mary-TOP car-ACC especially BMW-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Mary likes cars, especially BMWs.’

The discussion here regarding reformulation markers allows us to maintain the current view that R-MACs are analogous to English VRAs.

3.3.3 Non-constituency and multiplicity of accusative NPs

The coordination-based analysis of R-MACs enables us to further explain the non-constituency and multiplicity of accusative-marked NPs with no construction-specific mechanism such as Chae and Kim’s (2008) Recursive Rule.

As discussed earlier in the example, repeated below in (43), the non-constituency of accusative NPs in R-MACs is confirmed by the fact that they can be separated by a VP-modifying adverb.

- (43) Mary-ka cha-lul(,) mollay BMW-lul sa-ss-e.
 Mary-NOM car-ACC secretly BMW-ACC buy-PST-DECL
 ‘Mary secretly bought a car, a BMW.’

The proposed analysis assigns to the R-MAC the syntactic structure given in (44).

(44) Mary-ka [_{&P} [_{VP} cha-lul t_v] &⁰ [_{VP} mollay [_{VP} BMW-lul t_v]]] sa-ss-e

As we can see here, the two accusatives reside in the different VP conjuncts from each other, resulting in their non-constituency. Under this view, the intervening VP-adverb modifies not the second accusative alone (i.e., the subapposition), but the final VP conjunct including it (i.e., the apposition).

We have also discussed the example in (45), repeated from (21), where the first and second accusative NPs occur before the subject.

(45) cha-lul BMW-lul Mimi-ka cohaha-n-ta.
 car-ACC BMW-ACC Mimi-NOM like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Mimi likes cars called BMWs.’

Whereas Kim’s (2006, 2010) PF-ellipsis analysis fails to account for this, the coordination analysis advocated here readily captures it; what has been fronted is the whole coordinate structure, not just the two accusatives, as roughly represented below.

(46) [[_{VP} cha-lul t_v] &⁰ [_{VP} BMW-lul t_v]]₁ Mimi-ka t₁ cohaha-n-ta

This explanation can receive empirical support from the fact that in (45) a reformulation marker can occur between the accusative NPs:

(47) a. cha-lul kuliko thukhi BMW-lul Mimi-ka cohaha-n-ta.
 car-ACC and especially BMW-ACC Mimi-NOM like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Mimi likes a car, and especially a BMW.’
 b. cha-lul thukhi BMW-lul Mimi-ka cohaha-n-ta.
 car-ACC especially BMW-ACC Mimi-NOM like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Mimi likes a car, especially a BMW.’

Another major property of R-MACs that we have discussed concerns the multiple occurrence of accusative NPs, as illustrated in (48).

- (48) Mary-ka cha-lul(,) BMW-lul(,) i8-ul cohaha-n-ta.
 Mary-NOM car-ACC BMW-ACC i8-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Mary likes cars, BMWs, i8s.’

The current coordination analysis gives an account of the multiplicity character of R-MACs by attributing it to one of the trademarks of coordination: recursive iteration of conjuncts. On this view, the R-MAC in (48) involves the surface structure given in (49) in which there are three different remnant-VP conjuncts, each involving its own accusative object.

- (49) Mary-ka [_{&P} [_{VP} cha-lul t_v] (&⁰) [_{VP} BMW-lul t_v] &⁰ [_{VP} i8-ul t_v]]
 cohaha-n-ta

The recursive iteration of remnant VP conjuncts is empirically supported by the fact that the null conjunction heads can be overtly realized by the reformulation marker *kuliko thukhi*:

- (50) Mary-ka cha-lul(,) kuliko thukhi BMW-lul(,) kuliko thukhi
 Mary-NOM car-ACC and especially BMW-ACC and especially
 i8-ul cohaha-n-ta.
 i8-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Mary likes cars, and especially BMWs, and especially i8s.’

It is worth to note in this connection that English VRAs also exhibit a corresponding multiplicity property, as given in (51).

- (51) This is for American writers, (and especially) for young American writers,
 (and especially) for young male American writers.

This observation lends credence to the claim that R-MACs resemble English VRAs.

3.3.4 Asymmetry in extraction between the first and second accusatives

Fronting possibilities

The first and second accusative NPs in R-MACs exhibit asymmetry with respect to fronting operations: as shown in the contrast in (52), unlike the first accusative, the second one cannot undergo fronting.

- (52) a. cha-lul Mary-ka BMW-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 car-ACC Mary-NOM BMW-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘(lit.)Cars, Mary likes BMWs.’
- b. #BMW-lul Mary-ka cha-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 BMW-ACC Mary-NOM car-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘(lit.)BMWs, Mary likes cars.’

The acceptability of (52a), at first glance, seems to be a serious counterexample to the proposal that R-MACs involve a coordinate structure, since the fronting of the first accusative buried inside the first VP conjunct could be taken to violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC), specifically the one described in (53a).

- (53) a. The coordinate structure constraint — extraction out of conjuncts (CSC-1)
 Extraction out of conjuncts is disallowed.
- b. The coordinate structure constraint — extraction of conjuncts (CSC-2)
 Extraction of conjuncts is disallowed. (Bošković 2020: 228)

However, adopting Bošković’s (2020) insightful proposal on the CSC, it will be argued that in R-MACs the islandhood of a conjunct can be voided through the ATB movement of V to *v*, thus allowing the extraction/fronting of the first or second accusative NP. Before discussing this further, however, it is helpful to review the main points of Bošković (2020) that are relevant to the current discussion.

Building on Higginbotham’s (1985) argument that traditional adjunction modification, exemplified in (54a), involves semantics of coordination, as roughly represented in (54b), Bošković (2020) proposes to analyze traditional adjunction as involving coordinative syntax, as sketched in (54c), where the coordination head is phonologically null.

- (54) a. Kim runs slowly.
 b. $\exists e[\text{Run}(\text{Kim}, e)]$ and $\text{Slow}(e)$
 = There is an event of Kim's running and it is slow.
 c. VP & Adjunct

Notice that sentences with traditional adjunction differ from those with typical coordination headed by an overt coordination head in terms of (*wh*-)extraction. Consider the following pairs of examples:

- (55) a. *Who_i did you meet [a friend of t_i] and John?
 b. *Who_i did you meet John and [a friend of t_i]?
 (56) a. What_i did you [buy t_i] slowly?
 b. *What_i did you [buy t_i] and slowly?

Both of the examples in (55), where the prepositional object has been extracted out of the initial/final conjunct, are ungrammatical in violation of the CSC-1. In this respect, the well-formedness of (56a), which has the coordinate structure in (54c), calls for an explanation since it also involves the extraction out of the conjunct, i.e., the *wh*-extraction of the direct object out of the first VP conjunct. This issue becomes somewhat complicated when considering the example in (56b) where the overtly realized coordination head *and* seems to block the *wh*-extraction in question.

To address the aforementioned issues in a principled way, Bošković presents the cross-linguistic generalization in (57), established by Bošković (2011, 2013) regarding voiding of islandhood effects.

- (57) Traces do not head islands.

Based on the generalization, and with the assumption that sentences with traditional adjunction are derived via V-to-*v* movement,⁷ Bošković explains that the extraction out of the island-forming VP conjunct (i.e., the bracketed element) in (56a) is permitted because the head movement voids the islandhood of the conjunct (CSC-1), in accordance

⁷ Bošković (2020) does not provide detailed syntactic derivation, but notes that “[t]here are various proposals in the literature regarding the exact identity of the relevant head and the height of V-movement (p241, fn16).”

with (57).

The remaining issue raised by (56b), where the overt realization of the conjunction head blocks the extraction out of the conjunct, can be explained as follows. The sentence is ruled out because the overt conjunction head *and* cannot void the islandhood of ConjP itself, thus violating the CSC-2. On the other hand, (56a) also satisfies the CSC-2, since the head of ConjP/∧P is phonologically null, just like a trace.

Returning to (52a), we now have a straightforward explanation why the first accusative NP can be extracted to a sentence-final position. This is because the ATB head movement of the verb to *v* under the coordination analysis, resulting in [_{VP} *cha-lul* *t_v*], voids the islandhood of the first VP conjunct (CSC-1), i.e., the same rescuing effect of head movement on islandhood as (56a). Note, in this connection, that if the null coordinate head is overtly realized as a reformulation marker, then the result becomes ungrammatical:

- (58) **cha-lul* Mary-ka kuliko thukhi BMW-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 car-ACC Mary-NOM and especially BMW-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘(lit.) Cars, Mary likes and especially BMWs.’

Under the current view, (58) is ruled out in violation of the CSC-2; in other words, it fails to void the islandhood of ConjP/∧P, just like (56b).

An important question then arises: why is the second accusative NP disallowed to be fronted, as in (52b), even though the islandhood of the second VP conjunct can be also voided by the trace left by the ATB head movement of the verb? In answering this question, I will show that the unacceptability of (52b) is because the semantic/pragmatic interpretation is infelicitous rather than a syntactic island violation (as indicated by #).

In general, a reformulative/specificational reading would be obtained when a backgrounded/topic NP introducing a variable comes first, and a foregrounded/focus NP providing a value for the variable comes last, i.e., in a fixed topic-focus order (den Dikken et al. 2000; Mikkelsen 2005; a.o.). To illustrate this, let us consider the following specificational and predicational copular sentences.

- (59) a. The winner of the game is John. (specificational)
 b. John is the winner of the game. (predicational)

(59a) is a typical example of specificational copular clauses in which the post-copular expression specifies a value for the variable brought up by the subject: (59a) thus can be paraphrased as *There is someone x who won the game, and x is John*. This specificational reading is akin to that which is available in both R-MACs and English VRAs. In the meanwhile, the inverted version of (59a), namely (59b), can no longer express the specificational reading, but rather it is used as a predicational copular clause in which the focused post-copular NP predicates a property of the topic subject's referent (see, among others, Higgins 1979, Heycock and Kroch 2002, and Mikkelsen 2005 for detailed discussion of specificational and predicational copular clauses). Here the point is that specificational readings are typically derived in a clause with a topic-focus order.

With the above discussion in mind, let us reconsider (52b). The R-MAC is syntactically well-formed due to the rescuing effect of head movement on islandhood, but semantically/pragmatically infelicitous because it has a focus-topic order and thus fails to elicit a reformulative/specificational reading. That is, the backgrounded accusative NP *cha-lul* introducing a variable to the context comes after the foregrounded accusative NP *BMW-lul* specifying a value for the variable, leading to the interpretive clash between the two accusative NPs.

English VRAs behave like R-MACs in this respect: as shown in (60), they disallow the focused subapposition to come first in relation to the backgrounded subanchor on reformulative/specificational reading.

(60) #Kim likes apples, likes fruit. (cf. Kim likes fruit, likes apples.)

This similarity further supports the treatment of R-MACs as a type of VRA.

Wh-extraction possibilities

Another asymmetry between the first and second accusatives comes from their *wh*-extraction possibilities. Consider the contrast given below:

- (61) A: #Mary-ka mwues-ul BMW-lul cohaha-ni?
 Mary-NOM what-ACC BMW-ACC like-QUE
 '(lit.)Mary likes what, a BMW?'
 B: cha-lul
 car-ACC

- ‘A car’
 (62) A: Mary-ka cha-lul mwues-ul cohaha-ni?
 Mary-NOM car-ACC what-ACC like-QUE
 ‘(lit.)Mary likes a car, what?’
 B: BMW-lul
 BMW-ACC
 ‘A BMW’

Examples like (62A), where the second accusative is *wh*-questioned in situ, are syntactically felicitous because the overt ATB head movement of the verb under the coordination analysis voids the islandhood of the second VP conjunct (CSC-1), hence allowing the (LF-)extraction of the *wh*-phrase into C for feature checking (Chomsky 1995). It is worth to note here that in (62A) the overt realization of the null coordination head &⁰ leads to ungrammaticality, as in (63), due to the CSC-2 violation (cf. (58)).

- (63) *Mary-ka cha-lul kuliko thukhi mwues-ul cohaha-ni?
 Mary-NOM car-ACC and especially what-ACC like-QUE
 ‘(lit.)Mary likes a car, and especially what?’

Then, the question that immediately arises in this connection is why the first accusative is disallowed to be *wh*-questioned, as in (61A). I propose to explain this discrepancy by means of reformulative/specificational semantics. In so doing, let us first examine the following pairs of dialogues (adapted from Heycock 1994).

- (64) A: Who was the culprit? (Kim or John?)
 B: The culprit was KIM.
 (65) A: What was Kim? (Was Kim the culprit or the victim?)
 B: *The CULPRIT was Kim.

The above examples illustrate that specificational copular clauses have a fixed information structure where the post-copular complement must present new information (focus), and hence it can be only *wh*-questioned, contrary to the backgrounded subject. This captures why the response in (65B), unlike that in (64B), is infelicitous; while the subject *the culprit*, which is intended to set up a backgrounded variable, is foregrounded

in the answer, the post-copular NP *Kim*, which is intended to introduce a focus value for the variable, is backgrounded.⁸ The ability of a post-copular expression to be *wh*-questioned in situ, as in (66A), further supports its focus character in specificational copular clauses, i.e., the role of specifying a value for the variable.

- (66) A: The culprit was who?
 B: It was Kim.

Now we are in a position to give a straightforward account of why the *wh*-question (61A) sounds infelicitous. The reason is that the second accusative, which must be in focus, is backgrounded, whereas the first accusative, which needs to bring up a backgrounded variable, receives focus, whereby the *wh*-question cannot have the intended reformulative/specificational reading. In the meanwhile, the second accusative can be *wh*-questioned, as in (62A), since it can be focused, just like the post-copular constituent in specificational copular clauses.

This information structure-based account can be extended to explain the inability of the first accusative NP to be clefted, as in (67), repeated from (4b).

- (67) */#Mimi-ka sakwa-lul sa-n kes-un kwail-i-ta.
 Mimi-NOM apple-ACC buy-ACC KES-TOP fruit-COP-DECL
 '(lit.)It is the fruit that Mimi bought the apple.'

In the example here, the intended reformulative reading is unavailable, since the NP *sakwa-lul*, which must present new information, occurs inside the cleft clause whose proposition is presupposed/backgrounded. Also, the NP *kwail* cannot serve as the subanchor introducing a variable because it occurs in the clefted/pivot position where focus is placed.

8 In contrast, the information structure of predicational copular clauses is not fixed in that either the subject NP or the post-copular NP can be focused in the answer.

- (i) A: Who was the culprit? (Kim or John?)
 B: KIM was the culprit.
 (ii) A: What was Kim? (Was Kim the culprit or the victim?)
 B: Kim was the CULPRIT.

4. Conclusion

This paper has investigated the grammatical aspects of R-MACs, the construction that has received relatively less attention than inalienable possession MACs. The major empirical contribution of this work lies in the presentation of novel examples, especially those showing that R-MACs permit a coordinating conjunction *kuliko* intervening between the accusative NPs. We have seen that the availability of the intervening conjunction and some of the examples discussed in the previous sections could challenge the previous analyses, leading to the need to consider an alternative analysis.

Accordingly, the paper has proposed a novel coordination approach, according to which R-MACs, as a type of vacuous reformulative apposition, involve remnant-VP coordination in which multiple accusative NPs are embedded in different VP conjuncts. On this analysis, the coordinating conjunction, along with the following adverb (e.g., *thukhi*), is viewed as a reformulation marker that is used to explicitly express the semantic relationship between the accusative NPs (e.g., partial identification). The simple coordination approach, as we have seen, allows us to account for other idiosyncratic grammatical properties of R-MACs, including the asymmetry in extraction between the first and second accusative NPs.

If the treatment of R-MACs as VRAs is correct, then it suggests that R-MACs are not an independent grammatical construction, but a special type of existing (attributive) appositional constructions in Korean like (68) (see Hong 2016 for detailed discussion on attributive appositional constructions in Korean).

- (68) a. na-nun siin Kim Minswu-lul cal a-n-ta.
 I-TOP poet Kim Minswu-ACC well know-PRES-DECL
 'I know the poet Kim Chelswu well.'
- b. Mimi-nun hankwuk-uy swuto Seoul-ul cohaha-n-ta.
 Mimi-TOP South.Korea-GEN capital Seoul-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 'I like the capital of South Korea Seoul.'

I hope this paper has provided new insight into the current study of R-MACs, leaving for future research a deeper investigation of similarities and differences between Korean R-MACs on one hand and English VRAs and Korean canonical attributive appositional constructions in terms of their syntax, semantics and information structure.

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