

Oblique Case Marking on Core Arguments in Korean and Japanese

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1. Introduction

In much mainstream syntactic research of the past 25 years, case marking has typically been considered to be a relation between a head and an NP, probably due to the influence of ‘government’ in Government-Binding theory (Chomsky (1981)). In the terms of the Minimalist Program (see e.g., Chomsky (1995); Hornstein et al. (2006) for a recent comprehensive introduction), we might now say that nominative case is checked by T, and accusative case by *v* (‘little *v*’). In lexicalist theories, such as Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG; Bresnan (1982)) or Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG; Pollard and Sag (1994)), case is associated by linking principles with arguments in argument-structure, specified on V as it is inserted into a syntactic structure. For canonical subjects and objects, the primary function of case is perhaps precisely to mark a direct grammatical function, though as we will show, case and grammatical function have to be represented independently in syntax.*

For arguments which bear non-canonical cases, such as dative subjects or dative (direct) objects, these are usually treated as semantic or ‘inherent’ cases, associated by the verb with a particular argument position that has a particular semantics associated with it (e.g., being a ‘goal’ of some kind, or being a non-agent human participant (see Blume (1998), Maling (2001))). It is possible that accusative case is also thematically restricted in this way – for example, accusative case in Korean marks the direct object of an agentive predicate, but not a stative predicate (see e.g., Kim (1990)), suggesting that it may be marking a true Patient role (an entity undergoing a change; as in Jackendoff (1987)).

Now, it is well-known that case may well be sensitive to larger aspects of syntactic or semantic structure. A familiar type of ergative case marking gives another simple illustration. In the Australian language Wambaya, ergative case marks the subject of transitive verb but not an intransitive verb (Nordlinger (1998)). Nordlinger developed the approach of ‘constructive case’ in LFG, whereby a case marker constrains aspects of the structure in which it appears. For the Wambaya ergative, she gives (1), which states that ergative marks a constituent which has the grammatical function of subject in a clause which also has an object:

- (1) Ergative case:
((SUBJ ↑) OBJ) (= ‘the clause in which I am subject has an object’)
(↑ CASE) = ERG (= ‘my case is ergative’)

Another obvious candidate for ‘clause-level’ case is nominative case in Japanese and Korean – languages which can have multiple nominatives, a phenomenon brought to attention in Kuno (1973). A leading idea about the analysis of multiple nominatives is that nominative marks the ‘subject-of-predication’ (Heycock (1991), Heycock and Lee (1990)), or a ‘Major Subject’ (Kuroda (1986), Yoon (2004)), or a ‘broad subject’ (Doron and Heycock (1999)). The Major Subject is not a direct argument of the predicate but participates in the multiple nominative construction in a recursive subject-predicate relationship.

There are even attested examples of case forms specialized for both thematic relation and grammatical function. Sasaki (2001) provides these examples from the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese:

*Joint work with Jong-Bok Kim, Kyung Hee University.

- (2) a. ora mango-nge sinbun yom-ase-da
 1sg.NOM grandchild-DAT newspaper-ACC read-CAUS-PST
 ‘I made my grandchild read the newspaper.’
- b. ore-nganya eengo wagan-ne
 1sg-EXP.TOP English understand-NEG.PRS
 ‘I don’t understand English.’

The regular dative marker is *nge*, as in (2)a, while the experiencer-subject-topic in (2)b is marked with *nganya*. The form *ngani* would be used to mark an experiencer that is subject but not topic. Standard Japanese would have *ni-wa* for the topic form and *ni* for the others. Sasaki concludes that case markers can be specialized both for thematic role and grammatical function.

Working from a broader conceptual foundation, Spencer (2003) argues that while it makes sense to think of case as constraining its environment in the ways just alluded to, the apparent ‘direction’ of the analysis in a proposal such as Nordlinger’s is backwards – rather, what we really need to start with is the overall structure, and then assign case to NPs based on properties of the structure. In Wambaya, if we find that we have a transitive clause, then we state that the subject NP of that clause is marked with ergative case. This is part of a growing body of work in ‘Realizational Morphology’, developing the program laid out in Stump (2001), with regard to clausal properties such as case, tense, and so on. Relevant work in the Lexical-Functional Grammar framework includes Sadler and Spencer (2001), Sadler and Nordlinger (2004), Sells (2000, 2004b), among many others, which assumes that morphology is an (imperfect) realization of clausal syntactic properties. A realizational approach within HPSG can be found in Monachesi (2001). The underlying conception is shared with Distributed Morphology (see e.g., Halle and Marantz (1993)), namely that of a syntactic structure with features and properties which is ‘interpreted’ morpho-phonologically.

Spencer’s approach would suggest that there are uses of case marking which are defined within the clause but which may not be reducible directly to properties of some lexical or functional head within the clause, or which may not be associated with an identifiable thematic role such as Patient or Goal. In this paper we discuss examples from Korean and Japanese in which case markers or other types of marking on NP systematically indicate meanings which go beyond thematic properties, and which bring out the limitations of current views of the expressive potential of case.

2. Korean Oblique Subjects

In addition to the familiar dative subjects of possessive verbs, among others (as in (3); see e.g., Yoon (2004)), Korean allows other true apparently oblique and non-nominative subjects:

- (3) cheli-eykey ton-i manh-ta
 Cheli-DAT money-NOM much-DECL
 ‘Cheli has much money.’

It is uncontroversial that Korean markers of case occupy two distinct morphological positions, relative to the (preceding) nouns. Roughly speaking, the first slot is for postpositional markers, and the second for structural case markers or the topic marker (see e.g., Cho and Sells (1995)), as in (4).¹

¹It is more controversial whether Japanese (and Korean) actually have any formal case values at all, rather than simply case forms (see Spencer and Otaguro (2005)). Our evidence suggests that Korean grammar requires reference to case feature values, not just case forms, though there is no comparable evidence in Japanese.

(4) Korean adpositional markers:

Postpositions		Case/Topic	
eyse (2.2)	‘at’	i/ka	NOM
pwuthe (3)	‘from’	(l)ul	ACC
(u)lo	‘with’	(n)un	TOP
eykey	DAT	uy	GEN
hanthey	DAT		
kkey	HON.DAT		
kkeyse (2.1)	HON.SUBJ		

In what follows these two positions are referred to in terms of ‘slots’, without supposing any particular details of morphological analysis. As case markers have two structural positions in the overall morphological form, it is possible sometimes for both positions to be expressed, giving the phenomenon known as ‘case-stacking’ (see e.g., Schütze (2001), Yoon (2004)).

2.1. *kkeyse* Subjects

The subjects of Korean verbs which are of a socially superior status may be marked with the honorific subject marker *kkeyse*, in which case the verb also takes a subject-honorific suffix *si*. Compare the non-honorific example in (5)a with its honorific counterpart:²

- (5) a. haksayng-tul-i o-ass-ta
 student-PLU-NOM come-PST-DECL
 ‘The students came.’
- b. sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse o-si-ess-ta
 teacher-HON-PLU-*kkeyse* come-HON-PST-DECL
 ‘The teachers came.’

Yoon (2005) argues that while *kkeyse* is a pure subject marker, for honorific subjects, its case is non-nominative, and that the NP it marks is an ablative oblique. We will show that the case of *kkeyse* is in fact nominative, leading to the conclusion that structural case is not solely associated with the final suffix slot in (4), following the proposal in Sells (1995).

One fact to observe about *kkeyse*-marked subjects is that they allow case-stacking with *i/ka* under the right circumstances. Case-stacking is illustrated in (6), where both subjects have a marker which is in the postposition slot, but also a structural case marker of nominative:³

- (6) a. cheli-eykey-ka ton-i manh-ta (cf. (3))
 Cheli-DAT-NOM money-NOM much-DECL
 ‘Cheli has much money.’
- b. sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse-man-i o-si-ess-ta (cf. (5)b)
 teacher-HON-PLU-*kkeyse*-only-NOM come-HON-PST-DECL
 ‘Only the teachers came.’

²Many of the honorable nouns in the examples in this section bear the honorific marker *nim*, meaning ‘honorable person’. This marker functions as part of the noun stem and is not part of the case-marking system.

³It is not possible to stack a structural nominative directly after *kkeyse* (**kkeyse-ka* is ungrammatical). (6)b is possible as stacked nominative also has a focus-related use (see Schütze (2001), Yoon (2004)), which the suffix *man* (‘only’) facilitates.

In addition to honorification, the control construction indicates that a *kkeyse*-marked phrase functions as the subject. Such a phrase may control the embedded subject of a predicate like *try*, as in (7)a, as well into a *myense(to)* ('although') clause, whose unexpressed subject of this clause must be the matrix subject, as in (7)b (see Youn (1989)):

- (7) a. sensayng-nim-kkeyse [haksayng-ul manna-lyeko] nolyek ha-si-ess-ta
 teacher-HON-*kkeyse* [student-ACC meet-COMP] try-HON-PST-DECL
 'The teacher tried to meet the students.'
- b. [pappu-si-myense(-to)] sensayng-nim-kkeyse [haksayng-ul manna-lyeko]
 [busy-although(-even)] teacher-HON-*kkeyse* [student-NOM meet-COMP]
 nolyekha-si-ess-ta
 try-HON-PST-DECL
 'Although the teacher was busy, he tried to meet the students.'

Raising constructions also indicate that the *kkeyse*-phrase is the subject:

- (8) a. na-nun [sensayng-nim-kkeyse hyenmyeng ha-si-ess-ta-ko] mit-nun-ta
 I-TOP [teacher-HON-*kkeyse* wise do-HON-PST-DECL-COMP] believe-PROC-DECL
 'I believe that the teacher was wise.'
- b. na-nun sensayng-nim-ul [hyenmyeng ha-si-ta-ko] mit-nun-ta
 I-TOP teacher-HON-ACC [wise do-HON-DECL-COMP] believe-PROC-DECL
 'I believe the teacher to be wise.'

In (8)b, the phrase raised to object position is the notional subject of the lower clause, marked with *kkeyse* in the unraised version in (8)a.

Korean has a 'multiple subject' construction in which successive nominative NPs stand in a possessive relation. A *kkeyse*-marked phrase can correspond to either NP in such a construction:

- (9) a. cheli-ka ape-nim-kkeyse pwuca-i-*(si)-ta
 cheli-NOM father-HON-*kkeyse* rich-COP-*(HON)-DECL
 'It is Cheli whose father is rich.'
- b. kim-sensayng-nim-kkeyse twulccay atu-nim-i chencay-i-si-ta
 kim-teacher-HON-*kkeyse* second son-HON-NOM genius-COP-HON-DECL
 'Professor Kim's second son is a genius.'

Yoon (2005) carefully argues through a variety of tests that *kkeyse* is a subject marker, yet, he concludes that it is grammatically oblique: although it is a subject marker, it is not a marker of nominative case. He makes two observations. The first is that case-stacking with an outer nominative is possible with clearly oblique non-nominative subjects, as in (6)a. The second argument is that a *kkeyse*-marked NP does not have the distribution of any nominative-marked NP, but the restricted distribution of a subject: a *kkeyse*-marked NP is quite poor as a nominative floated quantifier (see (11)b below), or as a nominative object, as the examples in (10) show. The verb 'become' in Korean takes two nominative arguments, but only the subject can bear the honorific marker *kkeyse*:

- (10) a. kim-kyoswu-nim-i/kkeyse chongcang-nim-i toy-si-ess-ta
 kim-professor-HON-NOM/*kkeyse* president-HON-NOM become-HON-PST-DECL
 'Professor Kim became president.'
- b. *kim-kyoswu-nim-i/kkeyse chongcang-nim-kkeyse toy-si-ess-ta
 kim-professor-HON-NOM/*kkeyse* president-HON-*kkeyse* become-HON-PST-DECL

The honorific marker *kkeyse* is not obligatory on the subject, as (10)a shows. Even though the complement is nominative in (10)a, it definitely cannot be marked with *kkeyse*, as shown in (10)b. Hence, the distribution of *kkeyse* is narrower than that of the regular nominative marker.

The examples in (11) are also given by Yoon (2005) and they show that *kkeyse* can float a nominative quantifier, as long as it is marked with a structural nominative, and not marked with *kkeyse* itself. The example in (11)b is not completely unacceptable for all speakers, but (11)a is the interesting example. On the relatively uncontroversial assumption that a floated quantifier agrees in case with its antecedent, the subject in this case, the only conclusion is that the subject in (11)a is in nominative case.

- (11) a. sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse twu-pwun-i o-si-ess-ta
 teacher-HON-PLU-*kkeyse* two-person(HON)-NOM come-HON-PST-DECL
 Subject Float Q Predicate
 ‘Two teachers came.’
- b. ??sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse twu-pwun-kkeyse o-si-ess-ta
 teacher-HON-PLU-*kkeyse* two-person(HON)-*kkeyse* come-HON-PST-DECL
 ‘Two teachers came.’

Such contrasts show that *kkeyse* is best analyzed as follows: it is a marker of (structural) nominative case, and it is restricted to grammatical subjects.⁴ It has these properties even though it falls in the slot in the nominal morphology otherwise associated with oblique-marking postpositions, as in (4).

If its case were in fact some sort of oblique, rather than nominative, the case on the floated quantifier *twu-pwun* in (11) would be a mystery. The facts that Yoon gives in (11) seem quite at odds with his conclusion about *kkeyse* that “we have no reason to believe that it is a structural case marker, but many reasons to believe that it is a Postposition marking inherent case . . . it can be doubled by a structural Nominative case-marker because other Postpositions also admit such doubling”.

To summarize, *kkeyse* marks its NP as honorific, as a subject, and as having nominative case.

2.2. *eyse* Subjects

Now we turn to examples whose subjects are marked with *eyse* (‘at’), as in (12)–(15) below. Yoon (2005), citing Martin (1992), refers to this as the ‘Ablative subject construction’. All the examples given below would also allow *ka* as a nominative marker on the subject, but do not allow the stacked sequence **eyse-ka*. In other words *eyse* and *ka* represent options that the speaker must choose between. The examples below are taken from Martin (1992: 504), Ihm et al. (1988) and Yoon (2005):

- (12) a. hoysa-eyse na-hanthey phosangkum-ul cwu-ess-ta
 company-*eyse* 1sg-DAT award-ACC give-PST-DECL
 ‘The company gave me an award.’
- b. wuli hakkyo-eyse iky-ess-ta
 1pl school-*eyse* win-PST-DECL
 ‘Our school won.’
- c. wuli kyohoy-eyse umak yeypay-lul ha-nuntay kok o-sey-yo
 1pl church-*eyse* music service-ACC do-because surely come-HON-LEVEL
 ‘Our church is having a musical service, please come.’

⁴There is no source of nominative in (11)a other than *kkeyse*, and if nominative is stacked onto a *kkeyse*-marked NP, the extra nominative takes on a focus meaning (see footnote 3).

- (13) a. kim sensayng-nim tayk-eyse wuli-lul chotay hay-ss-supni-ta
kim superior-HON residence-eyse 1pl-ACC invite do-PST-LEVEL-DECL
'The Kims have invited us.'
- b. cengpwu-eyse mwue-la-ko mal hay-ss-supni-kka?
government-eyse what-COP-COMP say-PST-LEVEL-Q
'What did the government say?'
- (14) a. nay-ccok-eyse ceyuy-lul mence hay-ss-ta
1sg-location-eyse offer-ACC first do-PST-DECL
'I made the offer first.'
- b. apenim-ccok-eyse ka-si-lyeko sito ha-si-ess-ta
father-location-eyse go-HON-PUR attempt-HON-PST-DECL
'Father attempted to go.'
- (15) a. sicheng-eyse ku hayngsa-lul cwuchoy hay-ss-ta
city hall-eyse that event-ACC organize-PST-DECL
'City hall organized that event.'
- b. lotte paykhwacem-eyse ku hayngsa-lul cwuchoy hay-ss-ta
Lotte dept. store-eyse that event-ACC organize-PST-DECL
'Lotte department store organized that event.'

These examples all involve subjects which denote institutions or locations which can be conceived of as engaging in intentional action. Below we will generalize over these properties with the term 'a-location', for a location capable of having agentive abilities. It should be pointed out that the part of the meaning that the subject refers to an institution or location is apparently a presupposition – *eyse* cannot impose this meaning on an NP that otherwise does not refer to an institution or location.

The Internally-Headed Relative Clause construction can also provide a test for subjecthood. The subject of the internally-headed clause is naturally picked out as the salient argument in the interpretation of the relative clause (e.g., Chung and Kim (2002), Kim (2002)):

- (16) a. *pro* [sicheng-eyse ku hayngsa-lul cwuchoy ha-nun kes-ul] mak-ass-ta (cf. (15)a)
[city hall-eyse that event-ACC organize-MOD thing-ACC] block-PST-DECL
'They blocked city hall which was organizing that event.'
- b. *pro* [e-sicang-eyse mwune-lul phal-ko iss-nun kes-ul] cheypho hay-ss-ta
[fish-market-eyse octopus-ACC sell-COMP PROG-MOD thing-ACC] catch-PST-DECL
'They caught the fish market which was selling octopus.'

In both examples, the semantic argument of the matrix predicate *mak-ass-ta* and *cheypho hay-ss-ta* is the *eyse*-phrase, the subject of the embedded clause.

Now, in contrast to *kkeyse* in (11)a, an *eyse*-marked subject does not float a nominative quantifier. First of all, note the floated nominative quantifiers relating to nominative subjects, in (17):

- (17) a. e-sicang-i ye-le-kwuntey-ka mwune-lul phal-ko iss-ta
fish-market-NOM many-place-NOM octopus-ACC sell-COMP PROG-DECL
Subject Float Q
'Many fish markets are selling octopus.'
- b. e-sicang-i han-kwuntey-man-i mwune-lul phal-ko iss-ta
fish-market-NOM one-place-only-NOM octopus-ACC sell-COMP PROG-DECL
Subject Float Q
'Only one fish market is selling octopus.'

While the examples in (17) have a floated quantifier interpretation, (18) does not, and the *eyse*-phrase cannot be interpreted as the subject, but rather only as a locative adjunct.

- (18) e-sicang-eyse yele-kwuntey-ka mwune-lul phal-ko iss-ta
 fish-market-eyse many-place-NOM octopus-ACC sell-COMP PROG-DECL
 Locative Subject
 *Subject FloatQ
 ‘In the fish market, many places are selling octopus.’

The contrast between (17) and (18) shows that *eyse*-subjects do not float a nominative quantifier: they are not themselves nominative subjects. Due to the presence of the nominative, the *eyse*-phrase is interpreted as a locative adjunct with the nominative phrase as the actual subject. It is impossible to mark both of the first two phrases in (18) with *eyse*; the example in (19) does not have a Subject-FloatQ interpretation (see also (20)):

- (19) e-sicang-eyse(-nun) yele-kwuntey-eyse mwune-lul phal-ko iss-ta
 fish-market-eyse(-TOP) many-place-eyse octopus-ACC sell-COMP PROG-DECL
 Locative Locative
 ‘In the fish market, in many places, someone is selling octopus.’
- (20) hoysa-eyse twu-kwuntey-eyse ku hayngsa-lul cwuchoy hay-ss-ta
 company-eyse two-place-eyse that event-ACC organize-PST-DECL
 *Subject Float Q
 Locative Subject
 *‘Two companies organized that event.’
 ‘At the company, two places (i.e., some parts of the company) organized that event.’

The clear contrast with the *kkeyse*-phrase indicates that the *eyse*-phrase is a subject with oblique case.⁵ The data suggests that floated quantifiers do not relate to their antecedents purely by grammatical function – that is, it is not the case that a nominative quantifier takes a subject as its antecedent, and an accusative quantifier takes an object as its antecedent. Such an account could not explain why *kkeyse*-subjects can be associated with a floated nominative quantifier, but *eyse*-subjects cannot.

The contrast between (17) and (18) also provides direct evidence against an analysis which would posit the apparent subject *eyse*-phrase as actually being an adjunct, binding a *pro* as the real subject. Such a null subject would be nominative, and hence float a nominative quantifier; the account would therefore directly predict that (18) should have the same interpretation as (17)a, contrary to fact.

The diagnosis of (18) is confirmed by the contrast in the examples in (21), using the proper name ‘Noryangjin’ (a fish market):

- (21) a. nolyangcin-sicang-eyse yele-kwuntey-ka mwune-lul phal-ko iss-ta
 Noryangjin-market-eyse many-place-NOM octopus-ACC sell-COMP PROG-DECL
 ‘In Noryangjin market, many places are selling octopus.’
- b. ??nolyangcin-sicang-i yele-kwuntey-ka mwune-lul phal-ko iss-ta
 Noryangjin-market-NOM many-place-NOM octopus-ACC sell-COMP PROG-DECL

(21)b is strange as the first NP cannot provide a locational context for the second NP, which is the grammatical subject of the clause. In fact, (21)b does have an interpretation in which the first NP is a Major Subject, a focus phrase, characterized by the rest of the clause. Hence, (21)b would be a suitable answer to the question ‘At which market do many places sell octopus?’, and would mean ‘It is Noryangjin market where many places sell octopus’.

⁵To be more accurate, if speakers accept (20) at all, the only possible interpretation is the second one, with *twu-kwuntey* as an *eyse*-subject, not a floated quantifier.

With this in mind, we note that it is also possible to have the sequence in (22):

- (22) *nolyangcin-sicang-i* *yele-kwuntey-eyse* *mwune-lul* *phal-ko* *iss-ta*
 Noryangjin-market-NOM many-place-*eyse* octopus-ACC sell-COMP PROG-DECL
 Major Subject Subject
 ‘It is Noryangjin market where many places are selling octopus.’

This appears to have the structure in which *nolyangcin-sicang-i* is a Major Subject and *yele-kwuntey-eyse* is the grammatical subject inside the clause.

Looking for a different diagnostic, Yoon (2005) presents the example in (23)a, with the analysis in (23)b, to show that the *eyse*-marked subject can be interpreted as animate (as a controller), and as a subject in both the matrix and embedded clauses, it can cooccur with honorific agreement on the verb:

- (23) a. *ape-nim-ccok-eyse* *ka-si-lyeko* *sito ha-si-ess-ta*
 father-HON-location-*eyse* go-HON-PUR attempt-HON-PST-DECL
 ‘Father attempted to go.’
 b. *ape-nim-ccok-eyse* [PRO *ka-si-lyeko*] *sito ha-si-ess-ta*
 father-HON-location-*eyse* [PRO go-HON-PUR] attempt-HON-PST-DECL
 ‘Father attempted to go.’

An a-location subject can also be interpreted as an honorable subject:

- (24) *nop-un* *kos-eyse* *i il-ul* *cisi ha-si-ess-ta*
 high-MOD place-*eyse* this work-ACC instruct-HON-PST-DECL
 ‘The high place instructed (us to do) this work.’

While it is not clear how reliable a test for subjecthood honorific marking is (see Sells and Kim (2007)), certainly the simplest interpretation of (24) is that the *eyse*-phrase is the subject.

In summary, *eyse* can mark an NP as being subject, with oblique case, but only if the NP refers to an a-location.

2.3. The Nature of Agentivity

The possibility for these oblique subjects with *eyse* might raise questions about the nature of verb meaning in Korean, in particular the characterization of the highest argument. How can verbs with agentive subjects take ‘a-location’ subjects? Are these verbs with ‘a-location’ subjects somehow different in meaning from their canonically-used counterparts?

It is easy to show that the verbs of these clauses retain their regular meanings, and have the range of interpretations that they would with canonically human subjects. Those which are transitive take accusative objects, and the ‘agentivity’ of the subject can be seen in the examples in (15) above: it is not possible to organize an event without intentionality and agentivity. In (25), the *eyse* marked subject can be the subject of ‘decide’ in a positive or a negative use:

- (25) a. *lotte paykwacem-eyse* *ku hayngsa-lul cwuchoy ha-ki-lo* *kyelceng hay-ss-ta*
 Lotte department store-*eyse* that event-ACC organize-NOMIN-COMP decide-PST-DECL
 ‘Lotte department store decided to organize that event.’
 b. *lotte paykwacem-eyse* *ku hayngsa-lul cwuchoy ha-ci anh-ki-lo*
 Lotte departmentstore-*eyse* that event-ACC organize-COMP NEG-NOMIN-COMP
kyelceng hay-ss-ta
 decide-PST-DECL
 ‘Lotte department store decided not to organize that event.’

- (28) a. ku mikwuk hoysa-eyse cikum cikwen-ul mocip ha-ko iss-ta
 that American company-eyse now employee-ACC recruit-COMP PROG-DECL
 ‘That American company is recruiting employees now.’
- b. ??ku mikwuk hoysa-eyse ku-lul hayko hay-ss-ta
 that American company-NOM 3sg-ACC fire-PST-DECL
 ‘That American company fired him.’

Both examples are perfectly acceptable with nominative subjects, of course.

Incidentally, Yoon (2005) also shows that *kkeyse* cannot mark a non-canonical subject that *eyse* or a regular nominative can mark:

- (29) a. *ape-nim-ccok-kkeyse mence ceyuy-lul ha-si-ess-ta
 father-HON-location-*kkeyse* first suggestion-ACC do-HON-PST-DECL
 ‘Father first made the suggestion.’
- b. ape-nim-ccok-eyse mence ceyuy-lul ha-si-ess-ta
 father-HON-location-*eyse* first suggestion-ACC do-HON-PST-DECL
- c. ape-nim-ccok-i mence ceyuy-lul ha-si-ess-ta
 father-HON-location-NOM first suggestion-ACC do-HON-PST-DECL

(29)a shows that this kind of subject can support an honorific interpretation; the data here in (29) suggest that *kkeyse* can only mark a canonical human referential subject (see also Sells and Kim (2007) for the ‘target’ of honorification).

3. Korean Oblique Non-Subjects

Here we focus on the Korean suffix *pwuthe* (‘from’), on non-subjects. Before getting to the full discussion, we note that *pwuthe* can be used in some circumstances on subjects, indicating ‘the first’ agent of a distributed action. (30)a is considered somewhat marginal, but (30)b is possible, as is (31):

- (30) a. kak kaceng-mata-pwuthe kyoyuk-ey kwansim-ul kacye-ya ha-n-ta
 each household-each-*pwuthe* education-DAT interest-ACC hold-COMP must-PROC-DECL
 ‘Each household must take an interest in education.’ (Martin (1992: 690))
- b. kak kaceng-eyse-pwuthe kyoyuk-ey kwansim-ul kacye-ya ha-n-ta
 each household-*eyse-pwuthe* education-DAT interest-ACC hold-COMP must-PROC-DECL
 ‘Each household should be the first to take an interest in education.’
- (31) ne-pwuthe tul-e ka-la
 2sg-*pwuthe* go.in-IMP
 ‘You go in first!’ (‘Starting with you ... ’)

3.1. Case Marking and *pwuthe*-Marked Objects

More central to our concerns in this paper is the fact that Korean allows *pwuthe*-marked objects; the examples below are from or based on Ihm et al. (1988: 179) and Martin (1992: 761–2)). The construction indicates that the whole event of the clause containing the object is salient as the first event in some sequence.

- (32) a. son-pwuthe (twu pen-ul) ssis-ko capswu-sey-yo
hand-*pwuthe* (two time-ACC) wash-CONJ eat-HON-LEVEL
'Wash your hands (two times) first before you eat.'
- b. etten siktang-un ton-pwuthe nay-yo
some restaurant-TOP money-*pwuthe* give-LEVEL
'In some restaurants you pay first (before you eat).'
- c. achim-ey il-e na-se tampay-pwuthe phiwu-nun salam-i iss-e.yo
morning-at get up after cigarette-*pwuthe* smoke-MOD person-NOM exist-LEVEL
'There are people who have a cigarette first (when they get up).'
- (33) a. cemsim-pwuthe mek-ca
lunch-*pwuthe* eat-PROPOS
'Let's have lunch first.'
- b. swukcey-pwuthe-tul hay-la
homework-*pwuthe*-PLU do-IMP
'(You (pl.)) do your homework first.'
- c. swukcey-pwuthe ha-y noh-ko TV-lul po-ala!
homework-*pwuthe* do-COMP put-CONJ TV-ACC watch-IMP
'Do the homework first and (then) watch TV!'
- (34) mina-nun swukcey-pwuthe ha-ci anh-ko, TV-pwuthe po-ass-ta
Mina-TOP homework-*pwuthe* do-COMP NEG-CONJ TV-*pwuthe* watch-PST-DECL
'Mina did not do the homework first, but watched TV first.'

This construction has the meaning that the speaker is presenting the clause containing *pwuthe* as either describing (or not describing, if the clause is negated) some salient first event in the discourse. This example shows that *pwuthe* does not simply mean "the event described by my clause precedes some other event": if it did, (34) would be some kind of contradiction, because each clause would then carry the meaning that it preceded the other. Rather, the meaning is that there is some salient first event in the context, and the clause in question characterizes it (or not). the meaning is as shown in (35)a, not (35)b:

- (35) a. "Doing homework was not the first salient event, but watching TV was the first salient event."
- b. *"Not doing homework was the first salient event, but watching TV was the first salient event."

Negation is interpreted as being about the descriptive applicability of the clause, and is not part of the propositional content which is used to characterize the salient first event. Note that there is only one salient first event even though there are two occurrences of *pwuthe*. This suggests that the contribution of *pwuthe* cannot be strictly compositional, but rather is constructional in some way.

Now a *pwuthe*-marked object can be the antecedent for a floated quantifier, which appears in the accusative case, as shown in (36).

- (36) kaylon-chayk-pwuthe twu-kwen-ul ilk-ko na.se nonmwun-ul ssu-tolok hay
introduction-book-*pwuthe* two-volume-ACC read-after paper-ACC write-COMP do
Object Float Q
'After you first read two introductory books, try to write a paper.'

A *pwuthe*-phrase can also function as an object in the control construction in (37):

- (37) haksayng-tul-pwuthe ttena-tolok seltuk hay-ss-ta
 student-PLU-*pwuthe* leave-COMP persuade-PST-DECL
 ‘First, we persuaded students to leave.’

The example has at least two interpretations, as control is not fully obligatory with the predicate *seltuk ha-ta* (see Choe (2006)). If ‘students’ is taken as the object of the matrix predicate, controlling the subject of the embedded predicate, the interpretation is as shown, and *pwuthe* allows the interpretation of ‘the first salient event’. Another interpretation of (37) is one in which some unmentioned arbitrary persons were persuaded that the students should leave. Under this interpretation, ‘students’ is only the subject of the embedded predicate, and then the example means ‘I persuaded (someone) [that first the students should leave] (and then others should leave)’. This contrast in interpretations aligns with the idea that the *pwuthe*-marked phrase is the object in (36) and in the primary reading of (37).

One might also take the possibility of accusative case on the frequency adverbial in (32)a to also show that accusative case is assigned within the clause, even though it does not appear overtly on any argument. However, it is known that the case on adverbials is primarily governed by semantic properties of the clause which do not necessarily correspond with the transitivity of the clause (see e.g., Wechsler and Lee (1996), Kim and Sells (2006)).

3.2. Oblique Internal Arguments

The *pwuthe*-marking on internal arguments is similar in some ways to focus marking. First of all, *pwuthe*-marking as such can appear on any constituent, indicating what we will call ‘narrow’ scope (meaning ‘starting with . . .’), where the referent of the *pwuthe*-phrase is the first in a series, as in (38). *pwuthe* can also take ‘wide’ scope from an internal argument, in which case it means ‘the first thing is (what is denoted by the VP)’, the more interesting interpretation described above:

- (38) a. ne-pwuthe tul-e ka-la (= (31))
 2sg-*pwuthe* go.in-IMP
 ‘You go in first!’ (narrow: ‘starting with you, then others go in’)
- b. seoul-ey-pwuthe ka-se . . .
 Seoul-to-*pwuthe* go-CONJ
 ‘First, go to Seoul . . .’ (wide: ‘the first thing you do, then you do something else’)
- c. taykay yeca.ay-tul-un namca.ay-tul-i ttayli-kena cangnan-ul chi-myen
 usually girl-PLU-TOP boy-PLU-NOM hit-or play.around.with-if
 sensayng-nim-kkey-pwuthe ka-se ilu-n-ta
 teacher-HON-HON.DAT-*pwuthe* go-CONJ tell-PROC-DECL
 ‘If boys hit or play around with them, the first thing that girls usually do is go to the teacher and tell tales.’ (wide: ‘the first thing that girls do . . .’)

While *pwuthe* is most natural on a canonical direct object, with the wide-scope interpretation, this also seems to be possible with at least some dative and oblique arguments, as in (38)b-c (cf. Martin (1992)). The examples in (39) also show the wide-scope interpretation:

- (39) a. sensayng-nim-kkey-pwuthe i chayk-ul poye tuli-ko hakkyo-ey ka-la
 teacher-HON-HON.DAT-*pwuthe* this book-ACC show give-CONJ school-DAT go-IMP
 ‘First show this book to the teacher, then go to school.’

- b. sensayng-nim-tul-kkey-pwuthe insa tuli-ko na.se anc-ala
 teacher-HON-PLU-HON.DAT-*pwuthe* greet give-after sit-IMP
 ‘First greet the teacher and then sit down.’
- c. senmwul tul-e o-n ttek-un halmeni-kkey-pwuthe poye
 present come in-NMOD ricecake-TOP grandmother-HON.DAT-*pwuthe* show.COMP
 tuli-ko (na.se) nanwu-e mek-tolok ha-ela!
 give(-after) divide-COMP eat-COMP do-IMP
 ‘The rice cake (that somebody sent as a present), show it to the grandmother first and then share it among yourselves!’

The wide-scope meaning of *pwuthe* projects from an internal argument, but not a subject, rather like focus projection in English, or Korean (cf. Chung et al. (2007)). In addition, the form *pwuthe* functions morphologically like the suffix (*n*)*un*, supplanting structural case markers but following postpositional oblique markers such as *eykey*, *ey* or *kkey*, as seen in (40):

- (40) a. ai-tul-eykey-pwuthe kwaca-lul cwu-ela
 child-PLU-DAT-*pwuthe* cookie-ACC give-IMP
 ‘Give cookies to the children (first).’
- b. i san-ey-pwuthe olla ka-se ...
 this mountain-LOC-*pwuthe* ascend.COMP go-CONJ ...
 ‘Go up this mountain first and then’

In summary, *pwuthe* appear on any argument, and can mark it as being the first in a series, or, on any internal argument, it can mark the clause containing it as describing a salient first event.

4. Japanese Oblique Subjects

In this section we present examples from Japanese which show similar kinds of uses and interpretations for oblique case-marking on subjects to those we have seen above; some relevant forms are:

- (41) Japanese adpositional markers:

Postpositions		Case/Topic	
de (4.1)	‘at’	ga	NOM
kara (4.2)	‘from’	o	ACC
de	‘with’	wa	TOP
ni	DAT	no	GEN

4.1. *de*-Marked Subjects in Japanese

Rather like the Korean subjects marked with *eyse*, Japanese allows subjects of certain clause types to be marked with *de* (‘at, with, by means of’). There are two sub-types to consider.

4.1.1. Institutional Subjects

Alfonso (1974: 990–993) presents examples with *de* to be used “with institutions or ‘moral entities’”. These are the most like the *eyse*-subjects in Korean. The minimal pair in (42) shows the contrast with regular subject-marking, with the nominative *ga*:

- (42) a. Macys-ga iPod-o utte-i-ru
Macys-NOM iPod-ACC sell-PROG-PRS
‘Macy’s sells iPods.’
- b. Macys-de iPod-o utte-i-ru
Macys-*de* iPod-ACC sell-PROG-PRS
‘Macy’s sells iPods.’

In (42)b, the interpretation is closer to ‘iPods are sold at Macys’ or ‘At Macys they sell iPods’, even though the Japanese structure is clearly transitive with an accusative object.

An example like (43) has an interpretation where the lunches are available through the company (maybe because they let some lunch service do business inside their building), but not where the company directly provides the lunch itself:

- (43) kaisya-de dasite kureru hiruhan-wa amari umaku arimasen
company-*de* put.out give-PRS lunch-TOP rather tasty NEG.PRS
‘The lunches provided through the company are not too tasty.’

(44), from Katsuki-Pestemer (2003: 37), means that some (unspecified) members of the opposition party have taken a stance, and the speaker presents them as representing the whole opposition party. Note again that the clause is transitive and describes an event which is volitional and (cognitively) agentive. In this example the subject refers to an ‘institution’ but not a location as such.

- (44) yatoo-gawa-de kono kaikaku-an-ni tuyoi hantai-no sitei-o
opposition parties-*de* this reform plan-DAT strong opposition-GEN stance-ACC
simesi-ta
show-PST
‘The opposition parties showed a firm stance of rejection to this reform plan.’

In (45), the subjects of surface transitive verbs are marked with *de*, though it is clear that there must be some individual who acts for the institution in question:

- (45) a. ano mise-de kookoku-o dasite-imasu
that shop-*de* ad-ACC put.out-PROG.PRS
‘That shop is putting out an ad.’
- b. gakkoo-de meirei suru koto-ni sitagau-no-wa toozen desu
school-*de* order do.PRS fact-DAT obey-NOMIN-TOP natural COP.PRS
‘Obeying the directives that the school gives is a matter of course.’

Thus, these uses have roughly have the same interpretation as the Korean *eyse*-subjects, though without the strict restriction to locational referents (even though *de* is a locative marker in Japanese). The considerations above based on the observations by Van Valin and Wilkins (around example (26)) are again relevant for all these Japanese examples.

4.1.2. ‘Designated Group’ Subjects

Other examples with *de* are rather different, such as (46)a from Inoue (2000: (1d)). At first glance, *de* seems to have some partitive sense, as well as being a marker of an agentive subject, as seen in the different acceptabilities of the examples in (46):

- (46) a. taroo-to hanako-de bokoo-o otozure-ta
 Taroo-CONJ Hanako-*de* alma.mater-ACC visit-PST
 ‘Taroo and Hanako visited their alma mater.’
- b. *taroo-de/kimi-de bokoo-o otozure-ta
 Taroo-*de*/you(sg.)-*de* alma.mater-ACC visit-PST
- c. taroo-dake-de bokoo-o otozure-ta
 Taroo-only-*de* alma.mater-ACC visit-PST
 ‘Only Taroo visited his alma mater.’

Inoue says that (46)a has the meaning of ‘Taroo and Hanako alone excluding others’. This is clearly not part of the meaning with ‘institutional’ *de*. Inoue suggests that *de* acts as an intensifier of an agentive subject with a meaning of ‘alone, on X’s own’ and suggests that it is associated with a Focus feature in syntax. Her specific proposal within Minimalist syntax is that *all* core arguments are marked in their base position by a semantic case marker, which is then overwritten by structural nominative or accusative in most instances. Under this view, *kara* (see below) marks an Agent in SpecVP, while *de* is a delimiter or focus marker which requires its host to move to the specifier of a projection labelled FP.

While (46)a is acceptable with a (small) group-denoting subject, (46)b is not. Yet, surprisingly, (46)c is acceptable, even though its referent is singular, as long as the singular is accompanied by the particle *dake*. It seems that the *de* subject has to pick out a ‘group’, which *dake* forces to have a cardinality of just 1. In general, bare nouns cannot be *de*-subjects of the verb phrase in (46), but are acceptable if suffixed with the group-denoting suffix *tati*:

- (47) a. kodomo*(-tati)de bokoo-o otozure-ta
 child*(-group)-*de* alma.mater-ACC visit-PST
- b. gakusei*(-tati)de bokoo-o otozure-ta
 student*(-group)-*de* alma.mater-ACC visit-PST

The significance of *tati* is that it is not strictly speaking a pluralizer, but rather, *X-tati* means ‘the group represented by X’ (see e.g., Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004)). In other words, *de* is attached to a group-denoting expression. Like the meanings seen above with Korean *kkeyse* and *eyse*, it selects for this interpretation, but does not impose it – otherwise there would be no contrasts in (46).

Other examples with *de* show the apparently ‘exhaustive’ interpretation that Inoue mentions:

- (48) a. titi-to haha-de ryokoo-ni itte katte kita mono desu
 father-CONJ mother-*de* trip-DAT go.COMP buy.COMP come.PST thing COP.PRS
 ‘This is what father and mother brought back from their trip.’ (Alfonso (1974))
- b. kono sigoto-wa taroo-to hanako-de katazuke-masu
 this work-TOP Taroo-CONJ Hanako-*de* finish-PRS
 ‘This task, Taroo and Hanako will finish.’ (Inoue (2000: (30)a))

In these examples, the subject marked with *de* does denote a group, and it seems that there is an implication that this is an exhaustive characterization of the group (hence Inoue’s idea mentioned above that this *de* may be connected with focus).

4.2. *kara*-Marked Subjects in Japanese

Finally, Japanese allows subjects marked with *kara* ('from') rather than *ga*. Kuroda (1978: 50) noted that subjects of verbs of transaction may be marked in this way:

- (49) haha-kara kane-o okutte kita
 mother-*kara* money-ACC send.COMP come.PST
 'Mother sent me some money.'

(50) schematizes similar examples, inspired by Inoue (2000: (44)a):

- (50) ken-kara tomodati-ni zibun-no zisyo-o okutta/ watasita/ kasiteita/ *utta
 Ken-*kara* friend-DAT self-GEN dictionary-ACC send.PST/ hand.PST/ lend.PST/ *sell.PST
 'Ken sent/handed/lent/*sold his dictionary to his friend.'

The verbs which may be used in this construction all have a clear sense of something passing from a source to a goal.

kara may be used instead of *ga* with verbs of telling or informing (examples from Alfonso (1974) and Martin (1975: 45)):⁶

- (51) a. kono koto-wa watasi-kara ano hito-ni denwa-o kakete oki-masyoo
 this fact-TOP 1sg-*kara* that person-DAT phone-ACC give do-PROPOS
 'Regarding this, let me call that person.'
- b. konna tegami-o watasi-kara okuttara siturei-ni nari-masu-kara
 such.a letter-ACC 1sg-*kara* send-COND rudeness-DAT become-PRS-because
 syatyoo-san-kara okutte kudasaru hoo-ga ii-to omoi-masu
 president-*kara* send.COMP give option-NOM good-COMP think-PRS
 'If I send such a letter it will appear rude so I think it is better that the president send it.'
- (52) a. kono mondai-wa anata-kara ano hito-ni itte kudasaru-no-ga
 this problem-TOP 2sg-*kara* that person-DAT say.COMP give-NOMIN-NOM
 itiban-da-to omoi-masu
 best-COP-COMP think-PRS
 'As for this problem, I think it is best if you discuss it with that person.'
- b. anata-ga i-e-nai-to-iu-nara watasi-kara kotowatte yari-masyoo
 2sg-NOM say-POT-NEG-COMP-say-if 1sg-*kara* refuse.COMP do-PROPOS
 'If you can't say it, I will refuse him myself.'

One important constraint on the interpretation of this construction is that the intention of the communicator has to be known. Consequently the examples are most natural with first-person subjects (or second-person subjects if interrogative). An example like (53) is acceptable only if the speaker knows for sure that the section chief is going to speak, as it making an announcement as the section chief steps forward to make a speech.

- (53) butyoo-kara hanasi-masu
 section.chief-*kara* speak-PRS
 'The section chief will speak.'

The specific semantic and pragmatic interpretations of these various oblique subjects in Japanese require further investigation.

⁶English: 'coming from me' – as in something like 'You can tell him, but it may be better *coming from me*'.

5. Conclusions and Consequences

The overall conclusion from the observations above is that nominative and accusative marking on arguments may be ‘supplanted’ by the oblique case markers cited from Korean and Japanese, which mark semantic and pragmatic information, possibly peculiar to a given construction. Specifically, through the Korean data, we have shown that the oblique markers *kkeyse*, *eyse* and *pwuthe* have different properties when marking core arguments, summarized in (54):

- (54) a. *kkeyse* marks a subject as nominative, with the meaning of honorification;
b. *eyse* marks a subject with non-nominative oblique case, with the meaning that the subject refers to a location;
c. *pwuthe* may appear on an internal argument marking the wide scope ‘salient first event’ interpretation; and like the topic marker (*n)un* it suppresses the appearance of accusative case on an object.

These specific proposals lead to several more general conclusions.

5.1. Conclusions

First, the examples show that having a grammatical function is not equivalent to being in a position where structural case is checked or assigned (for these cases may not be assigned); nominative and accusative do not necessarily have to be assigned by a transitive verb, or assigned by other heads in a clause containing a transitive verb. In other words, subject and object must be defined independently of any particular head that licenses them – they are effectively autonomous grammatical relations. This is directly encoded in LFG, and the valence lists of SUBJ and COMPS in HPSG have the same function. Minimalist approaches seems to be lacking any way to provide access to grammatical relations, and would therefore be challenged by the data presented here.

The second conclusion is that a transitive verb does not change its meaning when it combines with an oblique argument – a transitive verb does not take a ‘location’ or ‘institution’ argument, and certainly not a ‘salient first event’, yet these meanings can be provided by oblique arguments. In other words, it must be the oblique form, or the construction which involves it, which provide these extra components of meaning. As observed in the introduction, an oblique case does not necessarily represent only thematic properties of the argument it marks (while dative marks a stative locative argument in (3), this is not fully representative), but it may signal properties of the larger structure. Grammatical theory has to provide the means to account for this.

The third conclusion is that case has a meaning, anywhere from the level of argument structure to propositional semantics to pragmatics; and there is no reason to suppose that even structural case is just a reflection of some formal syntactic relation, as observed with regard to nominative case in Korean, in the introduction. More specifically, it is not so much that case has a meaning, but that the choice among cases has a meaning.

5.2. Analyses of Case Marking

What kinds of information would a grammatical theory have to refer to, to describe the data presented here? We have shown that it is necessary to refer to grammatical function, and semantic and pragmatic information at the same time.

Butt (2006) identifies ‘semantic’ case markers as those which (i) involve semantic predictability and (ii) are subject to syntactic restrictions (such as being limited to certain grammatical functions).

Within the LFG framework, Butt and King (2004) and Butt (2006) present an analysis of such semantic case, for languages including Georgian and Urdu. For example, the ergative *ne* in Urdu marks a subject, which is necessarily an external argument in argument structure, and which is either the volitional actor (in semantic structure), or the subject of a transitive perfective clause (in functional structure, in LFG). The ‘inside-out’ formalism of LFG developed for case by Nordlinger (1998) allows:

$$(55) \quad ne: \begin{array}{l} (\uparrow\text{CASE}) = \text{ERG} \\ (\text{SUBJ}\uparrow) \\ (\text{EXT-ARG}\uparrow_{arg-str}) \end{array} \quad \text{and} \quad \begin{array}{l} (\uparrow_{sem-str}\text{VOLITION}) = + \\ (\text{SUBJ}\uparrow) \text{ OBJ} \\ (\text{SUBJ}\uparrow) \text{ VFORM} = \text{PERF} \end{array} \quad \text{or}$$

This entry says that the case marker marks a subject with ergative case, if the subject is the external argument of the predicate, and this argument is either volitional, or else the argument is the subject of a transitive, perfective clause. Butt (2006: 149) writes “the information associated with case morphology is assumed to interact with information specified in other parts of the grammar at several levels of representation”. One interesting aspect of the LFG analysis is that the mechanism of ‘Constructive Case’ was developed by Nordlinger (1998) specifically to allow morphology within a phrase to be able to place constraints on the whole clause containing that phrase. As far as we are aware, LFG is the only syntactic framework that directly allows this kind of information-spreading.

Within HPSG, the Korean forms summarized in (54) have been analyzed in Sells (2004a), building on proposals for structural case marking by Bratt (1996) and Kim (2004). In this kind of analysis the relevant additional information is not introduced by the case marker, but rather is introduced by the grammatical rule which combines an argument and a head (either a head and its subject, or a head and its complement), adding in the relevant semantic or pragmatic information. In the constraint-based framework of HPSG, the grammatical cases nominative and accusative can be introduced by the declarations in (56) and (57), following Bratt (1996) and Kim (2004): (56) combines a subject and a head (VP), assigning nominative to the subject. (57) assigns accusative to the first complement of a verb whose semantics is a sub-type of *cause-rel*:

$$(56) \quad hd-subj-ph \Rightarrow \left[\text{SUBJ} \langle \ \rangle \right] \rightarrow \boxed{\text{CASE } nom}, \mathbf{H} \left[\text{SUBJ} \langle \boxed{\ } \rangle \right]$$

$$(57) \quad hd-comp-ph \Rightarrow \left[\text{COMPS } \boxed{A} \right] \rightarrow \boxed{\text{CASE } acc}, \mathbf{H} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \mid \text{COMPS } \langle \boxed{\ } \oplus \boxed{A} \rangle \\ \text{CONT} \quad \quad \quad \left[\text{cause-rel} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The point of (57) is that in a hierarchy of semantic verb relations, only those in the ‘effector verb’ class take an accusative complement.

kkeyse must be introduced by a variant of *hd-subj-ph*, which I give in (58):

$$(58) \quad hd-subj-kkeyse-ph \Rightarrow \left[\text{SUBJ} \langle \ \rangle \right] \rightarrow \boxed{\text{CASE } nom}, \mathbf{H} \left[\text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ } \langle \boxed{\ } \rangle \\ \text{HEAD } \left[\text{HON } + \right] \end{array} \right] \right]$$

Yoon (2005) also observes that any clause whose subject is marked by *kkeyse* must have a verb in its honorific form. Honorification is represented here by a HON feature – for example, lexical suppletive honorific verb lexemes such as *capswusi-* (‘(hon.) eat’) will be specified as [HON +]. For regular verbs this is realized by the regular honorific marker (the suffix *-(u)si-* – see example (5)b). As far as the interpretation of honorific verbs goes, the account in Pollard and Sag (1994: 94) derives the

CONTEXTual content of honorification from the honorific verb. (58) could be modified to introduce this directly – this may be the best approach (see Sells and Kim (2007)).

For a canonical verb, the SUBJ and COMPS express the members of the ARG-ST; we can sum the SUBJ and COMPS as the DEPS (‘dependents’). Certain adjuncts can be added to the DEPS list; all of the members of ARG-ST are on DEPS, which can also contain adjuncts (see Bouma et al. (2001)):

$$(59) \quad \text{verb} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEPS} \quad \boxed{A} \oplus \text{list} \left(\left[\text{MOD} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{KEY} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \right] \right) \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \boxed{A} \\ \text{CONT} | \text{KEY} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right]$$

For semantic case markers, such as *eyse* marking a location (e.g., *hakkyo-eyse (kongpwu ha-ta)* (‘(study) at the school’)), (60) constrains an *eyse*-marked dependent to be a locative modifier:

$$(60) \quad \text{hd-dep-eyse-ph} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \boxed{4} \\ \text{DEPS} \quad \boxed{1} \left[\text{MOD} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \boxed{4} \\ \text{KEY} \quad \boxed{5} \end{array} \right] \right] \oplus \boxed{A} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONT} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{loc-rel} \\ \text{KEY} \quad \boxed{5} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right], \mathbf{H} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{DEPS} \quad \boxed{A} \rightarrow \boxed{1} \left[\text{CASE } \text{obl}_{eyse} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

To illustrate the analysis for oblique cases on core arguments, the grammar rule in (61) combines a subject and a predicate, adding *eyse* to the marking of a subject and requiring the semantics of that subject to respect a background restriction of being a *location* (see the discussion following (15)), for a verb of the class *cause-rel*, which takes an effector first argument. Note that there is no change to the verb’s entry or semantics (H): any verb could just as easily combine with its subject via a nominative-marking rule – subject to semantic compatibility of the parts of the resulting clausal interpretation.

$$(61) \quad \text{hd-subj-eyse-ph} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{CTXT} | \text{BKGRD} \quad \boxed{\Sigma_1} \cup \boxed{\Sigma_2} \cup \\ \quad \left[\text{RESTR} \left\{ \text{location}(i) \right\} \right] \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} | \text{HEAD} | \text{CASE } \text{obl}_{eyse} \\ \text{CONT} | \text{INDEX} \quad i \\ \text{CTXT} | \text{BKGRD} \quad \boxed{\Sigma_1} \end{array} \right], \mathbf{H} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} | \text{SUBJ} \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{CTXT} | \text{BKGRD} \quad \boxed{\Sigma_2} \\ \text{CONT} \quad \left[\text{cause-rel} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The treatment of *pwuthe* on an object is that it marks the complement of a verb whose content characterizes a ‘salient first event’, which is also part of the contextual background information:⁷

(62) *hd-pwuthe-comp-ph* ⇒

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{COMPS } \boxed{A} \\ \text{CTXT | BKGRD } \Sigma_1 \cup \Sigma_2 \cup \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\text{SAL-1ST-EVENT } \boxed{A} \right], \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{soa} \\ \text{QUANTS } \boxed{B} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NUCL} \\ \text{ARG1 } \boxed{3} \\ \text{ARG2 } \boxed{4} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \\
 \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT | HEAD | CASE } \textit{obl}_{pwuthe} \\ \text{CTXT | BKGRD } \Sigma_1 \end{array} \right], \mathbf{H} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT | COMPS } \boxed{1} \oplus \boxed{A} \\ \text{CONT | SOA } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{QUANTS } \boxed{B} \\ \text{NUCL } \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CTXT | BKGRD } \Sigma_2 \end{array} \right]$$

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⁷If head VP is negative, that VP’s nuclear content $\boxed{3}$ does not characterize the salient first event \boxed{A} (see (34)).

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