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문학석사학위논문

**Syntax of Applicatives and Their Kin:
The Case of *cwu-* ‘to give’ in Korean**

한국어 추가논항 구조와 그 유사구문 연구

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Syntax of Applicatives and Their Kin: The Case of *cwu*- ‘to give’ in Korean

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Abstract

Syntax of Applicatives and Their Kin: The Case of *cwu*- ‘to give’ in Korean

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An applicative is a functional head which introduces a non-core argument into the verb’s argument structure (Pylkkänen 2002; 2008). This thesis investigates the syntax of applicatives in Korean, with a special attention to the verb *cwu*- ‘to give’. In Korean, *cwu*- can be used for both low and high applicative constructions. Not focused only on the dichotomy, however, I distinguish four other different types of applicatives in Korean, based on close examination of the data. I further argue that the different kinds of applicatives are derived because *cwu*- can be merged at different positions in the cartography of syntax.

Specifically, when *cwu*- is merged at the lowest lexical level (i.e. V), it makes a compound verb construction. If *cwu*- is merged at vP by adjunction, then it will be a Serial Verb Construction (Ko and Sohn, to appear). Also, I refer *cwu*-, which

is merged under TP as TP-benefactive, and *cwu-* at CP, as CP-benefactive. I show that these constructions show different behaviors from each other on syntax.

My argument can be supported by work on other languages, which clearly show that applicatives can be merged above Voice (cf. Buell 2003; McGinnis and Gerdts 2003; Tsai 2009; Bosse et al 2012, etc). In particular, my analysis attests Tsai's (2009) idea that high applicatives can take the entire CP on event structure, if the high-applied argument is speaker-oriented. Furthermore, I elaborate the cartography of low applicatives as well as high applicatives, extending the event semantics in Tsai (2009). By doing so, this thesis, compared to previous literatures, gives a more complete view for understanding the syntax of applicatives marked by *cwu-* in Korean.

The current proposal can open up a new way of analyzing cross-linguistic data. Theoretically, different types of applicatives should be able to appear at the same time, because they are all merged at different sites. In general, however, at most two applicatives can occur together. I do not think that this happens accidentally, but is related with the semantics of applicatives.

Keywords: applicative, benefactive, ditransitive, give, *cwu-*, Korean

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Abbreviations

1,2,3...	noun class (Chaga)
1SG/2SG	first/second singular person
APPL	applicative
ACC	accusative
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CL	clitic
DECL	declarative
DAT	dative
FOC	focus (Chaga)
FV	final vowel
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
H.APPL	high applicative
IMP	imperative
LK	linker
NOM	nominative
NEG	negation
NOMN	nominalizer

PRES	present
PERF	perfective
PASS	passive
PROG	progressive
PROM	promissive
PAST	past
TOP	topic
VOC	vocative

1. Introduction

In this thesis, I investigate the syntax of applicative constructions and their kin in Korean. The Korean verb *cwu-* ‘to give’ appears in various contexts ranging from possession transfer to benefactive contexts. Throughout this thesis, I aim to reveal the cartographic nature of the verb *cwu-* and prove that the same verb can be merged at different syntactic layers in different ways. To start, in this chapter, I introduce the theoretical background and main data of my thesis.

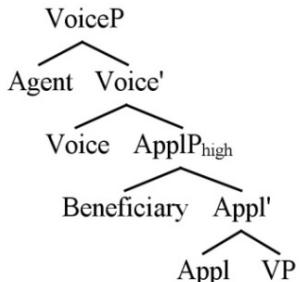
1.1. Extended applicatives

How languages reflect a *non-core* element on its syntactic structure has been an important topic for theoretical linguistics (cf. Baker 1988; Pesetsky 1995; Kratzer 1996; McGinnis 2001; Harley 2002; Pylkkänen 2002, 2008). External arguments have been claimed to be introduced by different functional heads. As a representative example, Agent has been argued to be introduced by a Voice head (see Kratzer 1996).

The applicative is also a functional head which brings adjunct-like elements into a verb’s argument structure (McGinnis 2001; Harley 2002; Pylkkänen 2002, 2008). Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), in particular, proposes two distinct types of applicative heads. The high applicative, which is merged between Voice and VP as in (1a), denotes a relation between an individual and an event. The individual can be interpreted as a benefactive, malefactive, or locative, etc. of the event, varying according to the type of applicative head in each language. For example, Chaga, a Bantu language, has a high benefactive applicative as shown in (1b). On the other hand, the low applicative is located below a VP, as in (2a) and specifies a relation

between two individuals. The low applied argument can be interpreted as Source or Recipient depending on the language. English is an example of low Recipient applicative language. For example, in (2b), John is related to a cake as a possessor/recipient by virtue of the low applicative head. Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) also shows that languages such as Luganda and Venda, as well as Chaga, have a high applicative construction, whereas English, Japanese and Korean belong to the low applicative language group.

- (1) a. High applicative (Chaga, Luganda, Venda, etc.)



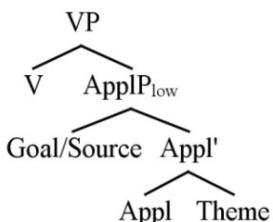
- b. N-a"-i"-lyi` -i'-a` mka` ke'lyā` .

FOC-1SG-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food

'He is eating food for his wife.'

(Bresnan and Moshi 1993; cited by Pylkkänen 2002, 2008)

- (2) a. Low applicative (English, Japanese, Korean, etc.)



b. I baked him a cake. (*I baked a cake and it was for him to take possession of*)

(Pylkkänen 2002, 2008)

After Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), however, it has been revealed that the position of the applicative cannot be restricted only to under or above the VP. Argument introducers can be merged above Voice or TP, stretching out into CP (Buell 2003; McGinnis and Gerdts 2003; Tsai and Yang 2008; Tsai 2009; Bosse et al 2012, etc.).

According to Tsai and Yang(2008) and Tsai(2009), high applicatives can naturally extend beyond VoiceP to the CP. Since the high applicative makes a connection between an individual and an event, it is logically possible to expand the structure if a high-applied argument is related to a speaker-oriented interpretation. Actually, in Mandarin Chinese, the high applicative head *gei* can express that the speaker is affected by the whole information structure (i.e. CP). *Gei* in CP is associated with speaker-orientedness and special illocutionary forces. As in (3a), only the first person singular pronoun can be used with affective *gei* constructions. Adverbs like *juran* ‘unexpectedly’ cannot be omitted in this example. *Juran* is an evaluative adverb in CP which takes the focused proposition (i.e. TP) as its complement (cf. Shu 2008; cited by Tsai 2009). Similarly, in (3b), the speaker-oriented *gei* can be licensed by the imperative mood. A wh-adverb such as *zenme* ‘how come’ or negative particle like *mei* ‘not’ which is merged at CP can also license the speaker-oriented *gei* phrase (Tsai 2009).

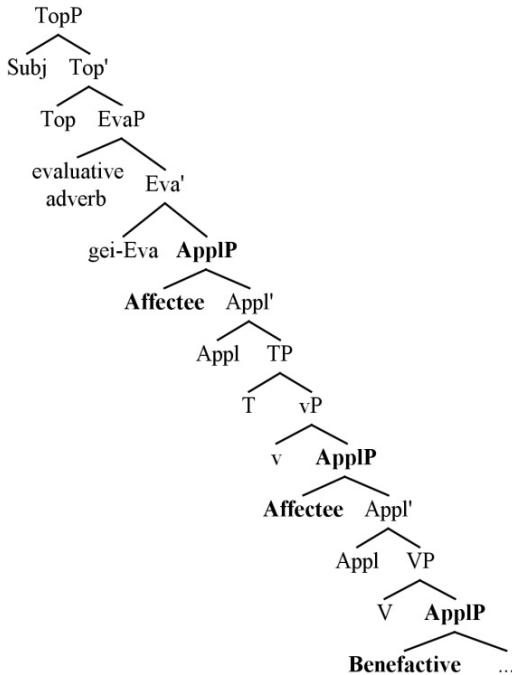
Chinese Affective Construction (CP-applicative)

- (3) a. ta **(juran)* [gei wo/*women/*ni/*ta] hele san-ping jiu!
he unexpectedly APPL me/*us/*you/*him drank three-bottle wine
'Unexpectedly, he drank three bottles of wine on me!'
- b. [gei wo] gui-xia!
APPL me kneel-down
'Kneel down for my sake!' (Tsai 2009)

Based on this, Tsai (2009) proposes a cartographic analysis for applicative constructions in Mandarin Chinese. In Chinese, applicatives can be merged below the VP, between VP and vP¹, and at CP, as represented in (4). The low and high applicatives under vP (i.e. VoiceP in a tri-partite structure) affect the argument structure of a verb, introducing a beneficiary or affective argument. The highest applicative head in Chinese is merged at the complementizer layer and licensed by evaluated adverb under Topic phrase. It introduces the speaker-oriented affectee. Throughout the investigation, I argue that a similar cartographic approach applies to Korean as well.

¹ In Tsai (2009), *v* introduces agent of the event, because he uses a bi-partite verb structure. That is why Chinese high applicative in (4) is embedded in vP. In a tri-partite structure which I follow in this thesis, it is Voice that introduces agent, and *v* is a verbalizer. (cf. section 1.2.)

(4) Applicatives in Mandarin Chinese (Tsai 2009)



1.2. Tri-partite verb structure

Following Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), Harley (2013) and many others, I assume a tri-partite structure for verbs (cf. McGinnis 2001; Pylkkänen 2002, 2008; Collins 2005; Harley 2013; Merchant 2013; Jung 2014). Considering Hiaki data, Harley (2013) argues that a verb phrase is made up of at least three parts; VoiceP, vP and a lexical projection (VP). In her structure, Voice introduces agent, while little *v* marks the eventuality of a verb. In (5), the applied argument ‘child’ appears between the causer ‘I’ and the causee ‘plane’, but the applicative morpheme does not precede the

causative morpheme, but follows it. Given that Hiaki is a head-final language, the mismatch of the ordering between causative and applicative morphemes has to be explained.

- (5) nee usi-ta avion-ta ni'i-tua-ria-k
I child-ACC plane-ACC fly-CAUS-APPL-PERF

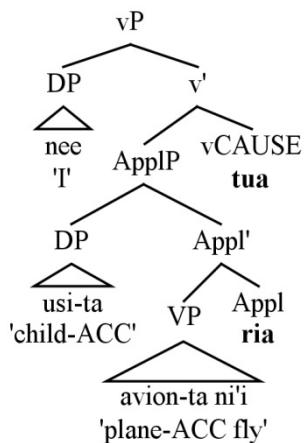
‘I made the (model) plane fly for the child.’

Furthermore, when the passive is applied outside the causative as in (6), a causer argument does not appear although the causative morpheme still remains unaffected.

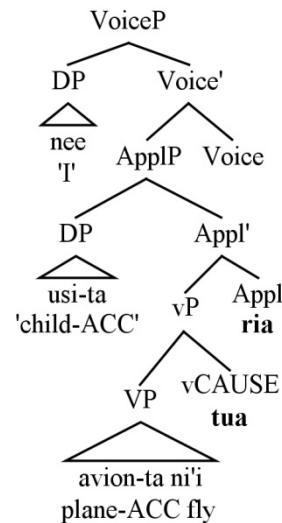
- (6) ume yoemem hi'ibwa-tua-wa
The men eat-CAUS-PASS
‘The men are being fed.’

If the external agent is introduced by a causative *v*, the sentences in (5) and (6) cannot be accounted for. However, if the agent is introduced by Voice, not *v*CAUSE, the above examples would be easily explained. (7a) illustrates a bi-partite verb structure for (5) and (7b) a tri-partite structure for the same sentence. The morpheme ordering of the verbs provides convincing grounds for a tri-partite verb structure in (7b). I will take the same line as Harley (2013) in assuming the tripartite verb structure.

(7) a. * Bi-partite verb structure²



b. ✓ Tri-partite verb structure



1.3. Scope of this thesis

Though Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) classified Korean as a low applicative language, it has been shown that there exist both high and low applicative constructions in Korean (Oh and Zubizarreta 2009; Jung 2014). Korean expresses low and high applicative relations with the same morpheme, *cwu-*, which originally means ‘to give.’ The data under investigation are shown in (8-13) below.

The examples in (8-10) represent subtypes of low applicatives. *cwu-* in (8) is a ditransitive verb that can be construed as low applicative construction in the sense given by Pylkkänen (2002, 2008). It denotes a possession relation between the dative

² Note that I do not draw the complete structure under VP. In the original work of Harley’s (2013), ‘plane-ACC fly’ is included in a second vP with a null verbalizer. I simplify the structure to highlight the difference between a bi-partite and a tri-partite verb structure.

argument ‘me’ and theme ‘a present’. (9) and (10) are non-typical variations of the low applicative, where *cwu-* is adjoined to another verb. I show in next chapter that (9) involves a compound verb formed by complementation and (10) is a Serial Verb Construction made by adjunction. Given that a predicate can be formed by Merge, complementation, or adjunction, (8), (9) and (10) illustrate the three syntactic possibilities for making a predicate in Korean.

Typical Low Applicative (Merge)

- (8) ku-ka na-eykey senmul-ul ***cwu*-ess-ta.**
he-NOM me-DAT present-ACC give-PAST-DECL
‘He gave me a present.’

Non-typical Low Applicative: Compound Verb Construction (complementation)

- (9) Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ton-ul pillye ***cwu*-ess-ta.**
Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT money-ACC borrow give-PAST-DECL
‘Ito lent Yuna some money.’

Non-typical Low Applicative: Serial Verb Construction (adjunction)

- (10) Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul sa ***cwu*-ess-ta.**
Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC buy give-PAST-DECL
‘Ito bought Yuna a book.’ (Lit. ‘Ito bought a book and gave it to Yuna.’)

On the other hand, (11-13) display subtypes of high applicatives in Korean. I

argue that *cwu-* in (11) is a functional verb which introduces a dative argument and relates the dative DP as a goal of the event. I analyze (11) as a typical high applicative construction, following Jung (2014).³

Interestingly, the same morpheme does not introduce any additional dative argument in (12) and (13), in contrast to (8-10). I will show that while *cwu-* in (11) is located under VoiceP, *cwu-* in (12) and (13) is merged above VoiceP. Specifically, I will claim that *cwu-* in (12) is merged between VoiceP and TP, and *cwu-* in (13) is at CP.

Typical High Applicative (Merge under Voice)

- (11) Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilke *(**cwu**)-ess-ta.
Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read *(H.APPL)-PAST-DECL
'Ito read a book for Yuna.'

Non-typical High Applicative: Non-dative Beneficiary (Merge under TP)

- (12) Ito-ka Yuna-lul towa (**cwu**)-ess-ta.
Ito-NOM Yuna-ACC help (BEN)-PAST-DECL
'Ito helped Yuna (for the benefit of Yuna or Ito himself).'

³ Though I agree with Jung (2014) that (11) is a high applicative construction, I do not adopt her entire analysis. In Jung (2014), *cwu-* is analyzed as a high applicative head if it is simply preceded by another verb and introduces a dative DP. Hence, the examples in (9-11) are all specified as high applicatives. However, I argue that the three seemingly same constructions should be differentiated syntactically. That is, (9) is a compound verb, (10) a serial verb and only (11) is a high applicative construction. In Chapter 3, I provide evidences for this. I also differ with Jung (2014) on the meaning of high applicatives in Korean. She claims that the high applicative introduces an abstract possessor in Korean. I propose, however, that the introduced argument is a goal of the event. For more details, see section 4.3.

Non-typical High Applicative: Speaker-oriented Beneficiary (Merge at CP)

- (13) Ito-ya, i supu-lul cee (**cwu**)-e.
Ito-VOC, this soup-ACC stir (BEN)-IMP
'Ito, stir this soup (for my benefit).'

In following chapters, I attempt to provide a detailed classification of applicative and benefactive constructions in Korean and show that their linguistic characteristics can be best understood in terms of a cartographic approach to applicative constructions.

This thesis is organized as follows. In Chapter 2, I outline the overall structure of Korean applicative and benefactive constructions. In Chapter 3, I provide an analysis and examine predictions for each construction under my cartographic approach. In Chapter 4, I evaluate previous research on applicatives in Korean and show that my argument has broader coverage than the previous analyses. In Chapter 5, I investigate cross-linguistic implications of my proposal. Finally, in Chapter 6, I conclude the discussion.

2. Fine-grained Analysis on High and Low Applicatives

In this section, I provide a full picture of the structure of applicatives and their kin in Korean. As noted previously, the verb *cwu-*, which means ‘to give’ in Korean, can be used in low or high applicative constructions.

When *cwu-* appears as a ditransitive which takes a low applicative argument, we attest three constructions that are logically possible. The first structure is formed by a merger of *cwu-* as a mono-morphemic word. Secondly, *cwu-* can constitute a compounding structure with another verb. Lastly, it can form a Serial Verb Construction (SVC).

First, *cwu-* can be merged as a ditransitive just like the verb ‘give’ in English. In (14), *cwu-* is a mono-morphemic ditransitive verb which needs two arguments, a theme and goal. I will follow previous analysis on low applicatives in Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) and do not discuss the structure of simple ditransitives in this paper.⁴ Instead, I focus on the other types in (15) and (16), which have not received much attention in the previous studies.

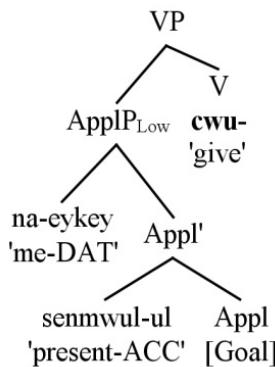
⁴ As Man-Ki Lee (p.c.) noted, English ditransitives can be expressed either with the preposition ‘to’, as in (i), or with low applicative phrase, as in (ii). Besides low applicative, Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) proposes two possibilities to analyze the PP construction. One is that the order of the two arguments, the goal and theme, could be free. The other is that the low applicative head can actually be composed of two different heads, such as possession and directionality. In this thesis, I do not discuss the prepositional constructions here. I only concentrate on low applicatives like (ii), assuming that the Korean simple ditransitive in (14) is a counterpart of the English low applicative (ii). (Also see Kim (2008) and Jung and Miyagawa (2004) for discussions about Korean PP constructions which correspond to (i) in English.)

- (i) John gave a book *to Mary*. [PP construction]
- (ii) John gave Mary a book. [Low applicative]

Typical Low Applicative (Merge)

- (14) a. ku-ka na-eykey senmul-ul **cwu**-ess-ta. (=8)
 he-NOM me-DAT present-ACC give-PAST-DECL
 'He gave me a present.'

b.

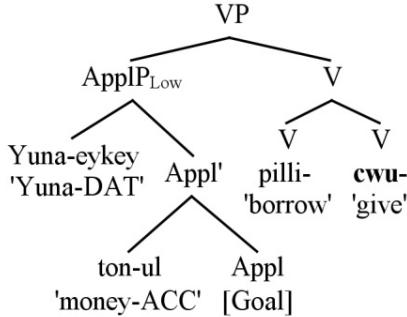


The second possible construction is the one in which *cwu*- and another verb form a compound structure. In (15), *cwu*- combines with another main verb *pillye*. The two verbs can never be split, because they function together as one verb in this construction. Referring to the previous literatures, Korean compound verbs are usually non-separable, non-compositional and unproductive (Kang 1993; T.-S. Kim 2011). This is a natural consequence of compound verbs being formed by head-head complementation.

Non-Typical low applicative: Compound Verb Construction (Complementation)

- (15) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ton-ul **pillye** **cwu**-ess-ta. (=9)
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT money-ACC borrow give-PAST-DECL
 'Ito lent Yuna some money.'

b.



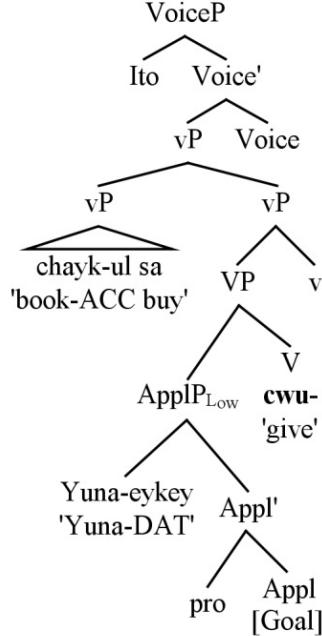
The third case is the Serial Verb Construction illustrated in (16). Adopting Baker and Stewart (2002) and Ko and Sohn (to appear), I assume an adjunction structure for Korean SVC. Contrary to the compound verb construction in (15), *cwu-* and the preceding verb can be easily separated by an adverb or through scrambling as in (16). This indicates that the structure in (16) belongs to High-SVC in Korean, as proposed by Ko and Sohn (to appear).

Non-typical Low Applicative: Serial Verb Construction (adjunction)⁵

- (16) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul sa(-se) ***cwu*-ess-ta.** (=10)
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC buy(-SE) give-PAST-DECL
 'Ito bought a book for Yuna.'

⁵ In a bi-partite verb structure, little *v* introduces agent, which is in Ko and Sohn (to appear). Adopting a tri-partite structure, however, Voice is responsible for introducing agent. Therefore, I reanalyze the structure of SVC in Ko and Sohn (to appear) as in (16b). Basically, there is no essential difference between the structure in (16b) and the original idea proposed by Ko and Sohn (to appear). The feature composition of little *v* is still important for SVCs in Korean.

b.

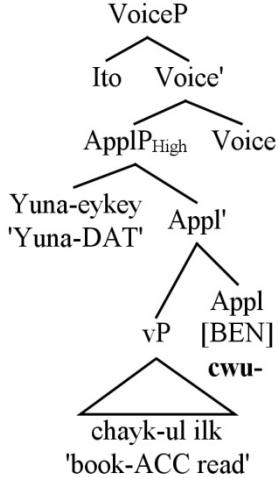


The examples in (17), (18) and (19) exemplify the case in which *cwu-* functions as a high applicative head. I will classify *cwu-* in (17) as a typical high applicative head which introduces a dative argument.

Typical High Applicative (Merge under Voice)

- (17) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilke ***cwu*-ess-ta.** (=11)
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read H.APPL-PAST-DECL
 'Ito read a book for Yuna.'

b.



On the other hand, I claim that *cwu-* in (18) and (19) is a benefactive auxiliary merged higher than Voice. Because *cwu-* in (18) and (19) does not introduce any overt dative argument, it is different from the typical high applicative in (17). Rather, I call *cwu-* in (18) and (19) a benefactive auxiliary which denotes a benefaction towards a recipient. Furthermore, I argue that *cwu-* as a benefactive auxiliary is merged higher than a typical high applicative, unlike Jung (2014) who considers it a little *v* head (see section 3.2. in Jung (2014) for more details). Specifically, I contend *cwu-* in (18) is merged under TP and *cwu-* in (19) is under CP. When the benefactive Auxiliary *cwu-* is under TP, the beneficiary is related with the subject or object of the event. When *cwu-* is under the CP, it often appears in the imperative mood and the beneficiary is always the speaker. I will present more data and analysis in section 3.4.

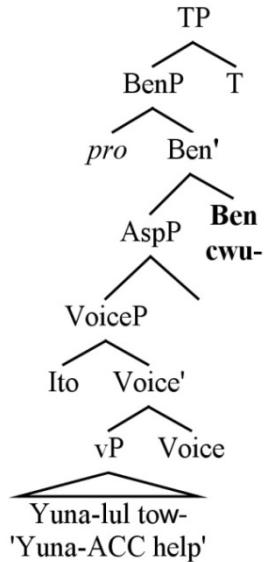
Non-typical High Applicative: TP-benefactive auxilliary

- (18) a. Ito-ka Yuna-lul towa *cwu*-ess-ta. (=12)

Ito-NOM Yuna-ACC help BEN-PAST-DECL

'Ito helped Yuna (for the benefit of Yuna or Ito himself).'

b.



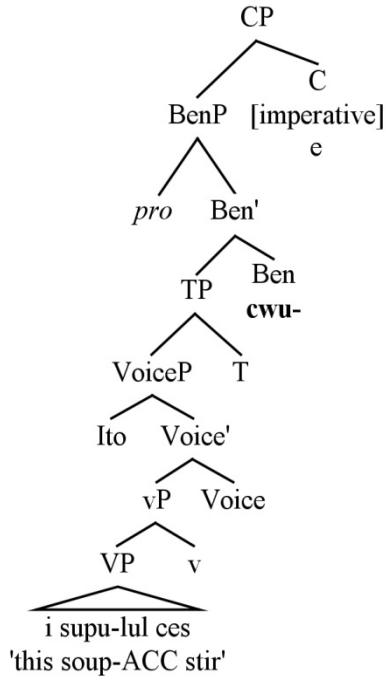
Speaker-oriented Beneficiary (CP-benefactive Auxiliary)

- (19) a. Ito-ya, i supu-lul cee *cwu*-e. (=13)

Ito-VOC this soup-ACC stir BEN-PAST-DECL

'Ito, stir this soup for my benefit.'

b.



To sum up, there are six possible constructions of applicatives and their kin in Korean. Typical low applicative (simple ditransitive), compound verb and serial verb constructions are sub-varieties of low applicatives. Typical high applicative, TP-benefactive auxiliary and CP-benefactive auxiliary are subtypes of high applicatives.

Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) focuses only on the relationship between the individuals in determining the structure of low applicatives. As Korean data reveals, however, there exist other types of the constructions as well. Korean uses three kinds of formations to make a low applicative construction; mono-morphemic verb, compound verb, and serial verb forms. Considering how a predication can be built up in the syntax, it is a natural consequence that Korean has these three types: merge, complementation and adjunction are all syntactic strategies to create a predicate.

Merging as a mono-morphemic word is the most basic way of making a predication. Complementation and adjunction are also widely used to form a predicate. For example, resultative construction is made by complementation in English, while Korean has an adjunct resultative clause. (cf. complementation approach - Bowers 1993; Den Dikken 2006a; Hale and Keyser 1993; Hoekstra 1988; Larson 1988; Stowell 1981; Williams 1994; adjunction approach - Déchaine 1993; Legendre 1997; cited by Ko 2011)⁶.

Also, it is theoretically natural that high applicatives can be extended beyond VoiceP. Since the role of the high applicative is to connect an individual to an event, it can appear anywhere above the VP and does not have to be limited between verb and Voice. Cross-linguistic data actually support this idea. Tsai (2009) shows that Chinese applicatives can appear at CP. Applicatives in Japanese and Zulu also merges above VoiceP (Buell 2003; Bosse et al 2012). I argue that high applicatives can have a more extended structure, developing the insight of Tsai (2009). More specifically, I show in this thesis that high applicatives in Korean can be merged at each level above verb, under Voice, TP and CP.

In the next chapter, I will take a closer look at the distinct characteristics of each construction. In particular, I focus on the sub-types of low applicatives in section 3.1 and 3.2. The high applicative and its variants are discussed in section 3.3 and 3.4.

⁶ Under the assumption of DM (distributed morphology), elements in syntax and morphology are applied to the same constituent structure. In other words, the structures of secondary predication and main predication should basically be the same in syntax. Therefore it is a logical consequence in terms of DM that a main predicate, as well as a secondary predicate such as resultatives, is made by complementation or adjunction in subtypes of the low applicative.

3. Applicatives and Their Kin: Data and Analyses

In the previous chapter, the overall structures of the sub-varieties of applicatives were presented. In this chapter, I investigate the syntax of each type of applicatives in detail.

3.1. *cwu-* as compound verb construction: head complementation

I argue that V-*cwu* in (20) is a compound verb which has low applicative phrase as its complement. The verb *cwu-* should be analyzed as being attached to the preceding verb *pillye* in (20a) and *tollye* in (20b) through complementation. I prove that the verbs *pillye cwu* and *tollye cwu* show the same properties with compound verbs in general.

Non-typical Low Applicative: Compound Verb Construction

- (20) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ton-ul [pillye *cwu*]-ess-ta.
Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT money-ACC borrow give-PAST-DECL
'Ito lent Yuna some money.'
- b. Ito-ka chinkwu-eykey chayk-ul [tollye *cwu*]-ess-ta.
Ito-NOM friend-DAT book-ACC turn give-PAST-DECL
'Ito returned the book to his friend.'

V-V compounds in Korean have certain characteristics as presented in (21) (cf. Kang 1993; T.-S. Kim 2011). First, compound verbs have non-compositional semantics. Second, they are not easily separable syntactically. Third, they are not

productive. Because the two verbs are combined at the lowest lexical level (i.e. V) in compounding structure, they function as one verb in syntax and semantics.

Properties of compound verbs

- (21) a. Non-compositional in meaning
b. Non-separable in syntax
c. Unproductive

The verb *pha-mut-* ‘to bury’ is an example of a compound verb. First of all, it is not compositional in semantics. Although *pha* and *mut* mean ‘to dig’ and ‘to bury’ respectively, the combination of the two, *pha mut* does not express ‘to dig and bury’ but only ‘to bury’ in usual context.⁷ So, in (22), Chelwu did not ‘dig and bury’, but only ‘buried’ the kimchi jar.

- (22) Chelwu-ka kimchi.tok-ul pha-mut-ess-ta.
Chelwu-NOM kimchi.jar-ACC dig-bury-PAST-DECL
'Chelwu buried a kimchi jar (in the ground).'
'Chelwu dug and buried a kimchi jar (in the ground).'

Secondly, a connective *se* or adverb like *kuphi* ‘quickly’ cannot be inserted

⁷ *pha mut* has other usages derived from ‘to bury’. One of them is ‘to nestle down’ or ‘to burrow down’, as in (i). Even in this context, *pha mut* has nothing to do with the digging event, either.

(i) Ku-ka uica-ey mom-ul pha-mut-ess-ta.
He-NOM armchair-LOC body-ACC dig-bury-PAST-DECL
'He nestled down into the armchair.' (Lit. He buried his body into the armchair.)

in between *pha* and *mut* in (23). Also, it is not allowed to scramble or copy one part of the verb, as illustrated in (24) and (25).

- (23) a. *Chelswu-ka kimchi.tok-ul pha-*se* mut-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-NOM kimchi.jar-ACC dig-SE bury-PAST-DECL
 ‘Chelswu buried a kimchi jar.’ (intended)
- b. *Chelswu-ka kimchi.tok-ul pha *kuphi* mut-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-NOM kimchi.jar-ACC dig quickly bury-PAST-DECL
 ‘Chelswu quickly buried a kimchi jar.’ (intended)
- (24) *kimchi.tok-ul pha Chelswu-ka mut-ess-ta.
 kimchi.jar-ACC bury Chelswu-NOM bury-PAST-DECL
 ‘Chelswu buried the kimchi jar.’ (intended)
- (25) a. *Chelswu-ka kimchi.tok-ul *pha-ki-nun* pha-mut-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-NOM kimchi.jar-ACC dig-NOMN-TOP dig-bury-PAST-DECL
b. *Chelswu-ka kimchi.tok-ul *mut-ki-nun* pha-mut-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-NOM kimchi.jar-ACC bury-NOMN-TOP dig-bury-PAST-DECL
 ‘Chelswu did bury a kimchi jar.’ (intended)

Finally, verbs like *pha-mut* are not productive in morphology. Only a restricted number of such examples are found in the dictionary. Some examples are given in (26).

- (26) *pha-mut* ‘to bury’ (Lit. ‘to dig and bury’), *tol-po* ‘to look after’ (Lit. ‘to turn and look’), *pil-put* ‘to sponge off’ (Lit. ‘to beg and stick to’), *pha-heychi* ‘dig up’ (Lit. ‘to dig and push away’), etc.

One may question if the compound verb construction above belongs to the Low-Serial Verb Construction (L-SVC) of Ko and Sohn (to appear). L-SVCs in Korean are also hard to split syntactically, because they are merged below the causative/passive *v*. One typical example of this structure is *kkwulh-e anc-hi-* in (27). Data in (28-30) show that *kkwulh-e* and *anc-hi-* cannot be separated from each other.

Low-Serial Verb Construction (L-SVC)

- (27) John-i Mary-lul kkwule anc-hi-ess-ta.
 John-NOM Mary-ACC kneel sit-CAUS-PAST-DECL
 ‘John made Mary kneel down.’

- (28) a. *John-i Mary-lul kkwule-se anc-hi-ess-ta. (*se-insertion)
 John-NOM Mary-ACC kneel-SE sit-CAUS-PAST-DECL
 ‘John made Mary kneel down.’ (intended)
- b. *John-i Mary-lul kkwule *kuphi* anc-hi-ess-ta. (*adv-insertion)
 John-NOM Mary-ACC kneel quickly sit-CAUS-PAST-DECL
 ‘John quickly made Mary kneel down.’ (intended)

- (29) *Mary-lul kkule John-i anc-hi-ess-ta. (*scrambling)
 Mary-ACC kneel John-NOM sit-CAUS-PAST-DECL

- (30) *John-i Mary-lul *kkwul*-ki-nun kkwle anc-hi-ess-ta.
 John-NOM Mary-ACC kneel-NOMN-TOP knee sit-CAUS-PAST-DECL
 ‘John did make Mary kneel down.’ (intended)

However, the similarity between compound verbs and L-SVCs is only on the surface. There are important differences between the two constructions regarding the derivational morphology and semantic compositionality.

First, All L-SVCs include a causative or passive morpheme, since they occur before the merger of the derivational *v*. With a little *v* morpheme on each part, L-SVCs can be divided into two pieces, as illustrated in (31-32).

- (31) a. John-i Mary-lul (madang-ey) [kkwule anc]-hi-ess-ta. (=27)
 John-NOM Mary-ACC (garden-in) [kneel sit]-CAUS-PAST-DECL
 ‘John made Mary kneel down in the garden.’
- b. John-i Mary-lul (madang-ey) kkwulh-li-e(-*se*)
 John-NOM Mary-ACC (garden-in) kneel-CAUS-LK(-SE)
 anc-hi-ess-ta.
 sit-CAUS-PAST-DECL

- (32) a. yene-ka kom-eykey [capa mek]-hi-ess-ta.
 salmon-NOM bear-DAT [catch eat]-PASS-PAST-DECL
 ‘A salmon was caught and eaten by a bear.’
- b. yene-ka kom-eykey cap-hi-e(-*se*) mek-hi-ess-ta.
 salmon-NOM bear-DAT catch-PASS-LK(-SE) eat-PASS-PAST-DECL

Contrary to L-SVCs, compound verbs do not include inherent derivational morphology. If they combine with a derivational morpheme, compound verbs still cannot be split up, as shown in (33).

- (33) a. kimchi.tok-i [pha-mut]-hi-ess-ta.
kimchi.jar-NOM [dig-bury]-PASS-PAST-DECL
'A kimchi jar was buried.'
- b. *kimchi.tok-i pha-i-e(-se) mut-hi-ess-ta.
kimchi.jar-NOM dig-PASS-LK(-SE) bury-PASS-PAST-DECL
'A kimchi jar was buried.' (intended)

Although a compound verb consists of two morphemes, it is impossible for each morpheme to realize with a separate derivational *v*. This is because a compound verb is formed under V and functions as one verb in itself syntactically. Thus, they are not separable with any morpho-syntactic operations. On the other hand, an L-SVC is made through adjunction above the lexical V and can be divided up if the derivational morphology appears separately.

In addition, all SVCs are basically compositional in meaning. For instance, in (31), *kkwul-e anc-hi-* means to make someone "kneel and sit down". However, in (22), a compound verb *pha mut-* does not mean "to dig and bury". It only means 'to dig.'

Furthermore, L-SVCs are not unproductive. Any verbs can be serialized with

another to satisfy the Matching Condition for Serialization.⁸ A compound verb construction is, however, unproductive, as shown above. (cf. (22), (26))

To summarize, an L-SVC such as *kkwul-e anc-hi-* is compositional in semantics and separable with separate derivational morphology. On the contrary, a compound verb such as *pha mut-* can never be broken down syntactically nor semantically and is not even productive.

Now turning to applicative structure with *cwu-*, I present evidences that verbs such as *pillye cwu-* and *tollye cwu-* in (20) belong to compound verb constructions of *pha mut* type.

First, they are non-compositional in meaning. In (34), *pillye cwu-* does not mean ‘to borrow and give’, but ‘to lend’ in Korean.

- (34) Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ton-ul pillye *cwu*-ess-ta.
Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT money-ACC borrow give-PAST-DECL.
'Ito lent Yuna some money.'
'Ito borrowed money and gave it to Yuna.'⁹

⁸ The Matching Condition states that only vPs with the same featural property in introducing an external agent can be serialized together (Ko and Sohn, to appear). I give more explanations on this in section 3.2.

⁹ In actual speech, (34) can be ambiguous between the two readings. When it is interpreted as ‘Ito borrowed money and gave it to Yuna’, it is a Serial Verb Construction (SVC), not a Compound Verb. In (i) below, the two verbs *pillye-* ‘to borrow’ and *cwu-* ‘to give’ maintain their original meanings and can be separated by connective *se-* because it is a SVC. More discussions on SVCs are provided in section 3.2.

(i) Ito-ka Yuna-eykey (Suji-lopute) ton-ul *pillye*(-se) *cwu*-ess-ta. [SVC]
Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT (Suji-from) money-ACC borrow(-SE) give-PAST-DECL
'Ito borrowed some money from Suji and gave it to Yuna.'

Secondly, they are non-separable. No adverbs or connectives can be inserted in between the preceding verb and *cwu*- in (35). Also, it is ungrammatical to break up the two verbs by scrambling or partial verb copying as in (36) and (37).

- (35) a. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ton-ul pillye kuphi *cwu*-ess-ta.

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT money-ACC borrow quickly give-PAST-DECL

‘Ito lent Yuna some money quickly.’ (intended)

- b. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ton-ul pillye-*se* *cwu*-ess-ta.¹⁰

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT money-ACC borrow-SE give-PAST-DECL

‘Ito lent Yuna some money.’ (intended)

- (36) *Ito-ka ton-ul pillye Yuna-eykey *cwu*-ess-ta.

Ito-NOM money-ACC borrow Yuna-DAT give-PAST-DECL

‘Ito lent Yuna some money.’ (intended)

- (37) a. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ton-ul pilli-ki-nun

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT money-ACC borrow-NOMN-TOP

pillye *cwu*-ess-ta.

borrow give-PAST-DECL

- b. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ton-ul *cwu*-ki-nun

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT money-ACC give-NOMN-TOP

pillye *cwu*-ess-ta.

¹⁰ Insertion of adverbs or the connective *se-* is possible, if (35b) is a Serial Verb Construction. (See fn. 9.)

borrow give-PAST-DECL

‘Ito did lend Yuna some money.’(intended)

Additionally, partial negation is not allowed for compound *cwu-* constructions. Examples in (38) and (39) show that it is impossible to negate only *pillye-* ‘borrow’ or *cwu-* ‘give’, either in long form nor short form negation. As one verb, *pillye cwu-* as a whole should be in the scope of negation. This is a significant difference with *cwu-* as a serial verb construction which will be discussed in section 3.2.

(38) Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ton-ul pillye *cwu-ci.anh-ass-ta*.

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT money-ACC borrow give-NEG-PAST-DECL

- (i) ‘Ito didn’t lend Yuna any money.’ (✓ Neg >> borrow.give)
- (ii) *‘Ito didn’t lend but gave money to Yuna.’ (*give >> Neg >> borrow)
- (iii) *‘Ito didn’t give but lent money to Yuna.’ (*borrow >> Neg >> give)

(39) Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ton-ul an pillye *cwu-ess-ta*.

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT money-ACC NEG borrow give-PAST-DECL

- (i) ‘Ito didn’t lend Yuna any money.’ (✓ Neg >> borrow.give)
- (ii) *‘Ito didn’t lend but gave money to Yuna.’ (*give >> Neg >> borrow)
- (iii) *‘Ito didn’t give but lent money to Yuna.’ (*borrow >> Neg >> give)

Thirdly and lastly, verbs that satisfy the conditions so far are highly

restricted in number. An almost complete list of examples of compound verbs having *cwu-* that can be found in the dictionary is given in (40).¹¹

- (40) *kue-cwu* ('to share out sth with sb'), *pyelle-cwu* ('to share out sth with sb'),
pillye-cwu ('to lend'), *kkwue-cwu* ('to lend'), *naye-cwu* ('to hand over'),
tollye-cwu ('to return'), *mullye-cwu* ('to bequeath'), *cepe-cwu* ('to be
generous to sb'), *cwie-cwu* (to put sth to somebody's hand), *ccille-cwu* ('to
slip sth to sb'), *twungkye-cwu* ('to tell a secret to sb').

(Korean Standard Dictionary)

In short, verbs such as *pillye-cwu-* and *tollye-cwu-* are low applicative verbs formed by complementation at the lowest lexical level V. I demonstrate, in this section, that V-*cwu* compound constructions share important characteristics with typical lexical compound verbs, but show different behaviors from L-SVCs. Under my analysis, the fact that verbs such as *pillye-cwu-* denote the possession relation between two individuals is explained naturally, since they have a low applicative head. Moreover, my argument naturally accounts for why the verbs are rarely separated in syntax and semantics. The properties of the constructions under discussion are

¹¹ Among verbs with *cwu-* in the dictionary, I only adopt the examples in (40) as compound verbs which meet the criterion presented in section 3.1. That is, verbs in (40) denote possession transfer and require two arguments (theme and goal), being non-separable and non-compositional. It is not the case that verbs with *cwu-* in the dictionary always introduce low applicative. Examples in (i) are compound verbs which do not require an obligatory dative argument, but only a theme. These verbs probably have a different structure from verbs with a ditransitive usage in this section.

- (i) *kalacwu-* 'to buy something from a merchant', *chwuecwu-* 'to praise someone', etc.

(Korean Standard Dictionary)

summarized in table (41) below.

(41) Properties of compound verbs, L-SVCs and *cwu-* as compound.

	Compound verb construction	<i>cwu-</i> as compound	L-SVC
<i>Examples</i>	<i>pha-mut-</i> (‘to bury’)	<i>pillye-cwu-</i> (‘to lend’)	<i>kkwule-anc-hi-</i> (‘to make someone kneel down’)
Semantic compositionality	*	*	✓
Productivity	*	*	✓
Separability	*	*	*

3.2. *cwu-* as serial verb construction: adjunction

In this section, I explore *cwu-* as Serial Verb Construction (SVC). Specifically, I argue that a construction like (42) involves High-Serial Verb Construction (H-SVC) in Korean, in the sense of Ko and Sohn (to appear).

(42) Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul sa *cwu-ess-ta.* (H-SVC)

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC buy give-PAST-DECL

‘Ito bought Yuna a book.’

(Lit. ‘Ito bought a book and gave it to Yuna.’)

The verb *sa cwu-* in (42) appears similar to a compound verb construction as detailed in the previous section, because *cwu-* appears after another main verb in both (42) and in the compound construction. However, there are differences between the two constructions, semantically and syntactically.

First of all, unlike compound verbs, the verb in (42) is compositional semantically: *sa cwu-* ‘buy give’ means ‘to buy and to give’. The sentence in (42) entails both ‘Ito bought a book’ and ‘Ito gave the book to Yuna.’

On a closer observation, *sa cwu-* has the same characteristics with H-SVC. According to Ko and Sohn (to appear), H-SVCs in Korean are formed by adjunction of two vPs, after the merger of the derivational morpheme *v* (causative/passive). Unlike compound verbs or L-SVCs in section 3.1, H-SVCs are easily separable in syntax. The example in (43) shows a H-SVC, without conjunctive or disjunctive markers between verbs. It can be separated by insertion of the connective *se* or an adverb (cf. (44)). Also, scrambling is possible in this construction (cf. (45)).¹²

- (43) John-i kaymi-lul [palpa] [cwuk-i]-ess-ta. (H-SVC)
 John-NOM ant-ACC trample die-CAUS-PAST-DECL

¹² Serial Verb Constructions in general show the so-called ‘object sharing’ phenomenon (Baker 1989, Baker and Stewart 2002, Collins 1997), though it is not expected to be obligatory in Korean (Ko and Sohn, to appear). As shown in (i) below, Korean SVCs have one shared object.

The shared object might be a moved element, a co-referent with *pro*, or a controller for PRO. Or, it could be possible that there exists literally one shared theme of multiple verbs. How the object sharing is realized in SVC is an important topic and needs further research, though I do not deal with it in the present paper.

‘John trampled an ant to death.’

- (44) a. John-i kaymi-lul [palpa]-se [cwuk-i]-ess-ta.
John-NOM ant-ACC trample-SE die-CAUS-PAST-DECL
‘John trampled an ant to death.’
- b. John-i kaymi-lul [palpa] kuphi [cwuk-i]-ess-ta.
John-NOM ant-ACC trample quickly die-CAUS-PAST-DECL
‘John trampled an ant to death quickly.’

- (45) kaymi-lul [palpa] John-i [cwuk-i]-ess-ta.
ant-ACC trample John-NOM die-CAUS-PAST-DECL
‘John trampled an ant to death.’

sa cwu- in (42) also passes the separability tests for H-SVCs. As (46) shows, a connective *se* or adverb *kuphi* ‘quickly’ can be inserted between the verbs *sa-* and *cwu-*. Also, the two verbs are separable by scrambling or partial copying in (47) and (48).

- (46) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul sa-se *cwu*-ess-ta.
Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC buy-SE give-PAST-DECL
‘Ito bought Yuna a book.’
- b. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul sa kuphi *cwu*-ess-ta.
Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC buy quickly give-PAST-DECL
‘Ito bought Yuna a book quickly.’

- (47) chayk-ul sa Ito-ka Yuna-eykey *cwu*-ess-ta.
 book-ACC buy Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT give-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito bought Yuna a book.’

- (48) Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul sa-ki-nun sa-*cwu*-ess-ta.
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC buy-NOMN-TOP buy-give-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito did buy Yuna a book.’

Furthermore, SVCs are productive. Any verbs can be serialized with each other if they meet the required Matching Condition in (49). The verb *cwu*- can be serialized with *vDO* or *vCAUSE*, as shown in (50), but not with *vPASS* or *vBECOME*, as in (51). Given that *cwu*- has *vDO*, these data show that *cwu*- in this construction satisfies the Matching Condition for SVC.

- (49) Matching Condition on Verbal Serialization (Ko and Sohn 2011): Verbs can be serialized with each other only when their *v* heads have the same featural property in introducing an external argument.

- (50) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey mulkoki-lul *capa* *cwu*-ess-ta. ($\checkmark vDO$)
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT fish-ACC catch give-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito caught a fish and gave it to Yuna.’
- b. Yuna-ka Ito-eykey koki-lul *ik-hi-e* *cwu*-ess-ta. ($\checkmark vCAUSE$)
 Yuna-NOM Ito-DAT meat-ACC cook-CAUS-LK give-PAST-DECL
 ‘Yuna cooked meat and gave it to Ito.’

- (51) a. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey mulkoki-lul *cap-hi-e* *cwu-ess-ta.* (**v*PASS)
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT fish-ACC catch-PASS-LK give-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito caught a fish and gave it to Yuna.’ (intended)
- b. *Yuna-ka Ito-eykey koki-lul *ike* *cwu-ess-ta.* (**v*BECOME)
 Yuna-NOM Ito-DAT meat-ACC cook(intrans.) give-PAST-DECL
 ‘Yuna cooked meat and gave it to Ito.’ (intended)

From the Matching Condition, Ko and Sohn (to appear) argues that the agentivity of little *v* is important in the formation of SVCs. This is why *v*DO can be serialized with *v*DO or *v*CAUSE, while it can never be with *v*PASS or *v*BECOME. In this thesis, however, I assume a tri-partite verb structure where an independent functional head Voice introduces the external agent. Under this assumption, therefore, I regard H-SVC as an adjunction of two verbalizer phrases with the featural composition matched.¹³

One may raise a question if V-*cwu* as H-SVC is a result of TP-adjunction, because some of the serialized clauses in Korean can be parsed as separate Tense phrases, which is also noted by Ko and Sohn (to appear). It is true that some sub-types of H-SVCs can be construed as two TP adjuncts, but V-*cwu* as H-SVC shows

¹³ According to Ko and Sohn (to appear), H-SVCs in Korean consist of two VoicePs in a tri-partite verb system used here. If serialization of VoicePs is allowed, the serialization of any phrases containing low or high applicatives should be grammatical, too. It is not the case with Korean, however. As shown in (i), for example, VoicePs with high applicatives cannot be serialized. Therefore, I take H-SVC as serialized *v*Ps. Still, the feature matching of little *v* is important for SVC formation in Korean.

- (i) *[_{VoiceP} Yuna-ka Ito-eykey chayk-ul ilke *cwu-e*] [_{VoiceP} *pro* Suji-eykey
 Yuna-NOM Ito-DAT book-ACC read H.APPL-LK Suji-DAT
 phiano-lul chye *cwu*-ess-ta.
 piano-ACC play H.APPL-PAST-DECL
 ‘Yuna read a book to Ito and played the piano for Suji.’ (intended)

important properties that cannot be explained by the TP-adjunction approach.

The first piece of evidence comes from scrambling. The examples in (52) and (54) would have been ungrammatical if they had two TPs. The underlying structure of (52) is not equivalent to (53), since scrambling from a TP clause into another TP clause is usually prohibited. Similarly, (54) cannot have the same structure with (55), because it is impossible for an argument to scramble from inside a clause over another clause.¹⁴

- (52) Ito-ka *Yuna-eykey_i* senmul-ul sa t_i *cwu-ess-ta*.
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT_i present-ACC buy t_i give-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito bought a present for Yuna.’

- (53) *[TP [TP Ito-ka *Yuna-eykey_i* senmul-ul sa] [TP Suji-ka t_i
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT_i present-ACC buy Suji-NOM t_i
 it-ACC give-PAST-DECL
 kukes-ul *cwu-ess*]]-ta.

¹⁴ In (52-55), I argue that the dative DP *Yuna-eykey* cannot have *pro*, but only a trace, in the second TP. Since the verb *sa-* ‘buy’ does not introduce a dative argument, *Yuna-eykey* cannot be merged in the first TP. The only possible explanation is that it is merged as an argument of *cwu-* ‘give’ and scrambles to its surface position in (52) and (54). Of course, as Heejeong Ko (p.c.) noted, when the verb *sa-* ‘buy’ is used to mean ‘to treat’, it can introduce a dative argument, as in (i). However, this is only a special usage of *sa-*. As in (ii), a verb like *cap-* ‘to catch’ cannot have a dative DP as its argument. Therefore, in an H-SVC like (50a), the dative DP must move by scrambling, which makes my argument clearer.

- (i) ? Ito-ka *Yuna-eykey* pap-ul sa-ess-ta.
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT meal-ACC buy-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito treated Yuna to a meal.’ (intended)
- (ii) * Ito-ka *Yuna-eykey* mulkoki-lul cap-ass-ta.
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT fish-ACC catch-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito caught Yuna a fish.’ (intended)

‘Ito bought a present and Suji gave it to Yuna.’ (intended)

- (54) *Yuna-eykey_i* Ito-ka senmul-ul sa t_i *cwu-ess-ta.*
Yuna-DAT_i Ito-NOM present-ACC buy t_i give-PAST-DECL
‘Ito bought a present for Yuna.’

- (55) **Yuna-eykey_i* [[TP Ito-ka senmul-ul sa] [TP Suji-ka t_i]
Yuna-DAT Ito-NOM present-ACC buy Suji-NOM t_i
kukes-ul *cwu-ess]]-ta.*
it-ACC give-PAST-DECL
‘Ito bought a present and Suji gave it to Yuna.’ (intended)

The second piece of evidence involves the scope of negation. Korean has two types of negation, a long and a short one. It is known that while long form negation (*-ci anh*) heads its own projection, short form negation (*an*) left-adjoins to vP as an adjunct and cliticizes to *v* (Han and Lee 2007). The data in (56) shows that the short form negation *an* forms a tight unit with the verb.

- (56) a. Toli-ka maykcwu-lul cal an masi-n-ta.
Toli-NOM beer-ACC well NEG drink-PRES-DECL
‘Toli doesn’t drink beer often.’
- b. *Toli-ka maykcwu-lul an cal masi-n-ta.
Toli-NOM beer-ACC NEG well drink-PRES-DECL
‘Toli doesn’t drink beer often.’

As the short form negation *an* is merged to vP, it will be difficult to scope over the element in another TP clause. If the two verbs *sa-* ‘buy’ and *cwu-* ‘give’ in (57) belong to two independent TPs, the short negation *an* would never scope over *cwu-* ‘give’, but only scope over *sa-* ‘buy’ to which it is attached. However, this is not actually the case. In (57), *an* can scope over both *sa-* ‘buy’ and *cwu-* ‘give’, as well as only *sa-* ‘buy’. Given that the short negation cannot be adjoined to TP¹⁵ and negation does not appear as *pro*, the scope data in (57) indicates that the two verbs ‘buy’ and ‘give’ must combined in the same verbal domain, that is, under vP.

- (57) Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ppang-ul *an* sa *cwu-ess-ta.*

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT bread-ACC NEG buy give-PAST-DECL

(i) ‘Ito didn’t buy, but baked bread and gave it to Yuna.’ (give>>Neg>>buy)

(ii) ‘It is not the case that Ito bought bread and gave it to Yuna.’

(Neg>>buy-give)

¹⁵ The quantifier scope data shows that short negation *an-* and long negation *ci.anh-* occupy different positions hierarchically. Generally, the quantifier phrase is ambiguous between a wide and a narrow scope reading with long form negation, but it can only have a wide scope reading with short form negation. As (i) exemplifies, long form negation can scope over the quantifier ‘every’, while short form negation cannot, as (ii) shows. (See also Suh 1989; Hagstrom 2000; Baek 1998; Kim 2000a; cited by Han et al 2007 for more discussions about the scope of negation and a universal quantifier.)

- (i) a. John-i motun kwaca-lul mek-*ci.anh-ass-ta.* (every > NEG, NEG > every)
 John-NOM every cookie-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-DECL
 ‘John didn’t eat every cookie.’
- b. motun salam-i ku kwaca-lul mek-*ci.anh-ass-ta.*
 every person-NOM that cookie-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-DECL
 ‘Every person didn’t eat that cookie.’
- (ii) a. John-i motun kwaca-lul *an* mek-*ess-ta.* (every > NEG, *NEG > every)
 John-NOM every cookie-ACC NEG eat-PAST-DECL
 ‘John didn’t eat every cookie.’
- b. motun salam-i ku kwaca-lul *an* mek-*ess-ta.*
 every person-NOM that cookie-ACC NEG eat-PAST-DECL
 ‘Every person didn’t eat that cookie.’

This is a general phenomenon for H-SVCs in Korean (Ko and Sohn, to appear). The data in (58) shows that the short form negation *an* can scope over the whole serial verb phrase, *ssise mek* ‘wash eat’. This again proves that V-*cwu* in this section is an H-SVC made by the adjunction of multiple vPs, not TPs.

- (58) John-i sakwa-lul an ssise mek-ess-ta.

John-NOM apple-ACC NEG wash eat-PAST-DECL

(i) ‘John ate an apple without washing it.’ (eat>>Neg>>wash)

(ii) ‘It is not the case that John washed and ate an apple.’ (Neg>>wash-eat)

In summary, predicates such as *sa cwu-* should be analyzed as H-SVCs in Korean, considering evidences from syntax and semantics. To put it differently, low applicative verb *cwu-* can combine with other verbs through adjunction, as well as complementation. A summary of sections 3.1-3.2 is given in (59).

- (59) Properties of compound verbs, SVCs and *cwu-* constructions (3.1-3.2)

	Compound verb	<i>cwu-</i> as compound	H-SVC	<i>cwu-</i> as H-SVC
<i>Examples</i>	<i>pha mut-</i> ('to bury')	<i>pillye cwu-</i> ('to lend')	<i>capa mek-</i> ('to catch and eat')	<i>sa cwu-</i> ('to buy and give')
Compositionality	*	*	✓	✓
Productivity	*	*	✓	✓
Separability	*	*	✓	✓

3.3. *cwu-* as high applicative: merge under Voice

It has been pointed out that *cwu-* can be used as a functional verb that introduces a dative DP (Ryu 1995, Park 2003, Son 1991, Jung 2014). For example, *cwu-* in (60) introduces the dative argument *Yuna-eykey* and cannot be deleted. Though it introduces a dative argument, it cannot be a low applicative head, as Jung (2014) points out. She argues that *cwu-* as in (60) is a high applicative head which is merged between vP and VoiceP, based on the fact that it is always posited higher than the verbalizer *v*, namely, the light verb *ha-* ‘do’ or lexical causative morpheme *hi-*. I adopt her analysis and argue that *cwu-* may function as a high applicative head in Korean. Crucially, however, I depart from Jung (2014) in that I do not consider every *cwu-* that introduces an argument the same. Jung (2014) treats *cwu-* as the same high applicative head as long as it is preceded by another verb and introduces a dative argument. However, as I illustrate in sections 3.1-3.2, *cwu-* can be also used as a low applicative verb in a compound or a Serial Verb Construction when it occurs with another verb. Moreover, while Jung (2014) proposes that the high-applied argument is an abstract possessor of the theme, I argue that it is a recipient of an event.

In this section, I give more evidences to support the argument that *cwu-* in (60) is a high applicative head. To begin with, the differences between *cwu-* as a high applicative and *cwu-* as a compound or SVC should be noted.

- (60) Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilke *(*cwu*)-ess-ta.
Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read *(H.APPL)-PAST-DECL
'Ito read a book for Yuna.' (# 'Ito read a book and gave it to Yuna.')

First, unlike *cwu*- as a compound or SVC, high applicative *cwu*- does not entail possession transfer. It is not used as a lexical verb meaning ‘to give’, but rather as a functional verb expressing a direct transition of an event to somebody. Thus, (60) can never be interpreted as ‘Ito read a book and gave it to Yuna.’

In Korean Linguistics, the semantics of the functional verb *cwu*- has been controversial. Among possible interpretations, ‘to benefit someone’ is most widely accepted (cf. Seo 1996; Ko 2003; Son 1991; Choi 1971; Kim 1994; Lee 1979; Kim 1990; Nam and Ko 1991; Bang 1994). In recent research, Jung (2014) argues that *cwu*- as a high applicative introduces an abstract possessor (see section 4.3 in this thesis for more about this). However, I argue that the typical high applicative *cwu*- denotes transfer of an event, rather than pure benefaction or abstract possession. Also, I regard the high applied argument as the recipient of the whole event, which I call an Event Goal. Event Goal is similar to a typical goal/possessor in that they both encode the concept of reception. However, they differ from each other in that, while a typical goal/possessor is the actual recipient/possessor of the theme, Event Goal is the more conceptual recipient, because it does not possess any concrete material. Event Goal is also different from beneficiary, because it is directly targeted by the event, while the beneficiary is only indirectly affected.

The notion of Event Goal is similar to that of “conceptual reception” as in Kittilä (2006). Kittilä (2006) suggests two different kinds of reception encoded with the allative case in Finnish. One is “pure reception” which marks a typical reception event in accordance with the ‘give’ schema, such as ‘someone gives something to somebody’. The other is “conceptual reception” which lacks the possessive relation, but still includes a transferring event. What is “conceptually transferred” here is the event as a whole, rather than a theme. I propose that the Korean high applicative

encodes this “conceptual reception”, rather than just benefaction or possession, contrary to previous studies. I will give a detailed comparison of my argument with previous ones in Chapter 4.

Second, unlike compound verb construction, the high applicative structure is compositional in its semantics. Recall that a compound verb like *pillye cwu-* in (20a), repeated in (61a), does not entail that Ito borrowed money from someone. However, in the high applicative construction, the event of the preceding verb is always entailed. The example in (60), which is repeated in (61b), obviously entails ‘Ito read a book.’

- (61) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey ton-ul pillye *cwu*-ess-ta. [Compound]
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT money-ACC borrow give-PAST-DECL.
 ‘Ito lent Yuna some money.’ (≠ ‘Ito borrowed money.’)
- b. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilke *cwu*-ess-ta. [High applicative]
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read H.APPL-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito read a book for Yuna.’ (= ‘Ito read a book’)

Lastly, high applicative *cwu-* can never be separated from the preceding verb, which is different from *cwu-* as SVC. A connective *se* or adverb *kuphi* ‘quickly’ cannot be inserted between the verbs *ilke-* ‘read’ and *cwu-* as high applicative, as illustrated in (62).

- (62) a. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilke-se *cwu*-ess-ta.
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read-SE H.APPL-PAST-DECL.
 ‘Ito read a book to Yuna.’ (intended)

- b. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilke *kuphi* *cwu-ess-ta.*
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read quickly H.APPL-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito read a book to Yuna quickly.’ (intended)

Moreover, high applicative *cwu-* shows selectional restriction. Only *vDO* or *vCAUSE* can occur with *cwu-*, as shown in (63). On the other hand, as in (64), predicates with *vBE*, *vBCOME* or *vPASS* are not compatible with high applicative *cwu-*.

.¹⁶

- (63) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey phiano-lul chye *cwu-ess-ta.* (vDO)
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT phiano-ACC play H.APPL-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito played the piano for Yuna.’
- b. polumtal-i Yuna-eykey kil-ul palk-hi-e (vCAUSE)
 full moon-NOM Yuna-DAT way-ACC bright-CAUS-LK
cwu-ess-ta.

¹⁶ It seems that *cwu-* as a high applicative and *cwu-* as a SVC show a similar selectional restriction, as both of them can combine only with *vPDO* or *vPCAUSE*. Although their restrictions seem to overlap in part, they have different motivations for the selection and belong to the different types of structures. To illustrate, *cwu-* in (i) and (ii) both appear with *vDO*, but the former is a SVC and the latter high applicative. In (i), *cwu-* as a SVC encodes the possession transfer of a theme and is separable from the verb which precedes it. On the other hand, in (ii), *cwu-* as a high applicative marks the transition of the event and can never be divided from the preceding verb. In SVC, *cwu-* appears with *vPDO* or *vPCAUSE* by the feature matching of *v* (i.e. Matching Condition). In high applicative, *cwu-* occurs with *vPDO* or *vPCAUSE* which is compatible with the Event Goal. Thus, the selectional restrictions on *cwu-* as a SVC and high applicative should be distinguished.

- (i) John-i Mary-eykey ppang-ul kwuwe(-se) *cwu-ess-ta.* [H-SVC]
 John-NOM Mary-DAT bread-ACC bake(-SE) give-past-decl
 ‘John baked Mary some bread.’
- (ii) John-i Mary-eykey nolay-lul pulle(*-se) *cwu-ess-ta.* [High Appl.]
 John-NOM Mary-DAT song-ACC sing(*-SE) H.APPL-PAST-DECL
 ‘John sang a song to Mary.’

H.APPL-PAST-DECL

‘The full moon lit the way for Yuna.’

- (64) a. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey kippe *cwu*-ess-ta (vBE)
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT please H.APPL-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito was pleased for Yuna.’ (intended)
- b. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey cwuke *cwu*-ess-ta. (vBECOME)
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT die H.APPL-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito died for Yuna’ (intended)
- c. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey Suji-ey.uihay cap-hi-e (vPASS)
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT Suji-by catch-PASS-LK
 cwu-ess-ta.
 H.APPL-PAST-DECL
 ‘Ito was caught by Suji for Yuna.’ (intended)

Not every vDO can appear with *cwu*-, however. In (65), the predicate ‘to sleep’ is not appropriate for high applicative structure, though it is unergative with vDO. This syntactic selection is associated with the meaning of the high-applied argument. I argue that high applicative *cwu*- introduces an Event Goal which is the recipient of the event. That is, the introduced dative DP is the recipient of the event as a whole, who might get some direct benefit from making use of the entity or situation given by that event. Thus, verbs which do not match with the Event Goal arguments are not compatible with high applicatives. This correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of (65), because the sleeping event itself cannot happen directed

towards someone.¹⁷

- (65) *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey cam-ul ca cwu-ess-ta. (vDO)
Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT sleep-ACC sleep H.APPL-PAST-DECL
'Ito slept for Yuna.' (intended)

For the same reason, verbs with *vBE* or *vBCOME* are not grammatical with a high applicative as in (64). Being in a state itself or having a change of state does not occur being targeted at someone in the event. Whereas, an action like singing or reading can be directly targeted at an individual. This is why the examples in (60) and (63) are grammatical.

Summarizing the discussions so far, *cwu-* as a high applicative is different from a compound verb or SVC in many respects. Now, let's look at the position of the high applicative. I assume that *cwu-* as a high applicative is merged between *vP* and *VoiceP*, following Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) and Jung (2014). I show that *cwu-* as a Typical high applicative is always lower than negation and the aspectual head, because it is lower than *VoiceP*.

Firstly, the data in (66) show that the high applicative *cwu-* always precedes the negation phrase *-ci anh*. That is, *cwu-* cannot take *NegP* as its complement, but

¹⁷ The ungrammatical examples in (64) and (65) also indicate that high applicative does not denote benefactive relation and the argument *Yuna-eykey* 'Yuna-DAT' is different from a beneficiary. In Korean, a pure beneficiary is usually marked with the postposition *wihay* 'for', as in (i). Note that the distribution of a beneficiary is not restricted by event structure, so it can appear with any types of *vP*, unlike high applied argument.

- (i) Ito-ka Yuna-lul wihay cam-ul ca-ess-ta. (vDO) [pure beneficiary]
Ito-NOM Yuna-ACC for sleep-ACC sleep-PAST-DECL
'Ito took a sleep *for* Yuna.'

should be lower than NegP.

- (66) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilke *cwu-ci.anh-ass-ta.* ($\checkmark cwu- < \text{Neg}$)

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read H.APPL-NEG-PAST-DECL

'Ito did not read the book to Yuna.'

- b. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilk-*ci.anh-a* *cwu-ess-ta.* (* $\text{Neg} < cwu-$)

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read-NEG-LK H.APPL-PAST-DECL

'Ito did not read the book to Yuna.' (intended)

Secondly, the high applicative *cwu-* appears before other aspectual auxiliaries. Perfective auxiliary *peli-* and progressive marker *-ko iss-* should follow *cwu-* in (67) and (68).

- (67) a. Ito-ka imi Yuna-eykey ku chayk-ul ilke *cwu-e*

Ito-NOM already Yuna-DAT that book-ACC read H.APPL-LK

peli-ess-ta. ($\checkmark cwu- < \text{Perf}$)

PERF-PAST-DECL

'Ito has already read the book for Yuna.'

- b. *Ito-ka imi Yuna-eykey ku chayk-ul ilke *pelye*

Ito-NOM already Yuna-DAT that book-ACC read PERF

cwu-ess-ta. (* $\text{Perf} < cwu-$)

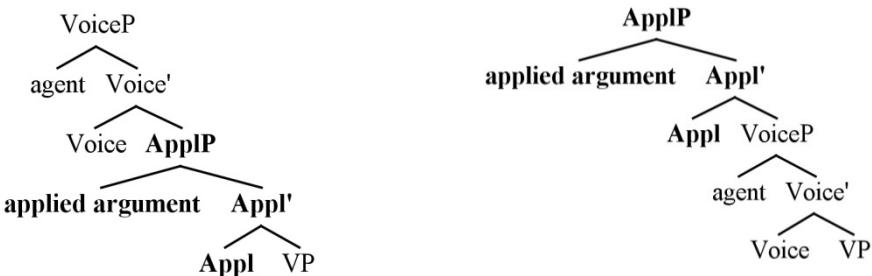
H.APPL-PAST-DECL

'Ito has already read the book for Yuna.' (intended)

- (68) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilke *cwu*-ko.iss-ess-ta. ($\checkmark cwu$ - < Prog)
- Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read H.APPL-PROG-PAST-DECL
- ‘Ito is reading a book to Yuna.’
- b. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilk-ko.iss-e *cwu*-ess-ta. (*Prog < *cwu*-)
- Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read-PROG-LK H.APPL-PAST-DECL
- ‘Ito is reading a book to Yuna.’ (intended)

Also, as indirect evidence, I present the result of the ‘again’ test proposed in Bosse et al. (2012). Bosse et al. (2012) argue that applicatives can be attached under or above VoiceP, based on the interpretation of ‘again’ modification. In a structure where the applicative is merged below Voice as in (69a), if VoiceP is modified by ‘again’, it means that the whole event took place before with the same applied argument and the same agent. But if ‘again’ modifies ApplP, then it means the event took place before with the same applied argument, but not with the same agent. On the other hand, in (69b), where the applicative is located higher than Voice, if ‘again’ is attached to VoiceP, it indicates that the event took place before with the same agent, and not with the same applied argument. If the whole ApplP is modified by ‘again’, it means that the event took place before with the same applied argument and the same agent.

- (69) a. Voice > Appl (cf. German (70)) b. Appl > Voice (cf. Japanese (72))



The test reveals that the Affective applicative in German is merged lower than Voice, while it is higher than Voice in Japanese. An example from German and its possible and impossible readings are given in (70-71). A Japanese example and its possible and impossible readings are shown in (72-73).

German: Voice > Appl

- (70) Alex zebrach Chris Bens Vase wieder.
 Alex broke Chris.DAT Ben.GEN vase.ACC again
 ‘Alex broke Ben’s vase on Chris again.’

- (71) a. Someone broke the vase on Chris before and now Alex broke it on him again.
(repeated ApplP)

b. Alex had broken the vase on Chris before and now he did it again.
(repeated VoiceP)

c. *Alex had broken the puzzle before and now he broke it again but for the
first time on Chris. (*repeated VoiceP with different applied argument)

Japanese: Appl > Voice

- (72) Sachi-ga Masa-ni Aiko-no kabin-o mata kowas-are-ta.
 Sachi-NOM Masa-DAT Aiko-GEN vase-ACC again break-APPL-PAST
 ‘Masa broke Aiko’s vase on Sachi.’

- c. *Someone broke the vase on Sachi before and now Masa did it on her again.
 (*repeated ApplP with different agent)

The same test can be carried out for applicatives in Korean as well. Korean has three kinds of ‘again’ adverbs (Ko 2011, Yoon 2007). *tasi* is the most widely used adverb. It can be used for repetitive or restitutive reading. *tto* and *tolo*, on the other hand, are used only for repetitive and restitutive reading, respectively.

When one of *tasi*, *tto* and *tolo* modifies a high applicative construction as in (74), *tasi* tends to be avoided, because of its ambiguity between repetitive and restitutive readings (cf. the Gricean maxim of manner ‘to avoid ambiguity’). Moreover, *tolo* is not suitable for (74) either because vPDO (creation and activity verbs) is not compatible with the restitutive reading (Ko 2005). Thus, only the adverb *tto* with the repetitive reading is possible for high applicatives like (74).

- (74) John-i Mary-eykey ?*tasi* / ✓*tto* / **tolo* phiano-lul chye *cwu-ess-ta*.
 John-NOM Mary-DAT again piano-ACC play H.APPL-PAST-
 DECL
 ‘John played the piano for Mary again.’

However, upon examination, it appears that the ‘again’ test is not applicable for Korean high applicatives after all. (75) shows the two possible readings for (74). (75a) would be ungrammatical in the German-type applicative like (69a) and (75b) would be ungrammatical in the Japanese-type applicative of (69b). In Korean, however, both readings are accepted as a natural implicature.

- (75) a. John played the piano for someone else before, and now he did it for Mary.
 (repeated VoiceP with different applied argument: cf. (71c))

- b. Someone played the piano for Mary before, and now John did it again.
 (repeated ApplP with different agent: cf. (73c))

Thus, again modification test cannot identify the exact merge site of high applicative in Korean, but at least it shows that there is no direct evidence to argue that high applicative *cwu-* is posited higher than Voice. This result is compatible with the assumption that typical high applicative is merged between vP and VoiceP.

In brief, *cwu-* as in (60) is a high applicative head merged under VoiceP. It has different characteristics from compound or serial verb constructions and there is no evidence to support the idea that it is located above VoiceP. The characteristic of *cwu-* as low and high applicatives that I have investigated so far is summed up in (76).

- (76) Properties of applicative constructions in Korean (sections 3.1-3.3)

<i>cwu-</i>	Compound	SVC	Typical High Appl.
	<i>Low applicative</i>		<i>High applicative</i>
<i>Examples</i>	<i>pillye cwu-</i> ‘to lend’	<i>sa cwu-</i> ‘to buy and give’	<i>ilke cwu-</i> ‘to read sth to sb’
Possession transfer	✓	✓	*
Compositionality	*	✓	✓
Productivity	*	✓	✓
Separability	*	✓	*

3.4. *cwu-* as benefactive auxiliary: merge above Voice

This section investigates the structure of *cwu-* as a benefactive auxiliary in Korean. The auxiliary use of *cwu-* has been mentioned in various studies (Koo 2003; Kim 1994; Kim 1990; Kim 1983; Noh 2006; Ryu 1995; Bang 1994; Son 1991). In general, auxiliary verbs in Korean do not introduce any arguments, but expresses modal or aspectual meaning. What is special about the benefactive auxiliary *cwu-* is that it brings in a “benefactive” meaning which does not seem to have any direct connection with the modal or aspectual interpretation.

In (77), *cwu-* delivers a meaning that someone in the sentence gets a benefit from the helping action of *Ito*, although there is no overt argument introduced. In this case, *Yuna*, the object of *towa*- ‘help’, is mainly interpreted as the beneficiary. Even though (77) is not ungrammatical without *cwu-*, the sentence does not convey any benefactive meaning if *cwu-* is not present. Therefore, *cwu-* clearly makes a difference to the semantics of the sentence.

(77)	Ito-ka	Yuna-lul	towa	(cwy)-ess-ta.
	Ito-NOM	Yuna-ACC	help	(BEN)-PAST-DECL
‘Ito helped Yuna (for the benefit of Yuna or Ito himself).’				

Despite the fact that *cwu-*, as auxiliary verb, is used very frequently in Korean, there has been little investigation about what *cwu-* is and where it falls in the syntax.¹⁸ I propose that the auxiliary *cwu-* is merged as an independent benefactive

¹⁸ Jung (2014) refers to the *cwu-* that does not introduce a dative argument as “optional *cwu-*”. She claims that “optional *cwu-*” appears optionally, as a sentence like (77) is grammatical with

head in the syntax. I further argue that the benefactive *cwu-* takes an event which brings some benefit for the *pro* argument in its specifier.¹⁹ In other words, it serves as a type of high applicative head in that it introduces an argument and connects it to the event. Because the introduced argument is not overt in its benefactive auxiliary construction, I consider it a non-typical high applicative construction.

On a closer observation, the invisible *pro* beneficiary is linked mostly with the participants of the event. For example, in (77), Ito or Yuna can be interpreted naturally as the beneficiary of the helping event. Yuna is the most salient beneficiary of Ito's assistance. In addition, a situation where Ito helped Yuna because he wanted to help her, though she actually refused his help, is also possible. In this case, Ito helped Yuna for his own sake and he would gain benefit from the helping event.²⁰

On the other hand, when the beneficiary is peripheral and not a participant of the event, the beneficiary is usually expressed in an adjunct phrase with *wihay* 'for'

or without *cwu-*. She further argues that “optional *cwu-*” splits off from little *v* with a [+benefactive] feature, right before Lexical Insertion. However, there exists a truth-conditional difference between the sentences with *cwu-* and without it. Also, *cwu-* does not have the same distribution with little *v*. (cf. section 4.2) Therefore, strictly speaking, *cwu-* is not optional and apparently makes a difference to the structure of the sentence.

¹⁹ Hyun Kyoung Jung (p.c.) notes that, if the beneficiary is *pro*, it must be overt in some cases. There is a possibility that the covert beneficiary is PRO, rather than *pro*. In the future work, I hope to find more about what exactly the beneficiary is. (see also fn. 20 regarding pro beneficiary in Japanese.)

²⁰ Seungho Nam (p.c.) points out that the two kinds of beneficiary – the subject and object – should be licensed in different ways. In most cases, the object gets benefit directly from the event, whereas the subject gains benefit indirectly by considering the event to be beneficial to the subject itself. At the moment, I have only resolved that the subject can be a beneficiary even if the object does not benefit from the event, and do not have an appropriate integrated analysis for the *pro* beneficiary. How *pro* is related to the participants of the event is still not clear. According to Nishigauchi (2014), the *pro* in the spec of the Japanese benefactive auxiliary (*kureru/ageru*) is an individual who takes the action as a favor. He refers to this argument as the Axis and further argues that it should be controlled by the speaker or the subject of the sentence. Though I will not go further into his analysis here, I hope it will give some clue to understand the identity of *pro* in benefactive *cwu-* constructions in future research.

and *cwu-* is not necessary, as shown in (78).

- (78) *Suji-lul wihay, Ito-ka Yuna-lul tow-ass-ta.*
Suji-ACC for, Ito-NOM Yuna-ACC help-PAST-DECL
'Ito helped Yuna *for Suji*.'

As observed so far, the beneficiary of auxiliary *cwu-* is different from an adjunct beneficiary. While the former is usually one of the participants of the event, the latter does not have any thematic relationship with the event. An adjunct beneficiary with *wihay* 'for' is not limited in its number and it can also appear with any types of events, because it is truly an adjunct to the sentence. Moreover, the beneficiary of *cwu-* differs with the Event Goal of typical high applicative. The Event Goal of high applicative is directly affected by the event, as a recipient of the event. However, the beneficiary of auxiliary *cwu-* does not have to be a direct target of the main event, but it can also be an agent or doer of the event.

Benefactive auxiliary *cwu-* has similarities and differences with the typical high applicative *cwu-*. Similar to the typical high applicative, it is compositional in its semantics. Undoubtedly, (77) entails that Ito helped Yuna. Also, the verbs are not separable from each other, as in (79).

- (79) a. **Ito-ka Yuna-lul towa-se cwu-ess-ta.* (*se-insertion)
Ito-NOM Yuna-ACC help-SE BEN-PAST-DECL
'Ito helped Yuna.' (intended)
- b. **Ito-ka Yuna-lul towa kuphi cwu-ess-ta.* (*adverb-insertion)

Ito-NOM Yuna-ACC help quickly BEN-PAST-DECL

‘Ito helped Yuna quickly.’ (intended)

However, benefactive auxiliary *cwu-* shows looser selectional restrictions than high applicative *cwu-*. It can combine with almost all types of verbalizers - *vDO*, *vBECOME*, *vCAUSE*, and *vBE* - as shown in (80).

(80) a. Ito-ka Yuna-ul towa *cwu-ess-ta.* (*vDO*)

Ito-NOM Yuna-ACC help BEN-PAST-DECL

‘Ito helped Yuna (for Yuna’s benefit).’

b. Yuna-ka ku-lul mite *cwu-ess-ta.* (*vBE*)

Yuna-NOM him-ACC believe BEN-PAST-DECL

‘Yuna believed him (for his benefit).’

c. Ito-ka cengsi-ey tochak-hay *cwu-ess-ta.* (*vBECOME*)

Ito-NOM time-in arrive-do BEN-PAST-DECL

‘Ito arrived in time (for someone’s benefit).’

d. Ito-ka aitul-lul mek-i-e *cwu-ess-ta.* (*vCAUSE*)

Ito-NOM children-DAT eat-CAUS-LK BEN-PAST-DECL

‘Ito fed the children (for their benefit).’

The only exception to this is that predicates without dynamicity cannot combine with benefactive *cwu-*. As mentioned by Jung (2014), purely being in a state does not benefit someone. For example, *yeypu-* ‘be pretty’ in (81), which belongs to the so-called “adjective” category in Korean, cannot be selected for by benefactive

CWU-

- (81) *Yuna-ka yeyppe *cwu*-ess-ta.
 Yuna-NOM pretty BEN-PAST-DECL
 ‘Yuna is pretty for someone’s benefit.’ (intended)

In Korean, adjectives and stative verbs are differentiated in syntax, though they both contain vBE (Hong 2013). First, adjectives cannot take simple present form *-n ta* or progressive *-ko iss*, while stative verbs can, as shown in (82). Second, while adjectives cannot appear with the imperative mood, stative verbs can have the imperative form, as in (83). This shows that adjectives are purey stative, whereas stative verbs are more dynamic in Korean.

- (82) a. *Yuna-ka yeppu -n / ko.iss- ta. (adjective)
 Yuna-NOM pretty -PRES / PROG- DECL
 ‘Yuna is / is being pretty.’

b. Yuna-ka na-lul mit -n / ko.iss- ta. (stative verb)
 Yuna-NOM me-ACC believe -PRES / PROG- DECL
 ‘Yuna believes me.’

- (83) a. *yeppe-la! (adjective)
 pretty-IMP
 ‘Be pretty!’

b. mite-la! (stative verb)

believe-IMP

‘Believe it!’

Also, I suggest that the benefactive head is merged above Voice. The idea of the applicatives higher than Voice is not totally new. It has been demonstrated in other languages (Buell 2003; McGinnis and Gerdts 2003; Tsai and Yang 2008; Tsai 2009; Bosse et al 2012, etc.). I argue that the benefactive auxiliary precedes or follows Outer Aspect, because it is located between VoiceP and TP. As shown in (84), benefactive *cwu-* appears before or after the progressive morpheme *ko iss*. I call this kind of *cwu-* a TP-benefactive auxiliary.

(84) a. Ito-ka hyeng-uy mal-ul cal (Prog < *cwu-*)

Ito-NOM brother-GEN word-ACC carefully
tut-ko.iss-e *cwu*-ess-ta.

listen-PROG-LK BEN-PAST-DECL

‘Ito was carefully listening to his brother (for his brother’s benefit).’

b. Ito-ka hyeng-uy mal-ul cal (*cwu-* < Prog)

Ito-NOM brother-GEN word-ACC carefully
tule *cwu*-ko.iss-ess-ta.

listen BEN-PROG-PAST-DECL

‘Ito was carefully listening to his brother (for his brother’s benefit).’

The data in (84) and (68) which is repeated in (85) show an interesting contrast between the benefactive auxiliary and typical high applicative. While the

benefactive auxiliary *cwu-* can follow the progressive morpheme *-ko iss-*, high applicative *cwu-* cannot. This type of difference has never been pointed out previously. If the merge site of the benefactive auxiliary and high applicative is different, as I argue, the contrast is easily captured.

- (85) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilke *cwu-ko.iss-ess-ta.* ($\checkmark cwu- < \text{Prog}$)

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read H.APPL-PROG-PAST-DECL

'Ito is reading a book to Yuna.'

- b. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilk-ko.iss-e *cwu-ess-ta.* (* $\text{Prog} < cwu-$)

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read-PROG-LK H.APPL-PAST-DECL

'Ito is reading a book to Yuna.' (intended)

Moreover, TP-benefactive *cwu-* can appear with high or low applicative *cwu-*. In (86), both high applicative *cwu-* and benefactive *cwu-* appear in the same sentence, relating to different individuals. High applicative *cwu-* introduces the Event Goal *halmeni-kkey* 'grandmother-DAT.HON', but benefactive *cwu-* can be related with a beneficiary other than the grandmother. So, from the event of Yuna's reading a book to her grandmother, Yuna herself or other people (e.g. her sister) can be benefited. The verb *tulye-* is the honorific form of *cwu-* and they are interchangeable in Korean if the beneficiary is a senior or respected person in Korean.

- (86) Yuna-ka unni-taysin [H.APPL halmeni-kkey chayk-ul

Yuna-NOM sister-for grandma-DAT.HON book-ACC

ilke tulye] *cwu*-ess-ta.

read H.APPL.HON BEN-PAST-DECL

‘Yuna read a book to her grandmother (for her sister’s benefit), on behalf of her sister.’

By the same mechanism, low applicative *cwu*- and benefactive *cwu*- appears at the same time in (87). In (87), *tulye* ‘to give’ has low applicative structure and *sensayngnim* ‘teacher’ is the possessor in the low applicative. benefactive *cwu*-, on the other hand, indicates that the event of giving a letter to the teacher can benefit someone else, for example, *Ito*, in this context. This is naturally explained if benefactive *cwu*- is merged higher than high or low applicative *cwu*- in the syntax.

(87) Ito-uy puthak-ulō, Yuna-ka [L.APPL sensayngnim-kkey
Ito-GEN ask-with Yuna-NOM teacher-DAT.HON
pyenci-lul tulye] *cwu*-ess-ta.

letter-ACC give.HON BEN-PAST-DECL

‘Yuna gave a letter to the teacher (for Ito’s benefit), because Ito asked her to do so.’

I propose that benefactive *cwu*- can also be merged at the complementizer layer, if the beneficiary is the speaker. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, it must be logically possible that high applicative is posited at CP when the high applied argument is in speaker-oriented construal, since the function of high applicative is to connect an individual with an event. Theoretically, therefore, *cwu*- can be merged at CP. When it is merged at CP, the beneficiary must be related with the speaker, but

cannot anyone else. I refer to this type of *cwu-* as CP-benefactive Auxiliary.

CP-benefactive Auxiliary *cwu-* often appears with the imperative, promissive mood or the volitional suffix *keyss-* which expresses the speaker's will.²¹ In the data below, the beneficiary of the event should be the speaker, not the subject or object of the sentence. Specifically, in (88), Ito (agent) or soup (theme) is not the beneficiary. Likewise, in (89), 'you (theme)' does not receive the benefit. Finally, 'you', the diamond ring (theme) in (90), cannot be the beneficiary in any circumstance.

(88) Ito-ya, i supu-lul cee *cwu-e.*

Ito-VOC, this soup-ACC stir BEN-IMP

'Ito, stir this soup (for me).'

(89) nay-ka ne-lul kiphilkho ikye *cwu-ma.*

I-NOM you-ACC certainly beat BEN-PROM

'I will beat you no matter what (for my benefit).'

²¹ Seungho Nam (p.c.) noted that other types of *cwu-* are also compatible with the imperative, promissive mood and the suffix *keyss-*. However, what is unique about the speaker-oriented *cwu-* is that if it is embedded under Tense, in declarative sentences, it is unnatural or ungrammatical (cf. (i-ii)). This observation shows that the speaker-oriented *cwu-* should be licensed by special moods.

(i) */?? nay-ka ne-lul kiphilkho ikye *cwu-ess-ta.*
I-NOM you-ACC certainly beat BEN-PAST-DECL
'I did beat you no matter what (for my benefit).' (intended)

(ii) */?? nay-ka pantusi ne-lul sa *cwu-ess-ta.*
I-NOM certainly you-ACC buy BEN-PAST-DECL
'I will buy you (=the diamond ring) no matter what (for me).' (intended)

- (90) nay-ka pantusi ne-lul sa *cwu-keyss-e.* ('you' = a diamond ring)
 I-NOM certainly you-ACC buy BEN-will-DECL
 'I will buy the diamond ring no matter what (for me).'
 (Lit. 'I will buy you no matter what.')

Beside the fact that it appears in a special mood, there is more evidence that the CP-benefactive is merged higher than TP. One is the fact that CP-benefactive and TP-benefactive appear at the same time in a sentence, being related with different beneficiaries. In (91), for illustration, the helping event is for the benefit of my mom, and I, the speaker, gets benefit from Ito's helping my mom.

- (91) Ito-ya, wuli emma-lul towa *tulye cwu-e.*
 Ito-VOC, my mom-ACC help BEN.HON BEN-IMP.
 'Ito, please help *my mom* (for me).'

What is more interesting is that, when the two kinds of benefactive *cwu-* appear in the same sentence, the speaker-oriented *cwu-* should always come higher than the TP-benefactive. Thus, if benefactives *tulye-* ('BEN.HON') and *cwu-* ('BEN') switch their positions in (91), it becomes ungrammatical as (92) illustrates. In Korean, *tulye-* honorifies only direct or indirect objects, not the subject or speaker itself. If there is no speaker-oriented benefactive and *cwu-* in any positions can be freely related with any beneficiaries, (92) should be possible. Therefore, the ungrammaticality of (92) implies the existence of the speaker-oriented *cwu-* which must always be higher than the TP-benefactive *cwu-*.

- (92) *Ito-ya, wuli emma-lul towa *cwu*-e tuli-e.
 Ito-VOC, my mom-ACC help BEN-LK BEN.HON-IMP.
 ‘Ito, please help *my mom* (for me).’ (intended)

Of course, the speaker-oriented *cwu*- is also higher than low or high applicatives as (93) and (94) show.

- (93) a. Yuna-ya, [_{L.APPL} sensayngnim-kkey i chayk-ul tulye] *cwu*-e.
 Yuna-VOC, teacher-DAT.HON this book-ACC give.HON BEN-IMP
 ‘Yuna, please give this book to the teacher (for me).’
- b. Yuna-ya, [_{H.APPL} sensayngnim-kkey chayk-ul ilke tulye] *cwu*-e.
 Yuna-VOC, teacher-DAT.HON book-ACC read H.APPL.HON BEN-IMP
 ‘Yuna, please read the book to the teacher (for me).’

More evidence comes from the word order with respect to the progressive and negation phrase. When CP-benefactive *cwu*- occurs with progressive aspect, *cwu*- always follows the progressive morpheme, *ko iss*, as in (94). This is in contrast to high applicative which always appears before the progressive (cf. (68)) and TP-benefactive that comes either before or after the progressive (cf. (85)).

- (94) a. Ito-ya, i supu-lul ces-ko.iss-e *cwu*-e. (✓Prog < CP-ben *cwu*-)
 Ito-VOC, this soup-ACC stir-PROG-LK BEN-IMP
 ‘Ito, keep stirring this soup (for me).’
- b. *Ito-ya, i supu-lul cee *cwu*-ko.iss-e. (*CP-ben *cwu*- < Prog)

Ito-VOC this soup-ACC stir BEN-PROG-IMP

‘Ito, keep stirring this soup (for me).’ (intended)

Also, CP-benefactive *cwu-* is able to follow the negative imperative *mal-*, but not vice versa. In (95a), it is grammatical when *cwu-* is preceded by *mal-*. As (95b) proves, however, the speaker-oriented *cwu-* can never be lower than *mal-*.

(95) a. Ito-ya, tampay-lul phiwu-ci.mal-a *cwu-e.* (✓Neg < CP-ben *cwu-*)

Ito-VOC, cigarette-ACC smoke-NEG-LK BEN-IMP

‘Ito, please don’t smoke (for me).’

b. *Ito-ya, tampay-lul phiwe *cwu-ci.mal-a.* (*CP-ben *cwu-* < Neg)

Ito-VOC, cigarette-ACC smoke BEN-NEG-IMP

‘Ito, please don’t smoke (for me).’ (intended)

So far, I have shown evidences that the benefactive auxiliary *cwu-* is merged as an independent head above Voice. When it is between VoiceP and TP, it precedes or follows the aspect or negation head, and the beneficiary is mainly related with one of the participants of the event. On the other hand, when *cwu-* is merged at CP, it should always follow the progressive aspect and negation, having the speaker as a beneficiary.

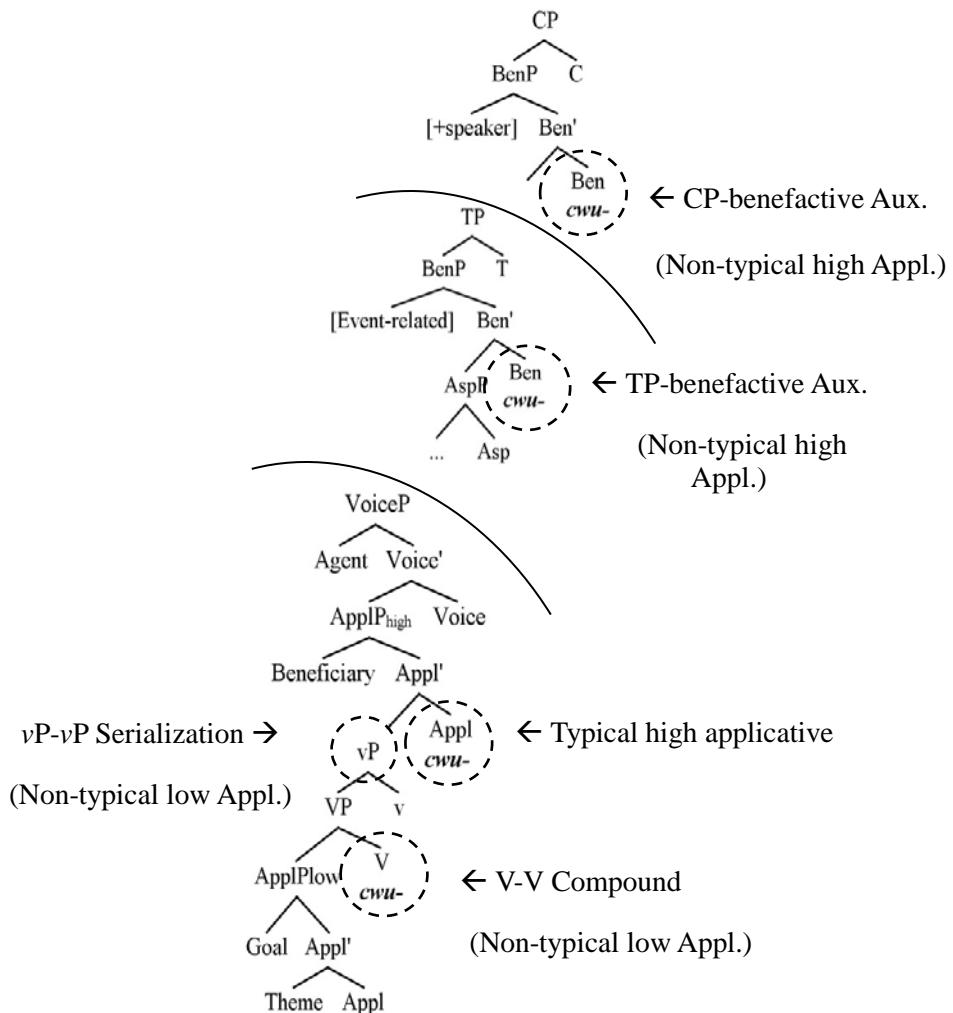
To summarize the chapter, I provided analysis to argue that *cwu-* is merged at various sites in the cartography of the syntax. Specifically, in a compound verb structure, the low applicative *cwu-* and the preceding verb function as one verb in separability and entailment tests. When *cwu-* is serialized at a higher level, with vP, it

forms a Serial Verb Construction and is separable from the preceding verb. Also, If *cwu-* merges under Voice as a high applicative head, it introduces a dative Event Goal. Moreover, when *cwu-* is merged above VoiceP, it denotes a benefactive relationship between the *pro* beneficiary and event. In particular, *cwu-* under TP relates the beneficiary with the participants of the event and *cwu-* at CP indicates that the speaker is benefited. A summary of analysis in Chapter 3 is presented in (96) and the full cartography of *cwu-* is in (97).

(96) Properties of applicatives and their kin in Korean (Final Version)

<i>cwu-</i>	Compound	SVC	Typical high applicative	TP- benefactive auxiliary	CP- benefactive auxiliary
	<i>Low applicatives</i>		<i>High applicatives</i>		
<i>Examples</i>	<i>pillye cwu-</i> ‘to lend’	<i>sa cwu-</i> ‘to buy and give’	<i>ilke cwu-</i> ‘to read sth to sb’	<i>towa cwu-</i> ‘to help’	<i>towa cwu-e</i> ‘help me!’
Possession transfer	✓	✓	*	*	*
Compositio- nality	*	✓	✓	✓	✓
Productivity	*	✓	✓	✓	✓
Separability	*	✓	*	*	*
Word order with Aspect	<i>cwu- <Prog</i>	<i>cwu-<Prog</i>	<i>cwu-<Prog</i>	<i>cwu-<Prog</i> <i>Prog<cwu-</i>	<i>Prog< cwu-</i>
Overt applied argument	✓	✓	✓	*	*
Obligatory speaker- orientedness	*	*	*	*	✓

(97) The cartography of *cwu*-



4. Evaluation: Comparison with Previous Analyses

So far, I have argued that *cwu-* can be attached to various morphological sites, forming typical or non-typical applicatives in Korean.

In this chapter, I will evaluate the previous analyses on the verb *cwu-* and applicatives in Korean and show that my proposal has broader empirical coverage. I will compare my analysis with those previous analyses, focusing on three issues. First, predicates including *cwu-* are not defined only as a serial verb construction or compound construction, which has been previously argued. Second, when *cwu-* does not introduce an overt argument, it cannot be formed by fission, contrary to Jung (2014), but by merging as a benefactive head above Voice. There is empirical evidence that fission is not involved in Korean benefactive constructions. Finally, I show that the dative argument introduced by high applicative *cwu-* is an Event Goal. It is not a simple beneficiary or possessor of a theme, contrary to previous studies.

4.1. Dichotomy vs. Cartography

In previous literature in Korean, constructions involving *cwu-* have been classified into two types. When *cwu-* is used alone as a main (lexical) verb, it is a ditransitive verb expressing transfer of possession (Lee 1979, Koo 2003, etc.), as in (98a). It is the same typical low applicative construction with that in (8). If *cwu-* is preceded by another main verb as in (98b), *cwu-* has been regarded as an auxiliary verb which conveys a meaning such as ‘to benefit someone’²² (Seo 1996, Ko 2003,

²² Auxiliary *cwu-* has also been argued to express malefactive meaning in an example like (i). (cf. Koo 2003; Bang 1994; Ryu 1995, etc.) In this thesis, however, I take (i) as a benefactive

Son 1991, Choi 1971, Kim 1994, Lee 1979, Kim 1990, Nam and Ko 1991, Bang 1994).²³ *Cwu-* as auxiliary verb was analyzed as the result of grammaticalization from the lexical (ditransitive) verb (Kwon 2012, Koo 2003, Bang 1994, Son 1991, Seo 1996, Lee 1979, Park 2003).

Traditional dichotomy

- (98) a. na-nun ku-eykey kkoc-ul *cwu*-ess-ta. [Lexical verb]
- I-TOP he-DAT flower-ACC give-PAST-DECL
- ‘I gave him a flower.’ (Lee 1979)
- b. ku-nun haksayngtul-eykey tokile-lul kaluchye *cwu*-n-ta.²⁴ [Auxiliary]

construction with *cwu-* merged between Voice and T. With a closer look, data in (i) means that the hitting event was for the benefit of the subject (*John*) or object (*Mary*). That is, (i) sounds natural only when John or Mary get some benefit from hitting him. If neither John nor Mary want him to hit her, it is not appropriate to use *cwu-*.

- (i) John-un Mary-lul ttaylye *cwu*-ess-ta
 John-TOP Mary-ACC hit BEN-PAST-DECL
 ‘John hit Mary (as his revenge on her / because she wanted him to do so / because he thought it was for her benefit / # though both John and Mary didn’t want it / # because it would be harmful for them).’

²³ The meaning of auxiliary *cwu-* was analyzed differently in each study in Korean — to benefit someone (Seo 1996, Ko 2003, Son 1991), to serve someone (Choi 1971, Kim 1994), to make an effort for others (Lee 1979), to help someone (Kim 1990, Nam and Ko 1991, Bang 1994), to match up to someone’s expectation (Bang 1994), etc. All of these can be summed up in a single phrase, ‘to benefit someone’.

²⁴ *cwu-* in (98b) falls under the category of TP-benefactive in my analysis. It does not introduce the dative DP, because the sentence is grammatical without *cwu-*, as in (i) below. It is the main verb *kaluchi-* ‘to teach’ which introduces both the dative argument *haksayngtul-eykey* ‘students-DAT’ and the theme *tokile* ‘German’. When *cwu-* is added, it expresses that the teaching event is helpful for the students. Seungho Nam and Man-Ki Lee (p.c.) note that *kaluchye cwu-* ‘teach BEN’ has many more implications than just *kaluchi-* ‘teach’ — that is, *kaluchye cwu-* seems to imply that the teacher made more effort and the students learned more from the teacher, compared to *kaluchi-* alone. I agree with their judgment. Currently, I believe that the different implications come from the benefactive semantics of benefactive auxiliary *cwu-*.

he-TOP students-DAT German-ACC teach BEN-PRES-DECL

‘He teaches German for the students.’ (Nam and Ko 1991)

However, the dichotomy between lexical and auxiliary verb is never enough to distinguish the sub-varieties of the constructions. Specifically, when *cwu-* occurs with another verb, at least five different kinds of structures are involved as I argue so far in the previous chapters. (cf. (14-19))

Although there has been research on the structure of *cwu-* as an “auxiliary verb”, there has been no consensus about the syntactic nature of it. In some research, it has been considered a compound verb formed in the lexicon (Choe 1988; Seo 1990; Son 1991) and, in others, a double-headed SVC as in the work of Baker’s (1988)²⁵ (Lee 1993; Kang 1993). However, if the V-*cwu* predicate is just a compound verb, it will be hard to explain why some cases of the construction are highly productive in syntax (cf. *cwu-* as H-SVC in section 3.2, high applicative in section 3.3, benefactive auxiliary in section 3.4) and why it sometimes introduces an overt dative argument (cf. *cwu-* as low and high applicatives) and sometimes not (cf. *cwu-* as benefactive auxiliary). Also, if *cwu-* and the preceding verb form a verbal predicate with two Vs (i.e. the double-headed VP structure in Baker (1988)), it will still be puzzling why it can have a dative argument only in some cases (cf. *cwu-* as low/high applicatives vs. benefactive auxiliary). Furthermore, in both of these approaches, it cannot be

-
- (i) Ku-nun haksayngtul-eykey tokile-lul kaluchi-n-ta.
He-TOP students-DAT german-ACC teach-PRES-DECL
‘He teaches the students German.’

²⁵ The structure of SVC in Baker (1988) is based on X-bar theory. On the other hand, *cwu-* as SVC in this thesis is formed by adjunction of two vPs, in the Minimalist method (Baker and Stewart 2002). Because X-bar schema was used in the traditional literatures, V-*cwu* was analyzed differently from SVC in the present terminology.

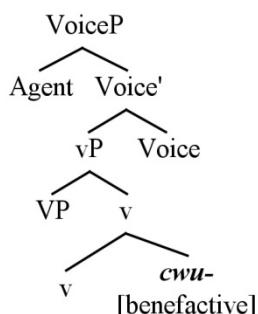
explained properly why V-*cwu* construction is semantically ambiguous between possession transfer and the benefactive. Under my proposal, these puzzles are solved as there are various sub-types of *cwu-* constructions with different structures and meanings.

To sum up, the construction in which *cwu-* is combined with s preceding verb cannot be explained with a single syntactic structure. To explain the differences within the constructions properly, sub-varieties of the construction should be distinguished in a cartographic way, as proposed in this thesis.

4.2. Benefactive: Fission vs. Merge

Jung (2014) claims that the benefactive auxiliary *cwu-* that does not introduce a dative argument (cf. (12), (13), (18), (19), and section 3.4.) is formed by a morphological operation called ‘fission’ (cf. Halle 1997; Noyer 1997; cited by Jung (2014)). She argues that the feature [+benefactive] is fissioned off from little *v* right before Lexical Insertion, based on her observation that *cwu-* and *v* have an overlapping distribution. The structure of fissioned *cwu-* in Jung (2014) is represented in (99).

- (99) ‘Fission’ of benefactive *cwu-* (Jung 2014)



However, there is evidence that the distribution of *cwu-* and verbalizer *v* are not the same. As shown in section 3.4, benefactive *cwu-* can come after the progressive aspect head, above Voice (cf. (84a), (94a)). If *cwu-* is merely separated from *v*, how *cwu-* appears in a higher position than *v*, even above VoiceP cannot be explained. It also occurs with other types of *cwu-* at the same time. When it appears with a typical high applicative, it is never lower but always higher than the typical high applicative (cf. (86), (93)). If benefactive *cwu-* is separated from *v*, it should be lower than the typical high applicative, but this is not the case. Furthermore, when the two different benefactive auxiliaries occur together, CP-benefactive comes higher than TP-benefactive (cf. (91), (92)). This kind of hierarchical difference between *cwu-* would not be compatible with the fission analysis.

Moreover, under the fission analysis, it is difficult to explain that the beneficiary of *cwu-* is interpreted as a participant of an event or the speaker of the sentence. In Jung's (2014) analysis, benefactive *cwu-* carries only a [+benefactive] feature, and the beneficiary can be anyone in the world, theoretically. However, as I show in section 3.4, the beneficiary introduced by the benefactive *cwu-* is not just any 'someone', but a thematic element of the event or the speaker of the sentence (cf. (77-78), (88-90)).

This means that what Jung (2014) calls "optional" *cwu-* is not just optionally separated from little *v*. It is more appropriate to say that *cwu-* has its own merge site in the syntax. Thus, I argue once again that *cwu-* can be merged as a benefactive head above VoiceP (cf. (18b), (19b)), associating the beneficiary with the subject or object under TP, and with the speaker at CP.

4.3. High applicative: Possessor vs. Event Goal

In Chapter 3, I proposed that the dative argument introduced by typical high applicative *cwu-* is a goal of the event (Event Goal). As I mentioned in section 3.3, the high-applied argument is not a free adjunct as a true beneficiary. Also, it is not an abstract possessor, either. In this section, I address the differences between the possessor analysis and Event Goal analysis, and show that my proposal-the Event Goal analysis- is more reasonable.

In Jung (2014), the dative DP in the high applicative in Korean is analyzed as a possessor, as a counterpart of the possessor in the English low applicative. According to Jung (2014), (100) is high applicative construction and the dative argument *Yuna-eykey* is the possessor of the root-modified theme, ‘the baked bread’.

(100)	Ito-ka	Yuna-eykey	ppang-ul	kwuwe	<i>cwu</i> -ess-ta.
	Ito-NOM	Yuna-DAT	bread-ACC	bake	give-PAST-DECL
‘Ito baked Yuna some bread.’					

However, possessor analysis cannot explain the whole range of the data clearly. First, it does not predict the syntactic and semantic differences between *cwu-* as a compound, SVC and high applicative (cf. section 3.1-3.3). Moreover, (100) is a SVC, rather than a high applicative construction, as I show in Chapter 3.²⁶

²⁶ Jung (2014) regards *cwu-* in (100) as the same high applicative head as in (101). In my view, however, the distinction between (100) and (101) is important. Their syntactic and semantic differences have been presented in Chapter 3. This is why I keep distinguishing the two examples by using the different glosses: ‘give’ for *cwu-* as SVC in (100) and ‘H.APPL’ for *cwu-* as high applicative in (101).

Second, in most cases, the “abstract possession” that she argues for is quite vague. In (101), for example, it is not transparent how the introduced argument Yuna comes to have “abstract possessive power” over the theme.

- (101) Ito-ka *Yuna-eykey* mun-ul yele *cwu-ess-ta.*
Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT door-ACC open H.APPL-PAST-DECL
'Ito opened the door for Yuna.'

Furthermore, (101) does not even have an English low applicative counterpart. English verb ‘open’ cannot have a possessor and possessee, as (102) shows. Jung (2014) attributes this contrast only to the selectional difference between low and high applicatives: the high applicative is more productive than the low applicative, because the high applicative is located above vP and the low applicative is under VP.

- (102) *Ito opened Yuna the door.

Although I agree with her explanation about the different productivity between the two applicatives, I do not agree with her claim that Korean high applicative introduces Possessor of the root-modified theme. Instead, I argue that what high applicative *cwu-* introduces is a recipient of the event which I call an Event Goal, while low applicative *cwu-* (as SVC or compound verb) introduces a real possessor which is the recipient of the theme. The structural difference between high and low applicatives does not only cause the difference in productivity, but also leads to the different semantics. In the low applicative, the relation between the two

individuals is more tight and direct than in the high applicative. In the high applicative, an individual is more related with the whole event, not with a theme included in VP. This is why (101) is possible in Korean and (102) is not in English. In the Korean high applicative (101), *Yuna-eykey* is a goal of the event ‘opening the door’. In other words, the opening event happened directed towards Yuna. Meanwhile, English does not have a way to express this kind of relation within the argument structure, because it only employs a low applicative strategy. The English counterpart of (102) should be as in (103), with an adjunct clause including *for*.

- (103) I to opened the door *for Yuna*.

Thus, I contend that ApplTO should be added to the inventory of the high applicatives. In Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), the semantics of high applicative is defined as in (104). According to her definition, numerous types of applicatives are included in the universal inventory of functional heads, such as benefactive, instrumental and locative. In addition to these, ApplTO which introduces an Event Goal is needed to analyze typical high applicatives in Korean.

- (104) *High Appl* (Pylkkänen 2002, 2008)

$$\lambda x. \lambda e. \text{Appl}(e, x)$$

(collapsing ApplBEN, ApplINSTR, ApplLOC, etc.)

ApplTO can be viewed as the result of an expansion of the meaning of *cwu-*. Given that the original function of the ditransitive ‘give’ is to introduce a telic point of the

giving event, it is a natural consequence. The lexical verb *cwu-* ‘to give’ denotes possession transfer of an individual to another individual. Similarly, the high applicative *cwu-* expresses transfer of the whole event to an individual.

There are additional data that show that the dative argument introduced by high applicative is encoded as an Event Goal. Typical high applicatives are the most natural with an event which directly targets an individual. Thus, as in (105), action verbs such as reading, singing and playing are frequently used with high applicative *cwu-*.²⁷ The examples mean that the reading, singing, and playing event happened directed towards Yuna.

- (105) a. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey chayk-ul ilke *cwu*-ess-ta.

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT book-ACC read H.APPL-PAST-DECL

‘Ito read a book to Yuna.’

- b. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey nolay-lul pulle *cwu*-ess-ta.

²⁷ Aoyagi (2014) argues that morphological case marking plays an important role in high applicatives in Japanese. Based on Marantz (1992), he defines a hierarchy for case realization, according to which, accusative case assignment is dependent on the presence of a nominative case, and the inherent dative case is dependent on the presence of the accusative case. For example, sentence in (i) is grammatical because it satisfies the hierarchy of case realization. But sentence in (ii) is ungrammatical since there is no accusative case that the dative case can refer to. However, his analysis is not sufficient to account for why the sentence in (iii) is unacceptable in Japanese. Furthermore, it does not explain how some of the transitive verbs are not compatible with high applicatives in Korean (cf. (106), (107); (65) in section 3.3).

- (i) John-wa Mary-ni hon-o yonde yar-ta. (✓NOM-DAT-ACC)
 John-TOP Mary-DAT book-ACC read give-PAST
 ‘John read a book for Mary.’
- (ii) *John-wa Mary-ni hasitte yar-ta. (*NOM-DAT)
 John-TOP Mary-DAT run give-PAST
 ‘John ran for Mary’ (intended)
- (iii) *John-wa Mary-ni gohan-o tabete yar-ta. (*NOM-DAT-ACC: why not?)
 John-TOP Mary-DAT rice-ACC eat give-PAST
 ‘John ate a meal for Mary’ (intended)

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT song-ACC sing H.APPL-PAST-DECL

'Ito sang a song to Yuna.'

c. Ito-ka Yuna-eykey phiano-lul chye *cwu*-ess-ta.

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT piano-ACC play H.APPL-PAST-DECL

'Ito played the piano for Yuna.'

In (106), on the other hand, a verb like *mek-* 'to eat' or *kongpuha-* 'to study' is not compatible with high applicative *cwu-* because such verbs are not able to have an individual as a goal, rather than as an abstract possessor.²⁸

(106) a. *Ito-ka Yuna-eykey pap-ul meke ***cwu***-ess-ta.

Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT meal-acc eat H.APPL-PAST-DECL

#'Ito had a meal to Yuna.'

²⁸ Jung (2014) explains that *Mary-eykey* in (i) below is the possessor of 'the cut hair', advocating Song's (2010) judgment about (i). However, only 6 out of 21 informants have reported that the sentence is grammatical (6/21 marked natural and 11/21 unnatural). When *na-eykey* 'me-DAT', instead of *Mary-eykey* 'Mary-DAT', is used, as in (ii), few of them answered the sentence is natural (2/21 marked natural and 15/21 unnatural). I do not know the reason why *na-eykey* 'me-DAT' is worse than *Mary-eykey* 'Mary-DAT', but the test result indicates that the widely quoted example is not accepted by most of the native speakers. Although Jung (2014) treats the dative DP in high applicatives as a possessor, it seems that the native speakers do not prefer the possessor construal in high applicatives.

(i) ?/* John-i Mary-eykey meli-lul cala *cwu*-ess-ta.
John-NOM Mary-DAT hair-ACC cut H.APPL-PAST-DECL
'John cut (Mary's) hair for Mary.' (intended)

(ii) *John-i na-eykey meli-lul cala *cwu*-ess-ta.
John-NOM me-DAT hair-ACC cut H.APPL-PAST-DECL
'John cut (my) hair for me.' (intended)

- b. *Ito-ka *Yuna-eykey* kongpu-hay ***cwu***-ess-ta.
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT study-do H.APPL-PAST-DECL
 #‘Ito studied to Yuna.’

Additionally, verbs that already have another goal or location argument are not suitable for high applicative construction, as shown in (107).

- (107) *Ito-ka *Yuna-eykey* umsik-ul *nayngcangko-ey* nehe ***cwu***-ess-ta.
 Ito-NOM Yuna-DAT food-ACC fridge-in put H.APPL-PAST-
 DECL
 #‘Ito put the food in the fridge to Yuna.’

To summarize, the dative argument of high applicative *cwu*- is a goal of the event as a whole, rather than a recipient or possessor of the theme. Under my proposal, the semantic property of the introduced DP in high applicative is properly understood. At the same time, the semantic difference between *cwu*- as a high applicative and low applicative (compound or SVC) is clearly captured.

5. Cross-linguistic Issues

From a typological point of view, Korean applicatives raise an interesting issue on the representation of applicatives in general. In many languages which have both high and low applicatives, the applicative construction is expressed either with a verb like ‘give’ or a dative DP. For examples, Chinese is one of the languages that employ the verb-strategy for applicatives. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Chinese verb *gei* ‘give’ can be used in the low or high applicative construction as in (108) (cf. Tsai and Yang 2008; Tsai 2009). On the other hand, languages such as Spanish or German adopt the dative-strategy. They have no particular verb for the applicative, but a dative DP is introduced as an applied argument (Cuervo 2003; Georgala 2012; Bosse et al. 2012). For example, in (109), the Spanish applicative has in its specifier a dative DP as a Possessor Goal or Affectee (Cuervo 2003). (see also (70) in Chapter 3 for a German high applicative example.)

Chinese: Verb-applicative language

- (108) a. Zhangsan *gei* Lisi yi-ben shu. [Low Appl.]

Zhangsan give Lisi one book

‘Zhangsan gave Lisi a book.’

- b. Ta juran *gei* wo pao-le. [High Appl.]

he unexpectedly APPL me ran

‘Unexpectedly, he ran away on me.’

Spanish: Dative-applicative language

- (109) a. Juan le compró *al ninō* un juguete. [Low Appl.]

Juan CL.DAT bought boy.DAT a toy

'Juan bought the boy a toy.'

b. Emilio le rompió la radio *a Carolina.* [High Appl.]

Emilio CL.DAT broke the radio Carolina.DAT

'Emilio broke the radio on Carolina.'

Interestingly, Korean uses both of them. As shown in this thesis, the language has a dative applied argument as well as the verb *cwu-* 'give' for applicatives. What is more interesting is that, while the verb *cwu-* can occur twice in a sentence, the dative argument cannot (cf. section 3.4). In other words, for the two different applicatives to co-exist, at least one of them should not introduce a dative argument. As (110a) shows, *cwu-* as a typical high applicative which introduces the dative DP *halmeni-kkey*, and *cwu-* as a CP-benefactive which introduces no overt argument can appear at the same time. On the other hand, (110b) is ungrammatical because *cwu-* as a typical low applicative and a typical high applicative occur together in the sentence, introducing two dative arguments *Yuna-eykey* and *sensaygnim-kkey*, respectively. Note that *tulye-* is an honorific form of *cwu-*.

(110) a. Ito-ya, *halmeni-kkey* chayk-ul ilke **tulye** ***cwu-e.***

Ito-VOC grand mother-DAT.HON book-ACC read H.APPL BEN-IMP

'Ito, please give the teacher a present for me.'

b. *Ito-ka *sensaygnim-kkey Yuna-eykey* senmul-ul **tulye** ***cwu-ess-ta.***

Ito-NOM teacher-DAT.HON Yuna-DAT present-ACC give H.APPL-PAST
-DECL

'Ito gave Yuna a present to the teacher.'

Theoretically, different types of applicatives should be able to appear at the same time, because they are all merged at different sites. This is not a special phenomenon to Korean, however. Cross-linguistic observation reveals that other languages with a dative case have a similar situation.²⁹ In Spanish and German, only the so-called ethical dative can co-occur with another applicative that has a dative goal. Ethical datives are the first or second person clitic pronouns which denote that the event affects the speaker or the hearer. Ethical datives are analyzed as a defective applicative, because it lacks a full DP in its specifier (Cuervo 2003; Gerogala 2012). In (111a), the Spanish ethical dative *me* ‘CL.1SG.DAT’ is grammatical with *al ninō_i* ‘kid.DAT’, the goal of the low applicative. Similarly, in (111b), German allows ethical dative *mir* and the goal of ditransitive *Kind* ‘child.DAT’ (low applicative) to co-occur.

- (111) a. *Me* *le_i* dieron un helado *al ninō_i* [Spanish]
 CL.1SG.DAT CL.DAT gave an ice-cream kid.DAT
 ‘They gave the kid an ice cream *on me*.’ (Cuervo 2003)

²⁹ Also, in Mandarin Chinese, the speaker-oriented *gei* can come with another *gei* phrase such as benefactive or ditransitive (cf. (i-ii)). However, the categorical status of *gei* is still controversial. The verb *gei* can be used in various environments and Her (2006) illustrates the five constructions of *gei* – verbal, postobject, postverbal, preverbal, and purposive. It is analyzed as a verb, preposition, or affix in different research (cf. Huang and Ahrens 1999; Ting and Chang 2004; cited by Her (2006)). Even though I follow Tsai’s (2009) analysis that the speaker-oriented *gei* is a verb merged at CP, I do not have a complete analysis for other usages of *gei* (e.g. when *gei* is not preceded but followed by a DP as in (i-ii), it can be a verb or a preposition.).

- (i) Akiu juran [gei wo] manmandi gei renjia ca diban.
 Akiu unexpectedly APPL me slowly for/give people wipe floor
 ‘Unexpectedly, Akiu slowly wiped the floor for others on me.’ (Tsai 2009)
- (ii) Lisi [gei wo] chuan-le yi-feng xin gei Mali.
 Lee APPL me passed one letter to/give Mary
 ‘Lee passed a letter to Mary for me.’ (Her 2006)

- b. Nun kauf ***mir*** endlich dem *Kind* einen Lutscher. [German]
now buy.IMP me.DAT finally the child.DAT a.ACC lollipop.ACC
'Now buy the child a lollipop *for me*.' (Georgala 2012)

To conclude, languages seem to allow the co-occurrence of two applicatives, if and only if one of them is “defective”, but never allow multiple dative goals. I do not have a full-pictured analysis for now, but I believe that this has something to do with the semantics of goal arguments. Perhaps there could be a limit on the number of dative goals in event semantics. To be specific, since the event usually has only one telic point, only one goal might be allowed for each event. Also, a discourse argument such as a beneficiary or affectee can appear with true goals, because it came from a different layer of the event structure. To find the answer, more research has to be done on the typological distribution of datives and applicatives. I leave this for future work.

6. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have investigated the syntax of typical and non-typical applicatives expressed with the verb *cwu-* in Korean. Throughout the chapters, I proposed that *cwu-* is merged at various positions in the cartography of the syntax, making various constructions as a result. When *cwu-* is combined with another verb at V, it makes a compound verb construction, and at vP, a serial verb construction (SVC). Also, in typical high applicative construction, *cwu-* is located between vP and VoiceP. Moreover, *cwu-* as a benefactive auxiliary is merged above VoiceP. If *cwu-* is in the inflectional layer, the beneficiary is related with the participants in the event. If it is in the complementizer layer, the beneficiary must be the speaker. I show that this fine-grained classification of *cwu-* has more advantages than previous analyses in capturing the different syntactic and semantic behaviors of applicatives and their kin in Korean.

My analysis goes along the same lines as Tsai (2009). As I mentioned in the first chapter, Tsai (2009) argues that high applicatives can be extended to the left periphery, when the applied argument is speaker-oriented. He shows that, in Mandarin Chinese, the high applicative appears at CP, with evaluative adverbs or special illocutionary forces like imperative mood. I argue that Korean applicative constructions conform to a similar cartographic approach. Taking a step further than Tsai (2009), however, I have extended his discussion and shown that *cwu-* as a low applicative as well as a high applicative in Korean are merged at different positions in the Event Semantics. Thus, in Korean, different types of applicative constructions arise depending on where the verb *cwu-* is adjoined in the structure.

Though I have attempted to present a detailed syntactic analysis on Korean

cwu-, I have not dealt sufficiently with applicatives in other languages. One interesting puzzle that still remains open is the possible number of applicatives and dative goals in a sentence. In other languages as well as Korean, the number of applicatives is limited. I hope my analysis of Korean applicatives is helpful for further cross-linguistic research.

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국문초록

한국어 추가논항 구조와 그 유사구문 연구

-동사 ‘주다’를 중심으로-

추가논항 구조(applicative construction)에서 applicative 핵은 원래 동사의 논항구조에 포함되어 있지 않았던 요소를 논항 구조로 들여오는 기능을 한다 (Pylkkänen 2002; 2008). 이 논문은 동사 ‘주다’를 중심으로, 한국어의 추가논항 구조를 연구하고자 한다. 한국어의 ‘주다’ 동사는 low applicative와 high applicative를 모두 표현할 수 있다. 본고에서는 기존의 이분법에 머물지 않고, ‘주다’로 표현되는 추가논항 구문이 다양한 구조로 실현되고 있으며, 이는 ‘주다’ 동사가 통사구조 상의 다양한 위치에서 결합(merge)되기 때문이라 주장할 것이다.

자세히 말하면, ‘주다’가 통사구조에서 가장 아래 단계인 V와 결합하는 경우에는 합성동사(compound verb)구문을, 이보다 위의 vP 단계에서 결합하는 경우에는 연속동사(serial verb)구문(cf. Ko and Sohn, to appear)을 이룬다고 주장할 것이다. 다음으로, ‘주다’가 vP와 VoiceP의 사이에서 결합하면 high applicative 구조를 형성한다. 또한, ‘주다’ TP와 CP에서 결합하여 수혜보조동사(benefactive auxiliary) 구문을 이루게 됨을

보일 것이다.

본고의 주장은 applicative가 Voice보다 상위에서 결합할 수 있다는 다른 연구들(cf. Buell 2003; McGinnis and Gerdts 2003; Tsai 2009; Bosse et al 2012, etc)과 맥락을 같이 한다. 특히, high applicative가 CP에서 결합할 수 있다는 Tsai (2009)의 제안이 한국어에서도 적용됨을 보인다. 이와 더불어, Tsai (2009)의 사건 의미론(event semantics)을 확장하여 high applicative와 low applicative의 보다 세밀한 유형을 제시한다. 이를 통해, ‘주다’로 표현되는 추가논항 구조에 대하여, 기존의 논의보다 더욱 정확한 이해를 도모하였다.

이 논문에 제시된 분석은 다른 언어의 추가논항 구조를 연구하는데 유용한 시각을 제공한다. 이론적으로는 다양한 유형의 추가논항 구문이 통사구조의 서로 다른 위치에서 결합하므로 한 문장 안에 모두 함께 나타날 수 있어야 한다. 하지만, 일반적으로, 최대 두 개의 추가논항 구문이 함께 나타날 수 있는 것으로 보인다. 본고에서는 이러한 현상이 우연히 일어나는 것이 아니라, 추가논항 구조의 의미와 관련이 있을 것으로 본다.

Keywords: 추가논항구조, 수혜구문, 이중목적어구문, 동사 ‘주다’, 한국어

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