The Syntax of Desiderative Constructions

— The Case of Korean *-ko siph-*—

한국어 소망구문 '-고 싶-'의 통사론

이 환 희

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— The Case of Korean

-ko siph- -

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Abstract

This study focuses on the desiderative construction *-ko siph-* in Korean and the case alternation between nominative and accusative case found on the object in the *-ko siph-* construction. These constructions exhibit the characteristics typical of the WANT class volitionals, and several unique properties that goes beyond the realm of desideratives in general, setting it apart not only from other desiderative constructions within Korean but also from those found across languages.

In this paper, we present compelling evidence in favor of the size difference approach over the complex predicate approach or the prolepsis approach in accounting for the structural case alternation found in the *-ko siph-* construction. Specifically, we posited the presence of an incomplete, deprived $Voice_R$ in the Nominative Object Construction and a complete, fully functioning Voice in the Accusative Object Construction.

In addition, we propose that the key to the difference in scope interpretation, which correlates with the alternating structural case marker in the *-ko siph-* construction, is the type mismatch theory. Instead of explaining the scope property within the narrow syntax, we argue that the burden of the explanation should be placed on the semantic type mismatch at LF.

The findings will also be extended to the *-ki silh-* construction in the last part of this paper, which is the exact antonym of the *-ko siph-* construction semantically. Overall, the analysis presented here is expected to contribute to our understanding of the WANT class desideratives and the case alteration phenomenon observed in Korean syntax.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Brief summary of the proposal

This study focuses on the desiderative construction *-ko siph-* in Korean and the case alternation between nominative and accusative case found on the object in this construction. Various analyses have been proposed to account for the case alternation in the *-ko siph-* construction, including the Complex predicate approach, Prolepsis approach and Clause size difference approach. The primary focus of this study is to determine the most appropriate approach among them and give further evidence to support the Size difference approach.

The findings in this paper will lead to the conclusion that the size difference approach is the most persuasive among the three options. In the Accusative Object Construction (AOC), the size of the complement clause is large enough to accommodate a projection that licenses accusative case on the object, while the Nominative Object Construction (NOC) is relatively small, thereby preventing the licensing of accusative case on the object. The Nominative Object Construction undergoes Voice Restructuring, and its patterns different from that of AOCs in the syntax and semantics are claimed to be a consequence of the restructuring processes taking place in the NOC.

We will also extend the analysis to the *-ki* clause specifically selected by the stem √*silh*, which is the antonym of √*siph* stem in the *-ko siph-* construction. Interestingly enough, in this specific context as well, the NOM-ACC case alternation pattern is found on the object. This similarity, along with additional

supporting evidence makes it possible to consider the two constructions in the same vein especially in the narrow syntax.

Although the identity between *-ki* complement in psych predicates or tough constructions and *-ko* complement in *-ko siph-* has been pointed out in previous literature(Y.-H. Kim 1989; Y.-H. Kim 2012; S.-W. Kim 1996; S.-J. Yeo 2005) the identity has often been simply assumed without providing proper evidences or thorough demonstration of it. On the other hand, another school of thought proposes that the two constructions do not share the same structure. One of the notable examples in this line of thought is J.-H Um (2003).

We will side with the argument that proposes the same structure for both the constructions. Our discussion will specifically focus on a specific subset of predicates that select the *-ki* clause, trying to capture the shared characteristics of both the *-ki silh-* and *-ko siph-* constructions. Furthermore, we will provide a plethora of evidence to substantiate why this should be the case. By doing so, we attempt to overcome certain shortcomings of the previous literature—neither asserting that the two constructions are the same without proper illustration of evidence, nor assuming that they are entirely distinct and require different treatment.

1.2. What is the desiderative construction?

Before moving on to a comprehensive analysis of the *-ko siph-* construction, it is essential to give a clear definition of what exactly a desiderative construction is. Desiderative constructions are traditionally defined as linguistic expressions being used to express desires or wishes. Examples in Korean is given in (1).

(1) Desiderative constructions in Korean

    a. Na-nun Chelswu-ka   cip-ul   ci-ess-umyen

       I-TOP   Chelswu-NOM house-ACC   build-PAST-COND

       ha-n-ta.

       DO-PRES-DECL

       "I hope Chelswu build a house"

    b. Chelswu-nun Yenghuy-ka   cip-ul   cis-ki-lul

       Chelswu-TOP Yenghuy-NOM   house-ul   build-KI-ACC

       wenha-n-ta.

       want-PRES-DECL

       "Chelswu want Yenghuy to build a house.

    c. Na-nun   cip-ul   cis-ko   siph-ta.

       I-TOP   house-ACC build-KO want-DECL

       "I want to build a house"

In the literature, we frequently encounter a variety of terms referring to functional or lexical elements that express the desire of the linguistic agent to perform an action. Examples of such terms include volitionals, desire verbs, bouletic verbs, boulomaic modals, desideratives and various others.

These terms are more often than not used interchangeably in the literature or defined arbitrarily. A defining property of these expressions is that these so called volitionals or bouletics are frequently analyzed as involving preference modality or bouletic preferences (Heim 1992; Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 2009; Portner 1997; Villalta 2008; Moulton 2014; Grano 2017, 2018; Condoravdi and Lauer 2012).

In this paper, we specifically choose to adopt the term 'desiderative' among other options. One reason for this choice is that 'desiderative' is usually preferred when referring to subject-oriented attitude verbs rather than speaker-oriented bouletic modals. It is important to note that our study does not deal with all modals or attitude verbs that involve preferential modality. For example, we exclude speaker-oriented bouletic modals from the scope of the research (2).

(2)   Speaker-oriented bouletic modals

Ne-nun   cip-ey   tolaka-ya ha-ye.

you-TOP house-LOC   return-must-DECL.

"You should go back home"

In (2), the bouletic modal concerns what is necessary, given the speaker's desires. However, our focus in this paper will be on desiderative constructions which convey the **subject's intention or desire** to perform a certain action.

Another category that will be excluded from the scope of this paper is HOPE class volitionals (3).

(3)   HOPE class volitionals

4

Na-nun Chelswu-ka   cip-ey   ka-ass-ki-lul   pala-a.

I-TOP Chelswu-NOM house-LOC go-PAST-KI-ACC hope-DECL

"I hope Chelswu would go back home"

It is safe to say both HOPE class volitionals and WANT class volitionals fall into the broader category of desiderative attitude verbs. HOPE class volitonals, however, are known to behave differently from WANT class volitionals (Giannakidou and Mari 2021). They have the ability to select both the indicative and volitional mood in the embedded clause across languages, and they can also switch between contentful tenses such as PAST or PRESENT and non-contentful anaphoric tense within the embedded clause. Furthermore, we will exclude other atypical "volitonals" such as PROMISE, PERSUADE or INTEND class volitional predicates or expressions that select for antifactive moods such as optative mood or imperative mood which typically have performative function. Since the *-ko siph-* construction has typical properties of the WANT class volitionals, which is the major interest of this paper, we will now focus our attention on this specific subtype of desiderative constructions.

According to Giannakidou and Mari (2021) linguistic agents do not simply label sentences as true or false. Instead, they engage in a more nuanced process of sizing up the veridicality of sentences. This veridicality judgment involves forming subjective opinions or attitudes towards the content of the sentence. Desiderative constructions, especially WANT class desideratives, are known to involve subjective antiveridicality. The definition of subjective antiveridicality first provided in Giannakidou and Mari (2021) is the following (4):

(4)   Subjective Antiveridicality: An individual anchor i is committed to $\neg p$ iff

M(i) contains worlds compatible with what i wants and M(i) entails $\neg p$.

When a specific sentence is described as subjectively antiveridical, it means that the subject is committed to the presupposition that the statement being made (prejacent p) is not true based on their perspective. You can see how this antiveridicality is manifested in desiderative constructions, specifically in WANT class desideratives in English and Spanish, respectively in (5a) and (5b).

(5)   a.   I want to go there.

»[1] $\neg$ I go there.

b.   El   gobierno   salvadoreno   quiere   que   entre   en

The government   Salvadorian   want.3SG   COMP   enter.SJV   into

negociaciones con   la guerrilla.

negotioation   with   the guerrilla.

"The Salvadorian government wants that they enter into negotiation

with the guerrilla."

» $\neg$ "The Salvadorian government enters into negotiation with the

guerrilla."

(Kempchinsky 1990, cited from S.-W. Shim 1995)

In (5a), it is not appropriate to say "I want to go there." when you are actually in the midst of going to a specific place referred to as "there". The same goes for

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[1] The symbol '»' here stands for the presupposition relation.

(5b) where the sentence "The Salvadorian government wants to enter into negotiation with the guerrilla" presupposes that the government is not currently engaged in the process of negotiating with the guerrilla.

Another typical characteristic of WANT class desideratives is their rigid tendency to select for infinitival and subjunctive clauses across languages (Giannakidou and Mari 2021).

(6)   a.   I$_i$ want [PRO$_i$ to go there].

b.   El   gobierno   salvadoreno$_i$ quiere   que   entrar

The government Salvadorian$_i$ want.3SG COMP   enter.INF

en   negociaciones con la   guerrilla.

into negotiation   with the   guerrilla

"The Salvadorian government$_i$ wants [to PRO$_i$ enter into negotiation

with the guerrilla]."

c. *El   gobierno   salvadoreno$_i$ quiere   que   entre

The   government   Salvadorian$_i$ want.3SG that   enter.SJV

en   negociaciones con   la   guerrilla.

into   negotiation   with   the   guerrilla

"The Salvadorian government$_i$ wants [that *pro*$_i$ enter into negotiation

with the guerrilla]."

(Kempchinsky 1990, cited from S.-W. Shim 1995)

In the English example (6a), we can observe that the desiderative verb *want* selects for an infinitival clause, making it a typical subject control construction. The same holds for the Spanish example in (6b). In (6c) the desiderative verb

quiere selected for a subjunctive clause. As subjunctive clauses, in general, do not constitute a proper binding domain. The coreference relationship between *El gobierno* and null category *pro* violates binding condition B. This violation leads to the unacceptability judgment in (6c).

We can see the *-ko siph-* construction shows the hallmark of WANT class desideratives, namely antiveridicality (7) and selection of infinitival clause (8).

(7) Antiveridicality

Na-nun   suphakeythi-lul   mek-ko   siph-ta.

I-TOP   spaghetti-ACC   eat-KO   want-DECL

» ¬ "I am enjoying a plate of spaghetti right at the moment"

(8) Subject Control

Na-nun   suphakeythi-lul   mek-ko   siph-ta.

I-TOP   spaghetti-ACC   eat-KO   want-DECL

"I want to [PRO$_i$/*pro* eat a spaghetti]."

We have demonstrated that the *-ko siph-* construction exhibits the characteristics typical of the WANT class desiderative constructions. However, several unique properties of the *-ko siph-* construction goes beyond the realm of desiderative constructions in general, setting it apart not only from other desiderative constructions within Korean language but also from those found across languages. Among its various distinguishing characteristics, one notable

feature stands out—the NOM-ACC case alternation pattern exhibited by its object (9a).

(9) a. Na-nun[2] suphakeythi-ka/-lul   mek-ko   siph-ta

         I-TOP   spaghetti-NOM/-ACC   eat-KO   want-DECL

     b. Na-nun suphakeythi-*ka/-lul   mek-nun-ta

         I-TOP   spaghetti-*NOM/-ACC   eat-PRS-DECL

Interestingly the nominative marking on the object is not permitted in the absence of the desiderative stem $\sqrt{siph}$, and the only option available without $\sqrt{siph}$ is the accusative marking (9b).

There have been several different theories that have been proposed to explain this case alternation pattern. The most widely accepted explanation is based on Rizzi (1982)'s theory of restructuring analysis, which suggests that the alternation involves some sort of restructuring of the sentence structure. We will delve into this issue in this thesis and explain the case properties of the desiderative construction at stake in Korean.

1.3. Overview

In Chapter 2, we will examine previous analyses that have been developed to address this specific case alternation pattern and the associated linguistic features

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[2] The subject of the sentence, typically marked with the topic particle *-nun* as in the example, underlyingly involves nominative case.

found in the *-ko siph-* construction. By evaluating these diverse range of perspectives that have been put forward, we can gain a deeper insight into the complexities of the mysterious NOM-ACC case alternation. Chapter 3 present the specifics of a particular type of size difference approach endorsed in this paper with a special focus on the structural analysis and the theoretical implementation. Chapter 4 embarks on a quest to solve the puzzle of case phenomena and the intricate interrelation between the case pattern and scope property. Chapter 5 will conduct a critical examination of the argument structure of the *-ko siph-* construction to back up the analyses advocated in the preceding chapters. In this chapter we will make the case that the object is the internal argument of the lower predicate instead of higher *siph*, regardless of the case pattern. Chapter 6 will argue for the structural identity between the *-ko siph-* and *-ki-silh-* constructions in the syntax proper based on some crucial evidence remained unnoticed or neglected so far. Chapter 7 will bring the discussion to a close. In this chapter we will talk about the significance of this paper's findings and acknowledge the topics that have not been covered in the paper and suggest areas for future research.

Chapter 2. Review of the previous literature

2.1. Complex predicate approach

The complex predicate analysis, heavily influenced by Rizzi's (1982) work on restructuring phenomena in Romance languages, has become the prevailing approach adopted by researchers when dealing with the *-ko siph-* construction.

In the complex predicate approach, Nominative Object Constructions (NOC) triggers a form of head movement from a lower predicate to the upper √*siph* in the head position. This head movement is motivated by the root √*siph* (Chang and Jo 1991) or a semantically bleached embedded predicate (Kim & Maling 1998). Consequently, a complex predicate is formed through the amalgamation of the embedded predicate and √*siph* due to the head movement in NOC. As the root √*siph* has adjectival properties, the resulting complex predicate follows the case pattern commonly associated with psych adjectives in Korean, licensing a nominative object. However, in Accusative Object Constructions (AOC), no such head movement occurs. This is why NOC and AOC differ in terms of case properties.

This approach was initially applied to the analysis of the *-ko siph-* construction by Chang and Jo (1991), and it has since been adopted by subsequent researchers such as S.-W. Kim (1996) and Kim and Maling (1998), among others.

2.1.1. Chang and Jo (1991)

Chang and Jo (1991) were one of the pioneers in addressing case alternation found in *-ko siph-* desiderative constructions. They approached this issue within the broader context of examining other instances of irregular case alternation. However, it should be noted that a comprehensive discussion of all the case alternations explored in Chang and Jo (1991) is beyond the scope of the present study. Instead, we will focus on how the *-ko siph-* construction and case alternation thereof were dealt with in Chang and Jo (1991).

(10) AOC

$$VP_1$$

SPEC   V'$_1$

VP$_2$ V$_1$

SPEC   V'$_2$ √*siph*

NP-ACC   V$_2$

(11) NOC

$$VP_1$$

SPEC   V'$_1$

VP$_2$ V$_1$

√*siph*

NP-NOM   V'$_2$

t   V$_2$
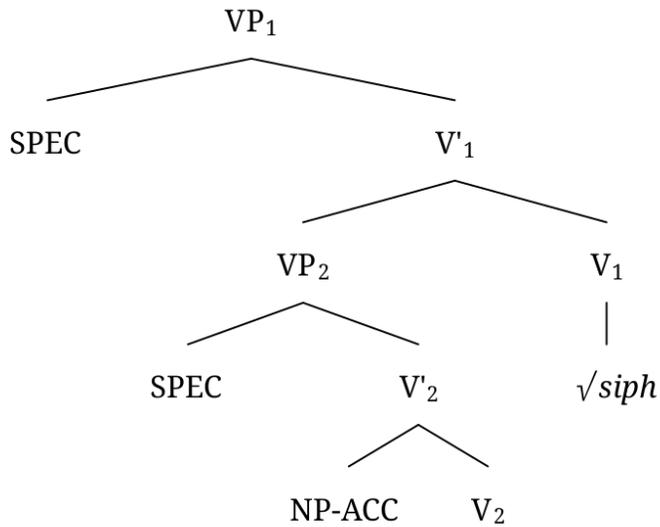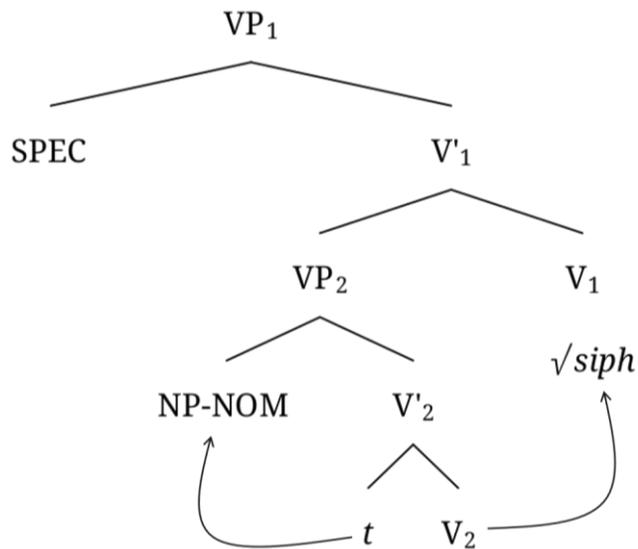
Following their logics, accusative constructions in (10) lacks head movement, therefore the complement of the lower predicates can assign an accusative case without any problem. Conversely, the nominative case assignment to NP-NOM in NOC (11) is a result of head movement that is optional in nature but leads to a

series of consequences. To begin with, the trace of the lower predicate is incapable of assigning case. Secondly, the lower predicate which has undergone movement forms a complex predicate along with the upper √*siph* head. This results in an overall case pattern that is in line with the pattern followed by adjectives in general.

However, there are certain limitations that need to be taken into consideration. Firstly, As K.-Y. Choi (2009) has pointed out the theory assumes arbitrary conjecture where the lower trace is unable to assign accusative case, which is at odds with the principle of minimalism. Note that the lower trace in (11) is just a copy of the same element in (10) in the framework of classic minimalist program.

Secondly, we must bring attention to the fact that it is quite vague what is the motivation of the head movement in the *-ko siph-* construction. Chang and Jo in the same paper argued that *-e ha-* construction necessitates the head movement because the semantically deprived, deadjectival *ha* requires the lower head to raise to the upper head position. [3] As *ha* has an accusative licensing property, the resulting construction differs from its source construction — or simplex psych adjectives — in that it allows the accusative object. Importantly, however, this does not translate to the *-ko siph-* construction, as in *-ko siph-* construction, the posited head movement is optional unlike in *-e ha-* construction.

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[3] The idea of *ha-* being semantically deprived is not without any problem as well given that there is a noticeable difference in semantic properties between psych adjectives like *siph* and deadjectival psych predicate like *siphe ha*. H.-S. Kim (1989) asserted that the complex predicate made from *-e ha-* in Korean embodies certain characteristics of actions unlike simplex psych adjectives.

2.1.2. S.-W. Kim (1996)

S.-W. Kim (1996), adopting Chomsky's approach (1994, 1995), argues that the nominative object in the *-ko siph-* construction is case-licensed in the lower Spec position of the AgrS head by way of specifier-head agreement.

He discussed the possibility whether the specifier position of the T or AgrO head can indeed provide case on the nominative object, and according to him, it is clear that the nominative object must get its case in SpecAgrS. S.-W. Kim argued that this AgrS head is situated below Tense projection based on the evidence from particle orderings (12).

(12) Emenim-i   siksa-lul   ha-si-ess-ta.

                             | | | |

                          V AgrS T M

    Mother-NOM   meal-ACC have-AGR-PAST-DECL.

    "(My) mother had a meal"

The ordering of sentential particles in (12) show the morphological evidence that AgrS head should be situated under Tense projection in both (13) AOC and in (14) NOC.

(13)   AOC

```
                              TP
                    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                          T'
                              ┌───────────┴──────────┐
                           AgrSP                      T
                    ┌────────┴────────┐
            NOM  Subj ᵢ             AgrS'
                              ┌───────┴───────┐
                             vP              AgrS
                    ┌─────────┴────────┐
              ACC  Obj ⱼ              v'
                              ┌────────┴────────┐
                             tᵢ                v'
                                       ┌────────┴───────┐
                                      VP               v
                                 ┌─────┴─────┐
                                tⱼ           V
```

(14)   NOC

```
                              TP
                    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                          T'
                              ┌───────────┴──────────┐
                           AgrSP                      T
                    ┌────────┴────────┐
            NOM  Subj ᵢ             AgrS'
                              ┌───────┴───────┐
                        NOM  Obj ⱼ          AgrS'
                                       ┌──────┴──────┐
                                      vP            AgrS
                                 ┌─────┴─────┐
                                tᵢ           v'
                                        ┌─────┴─────┐
                                       VP           v
                                  ┌─────┴─────┐
                                 tⱼ           V
```
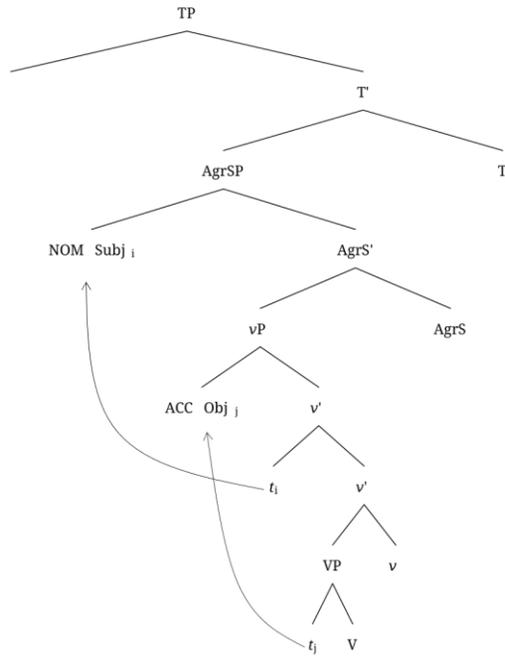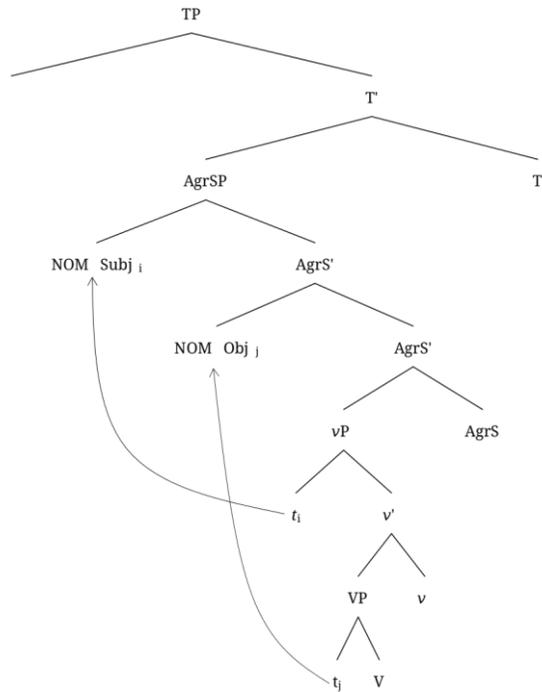
But S.-W. Kim (1996)'s argument has several weaknesses. The first drawback is that agreement head contributes nothing to interpretation in the Logical Form (LF) nor Phonological Form (PF) and its role is largely redundant. From theoretical perspective, it would be desirable to address this problem by adopting a slight modification to the case theory instead of positing separate functional projections.

Secondly, the proposed structure does not allow the accusative object to take a wide scope over element in the upper domain in AOC, as predicted by S.-W. Kim himself. However, this does not translate to the real-world data. As pointed out by J.-H. Um (2003) AOC allows for both only>>neg and neg>>only scope, contrary to S.-W Kim's prediction. This scopal fact will be extensively discussed in section 4.2.

2.1.3. Kim and Maling (1998)

Kim and Maling (1996) adopted a head movement approach in their analysis of the *-ko siph-* construction, similar to the approach taken by S.-W. Kim (1996) and Chang and Jo (1991). In their analysis, the *-ko siph-* construction exhibits structural ambiguity, with the √*siph* taking an Aspect Phrase headed by *-ko* as its complement, and further structural complexities arising from head movement.

According to them, when *-ko*, the head of a AspP, is [-complete], the whole AspP will denote an incomplete event with the head of main verb remaining inside V_2P and assigns ACC case to the internal object. On the other hand, *-ko* with the feature specified as [0 complete] [4] is semantically vacuous and denotes an

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[4] The argument that NOC is used more naturally in contexts where the event denoted by the complement VP is unlikely to be realized does not seem to be rigidly replicated by my informants. This finding also challenges the generalization made in the earlier chapter regarding the antiveridical presupposition commonly found in WANT class desideratives. This issue will be revisited and examined further in section 3.3.

unrealized event. In this case, the head movement of a verb V_2 to upper Asp and *siph* occurs to form a verbal complex V-*ko-siph* (15).

(15)   The structural description of *-ko siph-* construction
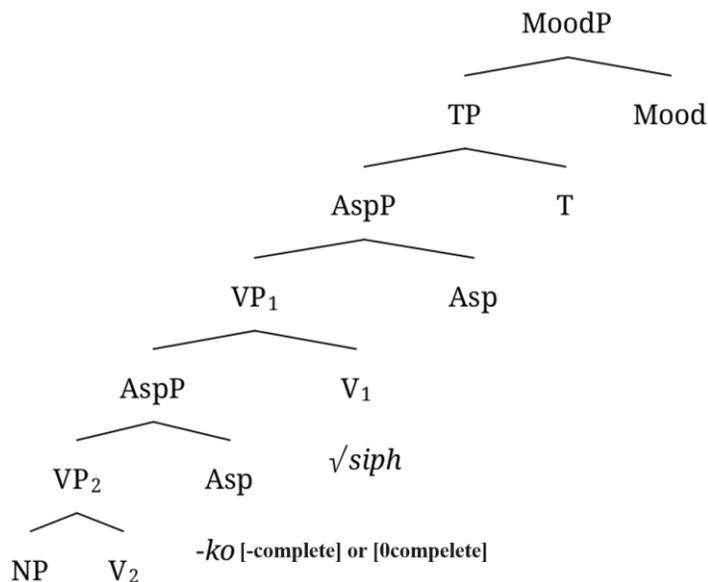
V_2 is not associated with its own aspect, so ACC is not assigned. in Kim and Maling's approach, Asp head licenses accusative case licensing even though it is not Voice or little v head which are commonly assumed to be the locus of accusative case licensing. Instead, once the head movement occurs, it removes the barrierhood of VP due to the effect of Government Transparency Corollary (Baker 1988) which results in NOM case assignment to the verbal object.[5] NOM is assigned to the complement NP by the matrix Infl here.

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[5] According to GTC, a lexical category with an item incorporated into it is assumed to govern everything that the incorporated item governed in.its original structural position.

2.1.4. J.-H. Um (2003)

J.-H. Um (2003) echoes the arguments put forth by Kim and Maling (1998), offering yet another version of a complex predicate approach without NP movement in NOC.

(16)   AOC[6]

$$
\begin{array}{c}
v_2P \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{DP} \qquad\qquad v_2{}' \\
\text{Subj}_i \qquad\quad \diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\qquad V_2P \qquad v_2 \\
\qquad | \\
\qquad V_2{}' \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
F_1P \qquad V_2 \\
\diagup\ \diagdown \qquad \sqrt{siph} \\
\text{PRO}_i \quad F_1{}' \\
\diagup\ \diagdown \\
V_1P \quad F_1 \\
| \qquad -ko \\
V_1{}' \\
\diagup\ \diagdown \\
\text{DP} \quad V_1{}' \\
\triangle \\
\text{ACC\ Obj}
\end{array}
$$

---
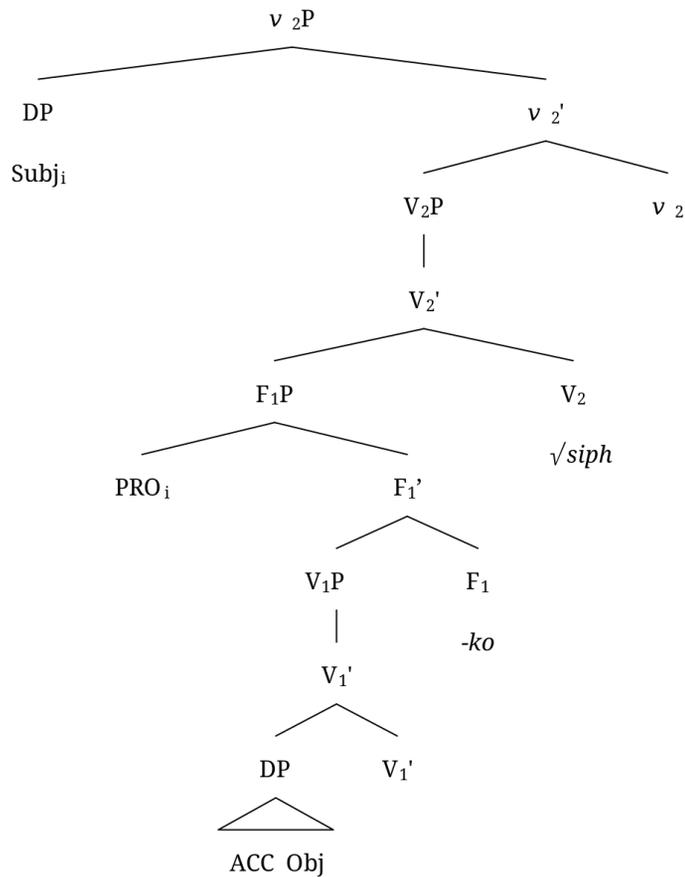
[6] The tree diagrams presented here are not directly attributed to J.-H. Um (2003), but rather are an approximation and visual representation of Um (2003).

(17) NOC
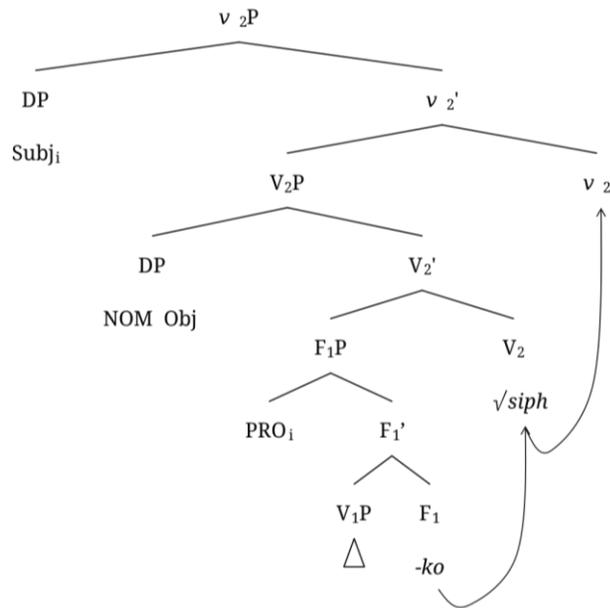
He started his argument by offering a critical review on Y.-H. Kim (1989) who posited the NP movement analysis in NOC and take the following contrast in pseudo cleftization as evidence (18).[7]

(18) a. Na-nun pap-ul/-i mek-ki silh-ta.

      I-TOP   meal-ACC/-NOM eat-KI hate-DECL.

      "I hate to have a meal"

   b. nay-ka   mek-ki silh-un   kes-un   pap-i-ta.

      I-NOM EAT-KI hate-ADN   KES-TOP meal-COP-DECL.

      "It is a meal that I hate to have"

   c. Pap-ul   mek-ki silh-un   kes-un   na-i-ta.

      meal-ACC EAT-KI hate-ADN   KES-TOP I-COP-DECL.

      "It is me who hate to have a meal"

---

[7] Y.-H. Kim (1989) implicitly assumes that both the ki complement clause and the ko-siph construction should be approached or analyzed in a similar manner in this context.

d. Nay-ka   silh-un   kes-un   pap-ul   mek-ki-i-ta.

I-NOM   hate-ADN   KES-TOP meal-ACC   eat-KI-COP-DECL.

"It is to have a meal that I hate"

e. *Nay-ka   silh-un   kes-un   pap-i   mek-ki-i-ta.

I-NOM   hate-ADN   KES-TOP   meal-NOM   eat-KI-COP-DECL.

"It is to have a meal that I hate"

Y.-H. Kim (1989) states that constituent status always ensures cleftization in pseudo-cleft constructions. Based on his reasoning, it is a natural outcome that (18b) *meal*, (18c) *me*, (18d) *to have a meal* are all constituents. But unlike (18d) where the object is marked with accusative case, when nominative object is selected, the pseudo-cleftization is blocked (18e). Y.-H. Kim (1989) takes this as an evidence that unlike in AOC (18d), in NOC (18e) the lower complement is not a constituent. According to his explanation, this can be the persuasive evidence that NP is moved out of the base-generation position.

But J.-H. Um pointed out that (18) only holds in the *ki*-complement constructions. *-ko siph-* construction does not show the same pattern (19)

(19) a. *Nay-ka   siph-un   kes-un   pap-ul   mek-ko-i-ta.

I-NOM   want-ADN   KES-TOP meal-ACC eat-KO-COP-DECL.

"It is to have a meal that I want"

b. *Nay-ka siph-un   kes-un   pap-i   mek-ko-i-ta.

I-NOM want-ADN   KES-TOP meal-NOM   eat-KO-COP-DECL.

"It is to have a meal that I want"

20

J.-H. Um argued that this is why the *-ko-siph-* construction requires treatment different from the *ki*-complement construction, as there is no compelling evidence that supports the movement of the nominative object. Um also criticized S.-W. Kim (1996) that at least in Korean, AOC can be ambiguous between both narrow and wide scope reading (20) in contrast to NOC which only allows wide scope reading of the internal argument (21), unlike what S.-W. Kim (1996) tried to show.

(20) Chelswu-nun sakwa-man-ul   mek-ko siph-ci
      Chelswu-TOP apple-ONLY-ACC eat-KO   want-CI
      an-ha-yess-ta.
      NEG-do-PAST-DECL.

  (a) ✓ Neg > only : "It is not the case that Chelswu wanted to only
                       have the apple."

  (b) ✓ only > Neg : "The apple is the only thing that Chelswu did not
                       want to have.

(21) Chelswu-nun sakwa-man-i   mek-ko siph-ci
      Chelswu-TOP apple-ONLY-NOM eat-KO   want-CI
      an-ha-yess-ta.
      NEG-do-PAST-DECL.

  (a) * Neg > only : "It is not the case that Chelswu wanted to only
                      have the apple."

  (b) ✓ only > Neg :"The apple is the only thing that Chelswu did
                      not want to have."

                  (from Um 2003 originally presented by D.-W. Yang 1992)

If it is true that there is a height difference between the landing position of object NPs depending on the object case marking and accusative object always takes landing position below main predicate *siph,* then the prediction of S.-W. Kim (1996) does not hold. Um did not provide alternative explanation for the scope facts, but instead he proposed that the case alternation is solely the result of head movement, not NP nor DP movement.

Even if Um's argument is compelling in many aspects, it is important to acknowledge one drawback in his argument that deserves discussion. If we choose to believe what he has to offer, it means that we accept the assumption that the internal argument is selected by the root √*siph* in NOC, unlike in AOC. But there is a compelling evidence from the entailment relation that the two construction does not show different behaviors in their argument structure, nor do they select for a nominal internal argument. This issue will be taken up again in section 5.1.

2.2. Prolepsis approach

J.-Y. Shim (2018) employs an innovative approach to tackle the *-ko siph-* construction. Shim argues that the case alternation observed in the *-ko siph-* construction can be best explained as an instance of prolepsis, a phenomenon where a proleptic constituent of the matrix verb is semantically coreferential with the pronoun in the embedded clause.

Following Chomsky (2000 et seq.), J.-Y. Shim assumed that Case assignment is a reflection of φ-feature agreement between a nominal phrase and T (for NOM) or v^* (for ACC). According to this assumption, the accusative marking on the object in (22) is straightforward: accusative marking on the object is a result of

agreement between v^* and the object.

(22)   AOC

$$v_2P$$

DP

Subj$_i$

$$v_2'$$

$$V_2P$$ $$v_2$$

CP $$V_2$$

$\sqrt{siph}$

TP   C

-ko

$$v_1^*P$$ T

PRO$_i$ $$v_1^{*'}$$

$$V_1P$$ $$v_1^*$$

$$V_1'$$

DP $$V_1$$

ACC Obj

AGREE
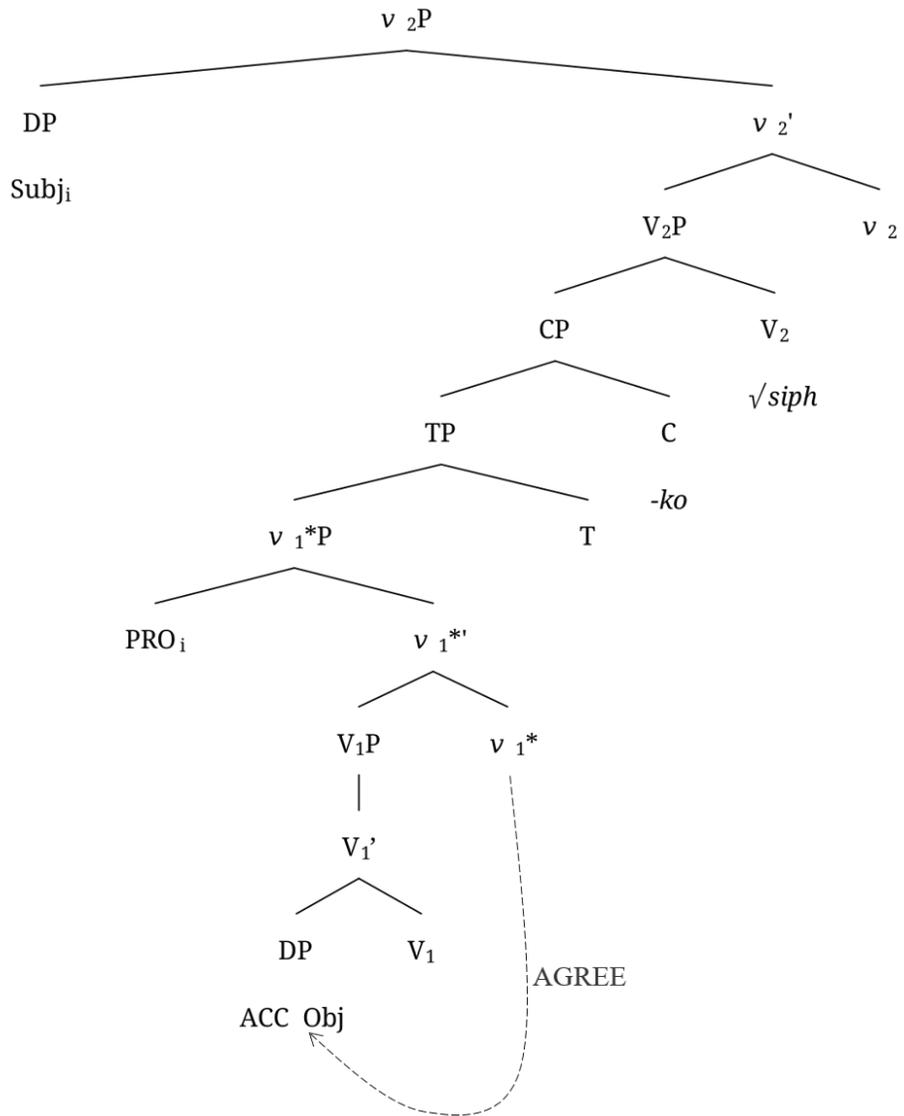
What is really unique about his theory is his analysis on nominative object construction (23).

(23)　NOC

```
                              v₂P
                 ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
                DP                           v₂'
               Subjⱼ                ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                   VP                   v₂
                          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                         DP                   V'
                      NOM Objⱼ         ┌───────┴───────┐
                                      CP               V
                                      │              √siph
                                      C'
                              ┌───────┴───────┐
                             TP               C
                        ┌────┴────┐          -ko
                      PROᵢ       ...
                                  │
                                 V₁P
                                  │
                                 V₁'
                              ┌───┴───┐
                             DP      V₁
                            proⱼ   √mek
```
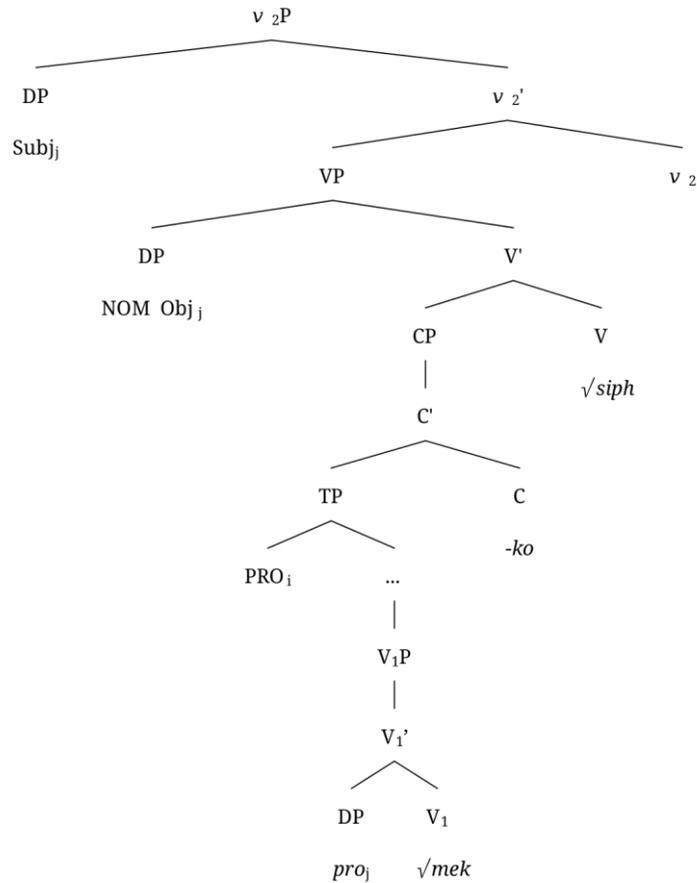
According to his explanation, the nominative object is base-generated in the matrix VP domain. In other words, the NP is not base-generated as the object of the lower verb but as an independent argument of the matrix predicate unlike in AOC.

The relation between the two co-indexed nominals —i.e. the nominative object NOM Obj in the matrix and *pro* in the embedded clause— is likened to what has traditionally been called "prolepsis" (24) :

(24)　Ich glaube 　　**von ihm**, dass **er** ein ganz gutter Trainer ist

I believe.1SG **of he.DAT** that **he** a quite good coach is

"I believe of him that he is a pretty good coach."

(from Salzmann 2017, emphasis added)

Prolepsis —from the Greek word 'to anticipate' — refers to a construction where a complement of the matrix verb is semantically related to an element in an embedded clause. The strength of the prolepsis approach lies in its ability to explain the preference for narrow scope reading of the accusative object in AOC and the wide scope reading of the nominative object. But here again, the refutation presented by J.-H. Um to S.-W. Kim's argument applies, as the accusative object allows for both wide scope and narrow scope readings.

There are also two other questions that need to be addressed regarding the prolepsis approach. Firstly, in typical proleptic constructions, the proleptic object is typically the complement of a preposition, such as *von ihm* or *of him* in German example (24), which is not the case in the *-ko siph-* construction. Secondly, typical prolepsis does not involve a null argument *pro*. There needs to be an explicit argument as in *er* or *he*. These typologically exceptional patterns require explanation.

Another fact that was not mentioned by J.-Y. Shim is the fact that prolepsis imposes semantic restrictions on DP, as Lohninger et al. (2022) noted. This often resemble restrictions on topics although the specifics may vary across languages. The overall conclusion drawn is that proleptic DPs must either be referential, specific, or generic. We will comeback to this problem in in section 5.2.

2.3. Size difference approach

J.-Y. Lim (1997), K.-Y. Choi (2009), and H.-K. Jung (2011) all share a common perspective, opting for the size difference approach. According to this approach, the alternating case pattern observed in the the - *ko-siph-* construction can be attributed to the differing clause sizes selected, and there is no requirement or need for complex predicate formation.

The strength of this approach lies in its ability to explain the following pattern (25).

(25)   a. *Minho-nun yenghwa-lul po-ko   kacang siph-ess-ta.

          Minho-TOP movie-ACC watch-KO most   want-PAST-DECL.

       b. *Minho-nun yenghwa-ka po-ko   kacang siph-ess-ta.

          Minho-TOP movie-NOM watch-KO most   want-PAST-DECL.

       c. Minho-nun yenghwa-lul   kacang po-ko   siph-ess-ta.

          Minho-TOP movie-ACC most   watch-KO want-PAST-DECL.

       d. Minho-nun yenghwa-ka   kacang po-ko   siph-ess-ta.

          Minho-TOP movie-NOM most   watch-KO want-PAST-DECL.

          "Minho wanted to watch the movie most."

   (from K.-Y. Choi 2009, slightly modified)

According to the complex predicate approach, sentence (25a) should be considered grammatical since, in this case, *ko* and *siph* do not form a complex predicate. But this prediction is not supported.

26

(26) b. Na-nun swul-i   pamsay   masi-ko   siph-ess-ta.

         I-TOP   drink-NOM all night long   drink-KO   want-PAST-DECL

<div align="right">(Choi 2009)</div>

We also have one additional evidence that supports the size difference approach. As demonstrated in sentence (26), a duration adverb *pamsay* can modify only the embedded predicate, contrary to the observations of Kim and Maling (1993), especially when the duration adverb is in a post-object position. These data show that the size difference approach provides a more convincing explanation for certain patterns observed in the *-ko siph-* construction.

2.3.1. K.-Y. Choi (2009)

(27) AOC

```
                        AP
                   /         \
               Exp            A'
                          /        \
                        vP          A
                     /      \       √siph
                  PRO        v'
                          /      \
                        VP        v
                      /    \
                    NP      V
```

(28) NOC

```
                    AP
                 ╱      ╲
             Exp          A'
                        ╱    ╲
                      VP       A
                    ╱   ╲     √siph
                  NP     V
```
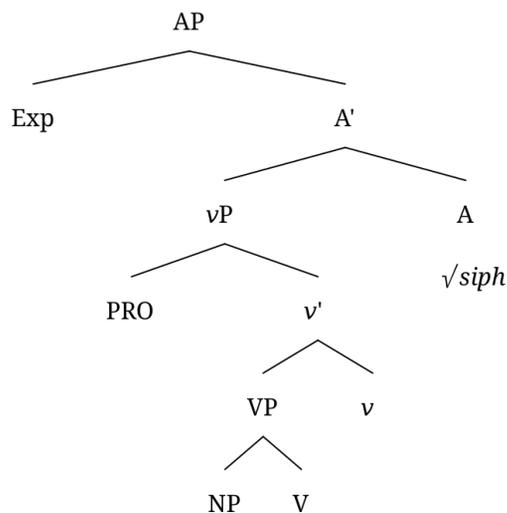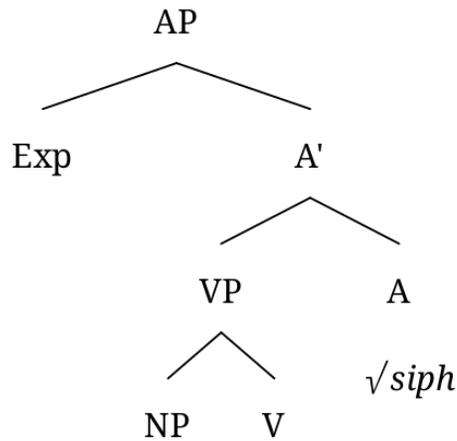
(27) is the structural description of the accusative object construction while (28) is that of the nominative accusative construction. According to K.-Y. Choi, the contrast shown in the availability of subject oriented adverb or time adverbials in the lower embedded predicate justifies these analyses.

(29)   Availability of subject oriented adverb

a. Na-nun sonswu   cip-ul   cis-ko

   I-TOP   with my own hands   house-ACC   build-KO

   siph-ess-ta

   want-PAST-DECL

b. *Na-nun sonswu   cip-i   cis-ko

   I-TOP   with my own hands   house-NOM   build-KO

   siph-ess- ta

   want-PAST-DECL

   " I wanted to build a house with my own hands"

(30)　Availability of time adverbial in the lower predicate

　　　a.　Na-nun ecey　　pap-ul　　mek-ko siph-ess-ta.

　　　　　I-TOP　yesterday　meal-ACC eat-KO want-PAST-DECL

　　　b.　*Na-nun ecey　　pap-i　　mek-ko　*lower predicate modification

　　　　　I-TOP　yesterday　meal-NOM　eat-KO

　　　　　siph-ess-ta.[8]

　　　　　want-PAST-DECL

　　　"I wanted to have a meal yesterday"

He made the case that the unavailability of the time adverbial and the subject-oriented adverbs in the lower predicate position has to do with the radically deprived structure of NOC. According to him, as NOC does not have a syntactically represented subject or vP, it does not allow subject oriented modifiers of whatever kind. The lack of subject and functional layers also contributes to the restriction of time modifiers because when the agent is not specified, the event denoted by the lower predicate can not have an episodic interpretation.

　　　Despite favorable evidence mentioned so far in (29-30) Size difference approach is in a much difficult position to explain the scope property in (20-21). Choi (2009) deferred detailed explanation on this scope fact, vaguely suggesting that it can be related to the late adjunction of nominative object NP to √siph in the

---

[8]　It is possible for a time adverbial to modify the upper predicate in this context.

later derivation. In Chapter 4, this scope fact will be ascribed to the anti-reconstruction effect taking place due to the radically deprived structure of complement clause of NOC.

Another peculiarity that should be noticed is how to capture the obligatory control interpretation in restructuring context. The subject is completely missing in NOC (28) but Choi did not explicitly talk about this issue. We will take up this issue and explain why the subject should is missing in section later in section 4.1 by adopting REVERSE AGREE mechanism introduced by Wurmbrand (2014)

2.3.2. H.-K. Jung (2011)

H.-K. Jung's approach is more or less the same to K.-Y. Choi (2009) in detail except for the fact that she assumed DP movement of the nominative object into SpecTP position. Following J.-Y. Lim (1996, 1997) and Choi (2009), Jung saw that $\sqrt{siph}$ both selects for vP or VP.

Jung(2011) called the vP-selecting construction "non restructuring construction" (31). When selecting v_2P, this v_2 head licenses accusative case and introduces agent subject. This agent subject must be null PRO and forms control relationship with subject of the upper predicate V1 or $\sqrt{siph}$.

(31)   AOC

TopP
Subj$_i$ ——— TP

vP$_1$ ——— T

VP$_1$ —— v_1
v_{BE}

pro_i —— V$_1$'

vP$_2$ —— V$_1$
$\sqrt{}$ siph

DP$_j$ —— vP$_2$

PRO$_i$ —— v_2'

VP$_2$ —— v_2

t_j V$_2$
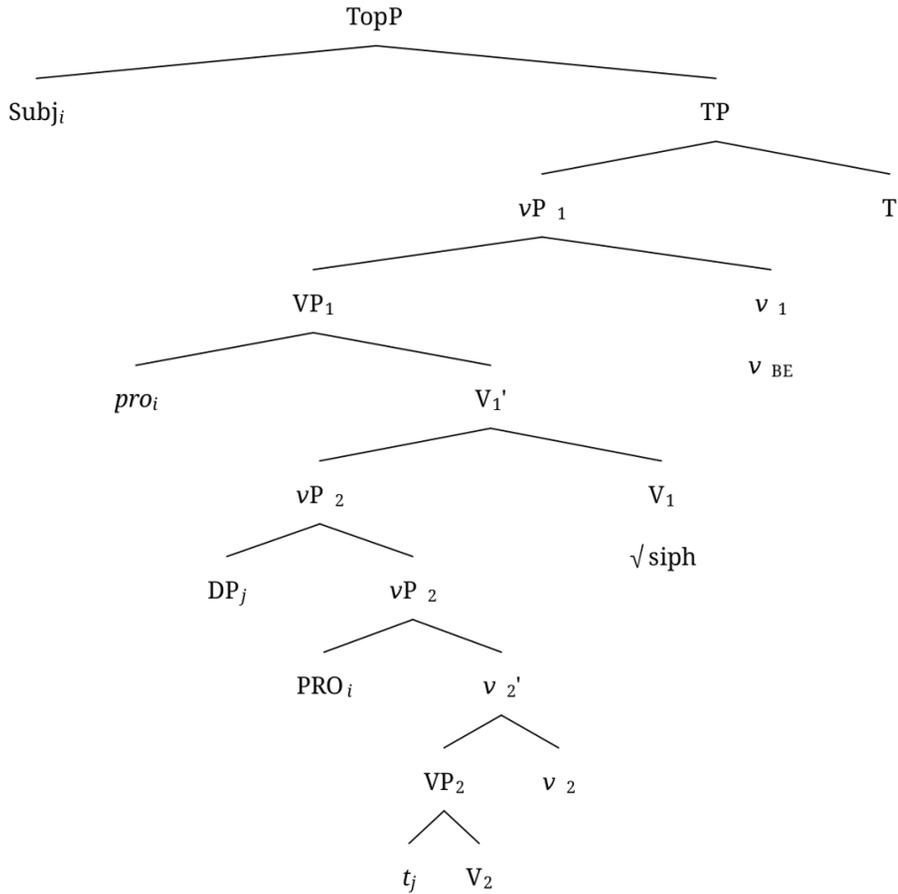
On the contrary, the complement restructuring construction lacks v_2 head, hence no PRO subject (32). The object needs to move to SpecTP to acquire nominative case. But having no PRO does not necessarily mean there is no control relationship. Without the presence of PRO, the lexcal specification of upper predicate $\sqrt{}$*siph* becomes the source of semantic control.[9]

(32) NOC

[9] Chierchia (1984) was the first attempt who tried to incorporate a semantic approach to control relationship based on meaning postulates..

```
                              TopP
                 ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
              Subj_i                           TP
                             ┌──────────────────┴──────────────────┐
                           NOM                                     T'
                                                    ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
                           Obj_j                  vP_1                             T
                                          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                        VP_1                  v_1                ess-
                                  ┌──────┴──────┐
                               pro_i          V_1'           v_BE
                                        ┌──────┴──────┐
                                      VP_2           V_1
                                  ┌────┴────┐      √ siph
                                 t_j       V_2
```
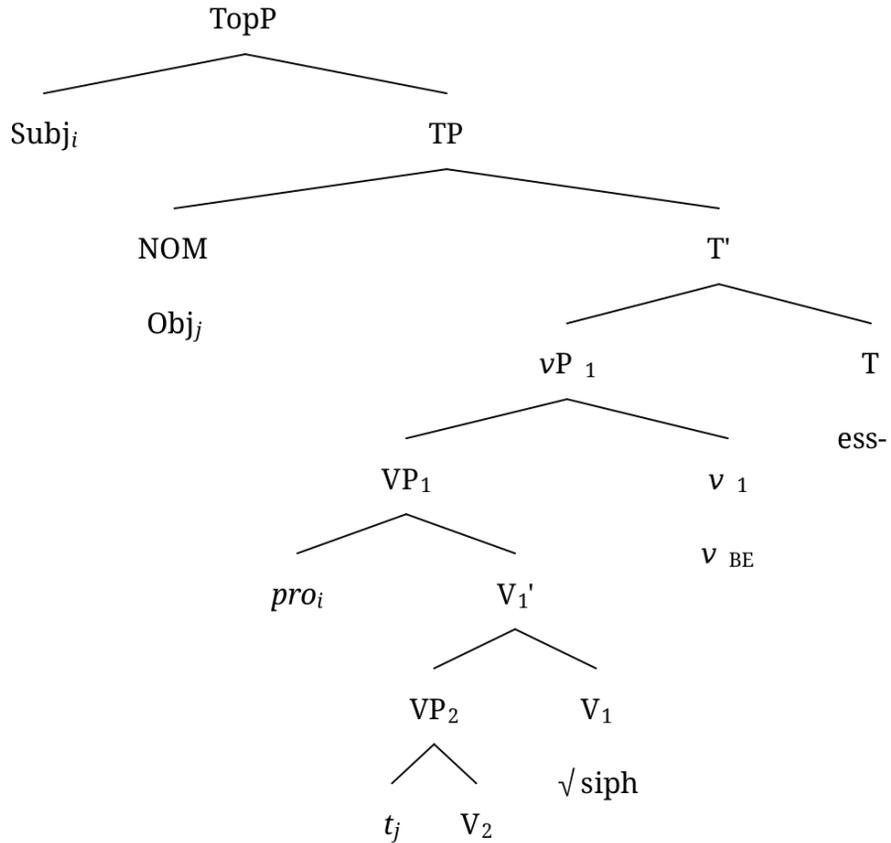
Jung's approach can account for various facts, by adopting the dichotomy in the implementation of the control relationship in the *-ko siph-* construction. One of the examples is the lower predicate restriction found in the *-ko siph-* construction. Consider (33). [10]

(33)   a. * Na-nun paym-i   mwusep-ko siph-ta

   I-TOP   snake-NOM fear-KO   want-DECL.

      "I want to fear the snake"

In (33), we can see that psych adjectives selected by *siph* lead to a low

---

[10] The initial discovery of this phenomenon was credited to Kim and Maling (1998), who, intriguingly, acknowledged that their theories were unable to fully explain this fact.

acceptability rate.

To account for this phenomena, following Harley (2002), H.-K. Jung (2011) posited that experiencer subject is originated in VP. In NOC, PRO can not be present in the structure as main predicate already have semantic information about the subject of the lower predicate (34)

(34)   Ban on embedded simplex psych adjectives in NOC
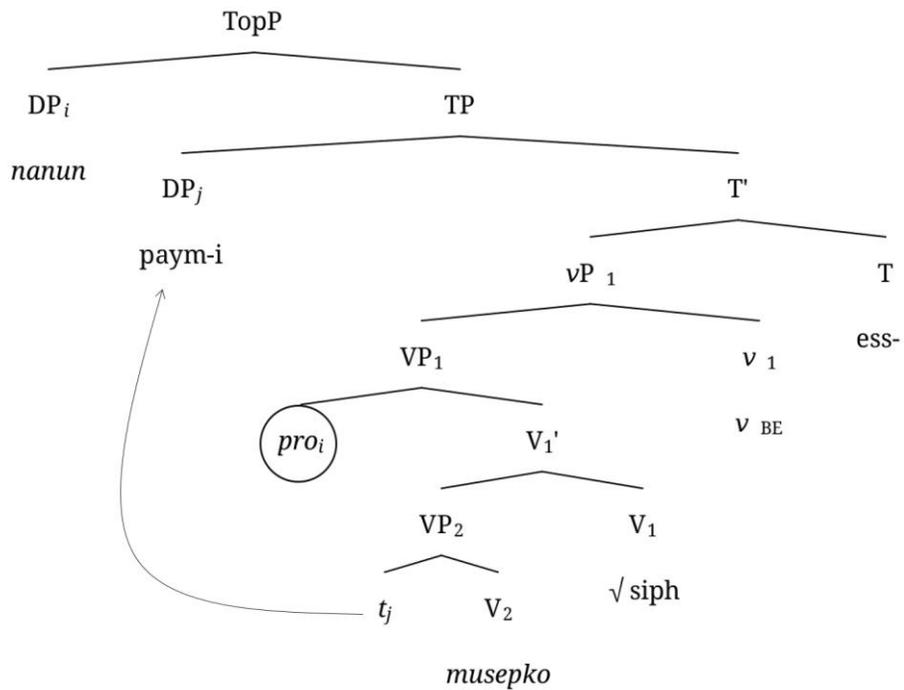
Despite the fact that her account successfully addresses this challenging data, it is worth noting that her theory has faced criticism. For example, J.-Y. Shim (2018) presented one of the most significant criticisms directed towards H.-K. Jung, regarding the direct introduction of the subject in the SpecTOP position. Shim argued that Jung's analysis lacked sufficient justification for this aspect of her

theory.

Another problem that she needs to address is the absence of subject properties of the nominative object in NOC. Since there are no other SpecTP arguments present, one would expect the argument in the SpecTP position to have subject-like characteristics. However, this expectation is not upheld. Take into consideration example (35).

(35) *Chelswu-nun   sensayngnim-kkeyse ttayli-ko   siph-usi-ta.

Chelswu-TOP   teacher-NOM.HON   beat-KO want-HON-DECL.

"Chelswu wants to beat teacher"

(36) *Chelswu-nun ilpwule   sensayngnim-i ttayli-ko   *intended meaning

Chelswu-TOP deliberately teacher-NOM beat-KO

siph-usi-ta.

want-HON-DECL.

"Chelswu wants to beat teacher (following teacher's plan)"

In (35), the honorific agreement pattern is not compatible with the expected subject property of TP. The same goes for the unavailability of subject oriented adverbial modification (36). These findings demonstrate that H.-K. Jung's approach requires further improvement despite her success in explaining challenging data.

Chapter 3. The Proposal

3.1. The core innovations

In this section, a novel structural description of the accusative object construction and the nominative object construction is put forth, employing the size difference approach as its foundation.

Even though the size difference approach has been adopted, the previous approach has not been accepted as is. The forthcoming discussion will delve into the details and provide further insights. In AOC, the uppermost projection of the embedded predicate is MoodP (37). MoodP in turn, dominates AspP which is in charge of future orientation meaning of the *-ko siph-* construction in AOC. The null category PRO is introduced in the lower VoiceP headed by the fully-functioning and complete Voice.

(37) [ApplP [DP Subj] [Appl' [√*siph*P [√*siph*' [Mood$_{SJV}$dP [AspP [VoiceP
       PRO V *v* Voice] Asp]Mood *-ko*]√*siph*]] Appl]]

In NOC, on the other hand, the projection directly selected by by *siph* is a defective VoiceP[11]. This defective Voice head does not carry a subject of whatever kind along with it as described in (38).

---

[11] R in the Voice$_R$P stands for "restructuring". This follows the notation of Shimamura and Wurmbrand (2017)

(38)   [ApplP [DP Subj] [Appl' [√*siph*P [√*siph*' [Voice$_R$P V v Voice$_R$ -*ko*]

√*siph*]]Appl]]

By the adoption of the structure (38), we will account for data that have not been adequately addressed in the previous literature.

Firstly, the proposed structure aligns with the findings to be discussed in section 5.1. Drawing from the evidence from the implication relation observed in the -*ko siph*- construction and the comparison with communicative emotive adjectives class, it is concluded that the object is not directly selected by √*siph*. Instead, the internal argument is selected by the lower predicate. This aspect highlights the strengths of the current proposal over J.-H. Um (2003).

Secondly, if we seriously consider the proposal that the nominative object is a proleptic DP, it is expected to exhibit topic-like behavior. However, the supposed proleptic argument presented in J.-Y. Shim (2018) does not demonstrate the anticipated behavior, as will be discussed later in section 5.2 in this paper. This further supports the hypothesis that the nominative object only serves as the argument of the lower predicate.

Thirdly, the lack of motivation for movement into the SpecTP position and the inability to explain why the nominative object cannot possess subject-like properties, as discussed in section 2.3.2, lead us to the conclusion that the nominative object is generated in the base position within the VP and does not undergo movement in the narrow syntax. This stands in direct contradiction to what is supported in H.-K. Jung (2011).

Fourthly, the analysis presented in (38) allows for modification exclusive to

lower predicates, providing an explanation for the observed data discussed by K.-Y. Choi (2009). Consider (25d) replicated here as (39).

(39)   Minho-nun yenghwa-ka   kacang po-ko   siph-ess-ta.

Minho-TOP movie-NOM most   watch-KO want-PAST-DECL.

"Minho wanted to watch the movie most."

In this aspect, (38) provide more adequate analysis to Kim and Maling (1993)'s framework in explaining the real world data in that Kim and Maling (1993)'s [0complete] AspP precludes any form of modification into the lower predicate.

Lastly, the theory does not have to assume arbitrary conjecture where the lower trace is unable to assign accusative case, unlike Chang and Jo (1991). Such assumptions are problematic as they contradict the principle of minimalism (Choi 2009).   The lower trace is simply a copy of the same element, and the analysis presented in (38) follows this principle. Additionally, this analysis eliminates the need for AgrS or AgrO. Positing these categories is redundant as it lacks any morphological reflex or semantic contribution. Thus, we are not obliged to make such assumptions made by S.-W. Kim (1996) in this framework.

Now, let us redirect our attention to the shared elements between (37) and (38). Firstly, in both constructions (37) and (38), the exponent corresponding to the head directly selected by the root $\sqrt{siph}$ is -*ko* despite their categorial differences. We will talk about what kinds of vocabulary insertion rules lead to this apparent identity in Chapter 6.

Another distinctive feature is the presence of the applicative head in both (37)

and (38). In this analysis proposed here the head responsible for introducing the experiencer subject is Appl, representing the applicative category, rather than the v or Voice head. This is because the experiencer argument introduced in (37) and (38) is equated with simplex psych adjective. Consider the contrast found in (40a) and (40b).

(40) a. Holangi-ka mwusep-ta

Tiger-NOM fearful-DECL.

"Tigers are scary"

b. Na-nun Holangi-ka mwusep-ta

I-TOP Tiger-NOM scary-DECL.

"I am scared of tigers"

The application of a valency-increasing operation is evident when comparing (40b) with (40a). Even though dropping the experiencer argument altogether is not an option in *-ko siph-* construction, contrary to (40a), it has been pointed out that (i) √*siph* behaves similarly to simplex adjectives in terms of the availability of the *-e ha-* derivation, as noted by H.-K. Jung (2011) and various other previous studies; (ii) Morphological evidence from conjugation patterns reveals common traits shared between simplex adjectives and the *-ko siph-* construction, as both the simplex adjectives and the *-ko siph-* construction do not permit the explicit present tense marker *-nun*;   (iii) For the lack of space we will not deal with all the details here, but the experiencer arguments introduced in the simplex psych adjectives exhibit different behavior from experiencer arguments introduced by the preposition, according to K.-M. Kim (2007).   (iv) It appears that the experiencer

argument introduced in the *-ko siph-* construction demonstrates the same specificity requirement as applicative arguments in other types of double nominative constructions in Korean, as described by I.-J. Ha (2015) (41).

(41) Salam   han myeng-i   Chelswuka   poko siph-tay

person one -CL-NOM Chelswu-NOM   see   want-EV

"One person misses Chelswu"

(✓ specificity reading / *existential reading)

By adopting the applicative analysis of the subject, we can avoid problematic assumptions that the base-generated position of the subject is SpecTopP, as proposed by H.-K. Jung (2011). This allows us to account for the subject property exhibited by the experiencer subject in (29), replicated here as (41).

(41) Subject property of the experiencer argument

    a. Na-nun sonswu   cip-ul   cis-ko

       I-TOP   with my own hands house-ACC build-KO

       siph-ess- ta

       want-PAST-DECL

    b. *Na-nun sonswu   cip-i   cis-ko

       I-TOP   with my own hands house-NOM   build-KO

       siph-ess- ta

       want-PAST-DECL

       " I wanted to build a house with my own hands"

3.2. Accusative Object Construction

(42) AOC

```
                            ApplP
          _____
         DP                                    Appl'
                                        _____
      Experiencer                     AdjP              Appl
                                       |                 ∅
                                      Adj'
                                  _____
                                MoodP          Adj
                           _____         √siph
                         AspP          Mood
                      _____        -ko
                   VoiceP      Asp
                  _____      ∅
                 DP    Voice'
                        △
                PRO
```
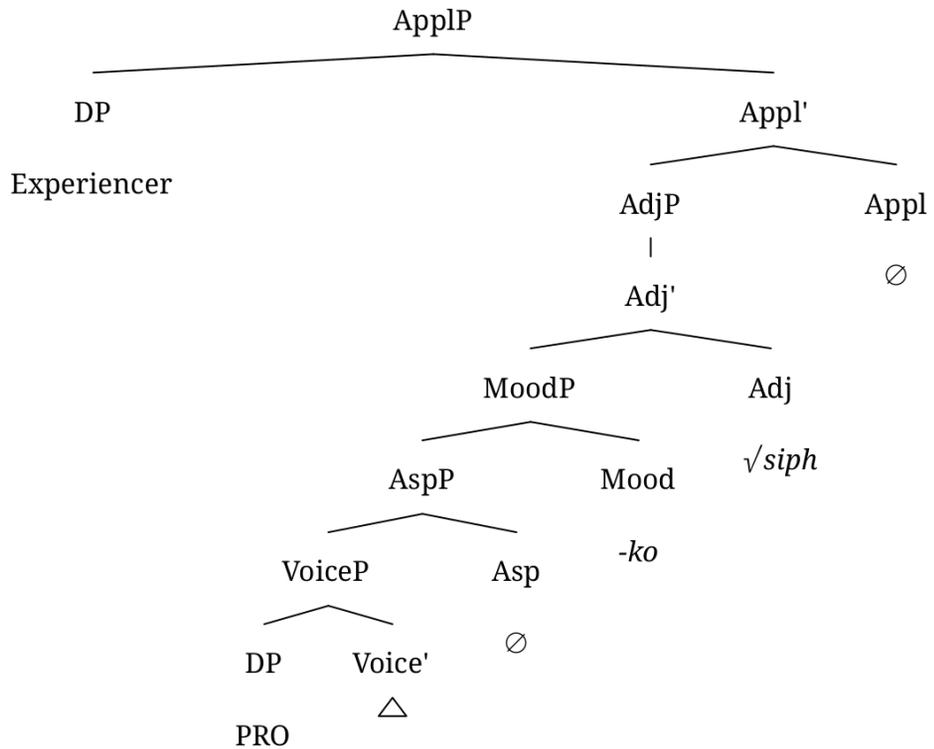
We will take nominative marking on the object in *-ko siph-* construction as indicative of restructuring phenomena, following H.-K. Jung (2011). So it is fair to define *-ko siph-* construction with accusative object as non-restructuring, to contrast the difference between the two. More specifically, we will define the complement of AOC as a kind of futurate infinitival clause involving a subjunctive clause.

(42) is a subject control construction in a classical sense. Accordingly, we posit that this futurate infinitival clause involves an implicit PRO. This PRO

argument is introduced in the SpecVoice position and remains to be there till the end of the derivation.

Right above the Voice projection, we have an aspectual projection. Our discussion on this aspect head begins with the intriguing data on the durational adverbs presented by Kim and Maling (1998), which allows us to investigate the semantic nature of the aspectual head.

In (43), we can see a somewhat puzzling pattern about the distribution of structural case licensed on durational adverbs. Durational adverbs get accusative case in environments where nominals are not allowed to do so (43a-b) while in some cases, they align with the case licensing pattern of nominals (43c).

(43)   a. Soyka   han sikan-ul/*-i   pwuley

The iron one hour-ACC/*-NOM   fire-LOC

talkwu-eci-ess-ta.

heat-PASS-PAST-DECL

"The iron is heated for an hour".

b. Swuni-nun   phyengsayng-ul emeni-ka   kulip-ess-ta.

Swuni-TOP whole life-ACC mother-NOM miss-PAST-DECL

"Swuni has missed her mother her whole life."

c. Mwulken-ul   ta nalu-camyen payn-i

Things-ACC   all carry-COND van-NOM

twu sikan-i/*-ul   philyoha-ta.

two hours-NOM/*-ACC   need-DECL.

"It would take a van two hours to carry everything."

41

To account for this mysterious case pattern in (43), Kim and Maling (1998) reached the conclusion that Asp projection is needed to license the structural case on the durational adverbs. [12] Kim and Maling (1998) argued that the *-ko siph-* construction is a good place to test the case licensing condition of durational adverbs. They assumed that in the *-ko siph-* construction, durational adverbs and common nouns show exactly the same case marking pattern. When we compare the case pattern of the durational adverbs and nouns in the *-ko siph-* construction, we find the durational adverbs align with the case licensing pattern of the nominals. Only the ACC-ACC or NOM-NOM pattern is permissible, while the ACC-NOM or NOM-ACC pattern is not allowed (44).

(44)   a. Na-nun   cacenke-lul   han sikan-ul

I-TOP   bicycle-ACC one house-ACC

tha-ko   siph-ess-ta.

ride-KO   want-PAST-DECL.

b. Na-nun   cacenke-ka   han sikan-i

I-TOP   bicycle-NOM one house-NOM

tha-ko   siph-ess-ta.

ride-KO   want-PAST-DECL.

c. *Na-nun   cacenke-lul   han sikan-i

---

[12] In some approaches, the structural case marker on the durational adverb is analyzed as a focus marker. Our discussion of Kim and Maling's (1998) theory is not intended to imply that their view, which considers the Asp head as an accusative case licenser, is superior to other alternative explanations for the data. Instead, our aim here is to demonstrate how our analysis is more economical compared to that of Kim and Maling if we adopt their assumption.

I-TOP   bicycle-ACC one house-NOM

tha-ko   siph-ess-ta.

ride-KO want-PAST-DECL.

c. *Na-nun cacenke-ka   han sikan-ul

I-TOP   bicycle-NOM one house-ACC

tha-ko   siph-ess-ta.

ride-KO want-PAST-DECL.

"I wanted to ride the bicycle for one hour"

They attributed this difference to the feature specification of *-ko* head, [0 complete] in NOC while [-complete] in AOC. They claim it is this aspectual [complete] feature, along with verbal projection, contribute to the structural case licensing. [13] But this characterization is slightly misleading as the featural characterization of the aspect head here is posited out of an attempt to equate *-ko* of the *-ko siph-* desiderative construction to the *-ko* of the *-ko iss-* continuative aspect construction.

From now on, we are going to provide a semantic characterization for this aspect head in a different light. In this paper, the aspect head is characterized as a prospective aspect commonly found in futurate infinitives across various languages. It has been widely believed, since Stowell's work in 1982, that infinitival complements can be divided into two categories: Those that have tense and those

---

[13] The introduction of the [0complete] Asp head in the lower complement in NOC is solely driven by theoretical considerations. Since the size difference approach eliminates the need for head movement, which is commonly assumed in complex predicate approaches, it permits the removal of this aspect head in NOC, while retaining it only in AOC.

that do not (see e.g., Pesetsky 1992, Landau 2000, Wurmbrand 2001, 2006).

The future tense, according to Abusch (1985) and many others, is not a simple tense. Instead, it is composed of two parts: the present tense (PRES), which is a true tense, and an abstract modal called *woll*. The latter contributes a modal force, resulting in posteriority. Thus, the future tense is a combination of a true tense and an abstract modal verb. In English, PRES + *woll* is morphologically spelled out as *will*, while PAST + *woll* corresponds to would. We make the case that *-ko* in accusative constructions correspond to this *woll* head. There can be many ways to implement the semantic contribution of *woll*P. But we follow the definition provided in Kratzer (2010) where *woll* is defined as a prospective aspect.

(45) $[[\varnothing \text{ PROS }]] \coloneqq \lambda P. \lambda t. \exists e[P(e) \text{ \& } e \leq \text{future}_t]$

（from Kratzer 2010）

The *woll*P or $\text{Asp}_{\text{PROS}}\text{P}$ is future shifted in meaning by default and there is no way the dynamic event denoted by lower level predicate precedes the stative event denoted by desiderative $\sqrt{siph}$.(46a). This is basically the same in English too (46b):

(46)   a. I decided to visit Tokyo

b. Na-nun   Tokhyo-ey   pangmwunha-ko   siph-ess-ta.

I-TOP   Tokyo-LOC visit-KO   want-PAST-DECL

"I decided to visit Tokyo"

The lower predicate *to visit* can not temporally or causally precede the high-level deciding event in (46a). The same holds true in the example in Korean (46b)

where WANT event denoted by the predicate √*siph* (to decide) should precede the visiting event.

This future orientation is the sole requirement of the prospect aspect in *-ko siph-* construction. While finite future is absolute (i.e., the time of the embedded event must be after the utterance time) in Korean (48), infinitival future is relative—i.e., the embedded event can occur before the utterance time, as long as it is after the time of the matrix event (47).[14]

(47) Infinitival future

    a. Na-nun [(ecey)   Tokyo-ey   pangmwunha-ko] siph-ess-ta.

        I-TOP   (yesterday) Tokyo-LOC visit-KO   want-PAST-DECL

    b. Na-nun [(ecey)   Tokhyo-ey   pangmwunha-ki]-lo

        I-TOP (yesterday) Tokyo-LOC visit-KI-PREP

        kyelsimha-eyss-ta.

        decide-PAST-DECL

        "I decided [to visit Tokyo yesterday]"

(48) Finite future

    a. *Na-nun (ecey)   Tokhyo-ey   pangmwunha-lke-la-ko

         I-TOP (yesterday) Tokyo-LOC visit-FUT-DECL-REPORT

        kyelsimha-eyss-ta.

        decide-PAST-DECL

        "I decided [to visit Tokyo yesterday]

---

[14] This divide also patterns with the data reported from Wurmbrand (2007) where the explicit future tense *will* constitutes the absolute tense while the implicit future tense *woll* shows the typical behavior of a relative tense.

However, it seems that the stative predicate does not always have to conform to this future orientation requirement. Let us now shift our focus to (49). (49a) verbs of discovery, (49b) deadjectival psych verbs, (49c) subject experiencer verbs and (49d) the continuative aspect construction are all considered to be stative in nature or involves stative resultative component.

(49) a. Na-nun   cinli-lul   kkaytat-ko   siph-ta.
          I-TOP the truth-ACC   realize-KO   want-DECL
          "I want to realize the truth"

                                                    (verbs of discovery)

      b. Na-nun   holangi-lul   mwusew-eha-ko   siph-ta.
            I-TOP   tigers-ACC   scary-EHA-KO   want-DECL
          "I want to fear the tiger"

                                                    (deadjectival psych verb)

      c. Na-nun Chelswu-lul   sarangha-ko   siph-ta.
          I-TOP Chelswu-ACC love-KO   want-DECL
          "I want to love Chelswu"

                                                    (subject experiencer verb)

      d. Na-nun pap-ul/*-i   mek-ko iss- ko   siph-ta
          I-TOP   meal-ACC/*-NOM   eat-CONT-KO   want-DECL
          "I want to be having a meal"

                                                    (continuative aspect)

In the example in (49), the *-ko siph-* construction expresses the subject's desire to be in a generic state rather than an intention to perform a specific action in the unspecified future. Or at least lower stative predicates seem to leave open the possibility of the generic desire interpretation, even if such a reading is not strictly required. The possibility of allowing this generic WANT was also reported in French in Giannakidou and Mari (2021). Consider (50).

(50) Je   veux que Marie soit   heureuse.

I   want that Mary   be.SUBJ.3sg happy

"I want Mary to be happy."

They emphasize the fact that in a generic WANT reading like (50), there is no explicit requirement for antifactivity. This is why in the formal characterization of the prospective aspect (45) in the *-ko siph-* construction, the inequality symbol should be $\leq$, not $<$.[15]

The final topic that we will discuss before moving on to the next section is the presence of Mood$_{sjv}$ or subjunctive mood head in AOC.[16] One of the reasons this head is posited is due to the fact that, as pointed out earlier in Chapter 1, WANT class desideratives provide the ideal environment for subjunctive clauses, and the *-ko siph-* construction is no exception in that regards. (Giannakidou & Mari 2021).

Subjunctive clauses are reported to be transparent to NPI licensing, especially when they are selected by volitional or desiderative constructions. In the following examples from Spanish, we can see that negative element that takes scope higher than the matrix volitional verb *querer* "to want" allows long distance NPI licensing of the negative polarity item *nada* in the subordinate clause. (51) :

---

[15] Or, put it more precisely, the future orientation requirement of the *-ko siph-* construction allows for the possibility where the temporal relation between the wanting event and the stative lower predicate event remains undefined.

[16] Some previous researches argued that even in the futurate infinitival clauses or subjunctive clauses tense projection is needed. It is plausible to propose a tense projection that introduces anaphoric tense argument in the structure between AspP and MoodP here too, as suggested by Giannakidou and Mari (2021) and Abusch (2004). However, there are opposing viewpoints, such as Wurmbrand's (2007) who claim that tense is entirely absent in the futurate infinitivals. In this paper, we will take a neutral stance on the potential presence of an anaphoric tense projection in the syntax.

(51) a. No quiero   que hagas nada/??algo.

NEG want.1SG that do.SUB.2SG anything/??something

"I don't want you to do anything/something."

(from Gielau 2015)

This fact is in line with the NPI licensing pattern in Korean (52). It is evident that both the lower predicate negation (52a) and the higher predicate negation (52b) is allowed, even when the NPI is only present in the lower embedded complement.

(52) a. Na-nun   amwukesto   an   mek-ko siph-ta.

I-TOP   nothing   NEG eat-KO   want-DECL.

b. Na-nun amwukesto mek-ko   siph-ci   an-h-ta.

I-TOP nothing   eat-KO   want-CI   NEG-DO-DECL.

"I do not want to eat anything"

As we have just seen, the anti-veridicality requirement and the NPI licensing domain argument presented in this chapter is compatible with the existence of a subjunctive clause in the *-ko siph-* construction. However, it is important to note that these evidences alone are not sufficient to prove the presence of a subjunctive clause. We will return to this issue in Chapter 6 where we discuss *-ki* construction, which is similar to *-ko siph-* construction in terms of mood specification.

3.3. Nominative Object Construction

(53) NOC

```
                            ApplP
                 ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                DP                        Appl'
                                     ┌──────┴──────┐
            Experiencer            AdjP           Appl
                                    │              
                                   Adj'            ∅
                              ┌─────┴─────┐
                         Voice_R P        Adj
                        ┌────┴───┐
                       vP    Voice_R      √siph
                       △
                             -ko
```
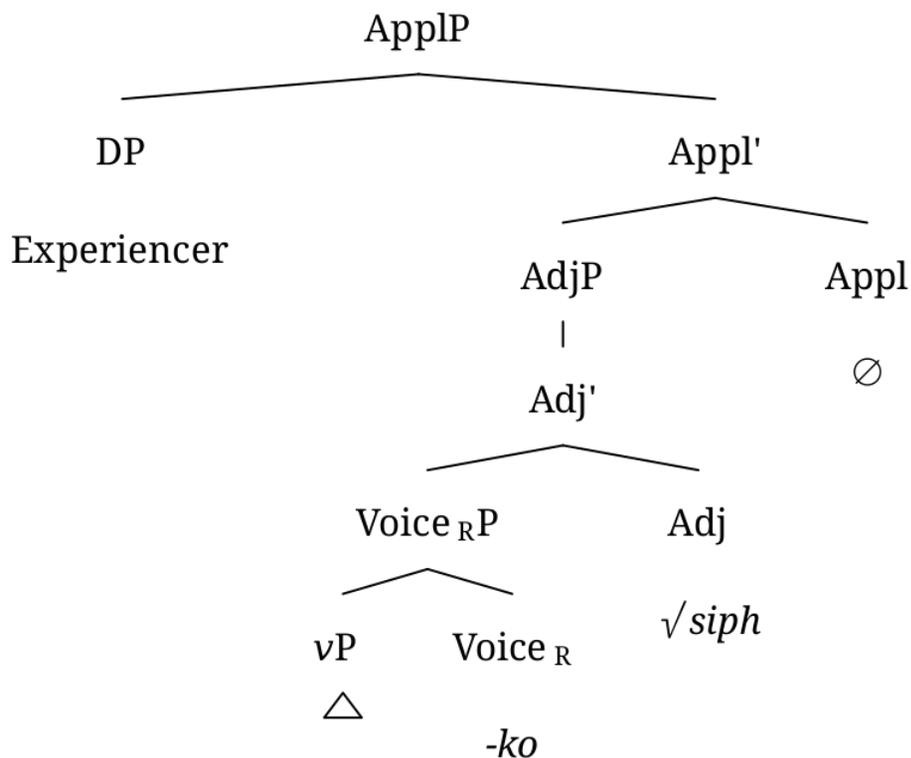
In the analysis of NOC proposed here (53), what is ruled out first is the V-V compound analysis. One of the reasons we can not consider the V-V compound analysis as a viable option is because it is possible to modify only the lower predicate contra Kim and Maling (1998), as previously mentioned in section 3.1. This evidence is in line with the evidence from duration PP/adverb modification which has been suggested in K.-Y. Choi (2009) (54).

(54) Duration PP/adverb modification

    a. Na-nun pap-ul   10 pwun tongan mek-ko siph-ess-ta.

I-TOP   meal-ACC for ten minutes   have-KO want-PAST-DECL

a. Na-nun pap-i   10 pwun tongan mek-ko   siph-ess-ta.

I-TOP   meal-NOM for ten minutes have-KO want-PAST-DECL

"I want to [have a meal for 10 minutes]"

These examples serve as evidence that the *-ko siph-* construction —both nominative and accusative construction— does not involve the event unification, thereby rendering the V-V compound analysis untenable in NOC. The absence of event unification implies that the lower predicate brings with it the event argument during the derivation, suggesting the presence of the little v head in the structure.

Meanwhile, the unavailability of subject-oriented adverbs in the nominative construction serves as a proof that the agent subject is not syntactically present in the nominative object construction, in contrast to the accusative object construction where the subject is present. (29b) is replicated here as (55)

(55)   Unavailability of subject oriented adverb

*Na-nun sonswu   cip-i   cis-ko

I-TOP   with my own hands   house-NOM   build-KO

siph-ess- ta.

want-PAST-DECL

"I wanted to build a house with my own hands"

The fact that the subject of the lower predicate is missing in the syntax implies that the projection involved should not be a full-fledged Voice.

Another notable contrast is the possible presence or absence of time

adverbials. Previous researches have indicated that accusative constructions exclusively permit the modification of time adverbials while NOC does not. This suggests that some sort of tense specification is present only in accusative constructions, even though it is not essentially finite tense.

(56) Embedded predicate modified by time adverbial[17]

Na-nun phyenci-lul/*-ka   ecey/myechil ceney

I-TOP   letter-ACC/-NOM   yesterday/a couple of days ago

ssu-ko   siph-ess-ta.

write-KO   want-PAST-DECL

"I wanted to write a letter yesterday / a couple of days ago"

(from Kim and Maling 1998)

If the embedded complement of NOC *-ko siph-* construction should be smaller than TP and does not constitute the proper VoiceP, while it should at least be bigger than VP, then the most reasonable choice would be vP without a subject.

However, here we would go for the Voice $_R$P analysis instead. This is because we need a syntactic mechanism to establish a connection between the reference of the subject in the higher domain, introduced in the SpecApplP, and the lower predicate without the presence of PRO. A thorough discussion of this issue will be

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[17] Even though this acceptability judgement is also replicated in K.-Y. Choi (2009), the acceptability judgement is somewhat murky in this case. Three of my native Korean speaker informants reported that the NOC sentence is as good as the AOC counterpart and totally acceptable without any problems. There may be some disagreements here, I would like to attribute this divide in the acceptability judgement to the combination of the lexically specified future orientation in the root √*siph* and the zero-tense syntax structure without proper aspect or tense specification on the part of the embedded complement, which will be discussed in the later part of this section.

presented in section 4.1.1, where we will delve into the topic in detail. This defective VoiceR is the major culprit for the restructuring phenomenon — or the nominative case on the object — taking place in NOC *-ko siph-* construction.

One semantic characteristic of this Voice$_R$P structure is that it involves zero tense and zero aspects. The problem is that the suggested structure is typical of the aspectual verbs such as *to stop, to continue, to start,* or implicative verbs like *to manage to, to dare to*, or try-type verbs like *to try*. These verbs do not inherently possess future orientation in their specifications, unlike future-oriented desiderative verbs.

Then what would be the source of the future orientation in NOC? The answer I will try to give here is the fact that the lexical element √*siph* is the source of future-shifted meaning in NOC. This analysis bears some resemblance to the analysis of modal verbs done by Enç (1996) and Werner (2006). They suggest that circumstantial modals possess a future orientation as an inherent property of their lexical meaning. This may be due to the mechanism that explicitly extends the evaluation time into the future Enç (1996) or the structure of branching worlds combined with modality (Werner, 2006). Now we have two different ways of implementing future orientation. Does this dichotomy provide us with meaningful insights or could lead us to some substantive predictions? It appears that the answer is yes.

We have already seen in (49) that AOC allows generic WANT reading in stative predicates, and in this case, it does not require strict future orientation. However, it seems that this option is not available in NOC (57).

(57) Case altnernation ban in *-ko siph-* desiderative construction

a. Na-nun sakwa-lul/-ka   mek-ko   siph-ta.

    I-TOP   apple-ACC/-NOM   eat-KO   want-DECL

    "I want to eat an apple"

b.   *Na-nun   paym-i   musep-ko siph-ta

      I-TOP   snake-NOM scary-KO   want-DECL

       "I want to be scared of snakes"

c.   Na-nun   cinli-lul/??-ka   kkaytat-ko   siph-ta.

     I-TOP the truth-ACC/-NOM   realize-KO   want-DECL

     "I want to realize the truth"

d.   Na-nun   holangi-lul/*-ka   mwusew-eha-ko siph-ta.

     I-TOP   tigers-ACC/-NOM scary-EHA-KO   want-DECL

     "I want to fear the tiger"

e.   Na-nun Chelswu-lul /*-ka sarangha-ko   siph-ta.

     I-TOP Chelswu-ACC/-NOM love-KO   want-DECL

     "I want to love Chelswu"

f.   Na-nun ku   ay-uy   il-ul /*-i

     I-TOP   that person-ADN   business-ACC/-NOM

     panghayhako siph-ta

     disturb-KO   want-DECL

53

"I want to get in her way"

    g.   Na-nun pap-ul/*-i   mek-ko iss- ko   siph-ta

        I-TOP   meal-ACC/*-NOM   eat-CONT-KO   want-DECL

        "I want to be having a meal"

Among these constructions, (57b) transitive psych adjectives, (57d) deadjectival psych verbs, (57e) subject experiencer verbs, and (57g) continuative aspect constructions are all generally regarded or analyzed as stative predicates. On the other hand, (57c) verbs of discovery and (57f) lexical frustrative verbs have a stative resultant state specified in their lexical aspectual specification even though they typically have the eventive interpretation.

When these predicates are selected by the *-ko siph-* construction, it is evident that only the accusative case marker is permitted on the object, while the nominative case is systematically prohibited. At first glance, these phenomena may look like a case alternation ban. However, we propose that this ban in NOC can be attributed to the difference in future orientation specification between AOC and NOC. In NOC, the event described by the lower predicate must invariably follow the wanting event, unlike in AOC where a generic WANT reading is a possible option at least within the domain of stative predicates.

This phenomenon implies that there may be a difference in how future orientation is implemented between the two constructions. However, why future orientation introduced by the prospective aspect in AOC and √*siph* in NOC should differ in the first place remains unexplained. It is possible that this difference is merely an accidental quality of the prospective aspect or √*siph.* In NOC or there

could be a deeper underlying reason behind this contrast.

Rather than exploring the reasons behind this phenomenon, we will provide some related linguistic patterns in English. Similar stative predicate restrictions to those found in the NOC *-ko siph-* construction can also be observed in the English dynamic modal *can*.

" Hence the airy feeling about "I can know", "I can love", "I can like", and so forth. (…) while to be able to run is never the same things as to run or to be able to write a letter is by no means the same as to write it, it seems to be the case that, in some sense, to be able to know is to know, to be able to love is to love, to be able to see is to see."

(From Vendler 1957)

Indeed, the presence of this similar pattern in English, specifically in relation to the dynamic modal *can*, can serve as indirect evidence supporting the idea that a zero tense or radically deprived structure is indeed required or at least compatible in NOC *-ko siph-* construction. Previous research done by Ginannakidou and Mari (2021) claims that the dynamic modal verbs should be analyzed as involving zero tense, and Ramchand (2018) posits that dynamic modals involves structurally lowest position compared to other types of modals. All these arguments imply that zero tense/zero aspect analysis of NOC *-ko siph-* construction is on the right track.[18]

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[18] This observation in future orientation difference could also potentially explain the native speakers' judgment reported by Kim and Maling (1998). According to them, there is a strong tendency among native speakers that NOC is more natural in contexts where the event described by the complement of *siph* is unlikely to be realized, in contrast to AOC where the event described by the embedded predicate is typically likely to happen.

Chapter 4. Rethinking case and scope

4.1. Case theory

4.1.1. Voice restructuring in NOC

We will now proceed to the analysis of Voice Restructuring taking place in NOC, drawing on Wurmbrand's framework as a basis for our examination. Shimamura and Wurmbrand (2017) assumes that the Voice-head is equipped with two types of features: a Voice-feature (i.e. the voice-determining feature) and φ-features [19]. These features are valued or unvalued, yielding several different instances of Voice (58-59). Voice in (58) is active voice while in (59) corresponds to passive voice. In the active voice, the φ-feature is assigned a value by the external argument, while it carries the Voice feature AGENT inherently in (58). In the passive voice, the voice head itself possesses the AGENT φ-feature in addition to the Voice feature PASSIVE (59).
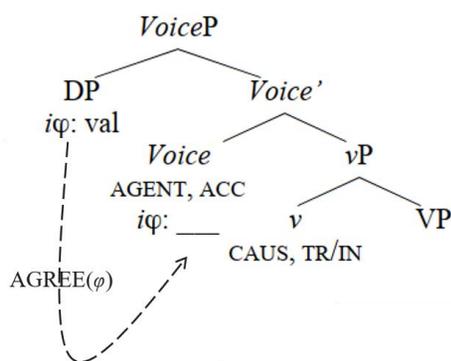
(58)   (59)
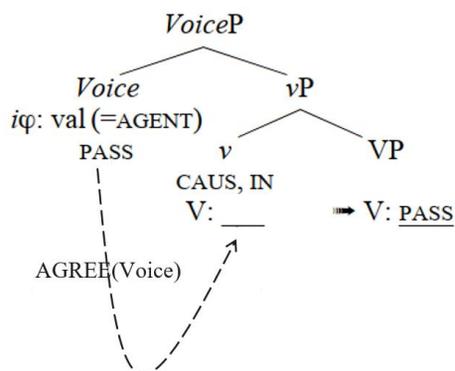
(from Shimamura and Wurmbrand 2014)

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[19] Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) made a case for split voice domain and argued that traditional little v is split into littl v and Voice. They assigned verbalizing, transitivity marking (TR/IN) and causativity/inchoativity marking function to littl v head while they gave Voice head phase defining, and external argument introducing property, whose complement is spell out domain, All the relevant little vR talked about here is actually voiceR head, not little v that encodes causativity or inchoativity.

Based on a cross-linguistic examination of the voice properties in restructuring infinitives, Shimamura and Wurmbrand (2017) argues that restructuring complements involve a restructuring Voice head, Voice$_R$. This incomplete Voice head is introduced into the derivation with unvalued Voice and φ-features, as illustrated in (60).

(60)[20]
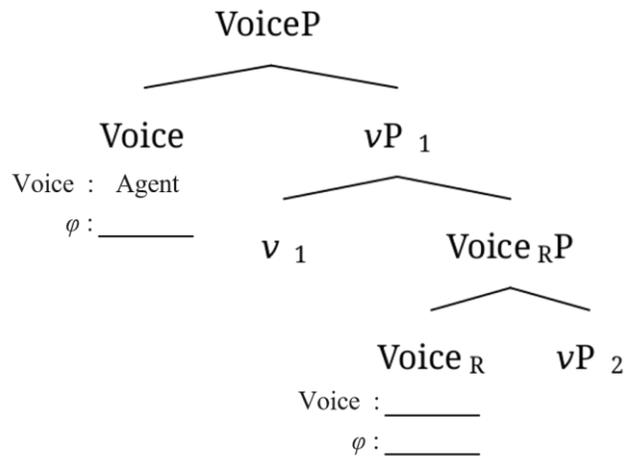
In the original theorization, Voice$_R$ incorporates into the matrix V so that the matrix subject values the φ-features of both the matrix Voice and Voice$_R$, thereby establishing an argument-of relation with both predicates as in (61).

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[20] Even though Korean doesn't have a typical φ-feature agreement, subject honorification has been viewed traditionally by previous researches as analogous to English subject-verb agreement instead (c.f. H-S Han 1987 ; H-S Choe 1988 ; M-Y Kang 1988 ; and D-S Ryu 1994) and could be a possible candidate for the phi feature relevant in the current discussion.

(61)

VoiceP

Subj   Voice'
φ : *val*

        Voice - - - - - - vP$_1$
        Voice : Agent
        φ : _____
                V$_1$ AGREE(Voice)   VP$_1$

AGREE(φ)   V$_1$ Voice $_R$P

                        Voice $_{Ri}$ V   PHASE   t$_i$ vP$_2$
                    Voice : _____
                        φ : _____   Head
                                    Movement
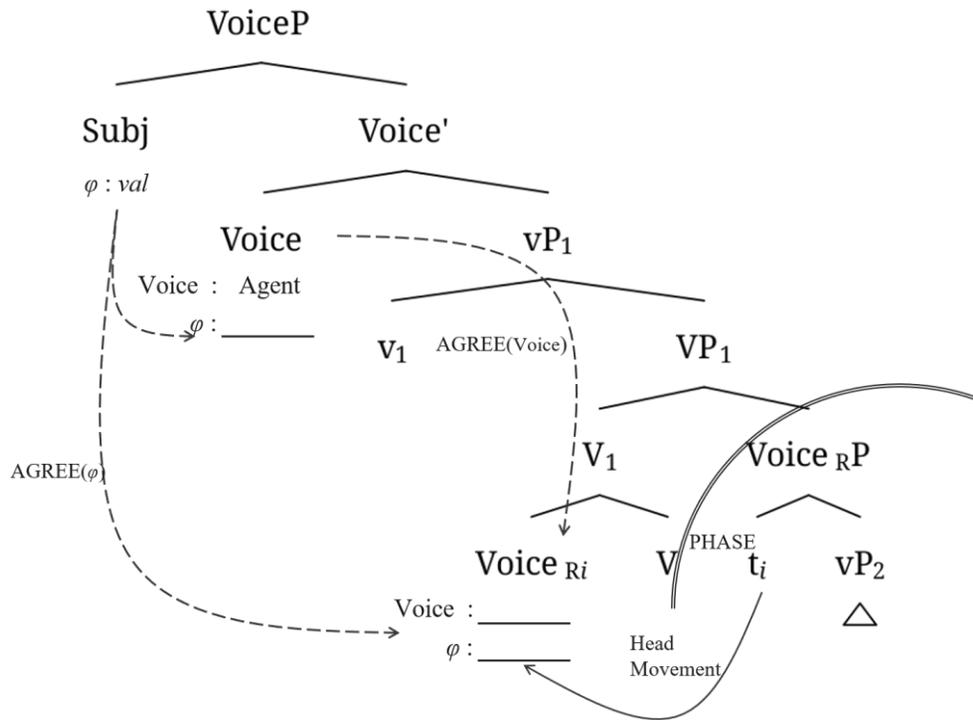
We need a specific version of AGREE relationship, REVERSE AGREE, which requires c-command relationship between the relevant elements (61)

(62) Reverse-Agree

A feature F: ___ on α is valued by a feature F: val on β, iff

a. β c-commands α AND

b. α is accessible to β. [accessible: not spelled-out]

c. α does not value {a feature of β} / {a feature F of β}

(from Wurmbrand 2014)

After Voice_R-to-V_1 incorporation via Reverse Agree, the matrix VP becomes a phase because of phase extension (Shimamura and Wurmbrand 2014, 2017)[21]

Why is it called "REVERSE AGREE"? Wurmbrand (2011), following the approach of Pestesky & Torrego (2007), made a division between uninterpretability and unvaluedness, cutting off the bidirectional connection posited in Chomskyan AGREE. REVERSE AGREE is so named because the direction of valuation is the exact opposite from that of Chomsky. Compare (63) and (64):.

(63)   AGREE à la Chomsky (Chomsky 2000, 2001)

$$T \quad ... \\ iT: \_\_ \\ \qquad V \\ \qquad uT: \text{val}$$
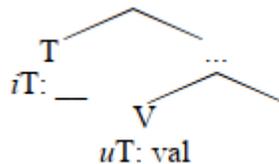
(from Wurmbrand 2011)

(64)   REVERSE AGREE (Wurmbrand 2011)

$$T \quad ... \\ iT: \text{val} \\ \qquad V \\ \qquad uT: \_\_$$
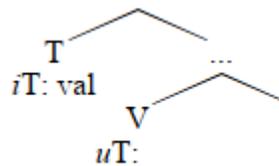
(from Wurmbrand 2011)

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[21]   One has to keep in mind that this head adjunction of Voice projection and the main predicate is different from the complex predicate approach advocated by previous research as this operation is only there to conform to the accessibility requirement (62b) and does not lead to event unification. But rule (62b) is only posited to evade the phase impenetrablity condition suggested by Chomsky (2000). Fox and Pesetsky (2003) propose an alternative approach to cyclic Spell-out, which derives successive cyclic movement without positing escape hatches. If we adopt this proposal this head movement is no longer needed.

In Classic AGREE, both probe and goal must be active, and in the case of nominative case licensing specifically, the case is licensed through reflex checking. Movement is motivated by EPP. On the other hand, in the case of REVERSE AGREE, the case is theorized as an uninterpretable Tense feature on NP. The concept of activity or Reflex checking is got rid of. This means case feature is not licensed as the result of φ feature checking, but the case itself is the exact same kind of feature as the φ feature. Lastly, in the REVERSE AGREE, the movement is driven by valuation. Wurmbrand suggests that AGREE can occur between a higher element with an uninterpretable feature, which c-commands a lower element with an interpretable feature, as long as the highest feature values the lower one.

Be careful not to confuse this REVERSE AGREE *à la Wurmbrand* with the REVERSE AGREE as an upward probing process suggested in Zeijlstra (2004) or Baker (2008). After looking into predicate adjectives in Bantu languages, for example, Baker (2008) concludes that agreement could involve both downward and upward probing processes. In this way, Baker accounts for the fact that Bantu predicate adjectives cannot have subjects in their SPEC position but can still be in an agreement relationship with their subject. [22]

AGREE is typically known to handle morphological processes. So, it is not surprising that one might wonder why it seems to serve a reference-fixing function here. In Wurmbrand (2011), even syntactically present PRO requires REVERSE AGREE. The AGREE-based approach to Control was first suggested in Landau

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[22] We will not explore the potential extension of Wurmbrand's REVERSE AGREE to data that could be handled graciously by upward probing REVERSE AGREE but never have been dealt with by adopting REVESER AGREE *à la Wurmbrand*. We'll leave this subject for future research as it falls outside the scope of this paper. The only takeaway is that Wurmbrand's REVERSE AGREE does not involve an upward probing process.

(2000) where PRO and infinitival Agr were considered to be anaphoric[23] which in turn makes them active for AGREE. As REVERSE AGREE is a basic Merge condition in her theory, it is no surprise that Voice, which introduces the subject, also shares the same kinds of features with the introduced subject, including PRO (65).

(65)   Merge Condition for complementation :

Merge α and β if Every *i*F of α matches a corresponding [*u*F: val] on β.

In the restructuring predicates REVERSE AGREE relationship holds between the subject introducing Voice and Voice$_R$. It does not necessarily mean that incomplete Voice$_R$ is anaphoric or becomes coreferential with the matrix subject. It is just that the subject in the main clause directly values the φ feature of the Voice head of the main clause, and the φ feature of the complete Voice in turn values that of Voice$_R$ head. In this way the subject of the main clause indirectly gets valued by the main clause subject. These two consecutive agreement processes naturally follow as the logical consequences of the REVERSE AGREE, without requiring any additional assumptions.

Positing a defective Voice head this way could make explaining the case facts easier. As the voice lacks an AGENT feature, it is unable to assign accusative case to the object, hence long passive construction in Japanese as follows (66)

(66)   Long passive construction

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[23] Wurmbrand (2011) stated that the precise definition of "being anaphoric" in this context remains unclear.

Amerika-de-wa   kyodaina   hanbaagaa-ga (*zibun-no)

America-in-TOP   huge   hamburger-NOM (self-GEN)

kodomo-ni   atae-tuzuke-rare-tei-ru.

child-DAT   give-continue-PASS-ASP-PRES

Lit. "In the US, huge hamburgers are continued to give to children."

Intended. "They continue to give huge hamburgers to children."

(from Shimamura & Wurmbrand 2014)

In (66), the argument moves to the SpecTP position to get nominative case.[24] We will argue that in the case of the NOC *-ko siph-* construction, voice restructuring also occurs, even though we do not posit movement of the nominative object out of the lower embedded complement (67).

(67)   NOC

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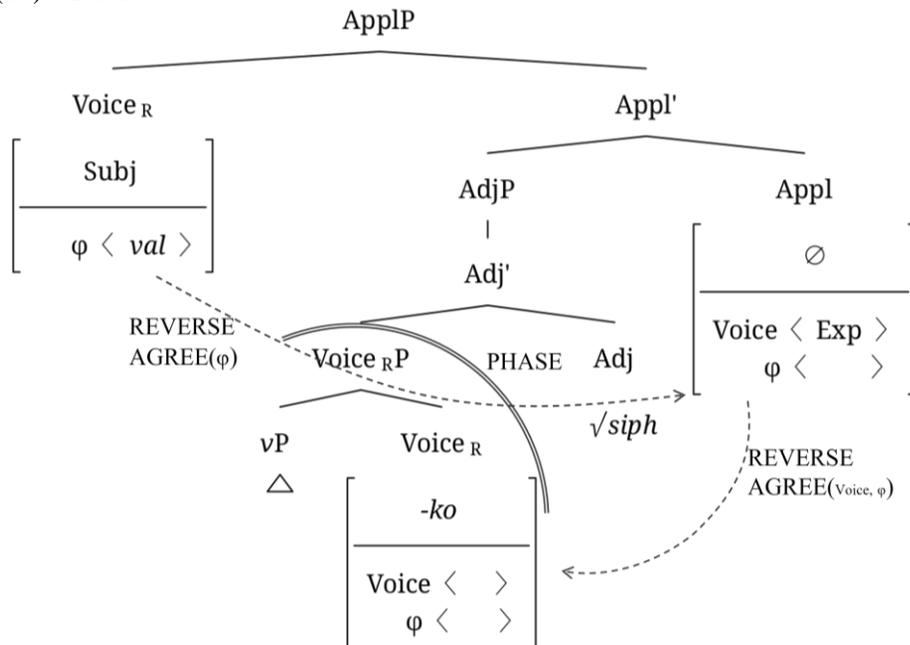
[24]   But at least in Korean the nominative object will not be moved to the case licensing position nor long passive construction is allowed in the language. this fact needs further investigation in the future.

The defective Voice head makes two theoretical predictions. The first one is the unavailability of subject-oriented elements. As we said earlier in example sentences in (55), NOC *-ko siph-* construction does not allow subject-oriented elements in the embedded complement as they do not have the subject syntactically present in the embedded clause. To provide relevant examples from voice restructuring constructions in other languages, we can refer to Japanese data where using *zibun*, a subject-oriented anaphor, in the long passive context, is impossible (66). The absence of an independent PRO subject in the embedded clause is the reason why *zibun* is unavailable in this context because there is no binder for *zibun*.

Another prediction is that, as the embedded predicate always involves Voice head, the embedded predicate must morphologically mark causative/agentive verbs while inchoative verbs or adjectives should not be allowed in the environment (Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017).

It seems this particular restriction partly accounts for the degraded acceptability of (68)

(68)   Degraded acceptibility of adjectives[25]

    ? Na-nun yeyppu-ko   siph-ta

    I-TOP   beautiful-KO   want-DECL.

(From K.-Y. Choi 2009)

The problem is, i) eventive unaccusative verbs are totally acceptable in the

---

[25] Grammaticality judgement for (65) is * for K.-Y. Choi (2009) while Kim and Maling (1998) found this expression totally acceptable which is predicted considering the possible masking effect of AOC.

environment as can be seen in (69)

(69) Availability of unaccusative verbs

Na-nun sihem-ey tteleci-ko siph-ta

I-TOP examp-LOC fail-KO want-DECL.

"I want to fail the exam"

ii) AOC, which does not involve voice restructuring at all should show a masking effect if it does not have any restriction on the type of embedded predicates. If the contrast in judgement (68) and (69) really holds, the ideal explanation is that AOC *-ko siph-* construction should also show the selectional restriction on the embedded predicate, this time only restricted to the adjectives. But this assumption is only tentative, and we will not delve into the detail of the possible selectional restriction AOC could have.[26]

Before moving on to the next section, we will briefly mention an alternative way to handle the difference between NOC and AOC suggested in Wurmbrand's earlier work. Wurmbrand (2002) argues that both semantic and syntactic implementations of control theory are necessary to handle the difference between restructuring construction and non-restructuring construction.

In Wurmbrand (2002), long object movement requires the lack of a syntactic subject because long objects lack a subject-introducing category, which is little v in Wurmbrand (2002) and "Voice" in her later works. On the other hand, embedded anaphors require the presence of a syntactic subject as we saw earlier (in the

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[26] We will also not try to settle the hypothesis that the degraded acceptability of embedded adjective predicates in NOC has to do with the presence of the defective Voice projection. Further research is needed to fully understand this selectional restriction.

absence of an appropriate matrix antecedent), making them possible only in non-restructuring contexts.

What we have to focus on is the restructuring predicate. She borrowed from Chierchia (1984) the idea that obligatory control infinitives can be properties rather than propositions and that they do not involve a subject. In Chierchia's approach, the control relations are entailment relations that come into play as part of the specification of the selecting control predicate. To be precise, the subject is not initially present in the syntax but rather added later, based on the context, with the help of certain meaning postulates like the one in (70) (where $\Box$j represents a context-dependent modal operator; (70b) roughly conveys the idea expressed in (70a)).

(70) a. try' (P)(x) $\rightarrow$ $\Box$j P(x) (Chierchia 1984)

b. Whenever x tries to bring about P, then in all the contextually relevant situations (namely those where what x tries actually succeeds), x does P

Chierchia (1984) applied this semantic approach to control constructions in general, but Wurmbrand (2002) attempts to limit the analysis to restructuring constructions only. As you can observe in (70), control predicates have modal semantic component in its meaning. The types of conversational backgrounds and modal force involved in the corresponding control predicates suggested in Chierchia (1984) are as follows (71):

(71) a. *force*　conversational background: deontic

　　　　　　　modal relation: necessity

　　　b. *allow*　conversational background: deontic

　　　　　　　modal relation: possibility

　　　c. *try*　conversational background: bouletic modal

　　　　　　　modal relation: necessity

<div align="right">(from Chierchia, 1984)</div>

It is undeniable a similar distinction as presented by Wurmbrand (2002) should also be made in the *-ko siph-* construction, considering all the syntactic and semantic differences NOC and AOC constructions show. The fact that √*siph* involves subject-anchored bouletic modality, much like the verb *try* in Chierchia (1984)'s characterization, also necessitates the dichotomy. Accordingly, it looks like it is quite natural to adopt Wurmbrand's analysis (2002) to analyze the *-ko siph-* construction in Korean. This is precisely what H.-K. Jung (2011) attempted to do in her work as we saw in section 2.3.2.

But Wurmbrand herself later abandoned the semantic control analysis of restructuring. Instead, she attempted to implement the distinction between non-restructuring and restructuring predicates solely through syntax. She found it uneconomical to use the concept of "meaning postulate", which lacks motivation outside the realm of control constructions. On the other hand, the specific version of AGREE or REVERSE AGREE, as Wurmbrand named it, is necessary to account for various linguistic phenomena in the first place, including VP ellipsis and binding (Wurmbrand 2011).

It is valid to question whether we really need REVERSE AGREE to account

for the difference between AOC and NOC. However, we must consider that Wurmbrand uses REVERSE AGREE in various phenomena where traditionally AGREE is required, suggesting that her framework does not require multiple types of AGREE. While this thesis does not explicitly explore the possibility of extending REVERSE AGREE to other kinds of derivations that traditionally require AGREE *à la Chomsky*, such as case licensing, we are open to the possibility. For the moment we remain neutral about the specific implementation of AGREE in cases other than in the context of NOC.

If one still does not find the idea of REVERSE AGREE in the syntactic component attractive, one could instead adopt meaning postulates *à la Chierchia*. Either way, at least one component should bear the burden of explanation, whether it is syntax or semantics. Since it is not the case that Wurmbrand (2002) which partly adopted Chierchia's semantic control analysis, is more motivated or has evidently more correct expectations than her later theory (Wurmbrand 2011 et seq.), we will stick to the analysis of syntactic implementation of obligatory control in NOC *-ko siph-* construction.

4.1.2. T as a multiple NOM case licenser

As Wurmbrand has assumed the long distance passive construction as sole manifestation of Voice restructuring, her research has been mainly focused on the structural description of the long distance passive construction. But this paper tries to argue that the *-ko siph-* construction with the nominative object marking is subject to the voice restructuring analysis even though they are different from long distance passive construction in nature.

This means that we can not directly translate the explanation on the long

distance movement to the explanation on the *-ko siph-* construction. What is at the heart of the problem when we try to apply voice restructuring analysis on NOC *-ko siph-* construction is the case property. One way to address this issue is the default case theory. The default case theory can come in two variants: i) Agree based theory ii) Dependent case theory.

According to Agree-based theory, the explanation would be as follows: As the defective Voice constitutes a phase but lacks an Agentivity feature that participates in the accusative case licensing, the nominative object can not be in an Agree relationship with the case licensing element. But we do not posit a DP movement of nominative object into the higher domain. The nominative object remains in situ. We can hypothesize that nominative case is licensed as a default case in that position.

Or else we can opt for dependent case theory (Marantz 1991; Baker 2015). if we tweak and extend Shimamura and Wurmbrand's (2015) proposal slightly, and instead of taking Voice as the assigner of the accusative case, we can treat VoiceP / ApplP as a case domain just as Brenan (2022) did.

It appears that both subtypes of default case approaches can effectively explain the Korean data. However, there are instances where the default case analysis falls short and is unable to provide a satisfactory explanation. One evidence is from morphology. As the case is licensed in the default base generated position in the VP, the licensing position of the nominative case in the *-ko siph-* construction should be extremely low. If we adhere to Baker's mirror principle (Baker 1985), which states that morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa), then the *-man-i* consequence on the object in (72) should reflect the hierarchical height of the merge position.

(72) Na-nun chopap-man-i   coh-ta.

      I-TOP sushi-ONLY-NOM like-DECL

      "I only like sushi"

But it is contradictory to assume the focus position even lower than the base generation position. Another evidence comes from the pseudo cleft construction. Let us revisit Y.-H. Kim (1989)'s pseudo-cleft construction in the *-ki silh-* construction. If we adopt the premise that the *-ki silh-* construction and the *-ko siph-* construction should be treated in a similar manner, as will be extensively discussed in Chapter 6, the examples from the *-ki silh-* construction can provide us with an enlightening insight into the case licensing algorithm relevant in the analysis *-ko siph-*. Consider the pseudo-cleft data replicated here as (73).

(73) a. Nay-ka silh-un   kes-un pap-ul   mek-ki-i-ta.

         I-NOM   hate-ADN   KES-TOP meal-ACC   eat-KI-COP-DECL.

         "What I hate is to have a meal"

      b. *Nay-ka silh-un   kes-un   pap-i   mek-ki-i-ta.

         I-NOM   hate-ADN   KES-TOP meal-NOM   eat-KI-COP-DECL.

         "What I hate is to have a meal"

Apart from the complex predicate approach proposed by Y.-H. Kim (1989), there could be another explanation to account for the data presented in (73). What needs consideration is the fact that in pseudo cleft constructions, case dropping on

the object is necessary. When structural case is marked on the focused element, the entire sentence becomes ungrammatical. (74).

(74) a. John-ul   manna-n   kes-un   Mary-(*ga)-i-tta

         John-acc   meet-pre   kes-top   Mary-nom-be-decl

         "It was Mary that met John."

    b. Mary-ga   manna-n kes-un   John-(*ul)-i-tta.

        Mary-nom meet-pre kes-top John-acc-be-decl

        "It was John that Mary met."

K.-W. Sohn (2000) and S.-E. Jhang (1994) attribute this requirement to some sort of structural case resistance to the focused element. B.-S. Kang (2006) on the other hands says that the reason the structural case is not licensed on the focused element is because the copula verb *-i* does not assign either NOM or ACC case in the first place.

It is very interesting that while the accusative case can be licensed inside the focused *-ki* clause, the nominative case is not allowed in the very same environment and is systematically blocked. This evidence implies that the nominative case licensing in the *-ki silh-* and possibly *-ko siph-* construction is dependent on element outside of the *-ki* or *-ko* clause. This conclusion apparently goes against the default case analysis.

Now, we have to turn our attention to some alternative theory: T as a Multiple NOM case licenser. Chomsky(2001), Following Hiraiwa (2000) permits Multiple AGREE so that Probe may find any matching Goal in the same phase it heads,

simultaneously deleting uninterpretable features. Hiiraiwa (2000) assumes that a probe α having a feature [+multiple] continues to probe for all matching goals within its c-command domain at the same active phase, resulting in Multiple AGREE with both β and γ simultaneously (75). [27]

(75)   Multiple AGREE (Hiraiwa 2000)

α > β > γ ('>' is c-command)

By adopting this multiple AGREE algorithm, we can sucessfully account for the challenging problems in (73) and (74)

4.2. Scope puzzle demystified: Insights from type mismatch theory

The size difference approach offers advantages over other approaches in explaining the data. However, there is one achilles' heel in this approach that needs to be acknowledged in this section: The high scope of the nominative object in NOC. I believe that this is one of the reasons why the scope property is overlooked or not adequately explained in K.-Y. Choi (2009) where size difference approach is adopted.

As can be seen in (20) and (21) replicated here as (76) and (77)

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[27] Here we further assume that actually Multiple AGREE can happen regardless of phasehood as the probe can look into the phase head as long as the precedence relationship is not violated (Fox and Pesetsky 2005)

respectively, accusative constructions allow both higher and lower scope reading of the object while in the nominative constructions, it appears that a narrow scope reading of the focused element *-man* is systematically excluded..

(76) Chelswu-nun   sakwa-man-ul   mek-ko   siph-ci

Chelswu-TOP   apple-ONLY-ACC eat-KO   want-CI

an-ha-yess-ta.

NEG -do-PAST-DECL.

   a. ✓Neg > only : "It is not the case that Chelswu wanted to only

            have the apple."

   b. ✓only > Neg : "The apple is the only thing that Chelswu did not

            want to have."

(77) Chelswu-nun   sakwa-man-i   mek-ko siph-ci

Chelswu-TOP   apple-ONLY-NOM eat-KO   want-CI

an-ha-yess-ta.

NEG-do-PAST-DECL.

   a. *Neg > only : "It is not the case that Chelswu wanted to only

            have the apple."

   b. ✓only > Neg :"The apple is the only thing that Chelswu did

            not want to have."

-manhun (many) also behaves the same way (78-79).

(78) Na-nun manhun salamtul-ul   manna-ko

I-TOP   many   people-ACC   meet-KO

siph-ci   an-h-ta.

want-CI NEG-DO-DEC

(from K.-Y. Choi, 2009)

　　a．✓Neg > Many : "It is not the case that I want to meet many

people."

　　b．✓Many > Neg : "There are many people that I do not want to meet"

(79) Na-nun manhun salamtul-i   manna-ko

I-TOP   many   people-NOM meet-KO

siph-ci   an-h-ta.

want-CI NEG-DO-DEC

(from K.-Y. Choi, 2009)

　　a. *Neg > Many : "It is not the case that I want to meet many

people."

　　b. ✓Many > Neg "There are many people that I do not want to meet"

　　The scope interaction between *siph* and focus-marked internal argument also aligns with the scope relation between negation and focus.[28]

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[28] This scope relation between the two elements WANT and ONLY in relation to the -ko siph-construction has never been discussed in the previous literature.

(80) Chelswu-nun sakwa-man-ul   mek-ko siph-tay.

Chelswu-TOP   apple-ONLY-ACC eat-KO   want-EV.

a. ✓ want > only : "Chelswu want to only have the apple."

b. ✓ only > want : "The apple is the only thing Chelswu want

to have"

(81) Chelswu-nun sakwa-man-i   mek-ko siph-tay.

Chelswu-TOP   apple-Only-NOM eat-KO   want-EV.

a. *want > only : "Chelswu want to only have the apple."

b. ✓ only > want : "The apple is the only thing Chelswu want

to have"

In (80) AOC is ambiguously interpreted, with *-man* 'only' either taking narrow scope (80a) or wide scope over the desire to eat the apple (80b). On the other hand, NOC in (81) does not lead to such an ambiguity, allowing only the wide scope reading of *-man*.

These scope property will be examined in this section, specifically in relation to the **anti-reconstruction effect**. The phenomenon is named the anti-reconstruction effect because it appears that the nominative object does not permit the possibility of reconstructing to its original position, but only allows for a higher scope interpretation.

According to Shimamura and Wurmbrand (2014), the source of the anti-reconstruction effect can be explained as a type mismatch.

(82)
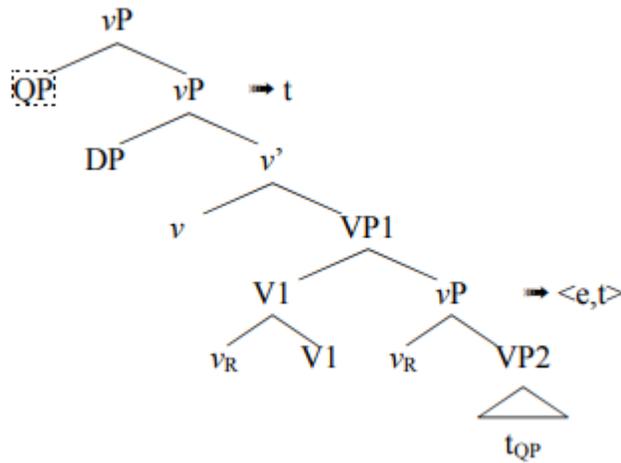
According to their explanation, the QP in (82) needs to move out of their base-generated position in the LF representation and move to the phrase of type $<t>$ because of Quantifier raising. But in the case of Voice restructuring predicate, the embedded vP is not a viable target of QR because its type is $<e, t>$, and therefore the reconstruction is not possible. When we   change the category from v to Voice, this structural analysis can be seamlessly applied to the NOC construction.

The embedded predicate in NOC *-ko siph-* construction lacks proper subject in the syntactic domain and only gets its φ feature valued by way of REVERSE AGREE, hence $<e, t>$ type. This, along with analysis where nominative case is assigned as default case, can account for the pattern in (76-81)

In summary, through our investigation, we have established strong correlations between case marking and scope properties in the *-ko siph-* construction. Remarkably, these correlations can be successfully explained by the interplay of type mismatch theory with the independently motivated evidence like presence of incomplete Voice$_R$ Projection and AGREE based case licensing

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algorithms.

Chapter 5. Lower predicates: Key players in object choice

5.1. Evidence from entailment relation

As we briefly discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, √*siph* has been categorized as a type of simplex psych predicate in some previous literature. However, there has been no in-depth discussion about the category to which the root √*siph* belongs. In our pursuit of identifying the category or class of *siph*, we can gather valuable insights from the following entailment pattern.

(83) a. Na-nun$_i$ [Chelswu $_j$ -lul/-ka]

I-TOP$_i$ [Chelswu$_j$-ACC/-NOM]

[PRO $_i$ pro $_j$ ttena-ko]   siph-ess-ta.

[PRO $_i$ pro $_j$ leave-KO]   want-PAST- DECL

"I wanted to leave Chelswu"

  b. Na-nun [Chelswu-lul]   wenha-yess-ta

   I-TOP [Cheswu-ACC] want-PAST-DECL

   "I wanted Chelswu"

If we accept the prolepsis analysis of NOC as proposed by J.-Y. Shim (2018) in (83a), which suggests that √*siph* selects for both clausal and nominal

complements all at the same time, it logically follows that the subject *Na* (I) should want *Chelswu* and leaving *Chelswu* at the same time. This is because *Chelswu* serves as both the theme and the antecedent of the null category subject PRO of the *-ko* complement. However, we can observe that this expected entailment relation does not hold between (83a) and (83b). That is why we instead propose here (84) where *siph* only selects for the *-ko* complement.

(84) Na-nun $_i$ [PRO $_i$ Chelswu-lul/-ka ttena-ko] siph-ess-ta.

I-TOP $_i$ [PRO $_i$ Chelswu-ACC/-NOM leave-KO] want-PAST-DECL

"I wanted to leave Chelswu"

In the realm of psych adjectives in Korean, we have identified the existence of at least two distinct subtypes.

(85) Entailment relation in *komap-* class (preferential communicative adjectives) :
komap-(to be grateful)*, yasokha-*(to feel bitter)*, pwurep-*(to feel envious) etc.

a. Na-nun [Chelswu-ka$_i$] [PRO$_i$ na-lul ttenan kes-i]

I-TOP [Cheswu-NOM$_i$] [PRO$_i$ I-ACC leave FACT-NOM]

komaw-ess-ta.

thankful-PAST-DECL

"I was grateful that Chelswu left me"

b. Na-nun [Chelswu-ka] komaw-ess-ta

I-TOP [Cheswu-NOM] thankful-PAST-DECL

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"I thanked Chelswu"

In *-komap* class psych adjectives (85), (85a) ⊨ (85b) holds, contrary to the *-ko siph-* construction.

(86) Entailment relation in *silh-* class : *mwusep-(*to feel scary), *cilwuha-(*to be bored) etc.

a. Na-nun [Chelswu-ka na-lul ttena-n kes-i]

I-TOP [Chelswu-NOM I-ACC leave-PAST FACT-NOM]

silh-ess-ta.

hate-PAST-DECL

"I hated the fact that Chelswu left me"

b. Na-nun$_i$ [PRO$_i$ Chelswu-lul/-ka   ttena-ki-ka]   silh-ess-ta.

I-TOP$_i$ [PRO$_i$ Chelswu-ACC/-ka leave-KI-NOM] hate-PAST-DECL

"I hated to leave Chelswu"

c. Na-nun [Chelswu-ka]   silh-ess-ta.

I-TOP   [Chelswu-NOM]   hate-PAST-DECL

"I hated Chelswu"

On the other hand, non-communicative psyche adjectives class, or *-silh* class, interestingly patterns with the *-ko siph-* construction, as in this case neither (86a) nor (86b) entails (86c), Hence (86a), (86b) ⊭ (86c).

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The evidence presented suggests here that the *-ko siph-* construction, whether it is AOC or NOC, appears to select only one internal argument at a time. This finding contradicts the prediction made in J.-Y. Shim's analysis (2018).

(87) Availability of *-ki* clause

a. ?* Na-nun   pap-i/-ul   mek-ki-ka

     I-TOP   meal-NOM/-ACC have-KI-NOM

     -komap-ess-/yasokha-yess-ta.

     grateful-PAST-/-feel bitter-PAST-DECL.

b.   Na-nun pap-i/-ul mek-ki-ka

     I-TOP   meal-NOM/-ACC have-KI-NOM

     silh-ess/mwusep-ess-ta.

     hate-PAST-/-feel bitter-PAST-DECL.

Another relevant fact is that the *-ki* clause is only available for the *-silh* class, but not for the *-komap* class (87). This observation is significant as the selectional behavior and the entailment behavior goes together. This can be taken as a further evidence that the *-ki* complement is equivalent to the *-ko* complement in the *-ko siph-* construction, which will be extensively discussed in Chapter 6.

5.2. Specificity requirement

As promised in Chapter 3, in this section we would like to bring to attention the issue of whether the object of the *-ko siph-* construction is selected by the lower

predicate or the higher predicate whether it is the accusative object or the nominative object. In his theorization, J.-H. Um (2003) failed to differentiate between the simplex psych adjectives and the *-ko siph-* construction. Yet, their behaviors exhibit clear differences. Let us look at the psych adjective cases first (88).

(88) Simplex psych predicate

   a. Case medial order

   *?Na-nun   salam-i   han-myeong   musep-ess-ta

   I-TOP   person-ACC/-NOM   one-CL   fear-PAST-DECL

   * *specific* : "I feared a certain individual"

   * *existential* : "I feared one (non specific) person"

   b. Case final order

   Na-nun salam-han-myeng-i   musep-ess-ta

   I-TOP   person-one-CL-NOM   fear-PAST-DECL

   ✓ *specific* : "I feared a certain individual"

   * *existential* : "I feared one (non specific) person "

In (88), we can clearly see the simplex psych adjective *musep-* "to fear" does not allow an existential interpretation of the internal argument. Before talking about if the same restriction is found in the *-ko siph-* construction, we will first briefly mention why there is a difference in interpretation between (88a) and (88b). The difference between the two, according to C. Kim (2005), has to do with the ordering of numeral classifier constructions. C. Kim explained that

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Korean has different possible orderings of numeral classifier constructions: Case medial order and Case final order. Case medial order in ordinary context is only restricted to nonspecific, existential readings while Case final order is ambiguous between specific and non-specific readings. The same restriction has been first described in Kamio (1977) in Japanese, and there have been subsequent works on the same findings (Muromatsu 1998, Kakegawa 2000, Watanabe 2006, etc.).

Getting back to the specificity restriction, This pattern is not only confined to Korean. It has been reported that subject experiencer verbs in general do not allow indefinite reading of both their subject and object across languages (89-91)

(89) English

a. I hate dogs.

b. I hate some dogs.

(90) Russian

a. Ya nenavižu sobak.

    I hate dogs.ACC

b. Ya nenavižu nekotoryx sobak.

    I hate some.ACC dogs.ACC

(91) Catalan

a. Odio els gossos.

    hate.1sg the dogs

b. Odio uns/alguns gossos

    hate.1sg some dogs

c. *Odio gossos

hate.1sg dogs

(from Seres and Espinal, 2018).

In both English and Russian, (89-90a) allows only generic reading while (89-91b) allows specific individuals or specific subkinds reading which are both specific. In languages like Catalan where specific meanings and non-specific existential meanings are morphologically differently marked, bare nominal objects which are reserved only for the use of the non-specific meaning is ruled out completely in this psych predicate environment (91c).[29]

This specificity restriction, coupled with the compulsory non-specific interpretation of Case medial order led to the ungrammaticality in (88a) and the same pattern is replicated in Japanese too (92)

(92)   *?Gakusei-ga   san-nin   eigo-ga   umai.

Student-NOM three-CL English-NOM   good.

"Three students are good at English.'

(from Watanabe 2006)

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[29] Cohen and Erteschik-Shir (2002) propose an explanation for the absence of an existential reading of objects of SEVs. They made the case that psych predicates in general have some kinds of presupposition of 'feeling emotion towards x presupposes knowledge of x', and this presupposition is the source of the specificity requirement.

In Japanese data (92), subject position can not have a non-specific argument because of the lexical restriction imposed by the individual level predicate *umai* "good", but as Case-medial classifier construction can not have a specific reading just like in Korean, the combination leads to ungrammaticality. The same restriction is found on both subject and object argument in Korean too. Even though we are focusing on the specificty effect imposed on the internal argument only in this section.

If *siph* is a simplex psych adjective, it would be expected the object of the *-ko siph-* construction is also subject to the same kinds of specificity requirements. However, this effect is not present in the object of the *-ko siph-* construction regardless of the type of case marking or the ordering between classifier and case markings (93): Contrast this with the counterpart in other simplex psych predicates (88).

(93) *-Ko siph-* construction

　　　a. Case medial order

　　　　Na-nun   salam-ul/-i   han-myeong

　　　　I-TOP   person-ACC/-NOM   one-CL

　　　　manna-ko   siph-ess-ta

　　　　meet-KO   want-PAST-DECL

　　　　* *specific* : "I want to meet a certain individual"

　　　　✓ *existential* : "I want to meet one (non specific) person"

　　　b. Case final order

Na-nun salam-han-myeng-ul/-i   manna-ko

I-TOP   person-one-CL-ACC/-NOM   meet-KO

siph-ess-ta

want-PAST-DECL

✓ *specific* : "I want to meet a certain individual"

✓ *existential* : "I want to meet one (non specific) person"

Why is the same restriction as applied to simplex psych adjectives in (88) not applied to the *-ko siph-* construction (93)? The most plausible explanation is that objects in the *-ko siph-* construction evade the restriction imposed on the internal argument of subject experiencer psyche predicates. This would happen if they are selected by the lower predicate instead of *siph* stative predicate directly.

What would be the source of this specificity requirement? Von Heusinger et al. (2019) categorized the types of specificity that have been discussed in the research so far into 7 different categories : (i) referential specificity, (ii) scopal specificity, (iii) epistemic specificity, (iv) presuppositional(partative or d-linking) specificity (v) topical specificity (vi) noteworthiness as specificity, and (vii) discourse prominence as specificity.

Among these, the kind of specificity imposed by psych predicates on its subject and object is characterized as "presuppositional specificity" by Cohen and Erteschik-Shir (2002). They ascribe the absence of an existential reading of objects in subject experiencer verbs to the presupposition as follows: 'feeling emotion towards x presupposes knowledge of x.'

The specificity requirement should not be characterized as a topic

requirement because it has nothing to do with discourse givenness. The object of subject experiencer psych predicates can be a focus, and is not obligatorily a topic:

(94)   A: Whom does John hate?

       B: John hates [PETER]FOC

                                    (from Cohen and Erteschik-Shir, 2002)

The same pattern is replicated in Korean simplex psych adjectives too:

(95)   Na-nun [Chelswu-ka]FOC   silh-ta

       I-TOP Chelswu-NOM   hate-DECL.

       "I hate [Chelswu]FOC"

It is also worthwhile to look at how both simplex psych adjectives and the *-ko siph-* construction exhibit a correlation between the 1st person restriction on the subject and the specificity requirement for their internal arguments. According to C.-M. Lee (2013), an "evidence acquisition event (*e-ev-acq*)" such as hearing or seeing something, must be accommodated before the introduction of psych proposition in the dialogue across languages. This means that some learning event is assumed to have occurred before the speech time, which is necessary for coherent interpretation of psych predicates or personal taste predicates (96):

(96)   a. I haven't (heard from/seen) Mary lately

       b. ?? She is dizzy (after saying 96a)

But there are some differences between languages like English, Chinese, and French on one hand, and Korean and Japanese on the other in whether a special restriction on the evidence acquisition event is imposed or not.

(97)   English

    a. (*Mary says*)

      "I am dizzy"

    b. (*Bruce, pointing at her, after hearing her (=ee.a), says*)

      "She is dizzy"

Let us see the examples in English (97). In English— and Mandarin Chinese and French too— the transition from the evidence acquisition event (97a) to the assertion of psych predicates or personal taste predicates (97b) is smooth and natural.

(98)   Korean

    a. (*Yenghuy says*)

      Na   ecilep-e

      I   dizzy-DECL

      "I am dizzy"

    b. (*Chelswu, pointing at her, after hearing her (=ee.a), says*)

      ?? Yenghuy -nun ecilep-e

      Yenghuy-TOP   dizzy-DECL

      " Yenghuy is dizzy"

But in the case of Korean, the same kinds of shift from (98a) to (98b) is blocked due to a language-specific evidential constraint. which is also the case in Japanese. In these languages, specifically in present tense, some additional reportative (*-tay* in Korean; *-soda* in Japanese) or visual (*-e ha-* in Korean; *-garu* in Japanese) evidential marker is additionally required to make the 3rd/2nd person subject psych predicate felicitous.

Languages like English show a stark contrast in this respect, as an immediately preceding 'evidence acquisition event' for a third-person subject's psychological adjective can be accommodated without any explicitly marked visual or hearing evidence. As we have seen, there is an intriguing evidentiality restriction concerning the first-person's direct experience of one's own psychological state in Korean psych adjectives and the *-ko siph-* construction. This restriction not only aligns with but also serves as evidence supporting the presence of the presupposition proposed by Cohen and Erteschik-Shir (2002) – 'feeling emotion towards x presupposes knowledge of x.

To apply the discussions so far, there are two things you should be cautious about. The first one is that even when the object conforms to specific requirements, it can still sound strange depending on the context (99):

> (99)   # Sandra likes a cookie
>
> (from Beller and Zaroukian (2012)

According to Beller and Zaroukian (2012), the required specific interpretation of (99) is as follows: "There is a single cookie that Sandra has had enough positive experiences with." While these specific readings are enforced by

the use of the psych predicate "like," they sound somewhat awkward. Just as we usually don't drink the same beer multiple times, we also do not experience the same cookie multiple times; once the cookie is consumed, it is gone. This example shows that the specificity effect makes the sentence sound less appropriate in certain contexts, possibly explaining why the specific interpretation does not always feel natural, even in situations where it is required.

Secondly, when the modal element scopes over the psych predicate √*silh*, it appears that the specificity requirement is canceled out. Compare (100) to (101).

(100) Case Medial Order

    a. Na-nun   kkoch-i   han-songi silh-ta

       I-TOP   flower-NOM one-CL   hate-DECL

       *specific indefinite : "I hate a certain flower"

       *existential : "I hate a flower"

    b. Na-nun   kkoch-i   han-songi silh-ul kes kath-ta

       I-TOP   flower-NOM one-CL   hate-would-DECL

       *specific indefinite : "I would hate a certain flower"

       ✓existential : "I would hate a flower"

(101) Case Final order

    a. Na-nun   kkoch han-songi-ka silh-ta

       I-TOP   flowerone-CL-NOM hate-DECL

       ✓specific indefinite : "I hate a certain flower"

*existential : "I hate a flower"

    b. Na-nun   kkoch   han-songi-ka silh-ul kes kath-ta

        I-TOP   flowerone-CL-NOM hate-would-DECL

        ✓specific indefinite : "I would hate a certain flower"

        ✓existential : "I would hate a flower"

This data is puzzling at first sight. However, when comparing it with the more general cases of presupposition, the picture becomes clear.

(102)   a. Na-nun   tampay-lul/-ka kkunh-ki   silh-ta

             I-TOP   smoking-ACC/-NOM quit-KI   hate-DECL

             "I hate to quite smoking"

    b. Na-nun   tampay-lul/-ka kkunh-ki

        I-TOP   smoking-ACC/-NOM quit-KI

        silh-ul kes kath-ta

        hate-would-DECL

        "I would hate to quite smoking"

It appears that the epistemic or metaphysical modal *-ul kes kath-* serves as a presuppositional *plug*, in the sense of Karttunen (1973), as shown in (102). The presuppositional aspectual predicate *kkunh-* "to quit, to stop" has presupposition, and without the modal element *-ul kes kath-*, (102a) presupposes the fact that *Na* "I"

is a smoker. However, modalized version (102b) under the scope of *-ul kes katht-* no longer presupposes that *Na* "I" has been a smoker.

If we extend these findings to (101-101) and consider the possibility that the presupposition of "feeling emotion towards x presupposes knowledge of x" for psych predicates could also be canceled out in the same environment, We can successfully explain why the specificity requirement is lifted when the psych predicate is modalized.

Alternatively, the explanation could be that the specificity effect is not caused by the presuppositional nature of the psych predicates, but instead arises from scopal specificity. In normal cases, the internal argument always takes high scope for some reason and has specific interpretation, but when the epistemic/metaphysical modal is present, it is possible for the internal argument to take a narrower scope under the scope of *-ul kes kath-*. This is also a plausible scenario, but due to page limitations, we will not delve deeply into this possibility in this paper.

Before we move onto the next section, we must mention similar restriction found in prolepsis construction in general reported by Lohninger et al. (2022). This often resembles restrictions on topics although the specifics may vary across languages. The overall conclusion drawn is that proleptic DPs must either be referential, specific, or generic, as demonstrated in example (103) and (104) in English and German.

(103)   English

      a. I know of firemen that they are available

      b. Nova said of a secretary that she is looking for him

90

(104)   German

Von Feuerwehrmännern weiß ich, dass sie   verfügbar   sind

of   firemen.DAT   know.1SG that they available   be.3SG

"Of firemen, I know that they are available."

In (103a), proleptic element *of firemen* only allows generic readings while In (103b), *of a secretary* only has a specific readings. They do not allow indefinite, existential readings. In (86) *Von Feuerwehrmännern* "of fimenan " should have a generic reading, excluding existential reading too.

We have seen that the specificity/genericity restriction on the object of the common psych adjectives and prolepsis construction is lifted and not required on the internal argument of *-ko siph-* construction regardless of structural case marking. This contrasts with the expectation that at least the nominative object should be the internal argument of a simplex psych predicate or a proleptic argument.

From the perspective of clause size difference approach adopted in this paper it is the natural consequence that comes out of the basic premise of theory. While in the theory of J.-H. Um (2003) or J.-Y. Shim (2018) this specificity requirement remains challenging and can not be properly explained.

Chapter 6. Drawing Parallels: The connection between the *-ko siph-* and the *-ki silh-*

6.1. Commonalities

Throughout this paper, we have advocated for treating the *-ko siph-* construction in parallel with the *-ki silh-* construction. Yet, we did not thoroughly examine the true nature of the *-ki* complement and why it should be equated to the *-ko* complement of the *-ko siph-* construction in the previous chapters.

One of the interesting facts about *-ki* complement is its distribution (105).

(105)   a. Na-nun ku ay-ka cip-ey

          I-TOP that person-NOM home-LOC

          kaki-lul wenh-ayss-ta.

          go-SVJ-ACC go-PAST-DECL

          "I wanted him to go home"

    b. Na-nun pap-ul   mek-ki   cen-ey

         I-TOP   meal-ACC   have-KI before-LOC

         cip-ey ka-ss-ta

         home-LOC go-PAST-DECL

         "I went home before eating"

    c. Ceypal ku salam-i   cip-ey   ka-ki-lul

         Please the person-NOM   home-LOC go-SVJ-ACC

         "I pray that he will go home."

    d. Ceketo yetelp si cenkkaci cipey kakiya!

At least 8'oclock before home go-KI-COP-DECL

"You have to be home at least by eight o'clock."

The typical distributional pattern of the subjunctive mood particle is evident in the presence of the *-ki* marking in both the volitional verb (105a) and the BEFORE clause (105b). On the other hand, the example sentences in the latter half show that *-ki* can also function as the optative (105c) and imperative mood (105d) particles. Since imperative and optative moods lack the ability to be embedded, they call for a separate treatment from subjunctive moods in principle.

They do, however, share a fundamental characteristic with subjunctives: an anti-veridical presupposition. As a broad non-indicative mood category, both the optative mood and the imperative mood produces antifactivity meaning. This antifactivity requirement of *-ki* complement is specifically what patterns with the *-ko* complement in the *-ko siph-* construction.

Besides antifactivity, the presence of the NOM-ACC case alternation, especially when they are selected by simplex psych adjectives, serves as additional evidence for treating the *-ki* complement in the same manner as the *-ko* complement in the *-ko siph-* complement (106).

(106) a. Na-nun   suphakeythi-ka/-lul   mek-ko siph-ta.
            I-TOP   spaghetti-NOM/-ACC   eat-KO   want-DECL
            "I want to eat a bowl of spaghetti"

       b. Na-nun   suphakeythi-ka/-lul   mek-ki silh-ta.
 .   I-TOP spaghetti-NOM/-ACC   eat-KI   hate-DECL

"I hate to eat a bowl of spaghetti."

One additional reason for treating the *-ko siph-* and *-ki silh-* constructions similarly is that the *-ki silh-* construction demonstrates the same case alternation restriction as observed in the *-ko siph-* construction (57) replicated here as (107).

(107)   Case altnernation ban : ko-siphta desiderative construction

    a. Na-nun sakwa-lul/-ka   mek-ki   silh-ta.
       I-TOP apple-ACC/-NOM   eat-KI hate-DECL
       "I hate to eat an apple"

    b. ? Na-nun   alumtap-ki   silh-ta (intransitive adjective)
        I-TOP   beautiful-KI hate-DECL
        "I hate to be beautiful"

    c. * Na-nun   paym-i   musep-ki   silh-ta
        I-TOP   snake-NOM scary-KI   hate-DECL
        "I hate to be scared of snakes"
                                    (transitive psych adjective)

    d. Na-nun cinli-lul/??-ka   kkaytat-ki   silh-ta.
       I-TOP   the truth-ACC/-NOM   realize-KI   hate-DECL
       "I hate to realize the truth"
                                     (verbs of discovery)

    e. Na-nun   holangi-lul/*-ka   mwusew-eha-ki silh-ta.
       I-TOP   tigers-ACC/-NOM scary-EHA-KI   hate-DECL
       "I hate to fear the tiger"
                                     (deadjetvial psych verb)

    f. Na-nun Chelswu-lul /*-ka sarangha-ki   siih-ta.
       I-TOP Chelswu-ACC/-NOM love-KI   hate-DECL
       "I hate to love Chelswu"
                                 (subject experiencer verb)

    g. Na-nun ku   ay-uy   il-ul /*-i
       I-TOP   that person-ADN   business-ACC/-NOM
       panghayha-ki   silh-ta
       disturb-KI   hate-DECL
       "I hate to get in her way"
                                 (lexical frustrative verbs)

This data leads us to the conclusion that the *-ki silh-* patterns with the *- ko siph-* construction in the future shift requirement.

However, it is important to note that these parallelisms should not be generalized to all instances of *-ki* clauses. There are some exceptions or variations in different contexts or constructions. For this reason, it is necessary to limit the scope of our discussion to the *-ki* complement specifically within the context of the √*silh.*

First and foremost, it is important to emphasize that not all -ki clauses in adjectives exhibit antifactive semantics. Consider (108) and (109).

(108)   Anti-factive desiderative construction

Ecey   na-nun phali-ka   nay pang-ey   tulewa-ass-ta-ko

Yesterday   I-TOP fly-NOM   my room-LOC enter-PAST-DECL-CMPL

chakkakha-yess-ta.

mistakenly believe-PAST-DECL.

Na-nun ku   phali-lul /-ka   cap-ko siph-/-ki silh-ess-ta

I-TOP   the fly-ACC/-NOM   catch-KO want-/-KI hate-PAST-DECL

"Yesterday I was mistakenly convinced that a fly had entered my room.

I wanted/hated to catch the fly."

(109)   Factive *tough* construction[30]

*Ecey   na-nun phali-ka   nay pang-ey   tulewa-ass-ta-ko

Yesterday   I-TOP fly-NOM   my room-LOC enter-PAST-DECL-CMPL

chakkakha-yess-ta.

mistakenly believe-PAST-DECL.

Na-nun ku   phali-lul /-ka   cap-ki   swip/elyepe-ess -ta

I-TOP   the fly-ACC/-NOM catch-KI easy-/challenging-PAST-DECL

"Yesterday I was mistakenly convinced that a fly had entered my room.
It was easy/hard for me to catch the fly."

It is apparent that while *swip-* (to be easy) or *elyep-* (to be hard) allow case alternation and belong to the same category of simplex adjectives, they behave differently in terms of interpretation and lack the desiderative or anti-factive meaning easily found in the *-ko siph-* and *-ki silh-* constructions.

6.2. Technical implementation: head movement approach

In the previous section, we noted several shared characteristics between the -

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[30] These so-called 'factive predicates' can actually function as subject veridical predicates rather than true factive or objectively veridical predicates. For example, when the verb in the second sentence is changed from *chakkakha-* 'to mistake' to *kkwumkkwu-* 'to dream' or *sangsangha-* 'to imagine,' the sentence becomes acceptable. This displacement environment of dreaming or imagining is characterized as typically subjectively veridical and typologically reported to select the indicative mood instead of subjunctive mood in many languages in Giannakidou and Mari (2021).

ko siph- and the *-ki silh-* constructions. However, in this section, we will explore the differences present in these two constructions and illustrate how we can still maintain the identity between the *-ko siph-* and *-ki silh-* constructions within the narrow syntactic component, even in light of seemingly contradicting evidence.

The first set of evidence that poses a threat to the idea of treating the *-ko siph-* and *-ki silh-* constructions in the same manner can be found in the differences in lexical item insertion pattern (110).

(110) Lexical item insertion

  a. *Na-nun pap-i mek-ko cengmal siph-ta.

    I-TOP meal-NOM have-KO really want-DECL

   "I really want to have a meal"

  b. Na-nun pap-i mek-ki cengmal silh-ta.

    I-TOP meal-NOM have-KI really hate-DECL

   "I really hate to have a meal"

Another piece of evidence can be found in the pseudo cleft construction (111). In contrast to the *-ko siph-* construction, where neither accusative nor nominative markings are permitted on the object in the pseudo cleft construction environment, the *-ki silh-* construction allows accusative marking, blocking nominative marking.
[31]

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[31] In section 4.1.2. we explored the reasons why the licensing of nominative case should be restricted in the pseudo-cleft NOC construction. This observation leads us to the classic tense-based AGREE theory over the default case analysis.

(111) Pseudo cleft construction

 a. *Nay-ka siph-un   kes-un   pap-ul/-i

   I-NOM   hate-ADN   KES-TOP   meal-ACC/-NOM

   mek-ko-i-ta.

   eat-KO-COP-DECL.

   "What I want is to have a meal"

 b. Nay-ka   silh-un   kes-un   pap-ul/*-i

   I-NOM   hate-ADN   KES-TOP   meal-ACC/-NOM

   mek-ki-i-ta.

   eat-KI-COP-DECL.

   "What I hate is to have a meal"

The last piece of evidence we would like to point out is the difference in the scrambling pattern between the *-ko siph-* and *-ki silh-* constructions.

(112) Availability of scrambling

 a. *Pap-ul/-i   mek-ko   na-nun   siph-ta

   Meal-ACC/-NOM   have-KO   I-TOP   want-DECL.

   "I want to have a meal"

 b. Pap-ul/-i   mek-ki   na-nun   silh-ta

   Meal-ACC/-NOM   have-KI   I-TOP   hate-DECL.

   "I hate to have a meal"

The data presented in (110-112) indicates that in the *-ko siph-* construction, the elements *-ko* and *siph-* need to be adjacent to each other. However, this adjacency requirement does not apply to the *-ki silh-* construction.

If we are to consider these two constructions in a similar manner, we need to identify the source of this linear adjacency requirement exclusively applied to the *-ko siph-* construction. To maintain consistency in the analysis, this step is necessary.

The most likely option is to posit a head movement, wherein the Voice or Mood head *-ko* moves to the upper predicate position. At this point, it might sound confusing why head movement is needed to explain the pattern found in the *-ko siph-* construction. We have already talked at length how positing additional head movement is not necessary and there is no complex predicate formation involved in the *-ko siph-* construction. But here we are not advocating the complex predicate approach of the *-ko siph-* construction, which we have criticized all through the paper. We need to be cautious because here, the element that moves is not the lower, lexical predicate. It is the complementizer—whether it is the exponent of the Mood head or the Voice head—that moves and makes a head adjunction construction. [32]

It appears that the additional head movement which has been the focus of the complex predicate approach to the *-ko siph-* construction, proves to be more useful in distinguishing between the *-ki silh* and *-ko siph* constructions rather than AOC and NOC alternation and this movement serves as a strong candidate for explaining the observed linear adjacency.

What kind of complementizer is involved in this movement? Of course, it should be $Mood_{SJV}$ or $Voice_R$ in both the *-ko siph-* construction and the *-ki silh-*

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[32]   In this context, we adopt the term 'complementizer' not because *-ko* or *-ki* invariably corresponds to the C head. The complementizer here encompasses both the Voice head and the Mood head, and the Voice head is undeniably within the domain of the first phase.

construction, following the explanation so far. But what grammatical category does it fall into? Is it, for example, verbal, nominal, or neither of these? The clue can be found in the following sentence (113).

(113) Na-nun   cip-ey   ka-ki-ka   silh-e
       I-TOP   home-LOC   go-KI-NOM   hate-DECL
       "I hate to go home"

In this sentence, it is evident that the complementizer of the embedded clause *-ki* is marked with the nominative case. Since case is typically attributed to nominal categories, it appears that the *-ki* in this context has nominal characteristics.

Meanwhile, the structural case is not licensed on *-ko* in the *-ko siph-* construction.

(114) Na-nun   cip-ey   ka-ko-*ka   siph-e
       I-TOP   home-LOC   go-Ko-*NOM   hate-DECL
   "I want to go home"

Should we consider *-ko* [-N] while *-ki* [+N] based on the evidence in (114)? The answer is no. The fact that structural case is not licensed on *-ko* in contrast to *-ki* does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that *-ko* is not nominal. Even if we assume that the categorial feature of *-ko* is [+N], just like *-ki*, when the head movement we have assumed so far occurs, the result of the head movement, Adj, should exhibit adjectival distribution. This is because the [+Adj] feature of √*siph*

should project upwards, instead of the [+N] feature of *-ko*. With this reasoning, we can successfully explain why *-ko* cannot have a structural case without ruling out the possibility that *-ko* is nominal just like *-ki* when it was first introduced in the derivation.[33] In summary, *-ki* in the *-ki silh-* construction remains in the position where it is initially generated (115), while *-ko* in the *-ko siph-* construction moves to √*siph,* forming a head adjoinment construction (116).[34]

(115)   The *-ki silh-* construction

```
                        ApplP
              ┌───────────┴───────────┐
             DP                      Appl'
         Experiencer          ┌────────┴────────┐
                            AdjP                Appl
                             │
                            Adj'                 ∅
                       ┌─────┴─────┐
                   Voice_R P       Adj
                   ┌───┴───┐
                  vP    Voice_R     √silh
                  △
                         -ki
```

(116)   The *-ko siph-* construction

```
                          ApplP
              ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
             DP                          Appl'
         Experiencer              ┌────────┴────────┐
                                AdjP                Appl
                                 │
                                Adj'                 ∅
                          ┌──────┴──────┐
                      Voice_R P         Adj
                      ┌───┴───┐     ┌────┴────┐
                     vP   Voice_R  Voice_R   Adj
                     △
                          t        -ko      √siph
```

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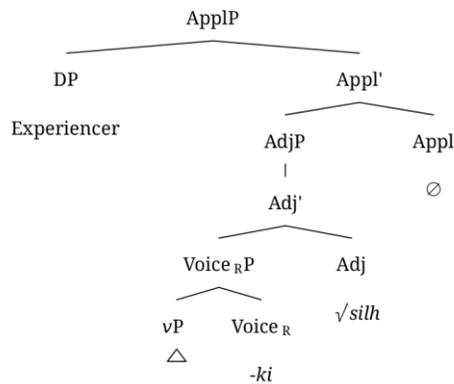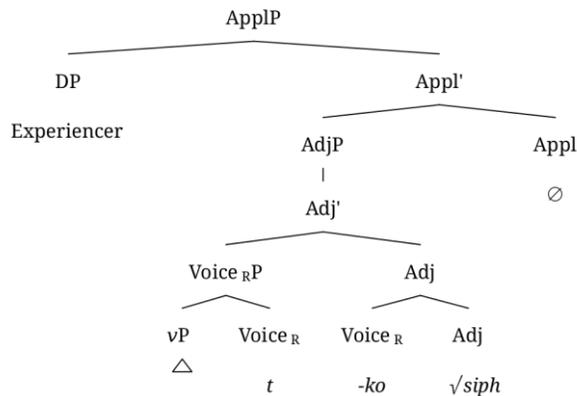
[33] This explanation parallels the one usually adopted to account for the contrast between noun incorporation constructions and constructions where noun incorporation does not occur.
[34] In AOC, the nominal category is Mood_{SBJV} instead of Voice_R

What is the role of this nominal complementizer in this context? We can gain some insights from the analysis of Korean complementizer *kes* in Bondarenko (2022) (117).

(117)   Kibo-nun [Dana-ka   i chayk-ul   ilk-un   kes-ul]

Kibo-TOP Dana-NOM this book-ACC read-ADN thing-ACC

yukamsuleweha-yess-ta / mit-ess-ta

regret-PAST-DECL   /   believe-PAST-DECL

"'Kibo regretted/believed that Dana read this book."

(from Shim and Ihsane 2015)

In her thesis, the bleached noun *kes* has been proposed to merge with clauses,[35] resulting in nominalized clauses. By employing this *kes* nominalization mechanism, firstly, the embedded clause can serve as the argument, acquiring thematic properties from the selecting verbal predicate. Secondly, the nominalized form serves as a precondition for triggering presuppositions when it combines with the Situation-CP[36]

Now, let us shift our attention to the parallel between *-kes* and *-ki*. Similar to how *-kes* can receive structural case marking and has factivity or objective veridicality presupposition, *-ki* also receives structural case marking and has the subjective anti-veridicality presupposition. The only difference lies in the veridicality of the situation being described. The situation described by *-kes* is

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[35] In her theorization, embedded clauses are regarded as various types of modifiers. and the semantic composition rule applied between the clause and the nominal element *-kes* is posited to be the Predicate Modification (PM) rule.

[36]   Situation CPs in Korean end in a simple adnominal *-un*, in contrast to Content CPs ending with either *-ta nun* or *-ta ko* depending on the context. Situation CPs are a type of clause that describes the eventuality represented by the noun it modifies.

likely to occur or has definitely taken place in the past, whereas the situation described by *-ki* either has not occurred at all or the subject lacks confidence regarding whether it is happening or has happened. Additionally, the alternation of *-ki* with the nominal argument can be taken as an evidence that it appears in the thematic position. Let us consider the example (86), replicated here as (118).

(118) *-ki* clause alternate with nominal elements in the theta position

    a. Na-nun*i* [PRO*i* Chelswu-lul/-ka   ttena-ki-ka]

      I-TOP*i* [PRO*i*   Chelswu-ACC/-ka leave-KI-NOM]

      silh-ess-ta.

      hate-PAST-DECL

      "I hated to leave Chelswu"

    b. Na-nun [Chelswu-ka]   silh-ess-ta.

      I-TOP [Chelswu-NOM] hate-PAST-DECL

      "I hated Chelswu"

Taking into account all these pieces of evidence, it is reasonable to assume that the same kind of nominalization mechanism employed in the analysis of *-kes* clauses should be also applied in the analysis of *-ki* clauses.

Now that all the puzzle pieces are put together, we can finally conclude that this semantically deprived nominal complementizer or *-ki* can appear as an allomorph *-ko* in the context of the √*siph* environment. The PF rule to

implement this allomorphy is provided in (119) [37]

(119)　Vocabulary Insertion rules of *-ko* and *-ki*

a. [+N, +anti veridicality] → *-ko* / ___ [Adj √*siph*]

b. [+N, +anti veridicality] → *-ki* / elsewhere

To sum it up, we have examined several pieces of data that challenge the idea of treating the *-ko siph-* and *-ki silh-* constructions in the same manner. However, by adopting the complex predicate approach in the *-ko siph-* construction, It turns out that these seemingly challenging patterns can be explained without any significant difficulties.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

In this thesis, we have presented compelling evidence in favor of the size difference approach over the complex predicate approach and prolepsis approach in accounting for various linguistic phenomena within the *-ko siph-* construction. Importantly, this approach avoids the need for undesirable additional assumptions such as the head movement of the lower lexical head or proleptic argument. Instead, we characterized the case alternation found in AOC and NOC in the *-ko siph-* construction as a byproduct of the Voice restructuring phenomena, positing the presence of an incomplete, deprived Voice_R in NOC and a complete, fully functioning Voice in AOC.

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[37] Whether the category is Voice or Mood in this definition does not matter as long as they are nominal in natural and have anti veridical presupposition.

Meanwhile, we succeeded in introducing novel insights even within the framework of the size difference approach by providing detailed explanations of AOC and NOC *-ko siph-* construction. Specifically, we provided explanations for the subject-orientedness of the external experiencer argument, and the semantic restrictions imposed on the arguments within the *-ko siph-* and *-ki silh-* constructions.

However, the most important innovation is the persuasive account of the scope property. By adopting type mismatch theory, we could successfully explain the enigmatic scope interpretation difference correlated with the case alternation on the object in the *-ko siph-* construction, by transfering the burden of the explanation to the semantic interpretation mismatch in the LF.

Furthermore, we have sought novel explanation of the parallelism between *-ko siph-* and *-ki silh-*. Some earlier studies blindly assume the identity of the two constructions. On the other hand, certain approaches outright reject the identity of the *-ko siph-* and *-ki silh-* due to certain differing behaviors exhibited by the two constructions. We argued that both perspectives are inadequate and proposed explanation of this parallelism by adopting the head movement of the complementizer/voice element.

These significant findings are expected to contribute to our understanding of the desiderative construction *-ko siph-* and *-ki silh-* and the case alternation phenomenon observed in Korean syntax.

However, this thesis does not cover all aspects of the *-ko siph-* construction, and there are several unresolved issues that have not been fully addressed in this paper. One example is the unavailability of long passive constructions in Korean. Voice restructuring is a mechanism typically associated with long-distance

movement or long passive constructions. However, in this thesis, it is argued that the nominative object in the *-ko siph-* construction is analyzed to remain in situ even in cases where Voice restructuring occurs in NOC *-ko siph-* construction. Additionally, the absence of long passivization with aspectual verbs or verbs like "*nolyekha-* (to try)" in Korean, which are typically associated with long passive constructions cross-linguistically, requires further investigation and explanation.

Another issue that remains unexplored in this paper is the claim that the Korean focus particle *-man* is an element fundamentally distinct from other quantifiers, as initially proposed by Y.-J. Lee (2004). In the dissertation, *-man* is not considered a scope-taking element, and Y.-J. Lee opted to hardcode the position of the focus projection. However, since *-man* particles exhibit the same scope behavior as other quantifiers at least in the *-ko siph-* construction, we have chosen to remain agnostic on the potential implications of this claim.

While these issues were not directly addressed in this thesis, we remain hopeful that our findings will provide valuable insights into the unresolved problems as well.

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초록

본 연구에서는 한국어 소망구문 '-고 싶-'의 목적어에 나타나는 격교체 현상 및 이 격교체 현상과 밀접한 관련을 가지며 나타나는 현상들에 주목하였다. 그 중에서도 특히 작용역 해석 및 부가어와 술어의 제약, 통사적 이동에 있어서의 제약 등이 '-고 싶-' 구문의 격교체 현상과 유관한 것으로 분석된다. '-고 싶-' 구문은 전형적인 '원하다' 부류 소망술어의 성격을 띠고 있음과 동시에 격교체 현상 혹은 주어 1인칭 제약과 같은 다른 언어나 한국어의 소망술어에서 일반적으로 볼 수 없는 특징 또한 가지고 있어 면밀한 분석의 필요성이 제기된다.

본 연구는 '-고 싶-' 구문의 격 교체 현상 및 그에 수반한 여러 현상을 설명하는 데에 있어 복합술어분석(complex predicate approach)이나 예변구문 분석(prolepsis approach)에 비해 투사 범주의 크기 차이 분석(size difference approach)이 유리하다는 사실을 주장한다. 보다 구체적으로는 주격 목적어 구문에는 불완전한 재구조화 태 핵(Voice$_R$ head)이, 대격 목적어 구문에는 제 기능을 완전히 갖춘 태 핵(Voice head)가 존재한다는 가설을 지지한다.

이에 더해, 격표지에 따라 '-고 싶-' 구문에서 달라지는 작용역 해석(Scope interpretation)의 차이는 유형 불일치 이론(type mismatch theory)를 통해 설명될 수 있는 것으로 제시되었다. 이에 따르면 목적어의 격표지가 교체됨에 따라 바뀌는 작용역 해석 상의 특징은 협소 통사부에서

설명되기 보다는 논리형식(LF)에서의 의미 유형사이의 차이로 귀결된다.

　마지막 장에서 본 연구는 '-고 싶' 구문에서 목적어 상의 격 교체가 만들어내는 차이를 의미론적으로 '-고 싶-'과 반의어 관계에 있는 '-기 싫-'에서도 확장 및 적용한다. 이 때 '-고 싶-'의 보문소 '-고'는 종래의 연구에서 접속법(subjunctive mood)표지로 분석된 바 있으며 '-기 싫-' 구문의 일부를 이루는 '-기-'와 같은 요소로 간주된다.

　종국적으로 본 연구의 분석은 한국어 통사론에서 소망구문 '-고 싶'의 성격을 규명함과 동시에 유사한 구문들에 나타나는 격 교체 현상의 이해에 기여할 것으로 기대된다.

주요어 : '-고 싶', '-기 싫-', 소망구문, 진언성, 접속법, 재구조화, 격교체

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