

Korean Periphrastic Causative Constructions in Role and Reference Grammar: A Rejoinder to Park (1993) and Yang (1994)

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Song (*Language Research* 24, 583-606 (1988)) puts forward an analysis of the Korean periphrastic causative constructions within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar. This analysis has recently been challenged by Park (1993) and Yang (1994). This paper evaluates both Park's and Yang's arguments against Song (1988), and concludes that they do not invalidate the conclusions of Song (1988), thereby confirming that the problem which is identified for the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy in Song (1988) still remains to be resolved.

1. Introduction¹

Building on Olson (1981), Foley and Van Valin (1984), and Van Valin (1993b) offer one of the most comprehensive clause linkage theory (as part of their grammatical theory called Role and Reference Grammar [or

¹ This paper grew out of the private debate that I had had with Robert D. Van Valin about Song (1988). I would like to thank him for a most useful and thought-provoking discussion, although we did not see eye to eye on many points. I am grateful to Robert D. Van Valin and B.-S. Yang for providing me with a copy of Park (1993), and Yang (1994), respectively. Finally, I am also greatly indebted to the two anonymous *Language Research* referees for their penetrating comments and thoughtful suggestions. I alone bear full responsibilities for claims and conclusions made here as well as for errors of fact or judgement that may still remain.

The following abbreviations are used to gloss the data in the paper: ACC=Accusative, COMP=Complementizer, CONT=Continuous, DAT=Dative, FUT=Future, GEN=Genitive, IND=Indicative, LOC=Locative, NEG=Negative, NOM=Nominative, PASS=Passive, PF=Phonological Filler, PL=Plural, PST=Past, REL=Relativizer, TOP=Topic, Q=Question.

RRG]).² In this clause linkage theory, a clause is conceived of as a layered structure of grammatical units, smaller units within larger ones. The layers of grammatical units can be diagrammatically represented as in Figure 1:

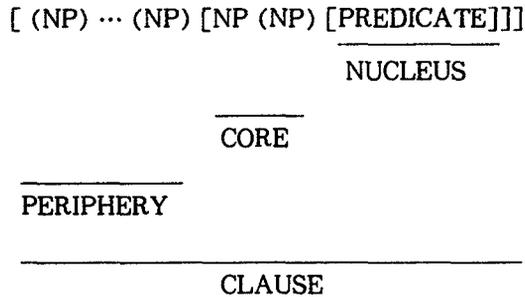


Figure 1

The nucleus consists of the verb or predicate of the clause, being the innermost layer of the clause. The core consists of one or two arguments, depending on the valence of the verb. The outermost layer, the periphery, consists of setting NPs and secondary participants, e.g. beneficiary. In contrast to arguments/NPs, which are constituents of the layers, there is a set of operators which have the corresponding layer under their scopes. The operators that have their scopes over the nucleus are generally aspect as well as directionals that express a directional orientation of the nucleus.³ The operators which have their scopes over the core layer are called modality by Foley and Van Valin (1984:214), as modality 'characterizes the speaker's estimate of the relationship of the actor of the event to its accomplishment, whether he has the obligation, the intention, or the ability to perform it'. Operators pertaining to the periphery layer are status, tense, evidentials, and illocutionary force.

² Despite the fact that the clause linkage theory of RRG is one of the most comprehensive of its kind, it is not quite well known and widely practised as I think that it should be. For this reason alone, a brief discussion of the theory seems to be warranted. In this paper, Foley and Van Valin (1984) will be used as a primary source, unless indicated otherwise. Although RRG has undergone changes over the years (as in Van Valin 1993a), the basic theoretical assumptions and constructs remain intact (cf. Song 1994).

³ Klaiman (1986) identifies some difficulty in applying this diagnostic test to verbs that cannot be marked for aspect.

Various constructions are built up by means of what Foley and Van Valin call junctures, the joining of elements from different clauses at the three layers. That is, a nuclear juncture is a construction with a complex nucleus. A core-level juncture results from the joining of two cores, each with its own nucleus and core arguments, although it involves sharing of core arguments. Finally, clausal junctures (previously known as peripheral junctures in Foley and Van Valin 1984) arise from the joining of two clauses with independent peripheries. Any individual member of each juncture is called a junct. It is to be noted that differences within the junct are permitted at the level of juncture and below, but everything above it must be shared by both junct. For instance, if a given juncture is at the core level, the junct must share the same periphery, i.e. the same peripheral arguments and the same peripheral operators, but they do have different nuclear operators as well as different nuclei.

In Foley and Van Valin's theory of clause linkage, dependence and embeddedness are not equivalent to each other.⁴ Using these two parameters, three different types of syntactic linkage or nexus are recognized: (a) coordination; (b) subordination; and (c) cosubordination. Coordination is characterized as [-embedded] and [-dependent], subordination as [+embedded] and [+dependent], and cosubordination as [-embedded] and [+dependent].

Based on these premises, Foley and Van Valin develop their clause linkage theory, as follows. The levels of the clause are distinguished in terms of sententiality: PERIPHERY>CORE>NUCLEUS. The nexus types are also ordered in terms of independence and scope of the pertinent operators on the three levels of the clause: COORDINATE>SUBORDINATE>COSUBORDINATE. The Syntactic Bondedness Hierarchy (SBH) is thus proposed in the form of Figure 2.

⁴ In Van Valin (1993b), these two parameters are still independent of each other, but they stand in a hierarchical relationship.

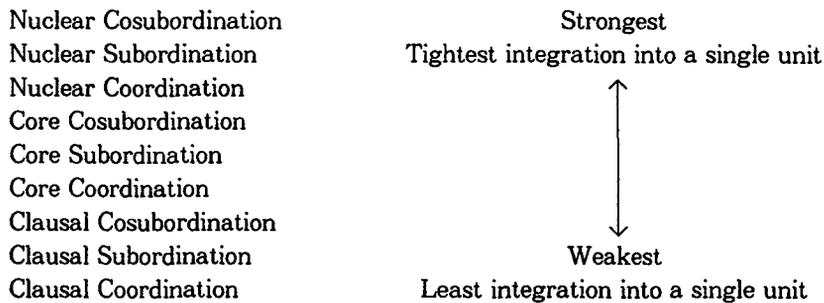


Figure 2

Corresponding to the SBH, the Interclausal Semantic Relations Hierarchy (ISRH), which expresses the degree of semantic cohesion between the propositional units linked in the complex syntactic structure, is proposed:

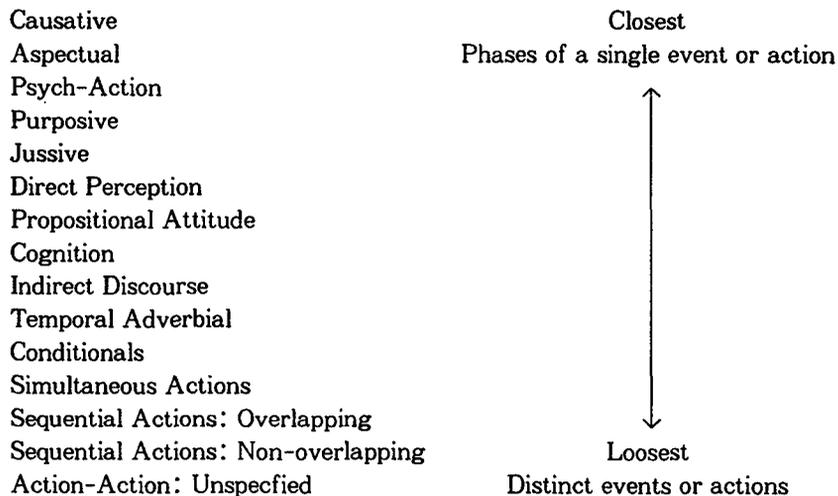


Figure 3

The SBH and ISRH are then combined into the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy (IRH) in the form of Figure 4.

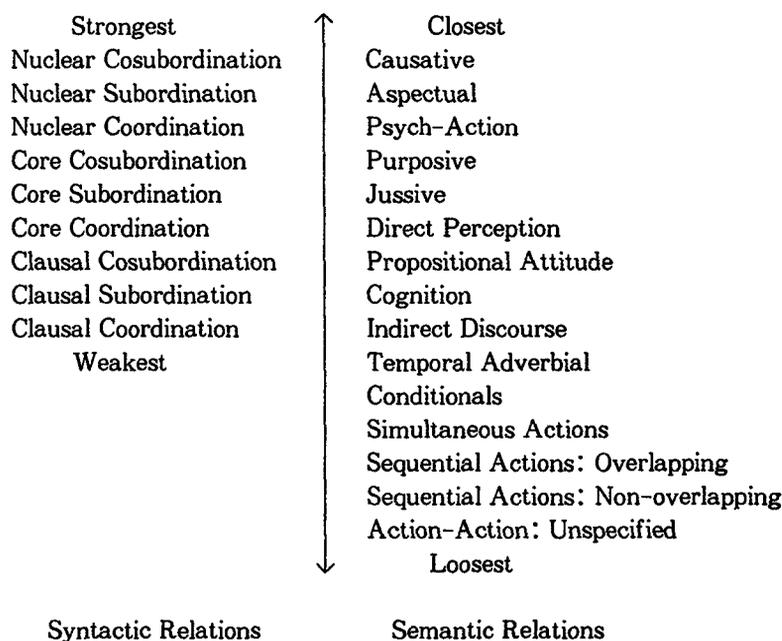


Figure 4

The IRH is thus designed to capture the correlation between the syntactic and semantic relations: '[T]he strongest semantic relations will be expressed in the most tightly linked syntactic configurations found in the language, the weaker relations in the less tightly linked constructions' (Foley and Van Valin 1984:271). Readers are strongly encouraged to refer to Foley and Van Valin (1984:187-320), and Van Valin (1993b:100-118) for a complete exposition of the clause linkage theory.

In Song (1988; also in Song 1996: Chapter 4), an analysis is put forward of the Korean periphrastic causative constructions exemplified in (1), (2), and (3) within Foley and Van Valin's clause linkage theory.⁵

⁵ Song (1996) offers a comprehensive typology of causative constructions on the basis of more than 600 languages. Three different types of causative construction are identified in the typology, one of which is referred to as the *PURP* type. The Korean periphrastic causative constructions to be discussed in this paper are good examples of the *PURP* type. The distinguishing feature of the *PURP* type is the presence of a grammatical element signaling some sense of goal, purpose, and the like. So, the element *-ke*, which is glossed as *COMP* in (1), (2) or (3), should really be identified as a purposive marker. But in this paper, I will adopt the conventional label of *COMP* for the sake of convenience or comparability.

- (1) əməni-ka atil-i nol-ke ha-əss-ta
 mother-NOM son-NOM play-COMP do-PST-IND
 'The mother caused the son to play.'
- (2) əməni-ka atil-il nol-ke ha-əss-ta
 mother-NOM son-ACC play-COMP do-PST-IND
 'The mother caused the son to play.'
- (3) əməni-ka atil-eke nol-ke ha-əss-ta
 mother-NOM son-DAT play-COMP do-PST-IND
 'The mother caused the son to play.'

In that analysis, a number of arguments are brought to bear in demonstrating that (1) is an instance of core subordination, and that both (2) and (3) are examples of core coordination. Thus, (1), (2), and (3) are all regarded as being core junctures. This, however, has recently been challenged by Park (1993) and Yang (1994). Yang argues that although (1) and (3) are core junctures (more accurately, core subordination and core cosubordination, respectively), (2) is a nuclear, not core, juncture (more accurately, nuclear cosubordination); Park claims that although (1) is a core juncture, both (2) and (3) are nuclear junctures. These differences in analysis have implications for a particular claim made by Foley and Van Valin (1984:271-272; also in Van Valin 1993b:112): The semantic relation of causation must be realized etically by the most tightly linked juncture-nexus type available in a given language, or nuclear cosubordination in the case of Korean. It is easy to see, therefore, why both Yang (1994) and Park (1993), a minor difference between them notwithstanding, support Foley and Van Valin's claim, whereas Song (1988) casts doubt on it, insofar as Korean is concerned.

In this paper, I will examine both Yang's and Park's arguments against Song (1988), and explain why they cannot be taken to invalidate the main conclusions of Song (1988). I will argue that my analysis of the causative constructions is essentially correct: (2) and (3) are both core junctures (more accurately, core coordination), not nuclear junctures. Consequently, the problem that is posed by Song (1988) for the IRH remains to be resolved: In Korean, the semantic relation of causation is not expressed by the most tightly linked juncture-nexus type available.⁶

⁶ See Song (1988; also 1996:129-131) for a possible diachronic solution to this problem.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I will briefly discuss the position advocated by Song (1988). In section 3, I will review Park's (1993) and Yang's (1994) position, thereby highlighting a number of points of disagreement concerning the Korean periphrastic causative constructions within RRG. I will also demonstrate that Park's and Yang's arguments against my analysis are ill-founded, or misconceived. In section 4, I will briefly discuss the implications which the findings of section 3 have for the IRH put forth in Foley and Van Valin (1984), and Van Valin (1993b).

2. Song (1988)

Since both Park (1993:35-38) and Yang (1994:187-189) agree with my analysis that (1), which is, incidentally, referred to as the complement causative following Aissen (1979), is an instance of core juncture (subordination), I will not say any more about the causative construction in (1) in the rest of the paper. I will, due to limitations of space, provide only a brief account of Song (1988), to which readers are referred for detailed discussion.

In Song (1988:592-595), both (2) and (3) are taken to be core junctures. The causee NP *atil* in (2) and (3) is not only a logical core argument of the lower verb *nol-*, but it is also a logical core argument of the higher verb *ha-*. This is further supported by the fact that it can actually appear as the subject NP of the passive version of (2), as in:⁷

- (4) *atil-i amani-eke/e ihε nol-ke ha-yə-ci-əss-ta*
 son-NOM mother-DAT/by play-COMP do-PF-PASS-PST-IND
 'The son was caused to play by the mother.'

The passive in (4) is interpreted to be indicative of the fact that the causee NP functions as a core argument (i.e. undergoer) of the higher verb in (2). To put it differently, the two junctives in (2) *ha-* and *nol-*, share the causee NP *atil*. Evidence from the clefting of (2) or (3) also suggests that

⁷Some Korean speakers may find the sentence in (4) to be ungrammatical, while others may accept it as grammatical (e.g. Kang 1986:60, who presents a sentence similar to (4) as evidence in support of the direct object status of the ACC marked causee NP).

the causee NP *atil*, not *atil-eke/-il nol-ke*, is a syntactic argument of the higher verb *ha-*, as in:⁸

⁸ One of the anonymous *Language Research* referees is of the opinion that the evidence from the clefting in (6) can be weakened if it turns out to be the case that (6) is ungrammatical because only nominals can appear immediately before *i-ta*. My point is, however, that the fact that *atil-eke/-il nol-ke* cannot be used in conjunction with *i-ta* in (6) suggests that, unlike the clefted NP *atil* in (5), it is not a syntactic argument of the finite predicate *ha-*. In other words, *atil-eke/-il nol-ke* is not embedded as a core argument of *ha-* (Foley and Van Valin 1984:247; but see Note 11). Also note that I am not ruling out here the possibility that the clefted NP *atil* in (5) is marked by NOM in the original (noncleft) sentence. That is, (5) can also be regarded as being 'derived' from (1), not just from (2) or (3). This is far from surprising, because the NOM marked *atil* in (1) itself is also a core argument (albeit of only the lower predicate, *nol-*). The whole point of (5) and (6) is just to demonstrate that the causee NP alone is a core argument of the finite predicate. As the other referee alludes to it, however, the possibility that only the NOM marked causee NP can be clefted cannot easily be dismissed. Said differently, the DAT or ACC marked causee NP may never be clefted, whereby (5) must only be related to (1). This can potentially be a serious problem for my claim that the DAT or ACC marked causee NP is a core argument. However, there seems to be evidence in favor of at least the ACC marked causee NP being clefted. The ACC marked causee NP, not the NOM marked causee NP, can float ACC marked quantifiers. This is exemplified below in the context of periphrastic causative sentences (note that no such evidence exists for the DAT marked causee NP, because DAT marked nominals are generally known to be unable to float quantifiers [cf. Gerdts 1987, 1990:219] for further discussion):

- (i) *əməni-ka atil-il ses-il nol-ke ha-əss-ta*
 mother-NOM son-ACC three-ACC play-COMP do-PST-IND
 'The mother caused the three sons to play.'
- (ii) **əməni-ka atil-i ses-il nol-ke ha-əss-ta*
 mother-NOM son-NOM three-ACC play-COMP do-PST-IND
 'The mother caused the three sons to play.'

The causee NP may be clefted, leaving the floated quantifier stranded. So, if the floated quantifier appears with ACC in the cleft construction, then it can safely be assumed that the clefted causee NP must originally bear ACC, not NOM, as is demonstrated in:

- (iii) *əməni-ka ses-il nol-ke ha-əss-tən*
 mother-NOM three-ACC play-COMP do-PST-REL
salam-in atil i-ta
 person-TOP son is-IND
 'It is the three sons whom the mother caused to play [whereas it is the two daughters whom the mother caused to sing].'

- (5) əməni-ka nol-ke ha-əss-tən salam-in atil i-ta
 mother-NOM play-COMP do-PST-REL person-TOP son is-IND
 'It is the son whom the mother caused to play.'
- (6) *əməni-ka ha-əss-tən kəs-in atil-eke/-il
 mother-NOM do-PST-REL thing-TOP son-DAT/-ACC
 nol-ke i-ta
 play-COMP is-IND
 '*It is the son to play that the mother caused.'

Finally, the causee NP can be fronted or preposed, regardless of whether it is marked by DAT or ACC, just as can the ordinary object NP, as in:⁹

Finally, an additional piece of evidence for the causee NP *atil* not *atil-eke/-il nol-ke*, being a syntactic argument of the higher verb *ha-* comes from:

- (iv) atil-i əməni-ka nol-ke ha-əss-tən salam i-ta
 son-NOM mother-NOM play-COMP do-PST-REL person is-IND
 'The son is the person whom the mother caused to play.'
- (6) *atil-eke/-il nol-ke-ka əməni-ka ha-əss-tən kəs
 son-DAT/-ACC play-COMP-NOM mother-NOM do-PST-REL thing
 i-ta
 is-IND
 '*The son to play is what the mother caused.'

With regard to (6), one of the referees also points out that (6) may be rendered grammatical if the subject nominal is topicalized as in (v):

- (v) ?atil-eke/-il nol-ke-nin əməni-ka ha-əss-tən kəs
 son-DAT/-ACC play-COMP-TOP mother-NOM do-PST-REL thing
 i-ta
 is-IND

But I find (v) to be extremely odd, as has been indicated by the question mark; (vi) seems to me to be preferable.

- (vi) atil-eke/-il nol-ke-nin əməni-ka ha-əss-ta
 son-DAT/-ACC play-COMP-TOP mother-NOM do-PST-IND

⁹Note that if the causee NP is marked by NOM as in (1), the fronting of the causee NP would be impossible without bringing about a change of meaning. Compare (i) with (1):

- (i) atil-i əməni-ka nol-ke ha-əss-ta
 son-NOM mother-NOM play-COMP do-PST-IND
 'The son caused the mother to play.'

- (7) atil-eke/-il əməni-ka nol-ke ha-əss-ta
 son-DAT/-ACC mother-NOM play-COMP do-PST-IND
 'The mother caused the son to play.'

These three pieces of evidence lead to the view that the causee NP is shared by both junct. In other words, (2) or (3) are core junctures.

Furthermore, the fact that the negative or aspect element can actually intervene between the lower and higher verbs in (2) or (3) is taken to be a strong piece of evidence in support of the position that neither (2) nor (3) constitutes an instance of nuclear juncture. In other words, the sequence of the lower and higher verbs in (2) or (3) is not a complex nucleus.

- (8) əməni-ka ai-eke/-il yak-il mək-ke ani
 mother-NOM child-DAT/-ACC medicine-ACC eat-COMP NEG
 ha-əss-ta
 do-PST-IND

'The mother did not cause the child to take the medicine.'

- (9) əməni-ka ai-eke/il yak-il
 mother-NOM child-DAT/-ACC medicine-ACC
 mək-ko.iss-ke ha-ko.iss-ta
 eat-CONT-COMP do-CONT-IND

'The mother is causing the child to be taking the medicine.'

Note that unlike, for example, phonological fillers the intervening elements are not semantically void, but rather they are of semantic substance.¹⁰

¹⁰ Another element which can come in between the lower and higher verbs is the so-called plural copy, as illustrated in (i).

- (i) ai-til-i əməni-eke/-il yak-il mək-ke-til
 child-PL-NOM mother-DAT/-ACC medicine-ACC eat-COMP-PL
 ha-əss-ta
 do-PST-IND

'The children caused the mother to take the medicine.'

In (i), the plural marker *-il* which originates from the plural subject NP *ai-til-i*, breaks up the contiguity of the lower and higher verbs. The copied plural marker, however, has its own semantic function of signaling conceptual, spatial and/or temporal distribution, and also performs the pragmatic function of identifying the focal element of an utterance (for further discussion, see Song 1997). More importantly, the fact that the so-called *COMP -ke*, which is not so semantically void

The nexus type of (2) (and (3) for that matter) is identified as coordination on the basis of the fact that modal auxiliary verbs or manner adverbials can modify the lower and higher verbs separately. Consider the following sentences:

- (10) a. əməni-ka atɪl-eke/-ɪl nol-ke ha-lsuiss-ta
 mother-NOM son-DAT/-ACC play-COMP do-able-IND
 'The mother can cause the son to play.'
- b. əməni-ka atɪl-eke/-ɪl nol-su-əps-ke ha-lsuiss-ta
 mother-NOM son-DAT/-ACC play-unable-COMP do-able-IND
 'The mother can cause the son to be unable to play.'
- (11) a. əməni-ka cosimsɪləpke atɪl-eke/-ɪl nol-ke
 mother-NOM carefully son-DAT/-ACC play-COMP
 ha-əss-ta
 do-PST-IND
 'The mother carefully caused the son to play.'
- b. əməni-ka cosimsɪləpke atɪl-eke/-ɪl cosimsɪləpke
 mother-NOM carefully son-DAT/-ACC carefully
 nol-ke ha-əss-ta
 play-COMP do-PST-IND
 'The mother carefully caused the son to play carefully.'

In (10a), the modal auxiliary verb has its scope over the higher verb, not over the lower verb; the modality of the lower verb is not dependent on that of the higher verb. This clearly is shown to be the case by (10b), wherein the two modal auxiliary verbs used diverge from each other in terms of polarity, each having its scope on only one verb. If the modal auxiliary verb in (10a) takes scope over the whole sentence, (10b) should be ungrammatical as the lower verb has a contradictory modal auxiliary verb. A similar comment can be made of the manner adverbials in (11). This lack of dependence (or [-dependent]) in terms of modality or scope of manner adverbials suggests unequivocally that (2) or (3) is not a case of

as it is assumed by Park (1993), Yang (1994), and many others, occurs between the lower and higher verbs should not be ignored (see Song 1996:51-67 for crosslinguistic evidence in support of purposive markers being used in causatives). This alone disputes strongly the view that the causative sentence in (2) or (3) is a nuclear juncture.

cosubordination or subordination, but a case of coordination. The sentence in (6) repeated here as (12) further rules out the possibility of (2) or (3) being an instance of subordination, since the lower verb and its logical argument (i.e. actor) cannot be clefted; *atil-eke/-il nol-ke* 'the son to play' is not embedded under the higher verb *ha-*.¹¹

- (12) **əməni-ka ha-əss-tən kəs-in atil-eke/-il*
 mother-NOM do-PST-REL thing-TOP son-DAT/-ACC
nol-ke i-ta
 play-COMP is-IND
 '*It is the son to play that the mother caused.'

Evidence for (2) or (3) not being an instance of subordination can also be adduced from the fact that (2) or (3) is more appropriate as an answer to the question in (13) than that in (14), whereas the complement causative in (1), which is an instance of (core) subordination, is only compatible with (14).¹²

¹¹The complement causative as in (1) does not seem to allow the clefting of the embedded clause, as is shown in (i)(cf. (6)).

- (1) *əməni-ka atil-i nol-ke ha-əss-ta*
 mother-NOM son-NOM play-COMP do-PST-IND
 'The mother caused the son to play.'
- (i) **əməni-ka ha-əss-tən kəs-in*
 mother-NOM do-PST-REL thing-TOP
atil-i nol-ke i-ta
 son-NOM play-COMP is-IND
 'What the mother caused was for the son to play.'

Although (1) is analyzed as being an instance of core subordination in Song (1988:601-602; also in Yang 1994:184-189), the embedded core in (1), *atil-i nol-ke*, cannot be clefted. I am unable to explain exactly why this is so, but it could be owing to the fact that only nominals can appear immediately before *i-ta*. If so, the evidence from the clefting in (6) may not be so strong as it was initially thought to be. It is possible, therefore, that the sequence *atil-eke/-il nol-ke* cannot be clefted only because it is not a nominal, thereby leaving open the question whether it may or may not be a core argument.

¹²I want to emphasize here that I am not arguing that (2) or (3) is totally inappropriate as an answer to (14). What I am saying is, however, that *ceteris paribus* (2) or (3) pairs up better with (13) than with (14). Furthermore, the DAT or ACC marked WH-word in (13) may go along with the DAT or ACC marked causee NP, respectively.

- (13) əmənɪ-ka nuku-eke/-ɬɪl nol-ke ha-əss-nɪnya
 mother-NOM who-DAT/-ACC play-COMP do-PST-Q
 'Whom did the mother cause to play?'
- (14) əmənɪ-ka muəs-ɪl ha-əss-nɪnya
 mother-NOM what-ACC do-PST-Q
 'What did the mother do?'

3. Points of Contention

In this section, I will carry out a critical examination of both Park's (1993) and Yang's (1994) arguments against the analysis presented in Song (1988), and in so doing, I will also make an attempt to expose their shortcomings or fallacy.

3.1. Park (1993)

Park (1993) is not so much concerned with the nexus type of the periphrastic causative constructions in (2) or (3) as with their juncture status. He (1993:32-39) is of the opinion that (2) or (3) involves a nuclear juncture. The evidence that he provides in support of his analysis boils down basically to the claim that (2) or (3) loses a causative interpretation when the aspect or negative element comes in between the lower and higher verbs (cf. (8) and (9), and the discussion thereof). In other words, since they express causation only when **nothing** appears between the lower and higher verbs, (2) and (3) must constitute nuclear junctures. According to him, therefore, (15) is not a causative sentence at all.

- (15) əmənɪ-ka ai-eke/-ɬɪl o-ko.iss-ke ha-əss-ta
 mother-NOM child-DAT/-ACC come-CONT-COMP do-PST-IND
 'The mother caused the child to be coming.'

But why is (15) not semantically causative? Park (1993:33) is at pains to explain that (15) does not have a causative meaning because the NP *ai* did not undergo 'a [complete] change of state after the mother's causing'. But by the same token, one must also assume that (16), which is in future tense, is not a causative because the caused event (not to mention the causing event) is yet to occur.

- (16) əməni-ka ai-eke/-li o-ke ha-lkə-ta
 mother-NOM child-DAT/-ACC come-COMP do-FUT-IND
 'The mother will cause the child to come.'

But the meaning or what Givón (1994:266-267) calls the 'propositional kernel' of the whole expression in (16) is such that the semantic role of the NP *əməni* is the causer and that of the NP *ai* is the causee, and these two NPs are related to each other by the predicate the meaning of which is causation. The propositional kernel will be constant or invariable, regardless of the actual tense of the expression in which it is encoded. The function of the future tense in (16) is simply to situate the causative event in the temporal domain of future, but with the roles of the NPs *əməni* and *ai*, the causative meaning of *ha-* etc. remaining unchanged. To claim, therefore, that (16) is not a causative or it does not express causation because it denotes a future event seems to me to be something akin to a confusion between sense and reference. Further, Park (1993:34) points out that (2) and (3), with the negative element positioned between the lower and higher verbs, carry a stronger sense of directing, advising, or persuading, than of causation, and that in order to negate causation, the negative element should appear before the sequence of the lower and higher verbs, as in.¹³

- (17) əməni-ka ai-eke/-li ani o-ke ha-əss-ta
 mother-NOM child-DAT/-ACC NEG come-COMP do-PST-IND
 'The mother did not cause the child to come.'
 [Park's translation]

But this is not correct, because in (17) the scope of negation is only over the lower verb, not over the sequence of the lower and higher verbs.¹⁴ So,

¹³ Oddly enough, Park (1993:34) thinks that (17), with the negative marker before the lower verb, expresses causative relation, while it loses a causative meaning, if and when the negative marker occurs between the lower and higher verbs. Also see Note 15.

¹⁴ I am aware of the claim that the negative marker takes scope over either the lower verb or the sequence of the lower and higher verbs (e.g. Lee 1991, Bratt 1993). But those who make this claim should deal with (18a), wherein there is a negative marker each for the lower and higher verbs, and (18b), wherein the negative marker appearing before the first lower verb does not take scope over either the second lower verb or the higher verb.

(17) really means, *pace* Park, that ‘The mother caused the child not to come’ or ‘The mother brought it about that the child did not come’. Further evidence for this position comes from the fact that both the lower and higher verbs can, in fact, bear separate negative marking, as in (18a) or the fact that in (18b), the first sequence of the causee NP and the lower verb involves negative marking, whereas the second sequence does not do so:

- (18) a. əməni-ka ai-eke/-lil ani o-ke ani
 mother-NOM child-DAT/-ACC NEG come-COMP NEG
 ha-əss-ta
 do-PST-IND
 ‘The mother did not cause the child not to come.’
- b. əməni-ka ai-eke/-lil ani o-ke,
 mother-NOM child-DAT/-ACC NEG come-COMP
 əlin-eke/-il o-ke ha-əss-ta
 adult-DAT/-ACC come-COMP do-PST-IND
 ‘The mother caused the child not to come, and (she caused) the adult to come.’

The sentence in (18a) means that what the causer NP *əməni* did not bring about is that the causee NP *ai* did not come. In (18b), the causer did different things with respect to the two causees: The causer *əməni* caused the first causee *ai* not to come, but she caused the second causee *əlin* to come. The scope of the negative marker *ani*, which affects the first lower verb *o-*, does not extend to either the higher verb *ha-* or the second lower verb *o-*. This behavior of the negative marker is not to be expected of a nuclear juncture, which Park claims that the causative sentence in (2) or (3) is.

Finally, Park (1993:36–38) also appeals to the scope of time adverbials as further evidence for (2) and (3) being nuclear junctures. He (1993:38) declares on the basis of Ahn (1990) that in (19) the time adverbial *il-nyən nənε* ‘is the modifier of the event as a whole, not that of [the] event denoted by the complement [sic]’, and then takes this behavior of the time adverbial to confirm the nuclear juncture status of the causative sentences in (2) and (3).

- (19) caki-pisə-wa-ii sikəntal hana-ka il-nyən
 self-secretary-with-GEN scandal one-NOM one-year

nɛnɛ motɪn hupo-lɪl kɔɛlɔp-ke ha-əss-ta
 all.along all candidate-ACC get.annoyed-COMP do-PST-IND
 ‘One scandal with his own secretary annoyed all the candidates all
 the year.’

But the reason why the time adverbial in (19) does not affect the event denoted by the lower verb is that the adverbial is positioned before the causee NP. To put it differently, to have the lower verb under its scope, the time adverbial should be relocated to the position immediately after the causee NP *motɪn hupo-lɪl* (for a similar position, see Cho 1987:21). Park (1993) seems to be unaware of the effect of the actual position of the time adverbial in causative sentences such as (2) and (3). This certainly calls into question the alleged nuclear status of (2) and (3), because if (2) and (3) were nuclear junctures, the time adverbial should, regardless of where it turns up, take scope over the whole sequence of the lower and higher verbs. In fact, Park (1993:36-37) admits that (2) and (3), with a time adverbial, can be ‘ambiguous between core and nuclear junctures’, citing O’Grady (1991:188), who claims on the basis of Patterson (1974) that the scope of the time adverbial *achim-puthə* in (20) is over either the lower verb or the sequence of the lower and higher verbs.

(20) nɛ-ka sikmo-eke/-lɪl achim-puthə il.ha-ke ha-əss-ta
 I-NOM maid-DAT/-ACC morning-from work-COMP do-PST-IND
 ‘Starting morning, I made the maid work.’ or
 ‘I made the maid [work starting this morning].’

But I find the judgement underlying this claim to be somewhat dubious, because as has already been pointed out, the time adverbial in (20) is related to the lower, not higher, verb; in other words, (20) can only mean ‘I made the maid [work starting this morning].’ For the first reading assigned to (20), ‘Starting morning, I made the maid work’, the time adverbial should instead be positioned before the causee NP *sikmo-eke/-lɪl*. That this is so is strongly supported by the fact that two different time adverbials can actually appear, each having its scope over one verb, as in:

(21) nɛ-ka əcɛ-cənyək-puthə sikmo-eke/-lɪl achim-puthə
 I-NOM last-night-from maid-DAT/-ACC morning-from

il.ha-ke ha-əss-ta
 work-COMP do-PST-IND

'Starting last night, I made the maid [work starting this morning].'

The sentence in (21) could easily describe a situation where the speaker (or the causer) changed the maid's working hours by amending the employment contract on the previous night so that she was now required to start her work in the morning, rather than in the afternoon as she had previously done. In other words, the time adverbial positioned before the causee NP is associated with the higher verb, whereas the one after the causee NP is related to the lower verb.

3.2. Yang (1994)

Unlike Park (1993), Yang (1994) is concerned with not only the juncture status, but also the nexus status of the causative sentences in (2) and (3). In particular, he distinguishes the causative construction in (2) from that in (3), the former being referred to as the NOM-ACC(-ACC) phrasal causative, and the latter as the NOM-DAT(-ACC) phrasal causative. He (1994:195-196) claims that the NOM-ACC(-ACC) pattern is a nuclear cosubordination, whereas the NOM-DAT(-ACC) pattern is a core cosubordination. This analysis, thus, also contrasts with Song (1988), wherein these two are both classified as instances of core coordination.

While endorsing Park's (1993) claim that if something (other than a phonological filler) occurs between the lower and higher verbs, the causative sentences in (2) and (3) express permission, not causation (1994:195), Yang (1994:192) basically accepts all the evidence that Song (1988) provides for the NOM-DAT(-ACC) pattern being a core juncture (see section 2).¹⁵ However, he (1994:195) takes the syntactic difference between the

¹⁵ In other words, the NOM-DAT(-ACC) pattern does not express causation if something, e.g. negative, modal auxiliary elements, etc., comes in between the lower and higher verbs.

- (i) əməni-ka atil-eke totukcil-il ha-lsuiss-ke
 mother-NOM son-DAT theft-ACC do-able-COMP
 ha-lsuəps-ta
 do-unable-IND

While I do not deny that (i) may express permission or lack thereof, I dispute

NOM-DAT(-ACC) and NOM-ACC(-ACC) patterns, as illustrated in (22) and (23), to be significant enough to call for a finer distinction between the two.

- (22) əməni-nin nol-ke atil-eke/*-il ha-əss-ta
 mother-TOP play-COMP son-DAT/*-ACC do-PST-IND
 'The mother caused the son to play.'

- (23) John-in çek-il ilk-ke Sue-eke/*-il ha-əss-ta
 John-TOP book-ACC read-COMP Sue-DAT/*-ACC do-PST-IND
 'John caused Sue to read the book.'

In both (22) and (23), the causee NP can break up the contiguity of the lower and higher verbs, when it is marked as DAT, but not when it is marked by ACC. This allows Yang to claim that the NOM-ACC(-ACC) pattern is a nuclear juncture, whereas the NOM-DAT(-ACC) pattern is a

strongly that (i) does not express causation; (i) can also mean that the mother lacks the ability to cause the son to be able to steal. Suppose that the parents are thieves, but the mother has failed to cause the son to be able to steal, because the latter thinks it is wrong to steal. This can more clearly be seen in (ii).

- (ii) chəim-e-nin əməni-ka atil-eke totukcil-il
 first.time-LOC-TOP mother-NOM child-DAT theft-ACC
 ha-lsuəps-ke ha-lsuiss-əss-ina nacuŋ-e-nin
 do-unable-COMP do-able-PST-but later-LOC-TOP
 taiseŋ kiləhke ha-l niŋlyək-i əps-əss-ta
 no.more so do-REL ability-NOM not.exit-PST-IND
 'Initially the mother could cause the son to be unable to steal, but later she did not have the ability to do so any more.' or
 'Initially, the mother could cause the son to stop stealing, but later she lost the ability to do so any more.'

For (ii), imagine a situation wherein the son was a compulsive thief, and by her maternal authority alone the mother initially had the ability to deter him from the criminal activity, but as he grew up, she eventually lost her control over him. The sense of permission is completely disfavored here. Note further that the proform *kiləhke ha-* is used in conjunction with the nominal *niŋlyək* 'ability'. Clearly, in (ii) one is dealing with causation, not permission. It is not totally unexpected that (i) can also express permission, because in many languages causatives tend to express not only causation but also permission (Nedyalkov and Silnitsky 1973:11-13, who discuss some contextual factors which induce causatives to express permission). Furthermore, the causative sentences in (2), and (3), even without negative marking, can indeed express permission as well (cf. Yang 1994:240).

core juncture. But it is not correct to say that the contiguity of the lower and higher verbs can never be broken up in the NOM-ACC(-ACC) pattern, because if and when the causer NP instead is inserted in between the two verbs, it does not matter at all whether the causee NP is marked by DAT or ACC, as shown in the following sentences.

(24) atɪl-eke/-ɪl nol-ke əməni-nɪn ha-əss-ta
son-DAT/-ACC play-COMP mother-TOP do-PST-IND
'The mother caused the son to play.'

(25) Sue-eke/-lɪl chək-ɪl ilk-ke John-ɪn ha-əss-ta
Sue-DAT/-ACC book-ACC read-COMP John-TOP do-PST-IND
'John made Sue read the book.'

What is crucial here is, therefore, that the sequence of the two verbs can be disrupted. The NOM-ACC(-ACC) pattern is not a nuclear juncture, wherein two or more verbs are linked to form a single, complex nucleus.

Further, Yang (1994:195) points out that the lower verb can be extracted to the end of the sentence if the causee NP is marked as DAT, but not if it is marked by ACC, as exemplified in (26) and (27). He also interprets this to be indicative of the different juncture statuses of the NOM-DAT(-ACC) and NOM-ACC(-ACC) patterns.

(26) əməni-nɪn atɪl-eke/*-ɪl ha-əss-ta, nol-ke
mother-TOP son-DAT/-ACC do-PST-IND play-COMP
'The mother caused the son to play.'

(27) John-ɪn Sue-eke/*-lɪl ha-əss-ta, chək-ɪl ilk-ke
John-TOP Sue-DAT/-ACC do-PST-IND book-ACC read-COMP
'John made Sue read the book.'

This argument is again based on the reasoning that if the lower and higher verbs form a single nucleus as is supposed to be in a nuclear juncture, they should not be taken apart from each other. But consider:

(28) əməni-nɪn ha-əss-ta, atɪl-eke/-ɪl nol-ke
mother-TOP do-PST-IND son-DAT/-ACC play-COMP
'The mother caused the son to play.'

(29) John-ɪn ha-əss-ta, Sue-eke/-lɪl chək-ɪl ilk-ke
John-TOP do-PST-IND Sue-DAT/-ACC book-ACC read-COMP
'John made Sue read the book.'

As can be seen in (28) and (29), the lower verb can indeed be separated from the higher verb (along with its other core argument(s)), regardless of whether or not the causee NP is marked by DAT or ACC. This suggests strongly that neither the NOM-ACC(-ACC) pattern nor NOM-DAT(-ACC) pattern is a nuclear juncture. Since Yang (1994) takes the NOM-DAT(-ACC) pattern to be a core juncture, and since the NOM-ACC(-ACC) pattern behaves very much like the NOM-DAT(-ACC) pattern as has just been shown, one cannot avoid the conclusion that the NOM-ACC(-ACC) pattern is not a nuclear, but core juncture.

Now about the nexus status of the NOM-ACC(-ACC) and NOM-DAT(-ACC) patterns. First, the NOM-ACC(-ACC) pattern is claimed to be a case of cosubordination, because 'the continuous aspect *-ko.iss-* has scope over the whole complex nuclei [sic]' (Yang 1994:228), as in (30).

- (30) suni-ka chəlsu-lil wul-ke ha-ko.iss-əss-ta
 Soonhi-NOM Chelsoo-ACC cry-COMP do-CONT-PST-IND
 'Soonhi was causing Chelsoo to cry.'

Yang goes on to point out that (30) 'implies that [Chelsoo] is crying and that Soonhi is causing him to do it'; the lower verb, although lacking its own continuous aspect marker, is also interpreted to be in continuous aspect. In other words, the lower verb is dependent on the higher verb for aspect marking in (30). But there is enough evidence against his position. First, as is noted in Song (1988:592-593), the lower verb can potentially carry its own continuous aspect marker, as in:

- (31) əməni-ka ai-lil yak-il mək-ko.iss-ke
 mother-NOM child-ACC medicine-ACC eat-CONT-COMP
 ha-ko.iss-ta
 do-CONT-IND
 'The mother is causing the child to be taking the medicine.'

Secondly, the lower verb can bear aspect marking with the higher verb lacking it, as in:

- (32) suni-ka chəlsu-lil wul-ko.iss-ke ha-əss-ta
 Soonhi-NOM Chelsoo-ACC cry-CONT-COMP do-PST-IND
 'Soonhi caused Chelsoo to be crying.'

Finally, one can easily think of a situation where the causer is in the process of doing something in order that the causee will carry out an act at a later point in time, as in (33) and (34).

- (33) *hyəŋ-i na-lil yak-il mək-ke*
 elder.brother-NOM I-ACC medicine-ACC eat-COMP
ha-ko.iss-əyo kilənte na-nin mək-ki silh-əyo
 do-CONT-IND but I-TOP eat-COMP hate-IND
 'Big brother is causing me to take the medicine, but I hate to take it.'
- (34) *kiho-ka cini-lil nənyən-e cəŋsi.ha-ke*
 Keeho-NOM Jinee-ACC next.year-LOC reapply COMP
ha-ko.iss-ta
 do-CONT-IND
 'Keeho is causing Jinee to reapply next year.'

In (33), the speaker is protesting (perhaps to his mother) that his elder brother is causing him to take the medicine. But it is quite possible that he is not actually taking the medicine at the time of speech. He may only be complaining about the fact that his elder brother is doing something so that (he thinks that) he may eventually have to take the medicine. In (34), the fact that the caused event is yet to take place, although the causing action is well in progress is indicated clearly by the presence of the future time adverbial immediately before the lower verb *cəŋsi.ha*. Here, it is understood that the causer is working on the causee at the time of speech, but that the caused event will not occur till the following year. In other words, the scope of the continuous aspect cannot be over the whole nucleus in (33) or (34), because the NOM-ACC(-ACC) pattern is not a nuclear juncture in the first place.

The nexus type of the NOM-DAT(-ACC) pattern as in (3) is also claimed by Yang (1994) to be cosubordination. The evidence that he (1994: 206-207) puts forth in support of this view is based on sentences such as (35).

- (35) *əməni-ka atil-eke nol-ke ha-lsuiss-əss-ta*
 mother-NOM son-DAT play-COMP do-able-PST-IND
 'The mother could cause the son to play.'

He claims that (35) 'implies not only the mother's ability to make the

son play but also the son's ability to play [emphasis added]. If, as his argument runs, the mother can cause the son to play, the son must possess the ability to comply with the mother's desire. If, on the other hand, the son lacks the ability to play, the mother would not even attempt to cause the son to play. Thus, the modality of the first verb is claimed to be 'dependent on that of the second nucleus [i.e. verb], and this is a characteristic of cosubordination' (Yang 1994:206). But this is a totally absurd position to advocate. What must count here is whether or not the modal auxiliary verb attached to the higher verb also has its scope over the lower verb **grammatically**, not whether or not it is possible that the causee has the actual ability to perform the required act in the world spoken of. Said differently, what is needed is grammatical evidence, not pragmatic implication or inference to be drawn (about the causee) on the basis of the knowledge of the world spoken of. In fact, if Yang's position is taken to its logical conclusion, it also has to be claimed that the modality of the main verb has its scope over the lower verb in the following sentence.

- (36) kiho-ka caki chinku-eke piano-ŋl chi-lako
 Keeho-NOM self friend-DAT piano-ACC play-COMP
 puthak.ha-lsuiss-ta
 ask-able-IND
 'Keeho can ask his friend to play the piano.'

Unless his friend actually has the ability to play the piano, Keeho will not be able to ask him to do so. But one can never claim that the modality of the higher verb *puthak.ha-* in (36) takes scope over the lower verb *chi-* as well. But this is what Yang's position leads to: a *reductio ad absurdum*.

4. Interclausal Relations Hierarchy

As has briefly been discussed in section 1, Foley and Van Valin (1984: 270; also in Van Valin 1993b:111-112) put forth the IRH with a view to capturing 'the degree of semantic cohesion between the propositional units linked in the complex structure, i.e. the degree to which they express aspects of a single action or event or discrete events' (Van Valin 1993b:111). The thrust of the IRH is that 'the closer the semantic relation between two propositions is, the stronger the syntactic link joining them' (Van Valin

1993b:111; also see Givón 1980, Bybee 1985, Haiman 1985). Foley and Van Valin (1984:271-272; also Van Valin 1993b:111-112) indeed make a specific claim concerning causation: 'If, for example, causation can be expressed more than one way in a language, one of those ways must be in the most tightly linked construction found in the language [emphasis added]'.¹⁶

In Song (1988), however, it is concluded that Korean causatives do not exactly conform to the IRH because causation is not expressed in the most tightly linked juncture-nexus type readily available in the language, i.e. nuclear cosubordination, an example of which is given in (37).¹⁶

- (37) əməni-ka ai-eke cacəŋka-ləl puli-ə-cu-əss-ta
 mother-NOM child-DAT lullaby-ACC sing-PF-give-PST-IND
 'The mother sang a lullaby for the son.'

Rather, causation is expressed by (2) or (3), which is an instance of core coordination, a syntactic relation five steps lower than nuclear cosubordination on the IRH.

By claiming that the NOM-ACC(-ACC) pattern is a nuclear cosubordination, Yang (1994) (and also Park [1993]), however, is able to declare that the IRH makes a correct prediction for Korean causatives: In Korean causation, the closest semantic relation, is realized etically by nuclear cosubordination, the strongest syntactic relation. But as has been argued in section 3, Yang's (and also Park's) arguments against my analysis of the NOM-ACC(-ACC) and NOM-DAT(-ACC) patterns in (2) and (3), respectively, are ill-founded, and/or misconceived. The NOM-ACC(-ACC) pattern is not a nuclear cosubordination, nor is the NOM-DAT(-ACC) pattern a core cosubordination. Rather, both are plain examples of core coordination. Therefore, the problem that is identified for the IRH in Song (1988) still remains to be dealt with.¹⁷

¹⁶ The morphological causative, which involves the causative suffix *-I*, falls outside the purview of the clause linkage theory of RRG, because the derived causative verb only constitutes a simple nucleus (see Song 1988:598-603).

¹⁷ In fact, the matter is a bit more complicated because of the existence of the complement causative in (1), an instance of core subordination; see Song (1988; also 1996:125-128) for detailed discussion of this.

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