NON-NOMINATIVE (MAJOR) SUBJECTS AND CASE STACKING IN KOREAN[*]

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1. Introduction

Non-nominative Subject Constructions (NNSCs, hereafter) in Korean have been investigated from a variety of perspectives (Gerdts & Youn 1988, 1999; Youn 1990, 1998; Y-J Kim 1990; K-S Hong 1991; Yoon 1996, *inter alia*). Not surprisingly, the constructions exhibit a number of properties that are found across a wide spectrum of languages that have been claimed to possess NNSCs. In particular, most properties of NNSCs in Korean closely parallel those in Japanese (Shibatani 1999; Ura 1999).

For example, NNSCs in Korean are typically built around predicates that do not govern Accusative case (cf. 1). The predicates that occur in NNSCs also occur independently as intransitive (unaccusative) predicates expressing psychological states, possession, obligation, etc. (cf. 2). The Non-nominative Subject (NNS) is often marked Dative and typically carries the thematic role of Experiencer, though it has also been claimed that Locative-marked NPs can occur as Subjects in NNSCs (cf. 3). For psychological and necessity predicates participating in NNSCs, an event or state described with a NNSC can be alternately expressed using a transitive predicate (cf. 4).

(1) a. *Cheli-eykey   ton-i/*ul   iss-ta/eps-ta*
   C-DAT   money-NOM/*ACC   exist-DECL/not.exist-DECL
   'Cheli has/does not have money.'

   b. *Cheli-eykey   ton-i/*ul   philyoha-ta*
   C-DAT   money-NOM/*ACC   necessary-DECL
   'Cheli needs money.'

   c. *Cheli-eykey   Yenghi-ka/*lul   mwusep-ta*
   C-DAT   Y-NOM/*ACC   fearsome-DECL
   'Cheli is afraid of Yenghi.'

(2) a. *Salamtul-i   yeki   iss-ta*
   persons-NOM   here   exist-DECL
   'There are people here.'

   b. *Manhun   ton-i   philyoha-ta*
   much   money-NOM   necessary-DECL
   'A lot of money is needed.'

   c. *Ku   salam-un   mwusep-ta*
   That   person-TOP   fearsome-DECL

'That person is scary.'

(3) a. *Cheli-eykey   ton-i   manh-ta*
C-DAT   money-NOM   much-DECL
'Cheli has a lot of money.'

   b. *Changmwun-ey   seli-ka   kkin-ta*
window-LOC   frost-NOM   collect-DECL
'Frost builds on the window.'

(4) a. *Cheli-ka   manhun   ton-ul/*i   philyo-lo   han-ta*
C-NOM   much   money-ACC/*NOM   need-INST do-DECL
'Cheli needs a lot of money.'

   b. *Cheli-ka   Yenghi-lul/*ka   mwusew-e   han-ta*
C-NOM   Y-ACC/*NOM   fear-COMP   do-DECL
'Cheli is afraid of Yenghi.'

The NNS in these constructions displays properties that are typically attributed to Subjects in the language. For example, the NNS can bind a subject-oriented reflexive (cf. 5), control PRO in a subject-oriented adjunct clause (cf. 6), control Plural Copying (cf. 7), and undergo GR-changing rules which have been claimed to pick out Subjects (such as ECM/SOR, cf. 8).

(5) *Cheli$_k$-eykey-nun* [*casin$_k$-uy chinkwutul*]-*i   mwusep-ta*
C-DAT-TOP   self-GEN friends-NOM   fearsome-DECL
'Cheli is afraid of his friends.'

(6) [*PRO$_k$ tayhakwensayng-i-myenseto*]   *Cheli$_k$-eykey-nun sillyek-i   eps-ta*
graduate.student-COP-COMP   C-DAT-NOM   ability-NOM   not.exist-DECL
'Though he is a graduate student, Cheli's academic abilities are marginal.'

(7) *Ce   haksayngtul$_k$-eykey-nun   mwuncey-ka   taytanhi-tul$_k$ manh-ta*
Those students-DAT-TOP   problem-NOM   extremely-PL   much-DECL
'Those students have a lot of problems.'

(8) *Na-nun   Cheli-eykey-(man)-ul   kulen   mwuncey-ka   iss-ta-ko*
I-TOP   C-DAT-(only)-ACC   that.kind   problem-NOM   exist-DECL-COMP
sayngkakhan-ta
think-DECL
'I think that only Cheli has that kind of problem.'

However, in addition to properties that are found with regularity across a wide spectrum of languages possessing NNSCs, Korean NNSCs display certain properties that are not commonly found in other languages. Three such properties can be identified.

The first property is *Subject-Predicate Agreement*. A fairly robust cross-linguistic generalization about NNSs is that they fail to trigger Subject-Predicate Agreement, unlike Nom-

marked Subjects. Agreement in NNSCs holds instead between the Nom-marked 'Object' and the predicate. This is illustrated in (9) below from various languages.[1]

(9) a. *Mir   gefallen   diese Bücher*   (German)
    I.DAT   like.PL   these books
    'I like these books.'

  b. *Mne   nravjatsja   knigi*   (Russian)
    I.DAT like.PRS.3PL.REFL book.PL
    'I like books'

  c. *Henni   voru   gefnar bækurnar*   (Icelandic)
    She.DAT were.3PL given book.NOM.PL
    'She was given books.'

In Korean (and Japanese), however, a putative instance of Subject-Predicate Agreement, Honorific Agreement, preferentially holds between the predicate and the NNS, rather than between the Nom-marked Object and the predicate.[2]

(10) a. *Kim-sensayngnim-**kkey**-(nun)   Swuni-ka philyoha-**si**-ta*
      K-teacher-DAT.HON-(TOP)   S-NOM   necessary-HON-DECL
      'Professor Kim needs Swuni.'

    b. **?Swuni-eykey-(nun) Kim-sensayngnim-**i/kkeyse**   philyoha-**si**-ta*
       S-DAT-(TOP)   K-teacher-NOM/NOM.HON   necessary-HON-DECL
      'Swuni needs Professor Kim.'

If Plural Copying is construed as (optional) Number Agreement with Subject, then it too holds preferentially between the NNS and constituents contained within the phrase headed by the predicate, rather than the Nom-marked Object and the predicate (cf. 7 above).

The second uncommon property is that in many, if not all, instances, the NNS may alternate with a regular Nom-marked Subject, giving rise to *Case Alternation*. This is illustrated below in (11).

(11) a. *Cheli-eykey/ka   ton-i   manh-ta/iss-ta/eps-ta*
      C-DAT/NOM   money-NOM a.lot-DECL/exist-DECL/not.exist-DECL
      'Cheli has/doesn't have (a lot of) money.'

    b. *Cheli-eykey/ka   Yenghi-ka   mwusep-ta*
      C-DAT/NOM   Y-NOM   fearsome-DECL
      'Cheli is afraid of Yenghi.'

    c. *Cheli-eykey/ka   ton-i   philyoha-ta*
      C-DAT/NOM   money-NOM necessary-DECL
      'Cheli needs money.'

The Case Alternation seen in (11) is not the same as the alternative encoding of the event/state described by the NNS construction in a transitive frame seen in (4) above, since the predicate remains the same and the Object is still marked Nominative under Case Alternation.

The third unusual property of NNSCs in Korean is that in addition to exhibiting a Case Alternation between Dative/Locative and Nominative, NNS's may surface with *both* of the alternating Cases, giving rise to what has been called *Case Stacking* (Gerdts & Youn 1988; Youn 1990; Yoon 1996; Schütze 1996, 2001). This is illustrated in (12).

(12)　a.　*Cheli-eykey-ka　　ton-i　　　manh-ta*
　　　　　C-DAT-NOM　　money-NOM　a.lot-DECL
　　　　　'It is Cheli who has a lot of money.'

　　　b.　*Cheli-hanthey-ka　Yenghi-ka　　mwusep-ta*
　　　　　C-DAT-NOM　　　Y-NOM　　　fearsome-DECL
　　　　　'It is Cheli who is scared of Yenghi.'

　　　c.　*Cheli-hanthey-ka　　ton-i　　　philyoha-ta*
　　　　　C-DAT-NOM　　　　money-NOM　necessary-DECL
　　　　　'It is Cheli who needs money.'

If both of the stacked Cases are indeed case-markers, then Case Stacking appears to contradict the widespread cross-linguistic generalization that an Inherently case-marked NP is incompatible with additional Structural case-marking.

The paper is concerned primarily with the last of the typologically uncommon properties of NNSCs in Korean -- Case Stacking, though the overall conclusions also shed important light on the two remaining issues, especially, the question of the subjecthood of the Dative-marked NP in its unstacked and stacked incarnations. After introducing the debate on Case Stacking (section 2), I show that contrary to a recent claim (Schütze 1996, 2001), stacked Nom/Acc cases behave genuinely as case-markers (section 3). Case Stacking of Nominative has also been investigated in regard to the subjecthood of the nominal on which Nominative is stacked. In particular, it has been claimed (Gerdts &Youn 1988; Youn 1990) that Nominative stacking is restricted to nominals that function as Subjects. Evidence for the subjecthood of the nominal is assumed to come from the ability of the nominal to surface with only Nominative case (giving rise to Case Alternation), and to trigger Subject Agreement. In contrast to these proposals, I will argue that Case Alternations and grammatical subjecthood are not required of nominals exhibiting Nominative stacking (section 4). However, I show that the Nominative stacked nominals do behave in some ways like Subjects – namely, they act as *Major Subjects* (section 5). I claim that Nominative stacking reflects their status as Major Subjects, specifically as *Non-nominative Major Subjects*. The argument for the Major Subject analysis of Case Stacking is based on a critical re-examination of the debate concerning subjecthood and subject diagnostics in Korean (Y-J Kim 1990;Youn 1990; K-S Hong 1991; K-S Park 1995, *inter alia*), a debate that was predicated on the assumption that there is a unique Subject in a clause, namely, the Grammatical Subject.[3] I will suggest, however, that the so-called subject properties need not reside in a unique nominal, but can be distributed between Major and Grammatical Subjects in languages like

Korean. Along with Nom-stacking, SOR/ECM is identified as another diagnostic that is sensitive to Major Subject status. I conclude the paper by showing how the Major Subject analysis of Nom-stacked nominals can account for the properties of stacking identified to date, including dialectal and idiolectal variation among speakers regarding stacking.

2. Three Approaches to Case Stacking

The goals of this section and the next are to introduce the current debate on Case Stacking and to argue that Case Stacking as such exists. Three approaches to Case Stacking are introduced in this section. Arguments are then presented showing that the stacked case particle must be treated as marking case, rather than focus (Schütze 1996, 2001).

Theoretical approaches to Case Stacking in Korean to date fall roughly into three broad categories. They can be distinguished on the basis of the answers they give to the following questions.

(13) a. Is the stacked case particle in Case Stacking a genuine Case-marker?
   b. Does grammatical subjecthood entail the possibility of Nominative Case-marking?[4]
   c. Is Case Alternation a prerequisite to Case Stacking?

2.1. Case Alternations and Case Stacking

In a well-known approach, exemplified by the work of Gerdts & Youn (1988), Youn (1990) and K-S Hong (1991), the answers to all three questions are in the affirmative.[5] The stacked particle is a (Structural) case-marker, and grammatical subjecthood correlates with Nominative-marking, in the sense that Nominative case is always possible on Subjects, even on NNSs. Stacking in turn is claimed to be possible only on constituents that allow Case Alternation.

In Gerdts &Youn's (1988) analysis, Case Stacking arises when a Dative-marked nominal that is an underlying Indirect Object 'advances' to become a surface Subject. Being a Subject means in turn that the nominal has the ability to be marked with Nominative Case. Assuming that in Korean the Inherent Case associated with underlying GRs (Dative) and/or the Structural Case associated with surface GRs (Nominative) can be realized, they account for the fact that the Experiencer nominal can surface with either Dative (when the I-Case is realized), Nominative (when the S-Case is realized), or both (when both I-Case and S-Case are realized).

In this approach, the relevant 'parameter' distinguishing languages like Korean from, say, Icelandic, could be stated as follows;

(14) a. Can an I-Case nominal be assigned an additional S-Case? {Y=Korean, etc., N=Icelandic, etc.,}[6]
   b. If the answer to (a) is 'Yes', can the multiple Cases be simultaneously realized? {Y=Korean, etc., …}

A desirable consequence of this approach, but one that the authors do not actually exploit, is that it is able to account for the remaining unusual property of NNSs in Korean, namely, the ability of NNSs to trigger agreement on the predicate (Honorific and Number Agreement). If the NNS is in fact always marked Nominative, the agreement is expected, since the predicate is in fact agreeing with the Nominative-marked Subject. In this way, the three unusual properties of NNS constructions in Korean could receive a unified treatment.

2.2. Case Stacking Under Movement

In the second approach to Case Stacking (Yoon 1996; 2001; J-M Jo 2001), the answer to (13a) is in the affirmative while the answers to (13b, c) are not. That is, while stacked case is genuine case, being a Grammatical Subject does not require a constituent to be marked with Nominative case, and Case Stacking is independent of Case Alternations.
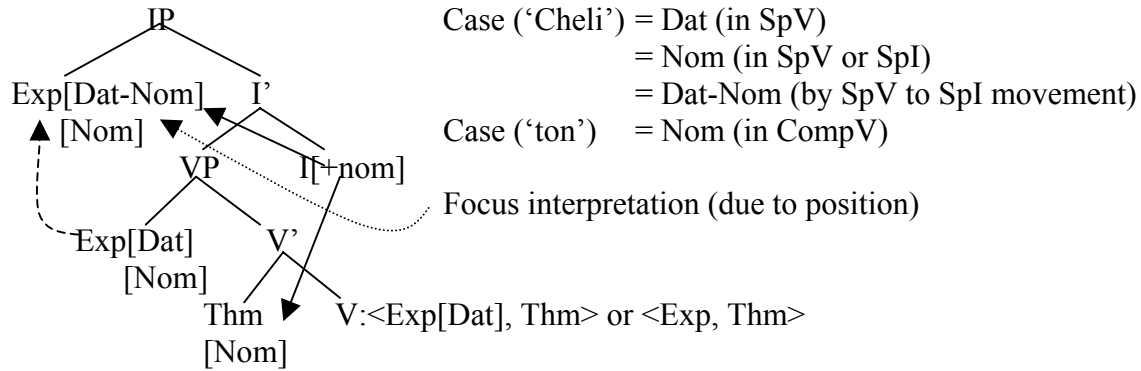
The analysis of Case Stacking in Yoon (1996) works as follows. Yoon (1996) takes Case Stacking to arise when a nominal forms a non-trivial A-Chain, that is, when a nominal has undergone the equivalent of RG 'advancement' (Gerdts &Youn 1988). The I-Case marks the D-structure role of the nominal while the S-Case marks the S-structure role/position of the nominal. This analysis, like that of Gerdts &Youn (1988), posits multiple case assignment and realization (cf. 14 above) in Korean.

The way in which Case Alternations arise in this system is as follows. A dyadic psych predicate is assumed to have two related lexical entries. In one entry, both the Experiencer and Theme arguments are without Inherent Case, while in another, the Experiencer argument carries an Inherent (Dative) case (Belletti & Rizzi 1988). When the Exp has an Inherent case, and moves from its D-structure position (SpVP) to its surface structure position (SpIP), Case Stacking ensues. When the Exp does not carry Inherent Dative case, it can be assigned Nominative either in its base position (SpVP) or in the derived position (SpIP). That is, Case Alternation and Case Stacking structures are associated with two different derivations. The Theme, in contrast, always gets Nominative case in-situ, in its base position within the VP when the V is a non-case assigner.

Noting that Stacking gives rise to a focus-like interpretation, Yoon (1996) suggested that the interpretation may arise 'constructionally', that is, the SpIP position is a position that is associated with focus interpretation. Therefore, one way to determine whether Nominative is assigned within VP or in SpIP is to attend to the interpretation of the Nom-marked NP.[7] The question then arises why Nominative cannot stack on a Dat-marked Exp in SpVP. The answer comes from the central claim of the paper that Case Stacking, as an instance of multiple case assignment, arises only in non-trivial A-Chains.

What is distinctive about this approach is that Case Stacking is independent of Case Alternations. The alternation of Dat with Nom on the Experiencer is handled lexically, while Stacking is handled syntactically (by movement). As a result, unlike the analyses of Gerdts &Youn (1988) and Youn (1990), the typologically unusual properties of Korean NNSCs do not receive a unified account. The analysis is illustrated below.
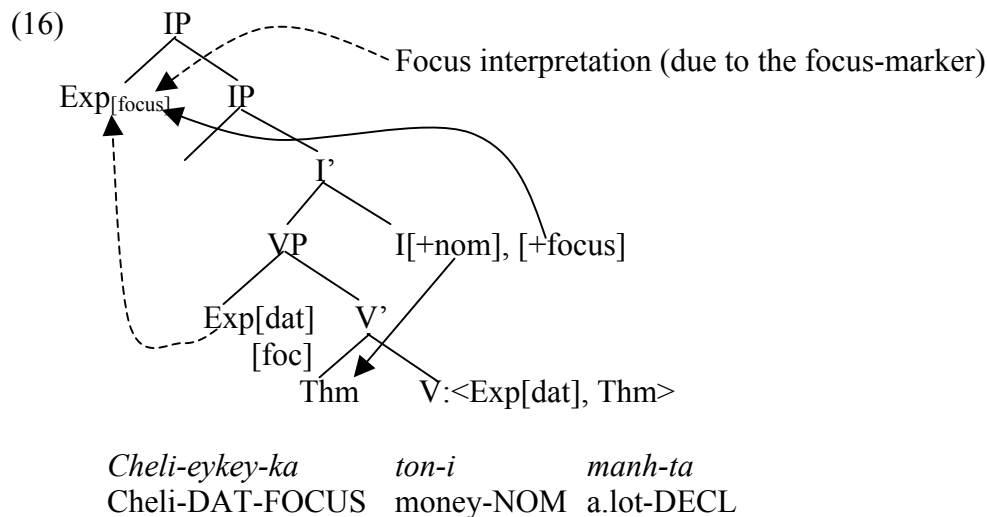
(15) *Cheli-eykey-ka*   *ton-i*   *manh-ta*
     Cheli-DAT-NOM   money-NOM a.lot-DECL
     'Cheli has a lot of money'

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              IP                    Case ('Cheli') = Dat (in SpV)
           ／    ＼                              = Nom (in SpV or SpI)
Exp[Dat-Nom]    I'                             = Dat-Nom (by SpV to SpI movement)
   ▲ [Nom] ▼                      Case ('ton')  = Nom (in CompV)
         VP      I[+nom]
                                    Focus interpretation (due to position)
    Exp[Dat]    V'
    [Nom]
         Thm  ▶   V:<Exp[Dat], Thm> or <Exp, Thm>
         [Nom]
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2.3. Against Case Stacking

The analyses presented thus far took both of the stacked cases to be genuine case. Though Yoon (1996) noted the existence of focus interpretation, unlike some earlier researchers (J-Y Yoon 1989), he did not take this to indicate that the case-markers are ambiguous between genuine case-markers and delimiters. Case Stacking for Gerdts &Youn, K-S Hong, and Yoon constitutes a demonstration that a nominal can receive more than one case.

Schütze (1996, 2001), on the other hand, argues against the interpretation of Case Stacking as being due to multiple case-marking. In other words, the answers to all three questions in (13) for Schütze are in the negative. Capitalizing on the observation that the Case Stacked NP has a focus interpretation (Yoon 1996), he argues that the stacked Nominative is not a case-marker but a *focus-marker* homophonous with the Nominative case-marker (similarly for the Acc-marker). He posits the following derivation as the analysis of Case Stacking constructions:

(16)
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            IP  ╌╌╌╌╌╌╌
          ／  ＼        ╌╌ Focus interpretation (due to the focus-marker)
Exp[focus]   IP
         ／
            I'
           ／ ＼
         VP     I[+nom], [+focus]
        ／ ＼
Exp[dat]   V'
  [foc]   ／ ＼
       Thm    V:<Exp[dat], Thm>
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     Cheli-eykey-ka   *ton-i*   *manh-ta*
     Cheli-DAT-FOCUS   money-NOM a.lot-DECL

7

'Cheli has a lot of money.'

The Experiencer nominal receives Inherent (Dative) Case once in SpV, and moves to adjoin to a non-case, focus position, where it is interpreted as focused, perhaps through a feature-checking relationship with INFL, which is optionally specified to check the [+focus] feature of focused NPs (Rizzi 1997). The particle that looks like the Nominative marker is not a case-marker, but a focus-marker, according to Schütze. Crucially, INFL does not enter a Case-checking relationship with focus NP. We can surmise that the Nominative from INFL goes on the Theme argument inside the VP.

What does this analysis have to say about the three typologically unusual properties of NNSCs in Korean? Schütze does not discuss agreement in detail, except to note that some speakers reject agreement between the NNS and the predicate, and while he presents data showing Case Alternations, he does not take a position on whether the Nom-marked Exp carries Nominative Case or Focus. Finally, for Schütze, Case Stacking as such does not exist.

3. Against the Focus Analysis of Case Stacking (Schütze 1996, 2001)

It is not difficult to imagine why someone might be reluctant to accept the stacking of Nominative on a Dat-marked Experiencer argument in NNSCs as a genuine instance of multiple case assignment. The reason is that in many languages Nominative-marking co-varies with agreement. That is, a Nominative NP, regardless of its GR, is licensed under agreement with a predicate in a bi-unique manner. It therefore follows that there can be no more than one Nominative NP in the domain of a single predicate.

However, agreement in Korean, as exemplified by Honorific and Plural Agreement, can hold between a Non-nominative Subject and a predicate. That is, there is no correlation between a (unique) Nom-marked NP and an agreeing predicate. In addition, Nominative and other Structural Cases (Accusative, Genitive) can be assigned to more than one constituent in the domain of the relevant Case-assigners, as is well-known (Maling & Kim 1992). Given these properties, the assignment of what looks a Nominative case-marker to the Dative-marked Experiencer in NNSCs appears to be something that is well within the case-marking resources of the language. Schütze (1996, 2001) argues that despite the initial plausibility, stacked case particles are not genuine case-markers. The stronger conclusion he defends is that even unstacked Nominative and Accusative case-markers are ambiguous between marking case and discourse functions like Topic and Focus.

3.1. The Case against Case Stacking

Schütze's arguments against Case Stacking have been addressed in a number of other places (Gerdts &Youn 1999; Youn 1998; D-W Yang 1999, 2000, *inter alia*). By far, the consensus has been against Schütze's contention that Structural case-markers are ambiguous between case and focus. However, the assessment of the debate is made difficult by the fact that Case Stacking is somewhat marginal to begin with. Additional difficulty stems from the fact that speakers appear to have genuine differences in their idiolects/dialects concerning the acceptability of crucial

sentences. It is unfortunate that many of the crucial arguments against the Focus analysis are based on disagreements regarding data (Gerdts &Youn 1999; Youn 1998). In the discussion that follows, I will indicate areas in which there is disagreement among speakers. However, the objections I raise against Schütze's analysis do not depend on speaker disagreements. There are deeper flaws in the analysis that make it unworkable, as I will show in the next section.

Schütze's arguments against taking stacked case as case fall into two categories. In the first category are arguments intended to show that a stacked Nominative case-marker behaves differently from regular, unstacked Nominative. For example, Case Stacking seems to be optional unlike other instances of case assignment that are obligatory (*pace* the effects of case-marker drop) (cf. 17). Stacked Nominative requires special prosody (cf. 18). Stacked Nominative differs from regular, unstacked Nominative with regard to syntactic processes such as agreement and the licensing of Quantifier Float (cf. 19). In particular, stacked Nominative fails to trigger Honorific Agreement or license a Nom-marked Floated Quantifier (FQ) for some speakers. Neither does a FQ carrying stacked Nom need to be licensed by a Nom-marked antecedent. Nominative can stack even on constituents that are not Subjects (cf. 20). Finally, Nominative can stack on top of another Nominative (cf. 21). (In 17-21 below, the Nominative markers in bold are those that Schütze claims are Focus-markers.)

(17)   a.   *Cheli-hanthey*   *ton-i*   *manh-ta*
            C-DAT   money-NOM   a.lot-DECL
            vs.
       b.   *Cheli-hanthey-**ka***   *ton-i*   *manh-ta*
            C-DAT-NOM   money   a.lot-DECL

            'Cheli has a lot of money.'

(18)   *Cheli-hanthey-**KA***   *ton-i*   *manh-ta*   (*KA* = stressed)
       C-DAT-KA   money-NOM   a.lot-DECL

(19)   <u>Honorific Agreement</u>:

       a.   *Yoon kyoswunim-i/kkeyse*   *Yenghi-ka*   *mwusew-usi-ta*
            Y   professor-NOM/HON.NOM   Y-NOM   fearsome-HON-DECL

       b.   *%Yoon kyoswunim-eykey/kkey*   *Yenghi-ka*   *mwusew-usi-ta*
             Y   professor-DAT/HON.DAT   Y-NOM   fearsome-HON-DECL

       c.   *%Yoon kyoswunim-eykey/kkey-**ka***   *Yenghi-ka   mwusew-usi-ta*
             Y   professor-DAT/HON.DAT-NOM   Y-NOM   fearsome-HON-DECL

            'Professor Yoon is afraid of Yenghi'

       <u>Quantifier Float</u>:

a. *haksayngtul-i*   *ton-i*   *seys-i*   *philyoha-ta*
   students-NOM   money-NOM three-NOM   necessary-DECL

b. *%haksayngtul-eykey* *ton-i*   *seys-eykey*   *philyoha-ta*
   students-DAT   money-NOM three-DAT   necessary-DECL

c. *%haksayngtul-eykey-ka* *ton-i*   *seys-eykey*   *philyoha-ta*
   students-DAT-NOM   money-NOM three-DAT   necessary-DECL

c'. **haksayngtul-eykey-ka* *ton-i*   *seys-i*   *philyoha-ta*
   students-DAT-NOM   money-NOM three-NOM   necessary-DECL

d. *%haksayngtul-eykey-ka* *ton-i*   *seys-eykey-ka* ....
   students-DAT-NOM   money-NOM three-DAT-NOM

e. *%haksayngtul-eykey* *ton-i*   *seys-eykey-ka* ....
   students-DAT   money-NOM three-DAT-NOM

f. **?haksayngtul-eykey* *ton-i*   *seys-i*   *philyoha-ta*
   students-DAT   money-NOM three-NOM   necessary-DECL

g. **?haksayngtul-i* *ton-i*   *seys-eykey*   *philyoha-ta*
   students-NOM money-NOM three-DAT   necessary-DECL
   'Three students need money.'

(20) a. *%cipan-eyse-ka*   *Swuni-eykey* *namphyen-i*   *mwusep-ta*
     house-LOC-NOM   S-DAT   husband-NOM   fearsome-DECL
     'It is in the house that Swuni is scared of her husband.'

b. *%ku*   *kulus-eyse-ka*   *mwul-i*   *sayn-ta*
   that   bowl-LOC-NOM   water-NOM leak-DECL
   'It is from that bowl that water is leaking.'

c. *ecey-pwuthe-ka*   *nalssi-ka*   *coh-a*   *ci-ess-ta*
   yesterday-FROM-NOM weather-NOM   good-COMP   become-PST-DECL
   'The weather turned nice from yesterday.'

(21) *sensayngnimtul-kkeyse-man-i*   *kulen*   *il-ul*   *ha-l-swu iss-ta*
teachers-NOM.HON-only-NOM.PL   that.kind   work-ACC do-possible-DECL
'It is only teachers who can do that kind of work.'

    The second category of arguments is designed to show that stacked Nominative can be positively identified with focus. Constituents carrying stacked Nominative have the interpretive properties of focus, such as being compatible with WH-questions, contexts of correction, as well as the addition of other Focus particles (cf. 22). Stacking forces a generic interpretation on bare plural indefinite Dative Subjects, a fact that could be construed as being due to focus (cf. 23). Multiple stacking is possible, since Korean is a multiple focus language (H-S Choe 1995) (cf.

24). Finally, stacking becomes obligatory under certain conditions, namely, when it is required to mark focus (cf. 25).

(22)   a.   *nwukwu-hanthey-**ka**   ton-i   manh-ni?*
            Who-DAT-NOM   money-NOM a.lot-Q
            'Who has a lot of money?'

       b.   *Swuni-eykey   Chelswu-ka   acwu   coh-unkapwa*
            S-DAT   C-NOM   very   good-seems.like

            *Ani.   Yenghi-eykey-**ka**   (Chelswu-ka)   coh-un   kes   kath-a*
            No.   Y-DAT-NOM   C-NOM   good-ADN   thing   seem-DECL

            'Swuni seems to like Chelswu. No. Yenghi seems to like Chelswu.'

       c.   *Na-eykey-man-**i**   paym-i   mwusep-ta*
            I-DAT-only-NOM   snake-NOM   fearsome-DECL
            'Only I am afraid of snakes.'

(23)   a.   *sopangswutul-eykey   kyewul-palam-i   mwusep-ta*
            firemen-DAT   winter-wind-NOM   fearsome-DECL
            [existential/generic]

       b.   *sopangswutul-i   kyewul-palam-i   mwusep-ta*
            firemen-NOM   winter-wind-NOM   fearsome-DECL
            [existential /generic]

       c.   *sopangswutul-eykey-**ka**   kyewul-palam-i   mwusep-ta*
            firemen-DAT-NOM   winter-wind-NOM   fearsome-DECL
            [generic]
            'Firemen fear the wintry chill.'

(24)   *cipan-eyse-**ka**   kyewul-ey-**ka**   Swuni-eykey   namphyen-i   mwusep-ta*
        house-LOC-NOM winter-LOC-NOM   S-DAT   husband-NOM fearsome-DECL
        'It is in her house that it is during the winter that Swuni is afraid of her husband.'

(25)   *kyoswunim-eykey-*(**ka**) ani-la   haksayngtul-eykey   ton-i   philyohata*
        professor-DAT-NOM   NEG.COP students-DAT   money-NOM necessary
        'The students need money, not the professors.'

     Parallel arguments establish that Accusative under stacking must also be a focus-marker (Schütze 2001, section 4.1). Schütze (2001) then goes on to argue that Nominative and Accusative have non-case uses even when they do not stack on top of an I-case-marked NP (Schütze 2001, section 5). Two constructions where unstacked Nominative and Accusative function in their non-case guises are identified – the 'Generic Topic' type Multiple Nominative Construction (cf. 26), and the 'SOR/ECM' construction (cf. 27).

(26)   'Generic Topic' Multiple Nominative Construction[8]

   *Pihayngki-**ka***   *747-i*   *khu-ta*
   Airplane-NOM   747-NOM   big-DECL
   'As for airplanes, the 747 is big.'

(27)   'SOR/ECM' Construction:

   Na-nun   *Yenghi-**lul***   *apeci-ka*   *pwuca-la-ko*   *sayngkakhanta*
   I-TOP   Y-ACC   father-NOM   rich.person-DECL-COMP   think
   'I consider Yenghi's father a rich man.'

Finally, he argues that genuine PPs, as opposed to I-case-marked NP/DPs, do fall under the domain of Structural case-marking, as shown by the obligatoriness of Case Stacking and the absence of obligatory focus interpretation (cf. 28).

(28)   *Pangan-ulo-*(ka)*   *macnun*   *panghyang-i-ta*
   room.inside-toward$_{POST}$-NOM   correct   direction-COP-DECL
   'Toward the room is the correct direction.'

3.2 The Case for Case Stacking

3.2.1. Problem One – The Distribution of Two Focus-markers:

Before we can begin our counterargument, it is necessary to clarify what Schütze is *not* claiming. He is not claiming that Structural case-markers express case and focus fusionally, as some others have claimed (D-W Yang 1999; K-S Park 1995). He is claiming that they express *either* case *or* focus. That is, the Nominative case particle is not associated with the suite of features in (29a), but with that in (29b).

(29)   a.   *-ka*:   [+nominative, (+focus)]
       b.   *-ka$_1$*:   [+nominative]
             -ka$_2$:   [+focus]

Schütze must assume (29b), since if the marker involved in Case Stacking that gives rise to focus interpretation is the portmanteau morpheme in (29a), we still have assignment of S-Case on top of an I-Case-marked nominal when Case Stacking occurs, and this is a situation that Schütze claims never exists cross-linguistically.

(30)   *Cheli-eykey-ka*   *ton-i*   *manh-ta*
   C-DAT-[NOM,FOCUS] money-NOM a.lot-DECL

Still doubly case-marked!!

In my view, the biggest hurdle to making (29b) work out technically is that under Schütze's analysis, there are *two* focus-markers that are homophonous respectively with Nominative and Accusative case-markers. The putative focus-markers are assigned in the same domain in which the corresponding case-markers are assigned and are sensitive to the same lexical factors that govern the distribution of the corresponding case-markers. That is, the putative Focus Nominative is assigned by all and only those predicates that do not assign Accusative case and in the same domain as regular Nominative case. Likewise, the putative Focus Accusative is assigned by all and only those predicates that assign Accusative case and in exactly the same domain where regular Accusative case is assigned (Schütze 2001, section 4.2). This is illustrated below.

(31)　a.　*Cheli-eykey-**ka**/***lul**　　mwuncey-ka　　manh-ta*
　　　　　C-DAT-NOM/*ACC　　problem-NOM　a.lot-DECL
　　　　　'It is Cheli who has a lot of problems.'

　　　b.　*Swuni-ka　Cheli-eykey-(man)-**ul**/***i**　　senmwul-ul　ponay-ss-ta*
　　　　　S-NOM　　C-DAT-(only)-ACC/*NOM　present-ACC　send-PST-DECL
　　　　　'It was only to Cheli that Swuni sent presents.'

　　　c.　*Austin-eyse-**ka**/***lul**　　Cheli-ka　kongpwu-lul　cal　hay-ss-ess-ta*
　　　　　A-LOC-NOM/*ACC　　C-NOM　study-ACC　　well　do-PERF-PST-DECL
　　　　　'It was while he was in Austin that Cheli did well in his studies.'

In (31a), the stacked particle must be –*ka* and not –*lul* because the predicate is not an Acc-case assigner. In (31b), the stacked particle on the Indirect Object must be –*lul*, since the predicate is an Acc-case assigner and the Indirect Object lies within the case-assignment domain of the predicate. In (31c), even though the predicate assigns Acc case, the locative 'Austin-eyse' is positioned outside of the Acc-assignment domain and hence the stacked particle can only be –*ka* rather than -*lul*.

Schütze (2001) proposes that the domain sensitivity as well as sensitivity to lexical specification can be captured if we make the assumption that the assigners of Focus-Nom and Focus-Acc are the same heads that assign Nom and Acc Cases (following Horvath 1995). Specifically, he proposes that a constituent within a VP headed by an Acc-assigning V cannot skip the lower Focus position (i.e., Adjunct-to-VP position) and end up in the higher position (Adjunct-to-IP position), since doing so would constitute a violation of Relativized Minimality (equivalently, Minimality of Agree, under Chomsky 2001).

This suggestion will not do the job, for the following reasons. Let us suppose, following Schütze (2001), that focus in the Case Stacking construction involves feature-checking (Agree in the system of Chomsky 2001) followed by movement to a focus position (Adjunct-of-IP/VP). Let us first determine if a focus DP within VP is always prevented from Agree-ing with a higher focus licensing head (INFL, under Schütze's assumptions). The long-distance Agree between a focus-checking INFL and a VP-internal focus DP is possible under the assumptions of Chomsky (2001) when V does not bear a specification for focus. For example, taking left-to-right order below to reflect c-command, in the configuration shown in (32a), V will not be able to prevent the higher head INFL from accessing DP2 (which we are assuming is the focused Object) and

Agreeing with it in terms of the focus feature. It is only when V has a focus feature, as shown in (32b), that the higher head INFL cannot access DP2 for the purposes of Agree.

(32) a. …INFL ….. DP1 ….. V ….. DP2
            [nom]⟶▸   [acc]⟶▸[+acc]
            [focus]⟶▸[+focus]

      b. …INFL ….. DP1 ….. V ….. DP2
            [nom]⟶   [acc]⟶▸ [+acc]
            [focus]   [focus] [+focus]
                        ✕
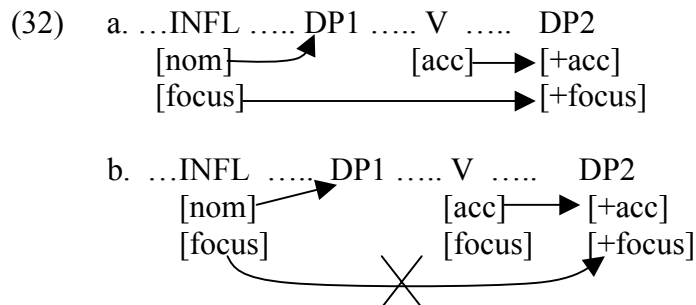
However, there is no reason to suppose that V (or INFL) has an obligatory focus feature in Korean. In addition, since Korean is presumably a multiple focus language, even when INFL has to check the focus feature of a higher DP (=DP1 in 32), it should still be able to access DP2 when V does not have a focus feature.

We have just seen that there is no way to prevent a VP-internal DP from agreeing with a VP-external focus-licensor under the system outlined by Schütze. There still may be a way to block illegitimate realizations of the putative focus-markers in his system since he assumes that focus in the Case Stacking construction involves movement (in addition to feature-checking). Suppose that INFL could Agree with DP2 in (32a). Can DP2 move to the focus-checking position associated with INFL (Adjunct-to-IP)? The answer depends on various technicalities. However, given that the movement in question is A'-movement (which allows the movement to use the edge of the lower 'phase' vP/VP as an escape hatch), and given that the VP/vP does not have an obligatory focus position, the movement in question should not be blocked.

The above discussion entails that when the focus feature is present on INFL but not on a transitive V, the Object is predicted to be able to move to the higher Focus position and show up with Nominative, rather than Accusative, as the marker of Focus. This prediction is falsified in the data we have seen, however.[9]

The scenario depicted below is equally problematic for Schütze's proposal. Suppose that a ditransitive V is chosen with only the case features (i.e., [acc] and [dat]), but not [focus] as part of its lexical specification, while INFL is chosen with both [nom] and [focus]. Suppose that the Indirect Object (marked Dative, normally), is chosen with a [+focus] feature (as well as its case feature). Then, there is no way to rule out (31b) with a Nominative-marker instead of Accusative showing up as the doubled focus-marker under Schütze's analysis. The illegitimate derivation is illustrated schematically below.[10]

(33)
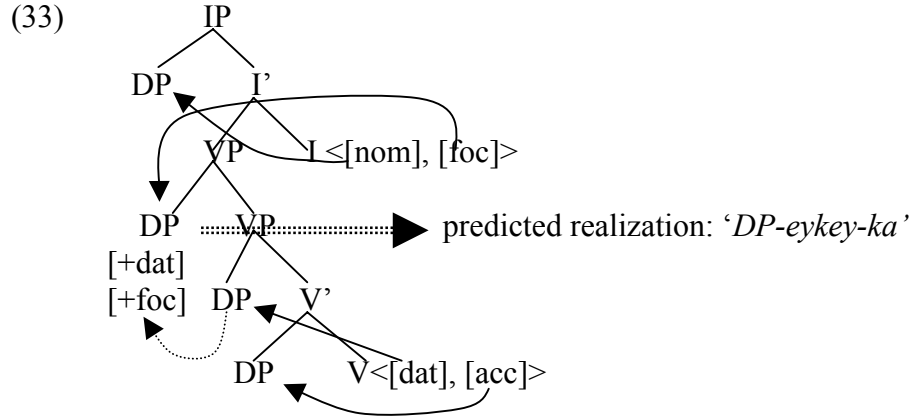
Similarly, Schütze's analysis is unable to capture the fact that a Case-stacked XP scrambled to clause-initial position from within VP will carry Acc as the stacked particle, rather than Nom.

(34) Mary-eykey-man-**ul**/*?**i**   John-i chayk-ul   cwu-ess-ta
       M-dat-only-acc/*nom   J-nom book-acc   give-pst-decl
       'It was only to Mary that John gave the book.'

(34) with Nom as the stacked particle is predicted to be possible if V is not specified for [focus], and scrambling of IO (adjunction to IP) takes it to the higher focus position. If INFL is associated with [+focus], then it will be able to check the [+focus] feature on the scrambled IO, predicting –*ka* instead of –*lul* as the realization of the stacked particle.

It is clear how to rule out the illegitimate derivations. For example, the derivations will not be allowed if the putative focus-markers assigned by INFL and V are case-markers. A case-assigning V will block the higher head INFL from assigning Case to dependents within its immediate case-licensing domain, including the Dative-marked IO. The fact that Accusative may be already assigned to the Direct Object is of no consequence here, since INFL and V assign/check case multiply in Korean and will block an external case-assigner from Agree-ing with constituents within its domain. (34) can be accounted for straightforwardly as well. Scrambling does not give rise to Case Alternations. Therefore, the stacked case on the scrambled element must have been assigned within the VP followed by scrambling of the nominal to the beginning of IP.[11]

It is instructive in this regard that there are in fact constructions where case-markers are distributed in a way that makes it difficult to view them as realizing (abstract) Case. Accusative case on certain adverbials constitutes the relevant example. As has been observed by many researchers, Accusative is possible on certain adverbials even when the predicate cannot assign Acc-case to its arguments.

(35) *Cheli-eykey   emeni-ka/*lul   ku-hwu   phyengsayng-**ul**   kuliw-ess-ta*
       C-DAT   mother-NOM/*ACC   after-that   whole.life-ACC   missed
       'After that time, Cheli missed his mother his whole life.'

Now, since the distributions of adverbial Accusative and argument Accusative *diverge* in

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sentences like (35), we might posit two different sources for Accusative in such sentences (cf. M-J Kim 2001 for one such proposal, and Kim & Maling 1998 for another). What is instructive is that there is no such divergence in the case of putative focus-markers and case-markers in Case Stacking. Their distributions are completely identical. Therefore, the ambiguity thesis of Schütze has no independent justification.

3.2.2. Problem Two – Rampant Ambiguity:

Another problem for Schütze's analysis is that when all of the relevant data are taken into consideration, Nominative and Accusative markers end up leading not only a secret double life as focus and case-markers, but a triple life. That is, the non-case uses of these markers must encompass both Focus and Topic. This means that the lexical properties of the Nominative and Accusative particles (and the corresponding assigners/checkers) must be revised as follows:

(36) *-ka₁*: [+nominative]
      -ka₂: [+focus]
      -ka₃: [+topic]

      -lul₁: [+accusative]
      -lul₂: [+focus]
      -lul₃: [+topic]

The three types of Nominative particles are exemplified in (37) below.

(37) a. *Cheli-**ka₁** o-ass-ta*
          C-**NOM**   come-PST-DECL
          'Cheli came.'

      b. *Cheli-eykey-**ka₂**   mwuncey-ka   manh-ta*
          C-DAT-**FOC**   problem-NOM   a.lot-DECL
          'It is Cheli who has a lot of problems.'

      c. *Pihayngki-**ka₃**   747-i   khu-ta*
          airplane-**TOP**   747-NOM   big-DECL
          'As for airplanes, the 747 is big.'

And while Schütze (2001) claims that the 'raised' nominal in ECM/SOR is focused, others (K-S Hong 1990, 1997; J-G Song 1994) have argued that it functions as a Topic with regard to the embedded clause, which is a conclusion that accords better with native speaker intuitions. If so, the particle *-lul*, like *–ka*, is three-ways ambiguous. The three uses of *–lul* are exemplified below.

(38) a. *Cheli-ka   pap-**ul₁**   meknun-ta*
          C-nom   meal-**acc** eat-decl
          'Cheli is having his meal.'

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b. *Cheli-ka Yenghi-eykey-man-**ul₂*** *senmwul-ul* *hay-ss-ta*
   C-nom   Y-dat-only-**foc**   present-acc   do-pst-decl
   'It was only to Yenghi that Cheli sent the present.'

c. *Cheli-nun Yenghi-**lul₃*** *apeci-ka* *pwucala-ko* *sayngkakhan-ta*
   C-top   Y-**top**   father-nom   rich-comp   think-decl
   'Cheli thinks of Yenghi that her father is rich.'

Indeed, Schütze's final statement about the distribution of these particles acknowledges their three-way ambiguity.

(39)   <u>Distribution of discourse particles (final version)</u> (=54 in Schütze 2001, p.219)
       If a constituent XP can be marked as Topic or Focus by a case particle, that particle will correspond to the case assignable by XP's Focus- or Topic-licensing head.

That is, a head (V, INFL) licenses either Case, Focus, or Topic, realized in exactly the same way.

The fact that the analysis has to posit a systematic three-way ambiguity for both *–ka* and *–lul* suggests that something fundamental is being missed. Therefore, Schütze (2001) attempts to shore up support for his three-way ambiguity thesis on the basis of the following observations. First, he observes that the Topic particle *–nun* is also ambiguous between Topic and Focus (Contrastive Topic/Contrastive Focus) uses, so that the ambiguity of Topic and Focus expressed by case particles is not without precedent in the language. Second, he suggests that the ambiguity thesis may explain why Nominative *-ka*, Accusative *-lul*, and Topic *–nun* occupy the same (final) morphological slot in the nominal affixation template (Yu-Cho & Sells 1995; Yoon 1995).

Let me address the second observation first. What Schütze is saying is that the particles that occupy the final slot of the nominal inflectional template have uses as Topic and Focus particles, in addition to their usual functions as Structural case-markers. However, this is an observation that has no generality, since the Genitive case-marker is also in the final slot but lacks any Topic or Focus properties. In addition, if Yu-Cho & Sells (1995) are to be believed, even the verbal Copula also occupies the final slot, so that there can be no syntactic-semantic coherence to the particles that fill the slot.

Turning now to the first observation about the ambiguity of the Topic particle *–nun*, it is far from obvious that it is systematically ambiguous between topic and focus interpretation. The particle has always been taken to express two varieties of topics – the 'thematic' and 'contrastive' Topic. Thus, the argument in C. Lee (1998), which is cited in support of the ambiguity thesis, is not so much that *–nun* is a focus-marker, but that the semantics-pragmatics of what is called 'contrastive' Topic necessarily involves Focus.

In addition, it isn't necessary to attribute the two different readings of *–nun* to the ambiguity of the marker itself. The distinction between 'thematic' and 'contrastive' Topics can be accounted for without positing two homophonous particles. For example, it is well known that in a series of NPs marked with *–nun*, all but the first necessarily receive 'contrastive' Topic/Focus readings.

(40)   *I   hakkyo-**nun**   enehak.kwa-**nun**   coh-ta*
       this   school-TOP   linguistics.dept-TOP   good-DECL
       'As for this university, the linguistics department is tops (but psychology is so-so).'

The distinct interpretations of the first and second occurrences of *–nun* can be accounted for in terms of syntax-semantics without assuming that the marker itself is ambiguous (cf. C-H Han 1998). Since the second instance of *–nun* sets up a contrast within the syntactic-semantic domain picked out by the first *–nun*, it is necessarily much more strongly contrastive than the first, yielding the 'contrastive' Topic reading.

   The supposed three-way ambiguity of *–ka* and *–lul* lends itself to a similar kind of explanation. In particular, as I will show in greater detail in section 5, an alternative to the three-way ambiguity analysis is to treat *–ka* and *–lul* as unambiguously case-markers, but to attribute the focus or topic-like interpretations of constituents marked with *–ka* and *–lul* to the fact that the constituents function as Topic or Focus of the constructions in question.

   That is, the reason the 'ECM' nominal appears to be marked with 'Topic Accusative' is not because the Accusative functions ambiguously as the marker of Topic, but because the constituent that carries Accusative case is the Major Subject of the embedded clause which has undergone SOR to become the Major Object of the root clause and because raised Objects in Korean are associated with Topic interpretation, as K-S Hong (1997) argues. This is what leads to the impression that the Accusative on the raised nominal marks a Topic. The reason it is marked Acc, and not Nom, is that the constituent falls within the case-marking domain of an Accusative assigner, namely, the matrix verb.

               SOR-ed Major Subject   assigns Acc case
                              ↓
(41)   *Cheli-nun* [*Yenghi-**lul*** ◄ [*apeci-ka*   *pwucala-ko*]] *sayngkakhan-ta* (=38)
       C-TOP   Y-ACC   father-NOM   rich-COMP   think-DECL
       'Cheli thinks of Yenghi that her father is rich.'

   Similarly, (37b) does not exemplify 'Focus Nominative', but simply Nominative assigned to the Dat-marked Subject, which, as we shall argue in section 5, functions as a Major Subject (that falls within the domain where Nominative is assigned). The Focus interpretation arises due to the fact that the case-stacked Subject is occupying the Major Subject position, a position that is correlated with Focus interpretation.[12]

       Major Subject position   Nom assigned
                      ↓
(42)   *Cheli-eykey-**ka*** ◄ *mwuncey-ka*   *manh-ta* (=37b)
       C-DAT-**NOM**   problem-NOM   a.lot-**DECL**
       'It is Cheli who has a lot of problems.'

3.2.3. Problem Three – Unexpected Properties of A'-Constituents:

In this section, we discuss several additional pieces of evidence that apparent Topic and Focus case particles should be analyzed as case-markers. The evidence revolves around some technical difficulties that a Focus/Topic analysis of the Nominative/Accusative particles faces.

A floated quantifier (FQ) can, but need not, agree in terms of Case with its antecedent ECM/SOR nominal.

(43)   *Cheli-nun haksayngtul-ul   seys-ul/i   kaceng-i   cohta-ko   mitnunta*
       C-TOP   students-ACC   three-ACC/NOM family-NOM good-COMP believed
       'Cheli thinks that of the students, three of them come from good families.'

Schütze (2001) makes much of the fact that the FQ need not agree with the ECM nominal in case. Since for him, the first *–lul* is not case but focus, the only case that the raised nominal *haksayngtul* in (43) has is Nominative. Thus, the FQ, which is assumed to agree with its antecedent in terms of case and not focus/topic-marking, is predicted to carry Nominative, rather than Accusative.

The problem is, FQ can also carry Accusative. This is not predicted unless the FQ agrees with the antecedent in terms of the case that would have been assigned to the antecedent nominal if in fact the marker that realizes the focus had been a case-marker! Of course, no such problem arises if the *-lul* on *haksayngtul* is Case. The Nominative-Accusative alternation on FQ is predicted since it is well-known (and acknowledged by Schütze) that ECM/SOR can effect either the highest dependent of the embedded clause (single raising/ECM, yielding Case mismatch between antecedent and FQ) or more than one dependent (multiple raising/ECM, yielding Case matching).[13]

Another problem has to do with the well-known difference in binding behavior between Acc-marked and Nom-marked Subjects in ECM/SOR constructions.

(44)   a. *Cheli$_k$-nun*   *ku$_k$-ka*   *ttokttokhata-ko*   *mitnun-ta*
          C-TOP   he-NOM smart-COMP   believe-DECL

      b. *?*Cheli$_k$-nun* *ku$_k$-lul*   *ttokttokhata-ko*   *mitnun-ta*
           C-TOP   he-ACC smart-COMP   believe-DECL

It is unclear how this contrast can be accounted for in Schütze's analysis. (44b) under his analysis would be derived by A'-movement of the embedded Subject to the matrix VP, where it is assigned/checked for [+focus] from the matrix verb. Since the movement is A'-movement akin to long-distance Scrambling, it should not affect binding possibilities. If such movement could affect binding, we predict that an embedded Object scrambled to matrix VP should trigger disjointness effects, but it does not seem to, though the judgments are less than crystal clear.[14]

(45)   a. *Cheli$_k$-nun* [*Yenghi-ka*   *ku$_k$-lul*   *coahanta-ko*] *sayngkakhan-ta*
          C-TOP   Y-NOM   he-ACC   like-COMP   think-DECL

b. *Cheli$_k$-nun   ku$_k$-lul   [Yenghi-ka t$_k$ coahanta-ko]   sayngkakhan-ta*
   C-TOP   he-ACC   Y-NOM   like-COMP   think-DECL
   'Cheli thinks that Yenghi likes him.'

If on the other hand, the ECM/SOR nominal receives Accusative case from the matrix predicate, and hence occupies an A-position, the contrast in (44) can be easily accounted for.

Finally, unless the Acc on the ECM nominal is case, the Case Filter (or whatever replaces it in current theory) is violated by certain nominals under Schütze's analysis.

(46)   a. *Cheli-nun kkoch-ul   cangmi-ka   yepputa-ko   mitnun-ta*
       C-TOP   flower-ACC   flower-NOM   pretty-COMP   believe-DECL
       'Cheli believes that among flowers, the rose is the prettiest.'

       b. *Pihayngki-ka   747-i   khu-ta*
       airplane-NOM   747-NOM   big-DECL
       'As for airplanes, the 747 is big.'

The initial NP in (46b) and the ECM-ed NP in (46a) has focus or topic-marking but not case-marking under Schütze's analysis. These NPs therefore violate the Case Filter, since they are not assigned case. However, if –*ka* and –*lul* on these nominals mark case, no problems arise.

In sum, on conceptual, empirical, and technical grounds, we have reasons to take stacked case-markers and unstacked case-markers receiving topic or focus interpretation to be markers of case.[15]

4. Case Alternations, Case Stacking, and Grammatical Subjecthood

Assuming that case particles uniformly express case, regardless of where they show up, let us turn now to the question of whether Case Stacking is correlated with any other property of Korean syntax. In particular, let us evaluate the claim that Nominative stacking presupposes the ability of the nominal to undergo Case Alternation and to assume Grammatical Subjecthood (Gerdts &Youn 1988; Youn 1990).[16]

The empirical basis for Gerdts &Youn's claim comes from sentences containing certain I-case-marked NPs (and/or PPs) that resist Case Stacking, and those that resist stacking do not participate in Case Alternation either (the data and judgments are from Youn 1998).

(47)   a. *Phokwu-lo/*ka/*lo-ka   ku   tali-ka   mwuneci-ess-ta*
       heavy.rain-INST/*NOM/*INST-NOM   that   bridge-NOM   collapse-PST-DECL
       'It was due to heavy rain that the bridge collapsed.'

       b. *Uyca-ey/*ka/*ey-ka   Cheli-ka   anc-ass-ta*
       chair-LOC/*NOM/*LOC-NOM   C-NOM   sit-PAST-DECL
       'It was on a chair that Cheli sat.'

   c. *I*   *pang-eyse/*ka/*eyse-ka*   *Cheli-ka*   *nao-ass-ta*
      this   room-FROM/*NOM/*FROM-NOM   C-NOM   come.out-PST-DECL
      'It was from this room that Cheli came out.'

In contrast to the sentences in (47), the Dat/Loc-marked constituents below are Subjects (of unaccusative predicates) and undergo both Case Alternation and Case Stacking.

(48)   a. *Cheli-eykey/ka/eykey-ka*   *ton-i*   *philyoha-ta*
        C-DAT/NOM/DAT-NOM   money-NOM   necessary-DECL
        'It is Cheli who needs money.'

     b. *Semyukongcang-eyse/i/eyse-ka*   *pwul-i*   *na-ss-ta*
        textile.factory-LOC/NOM/LOC-NOM   fire-NOM break.out-DECL
        'It was in the textile factory that a fire broke out.'

On the basis of the contrast between (47) and (48), Gerdts &Youn (1988) and Youn (1990) propose the following account of Case Stacking.

    (i) Only constituents that are Subjects at some level of representation can receive Nominative case.
    (ii) Thus, the failure of Case Alternation on nominals is due to the fact that they are not Subjects at any level of representation.
    (iii) Since Case Stacking of Nominative is possible only on constituents showing Case Alternation, the impossibility of Case Stacking on nominals that fail to undergo Case Alternation also follows.

4.1. Case Alternation does not correlate with Case Stacking or Subjecthood

However, the proposed correlations among Case Alternation, Subjecthood, and Case Stacking fail to hold up when additional data are taken into account. For example, the phrase occurring as the complement of the negative Copula in the Cleft Construction admits Case Stacking, even when it fails to undergo Case Alternation.[17]

(49)   a. *Cheli-ka*   *nao-n*   *kes-un*   *i*   *pang-*eyse/??i/eyse-ka*
        C   come.out-ADN   thing-TOP this   room-LOC/NOM/LOC-NOM
        ani-ess-ta
        neg-PST-DECL
        'It wasn't from this room that Cheli came out.'

     b. *Ku*   *tali-ka*   *mwuneci-n*   *kes-un*   *phokwu-*lo/*ka/?lo-ka*
        that   bridge-NOM colllapse-AND thing-TOP   heavy.rain-INS/NOM/INS-NOM
        ani-ess-ta
        neg-PST-DECL
        'It wasn't due to the heavy rainfall that the bridge collapsed.'

I-case-marked nominals that undergo Tough Movement in the Tough Construction (Gerdts &Youn 1987; H-R Chae 1998) generally allow both alternation and stacking. However, in some cases, the correlation fails to hold and only stacking yields a well-formed output.

(50) a. *caki   pang-eyse/?i/eyse-ka   Cheli-eykey-n kongpwuha-ki-ka   elyepta*
          self   room-LOC/NOM/LOC-NOM   C-DAT-TOP   study-NML-NOM   difficult
          'It is in his room that Cheli finds it difficult to study.'

       b. *Ku   kongkwu-lo/*?ka/lo-ka   na-eykey-n   cha-lul   kochi-ki-ka*
          that   tool-INST/NOM/INST-NOM   I-DAT-TOP   car-ACC   fix-NML-NOM
          elyepta
          difficult
          'It is that tool with which I find it difficult to fix the car.'

As Gerdts &Youn (1987) show, the raised nominal in Tough Constructions does not display properties of grammatical Subjects. Therefore, stacking takes place on non-subject constituents in (50).

Other constructions where the correlation between alternation, subjecthood, and stacking fails are shown below. (51a)-(51c) contain NNSs with different types of predicates and stacking on non-subjects. In all the sentences, Case Stacking on a non-subject constituent is possible, even when the nominal fails to undergo Case Alternation.

(51) a. *cipan-eyse/?i/eyse-ka   Swuni-eykey namphyen-i   mwusep-ta*
          inside-LOC/NOM/LOC-NOM   S-DAT   husband-NOM   fearsome-DECL
          'It is inside the house that Swuni is afraid of her husband.'

       b. *Austin-eyse/*?i/eyse-ka   Bill-i   kongpwu-lul   cal   hay-ss-ess-ta*
          A-LOC/NOM/LOC-NOM   B-NOM   study-ACC   well   do-PERF-PST-DECL
          'It was while he was in Austin that Bill did well in his studies.'

       c. *ecey-pwuthe/*ka/pwuthe-ka   nalssi-ka   coha-ci-ess-ta*
          yesterday-FROM/NOM/FROM-NOM   weather-NOM   good-become-PST-DECL
          'It was from yesterday that the weather started to get better.'

In order to account for sentences such as these, in Youn (1998) and Gerdts &Youn (1999), the possibility that non-subjects may allow Case Stacking is acknowledged, which leads them to abandon the three-way correlation among Case Stacking, Case Alternations and Grammatical Subjecthood. However, they claim that non-subject stacking arises only in very restricted circumstances. We will discuss their specific proposal after we deal with multiple stacking first.

4.2. Multiple Stacking

In the earlier analyses of Gerdts &Youn (1988) and Youn (1990), multiple stacking is predicted to be ill-formed. This is so since stacking correlates with Subjecthood, and there can be only one

Subject in a clause at a given level of representation. And while they admit stacking on non-Subjects in their later analyses, Youn (1998) and Gerdts &Youn (1999) still reject certain sentences with multiple stacking, such as (52a) below (from Schütze 2001:201, ex. 18). (Youn's 1998 judgments are given below)

(52)   a. *cipan-eyse-ka   kyewul-ey-ka   Swuni-eykey namphyen-i   mwusepta
          house-LOC-NOM winter-LOC-NOM   S-DAT   husband-NOM   fearsome
          'It is in the house that it is during the winter that Swuni is afraid of her husband'

       b. *cipan-eyse-ka   kyewul-ey-ka   Swuni-eykey-ka   namphyen-i   mwusepta
          house-LOC-NOM winter-LOC-NOM   S-DAT-NOM   husband-NOM fearsome
          'It is in the house that it is during the winter that it Swuni who is afraid of her husband.'

They claim that this is due to the fact that one or more of the case-stacked constituents is a non-subject and non-subject stacking can only arise under the following restricted condition.

(53) <u>Case Extension Rule</u> (Youn 1998:144, 66)
If Nom case does not appear on the I-case-marked Subject, then the Nom case may appear on a temporal or locative adjunct.

Now, since only clauses with unaccusative/psych predicates contain I-case-marked NNSs, the rule predicts that stacking on non-subjects will be restricted to such clauses when the grammatical Subject does not have stacking. Even then, it may stack on a non-subject only once.

However, the proposal in (53) is problematic. There are speakers who accept multiple stacking, as Youn (1998) himself acknowledges. In order to deal with this variation, Youn (1998) suggests that the difference between the dialects/speakers might have to do with whether or the Case Extension Rule in (53) is allowed to iterate. If it is, multiple stacking arises, while if it is not, stacking must be unique in a clause. This modified proposal predicts that in the dialect(s) where (53) can iterate, (52a) will be acceptable, while (52b) will still be out.

(53') <u>Case Extension Rule</u> (Youn 1998:144, 66 -- revised)
a.   If the Nom case does not appear on an I-case-marked Subject, then the Nom case may appear on a temporal or locative adjunct.
b.   (53a) *may* (in permissive dialects) or *may not* (conservative dialects) iterate.

Given the revised Case Extension Rule, the following pattern of grammaticality is predicted, where * now means 'ungrammatical in all dialects' and % means 'acceptable in permissive dialects'.

(54)   a. *%cipan-eyse-**ka***   *kyewul-ey-**ka***   *Swuni-eykey*   *namphyen-i*   *mwusepta*
          house-LOC-NOM   winter-LOC-NOM   S-DAT   husband-NOM fearsome

       b. **cipan-eyse-**ka***   *Swuni-eykey-**ka***   *namphyen-I*   *mwusep-ta* (cf. 52b)
          house-LOC-NOM   S-DAT-NOM-nom   husband-NOM   fearsome-decl

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  c. *cipan-eyse-**ka***   *Swuni-eykey*   *namphyen-i*   *mwusep-ta*
    house-LOC-NOM   S-DAT   husband-NOM   fearsome-decl

  d. *cipan-eyse*   *Swuni-eykey-**ka***   *namphyen-i*   *mwusep-ta*
    house-LOC   S-DAT-NOM   husband-NOM   fearsome-decl

Since I tend to accept multiple stacking, my dialect must be the one in which (53) is allowed to iterate. However, multiple Nom-stacking on a Subject and a non-subject is not too degraded for me. In particular, (54a) and (54b) do not contrast as sharply as they should under Youn's modified proposal.

For speakers like myself, multiple stacking is quite acceptable in the Tough Construction, even when one of the stacked nominals (the matrix Experiencer) is a Subject. This is shown below.

(55) a. *LA-eyse-**ka***   *imincatul-eykey*   *[PRO*   *umsik-cangsa-lul*   *ha-ki]-ka*
     LA-LOC-NOM   immigrants-DAT   food-business-ACC   do-NML-NOM
     elyep-ta
     difficult-DECL
     'It is in LA that it is difficult for immigrants to run a restaurant.'

  b. ?*LA-eyse-**ka***   *immicatul-eykey-**ka***   *[PRO*   *umsik-cangsa-lul*   *ha-ki]-ka*
     LA-LOC-NOM   immigrants-DAT-NOM   food-business-ACC   do-NML-NOM
     elyep-ta
     difficult-DECL
     'It is in LA that it is for immigrants that running a restaurant is difficult.'

In addition, while (53) allows non-subjects to carry stacked case only in clauses with unaccusative predicates, case-stacked non-subjects in sentences like (51b) (repeated below) containing an agentive predicate are acceptable.

(56) *Austin-eyse-ka*   *Bill-i*   *kongpwu-lul*   *cal*   *hay-ss-ess-ta*   (=51b)
    A-LOC-NOM   B-NOM   study-ACC   well   do-PERF-PST-DECL
    'It was while he was in Austin that Bill did well in his studies.'

4.3. Summary

In sum, the conjecture that Gerdts &Youn (1988) and Youn (1990) had concerning the close relationship among Grammatical Subjecthood, Case Alternations, and Case Stacking cannot be maintained. Non-subjects allow stacking even for conservative speakers, though these speakers may be constrained by something like (53). Permissive dialects allow multiple stacking, and do not seem to abide by the restrictions in (53). Thus, there is no correlation between Case Alternations and Case Stacking on non-subjects for both conservative and permissive speakers. Putting the conclusion of this section (section 4) together with that of the previous section

(section 3), we are driven to an analysis of Case Stacking where stacked case is to be treated as case, but where there is no correlation between stacking and alternation. What about the subjecthood of case-stacked nominals? Clearly, some of them do not function as Grammatical Subjects. Why then do they allow Nom-stacking? In the following section, I will suggest that the answers to these two questions are related. case-stacked nominals function as 'Major Subjects', and Nom-stacking reflects their status as 'Major Subjects'.

5. Major Subjects and Nominative Case Stacking

5.1. Major Subjects and Grammatical Subjects

Traditional grammars of Korean (as well as those of Chinese and Japanese) often describe the first and second Nom-marked NPs in the following *Multiple Nominative/Subject Constructions* (MNC/MSC) as *Major Subjects* and *Minor Subjects*. The idea behind this description is that both of the Nom-marked NPs are Subject-like in some sense, in particular, in being marked with Nominative case.

(57) a. *Cheli-ka   apeci-ka   pwuca-i-si-ta*
          C-NOM   father-NOM   rich-COP-HON-DECL
          'As for Cheli, his father is rich/It is Cheli whose father is rich.'

      b. *Apenim-i   sonmok-i   pwuleci-si-ess-ta*
          Father-NOM   wrist-NOM   break-HON-PST-DECL
          'Father's wrist was broken.'

      c. *Pihayngki-ka   747-i   khu-ta*
          airplane-NOM   747-NOM   big-DECL
          'As for/it is airplanes (that) the 747 is big.'

   In scholarship informed by modern syntactic theory, however, the use of the term Multiple *Subject* Construction has been eschewed in favor of the term Multiple *Nominative* Construction (cf. Yoon 1987; Youn 1990). The renaming of the construction is based on the supposition that only one of the Nom-marked nominals in (57a-c) is the Subject. The reasoning goes as follows: since we know that there are clear cases of non-subjects marked with Nominative case (that is, Nominative Objects), Nominative-marking cannot be a sufficient condition for a nominal to be identified as bearing the GR of Subject. Therefore, the constructions in question may contain multiple nominals marked with Nominative case, but only one of the nominals is the Subject.

   Indeed, the major thesis of Youn (1990) is to defend the assumption of the uniqueness of Subjects in MNCs against apparent evidence to the contrary. The demonstration that there is a unique Subject (at a given level of representation, that is, D- or S-structure or their equivalents in other frameworks) has typically relied on certain 'subjecthood tests'. For example, Youn (1990) assumes that Subject Honorific Agreement is determined by a 'Final 1', that is an S-structure Subject. Given this assumption, the second Nom-marked nominal *apeci-ka* must be the unique S-structure Subject in (57a), while in (57b), the unique S-structure Subject is the first Nom-marked

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nominal *apenim-i.*[18]

Notice that this line of reasoning sometimes leads to different decisions concerning subjecthood in MNCs even when the predicates are identical. For example, using the Subject Honorification (SH) test, Youn (1990) concludes that the first nominal is the Subject in (58a), while the second nominal is the Subject in (58b).[19]

(58) a. ***Ku   ai-ka***(SUBJ) *elkwul-i   acwu   yeppu-*si-ta*
        that   child-NOM   face-NOM   very   pretty-HON-DECL
        'That child's face is very pretty.'

    b. *Ku   ai-ka   **emenim-kkeyse**(SUBJ)   acwu   mi.in-i-si-ta*
        that   child-NOM   mother-HON.NOM   very   pretty-COP-HON-DECL
        'That child's mother is very pretty.'

This line of research, if successful, appears to render the traditional notion of Major vs. Minor Subjects obsolete, since there is only one Subject in MNCs. It also predicts that the relevant subjecthood tests should pick out a unique nominal in MNCs as Subject at a given level of representation. However, this is a prediction that fails to be substantiated.

Youn (1990) assumes that SOR/ECM is another subjecthood test that picks out a 'Final 1'. In conjunction with the results from the SH test, this then predicts that the second nominal, but not the first nominal, should undergo SOR/ECM in (58b), while the first nominal should undergo it in (58a). While the prediction is confirmed for (58a), it fails for (58b). It is the first nominal that undergoes SOR/ECM.[20]

(59) a. *Cheli-nun ku   ai-**lul**   elkwul-i   acwu yeppu-ta-ko   sayngkakhanta*
        C-TOP   that   child-ACC face-NOM very   pretty-DECL-COMP think
        'Cheli thinks of that child that her face is pretty.'

    a'. **Cheli-nun   ku   ai-ka   elkwul-**ul** acwu   yeppu-ta-ko*
        C-TOP   that   child-NOM   face-ACC very   pretty-DECL-COMP
        sayngkakhanta
        think

    b. *Cheli-nun ku   ai-**lul**   emenim-kkeyse   acwu   yeppu-si-ta-ko*
        C-TOP   that child-ACC mother-HON.NOM very   pretty-HON-DECL-COMP

        sayngkakhanta
        think
        'Cheli thinks of that child that her mother is very pretty.'

    b'. **Cheli-nun   ku   ai-ka   emenim-**ul**   acwu yeppu-ta-ko*
        C-TOP   that   child-NOM   mother-ACC very   pretty-DECL-COMP
        sayngkakhanta
        think

If both SH and SOR/ECM are diagnostics for S-structure Subjects, then (S-structure) subjecthood in MNCs remains indeterminate.

In order to deal with contradictions such as this, K-S Hong (1991) proposed that while SH may be a test for Subjects, in particular, Grammatical Subjects, SOR/ECM is not a Subject test at all, but instead picks out Discourse Topics. However, while I concur with Hong that SOR/ECM is not restricted to Grammatical Subjects, I disagree with K-S Hong's (1991) suggestion that SOR/ECM has nothing to with subjecthood, but only topichood. It is not the case that any constituent that can function as Topic can undergo SOR/ECM, and constituents that cannot be Topics may also undergo SOR/ECM.[21]

This leaves us with the task of deciding the role of the constituent that undergoes SOR/ECM in Korean. As many, including K-S Hong (1990, 1997), have observed (see J-M Yoon 1989 for the original conjecture), there is a non-trivial correlation between a nominal's ability to undergo SOR/ECM and its ability to occur as the first Nom-marked NP in an MNC.[22] This is what (59) illustrates. In order to capture this correlation, Yoon (2003) proposes, following J-M Yoon (1989), that what undergoes SOR/ECM is not the Grammatical Subject, but the *Major Subject* (Kuroda 1986, Heycock 1993). That is, while SOR/ECM may not be a diagnostic for Grammatical Subjects, it serves as a diagnostic for Major Subjects, rather than Topics.[23]

A *Major Subject* (Large Subject in Shibatani 1999; Broad Subject in Doron & Heycock 1999) differs from the *Grammatical Subject* (Small Subject in Shibatani 1999; Narrow/Thematic Subject in Doron & Heycock 1999) in a number of respects. As exemplified by the first Nom-marked NP of the MNC in (57a), one difference between the Grammatical Subject and the Major Subject is that unlike a Grammatical Subject, a Major Subject is not an argument of the predicate. Secondly, while the predicate in construction with a Grammatical Subject is a thematically unsaturated VP, the predicate of a Major Subject is a thematically saturated sentence, hence, a Sentential Predicate, as long recognized in the analysis of MNCs (B-S Park 1982). Thirdly, a well-known condition on Sentential Predicates is that they must satisfy an 'aboutness' condition, or must denote a 'characteristic property' of the Major Subject on which they are predicated (Kuno 1973). Predicates in construction with Grammatical Subjects need not have this property.

As for other syntactic properties of Major Subjects, I will take them to be base-generated as (multiple) Specifier(s) of IP/TP, following Doron & Heycock (1999). I also assume that the base-generated Major Subject is assigned Nominative case in its base position.

Now, while a Major Subject is not an argument of a lexical head, nothing prevents a Major Subject from being coindexed with an argument. The following Korean translation of a Japanese sentence from Doron & Heycock (1999) illustrates this possibility.

(60)　?*cohun*　　*nokcha-ka*$_i$(MS)　*ilponsalamtul-i*(GS)　e$_i$　*culkye-masi-n-ta*
　　　good　　　green.tea-NOM　Japanese-NOM　　　enjoy-drink-PRS-DECL
　　　'As for good green tea/it is good green tea (that) the Japanese enjoy drinking.'

The base-generated Major Subject *cohun nokcha* in (60) is coindexed with the internal argument/Direct Object of the verb *masi-n-ta*.

Upon cursory inspection, it may appear that SOR/ECM applies to the Grammatical Subject, as its name implies. However, what undergoes SOR/ECM is the Major Subject that may or may not be coindexed with the Grammatical Subject.[24] Yoon (2003) shows that this assumption allows us to explain, among others, the restrictions on embedded clauses noted by J-M Yoon (1989) -- namely, that the predicate in construction with an SOR/ECM nominal must be semantically stative, or be 'about' the nominal. A Grammatical Subject does not impose such requirements on its associated predicate. Nor is an indefinite Grammatical Subject restricted to specific interpretation. However, these are plausible properties of Major Subjects in construction with Sentential Predicates.

Now, when the Major Subject undergoing SOR/ECM is coindexed with the Grammatical Subject, it will show the full set of Subject properties encompassing both Grammatical and Major Subjects. In contrast, when the Major Subject undergoing SOR/ECM is not coindexed with the Grammatical Subject, the properties associated with Grammatical Subjects will continue to be associated with the Grammatical Subject rather than the nominal raised by SOR/ECM. Sentence (59b) introduced earlier constitutes an example of the latter, while (61) below is an example of the former.

(61)   *Cheli-ka   Kim-kyoswunim-ul$_i$*(raised MS)   [pro$_i$(GS) *pwuca-i-si-la-ko*]
       C-NOM   Kim-professor-ACC   rich-COP-HON-DECL-COMP
       sayngkakhan-ta
       think-DECL
       'Cheli thinks of Professor Kim that he is rich.'

In (61), the raised Major Subject *Kim kyoswunim-ul* appears to control Honorific Agreement (a diagnostic for Grammatical Subjects, according to our account) in the embedded clause. However it does so in virtue of being coindexed with a phonologically unexpressed Grammatical Subject.

5.2. Nominative Stacks on 'Major Subjects'

The proposal I wish to make about Nom-stacking, in light of the evidence examined in sections 3 and 4, is that it signals the status of the stacked nominal as a Major Subject. That is, Nominative stacks on *Non-nominative Major Subjects*. The Major Subject status of the nominal is indicated by Nom-marking, as well as by the special interpretation in root contexts.[25]

As with SOR/ECM, the Nom-stacked Major Subject need not be the Grammatical Subject. For example, while the Nom-stacked Experiencer in a typical NNSC is a Dat-marked Major Subject that is coindexed with a Grammatical Subject (62a below), the Nom-stacked nominal raised in the Tough Construction (62b below) is a Major Subject that is not coindexed with a Grammatical Subject (but instead, with a non-subject constituent in the embedded clause).[26] The Nom-stacked adjunct in (62c) is a Major Subject under our assumptions but not a Grammatical Subject.

Now, when the Major Subject is coindexed with the Grammatical Subject, it will display a fuller set of Subject properties than when the nominal is not coindexed with a Grammatical Subject. Thus, in (62a) below, Honorific Agreement appears to be controlled by the Nom-stacked Major Subject that is in turn coindexed with the Grammatical Subject. In (62b), by contrast, Honorific Agreement is controlled by the Grammatical Subject *Kim-kyoswunim-kkey*, rather than the Major Subject. Similarly, Plural Copying is controlled by the Grammatical Subject *atultul-eykey*, rather than the Major Subject, in (62d).[27]

(62)   a. *kyoswunim-kkey-ka$_i$* (**MS**)   [e$_i$ (**GS**)   *ton-i*   *philyoha-si-ta*][28]
　　　　professor-HON.DAT-NOM　　　money-NOM　necessary-HON-DECL
　　　　'It is the professor who needs money.'

　　　b. *cip-eyse-ka$_i$* (**MS**)　*Kim-kyoswunim-kk*ey$_j$ (**GS**)　[PRO$_j$ e$_i$　*il-ul*
　　　　house-LOC-NOM　　K-professor-HON.DAT　　　　work-ACC
　　　　HON-NML-NOM
　　　　ha-si-ki]*-ka*　　　*elyew-usi-ta*
　　　　do-HON-NML-NOM　　difficult-HON-DECL
　　　　'It is at home that it is difficult for Professor Kim to do work.'

　　　c. *Austin-eyse-ka* (**MS**)　*sensayngnim-kkeyse*(**GS**) *kacang*　*hayngpokha-si-ess-ta*
　　　　A-LOC-NOM　　　teacher-HON.NOM　　most　happy-HON-PST-DECL
　　　　'It was in Austin that the teacher was the happiest.'

　　　d. ?*Kim-taylonglyeng-eykey-ka*(**MS**) *atultul-eykey*(**GS**) *mwuncey-ka*　*taytanhi-tul*
　　　　Kim-president-DAT-NOM　　　sons-DAT　　　problem-NOM greatly-PLUR
　　　　manh-ta
　　　　a.lot-decl
　　　　'It is President Kim whose sons are causing a lot of problems.'

Now, if SOR/ECM is a Major Subject diagnostic, it is predicted that when the Nom-stacked Major Subject is not a Grammatical Subject, SOR/ECM should apply to it rather than to the Grammatical Subject. The prediction is confirmed. The relevant contrast is illustrated in (63) below. Similar results obtain for the other sentences, as readers can verify for themselves.

(63)   a. ?*Cheli-nun Austin-eyse-**lul**　sensayngnim-kkeyse　kacang*
　　　　C-TOP　　A-LOC-ACC　　teacher-HON.NOM　most
　　　　hayngpokha-si-ess-ta-ko　　*sayngkakhan-ta*
　　　　happy-HON-PST-DECL-COMP　　think-DECL
　　　　'Cheli thinks that it was in Austin that the teacher was the happiest.'

　　　b. **Cheli-nun**　*Austin-eyse-ka*　*sensayngnim-**ul**　kacang*
　　　　C-TOP　　　A-LOC-NOM　　teacher-ACC　　most
　　　　hayngpokha-si-ess-ta-ko　　*sayngkakhan-ta*
　　　　happy-HON-PST-DECL-COMP　　think-DECL

5.3 Accounting for the Properties of Nom-Stacking under the Major Subject Analysis

A significant advantage of the Major Subject analysis of Nom-stacked nominals lies in its ability to provide plausible accounts of a number of generalizations about Case Stacking that Schütze (1996, 2001) adduced as evidence against taking stacked case particles as marking Case. This is what we turn to now.

5.3.1. Special discourse status of Major Subjects:

It is well-known that Major Subjects are characterized by special discourse status – Topic or Focus – interpretation in root contexts. This is seen clearly in MNCs where the first Nom-marked NP is not the Grammatical Subject. (57c), repeated below, exemplifies this property.

(57)   c.   *Pihayngki-ka   747-i   khu-ta*
            airplane-NOM   747-NOM   big-DECL
            'As for airplanes (TOP), the 747 is big.'
            'It is airplanes (FOC) that the 747 is big.' (pragmatically odd)

This helps us to explain why Nom-stacking gives rise to a Focus-like interpretation in root contexts. Since the focus interpretation is one of the readings associated with Major Subjects, we can explicate the whole set of focus-like properties associated with Case Stacking without having to posit that case-markers do double duty as focus-markers in the language.[29]

5.3.2. Stacking and Grammatical Subjecthood

Schütze (1996, 2001) reports that at least for some speakers, Subject Honorific Agreement and Quantifier Float become degraded when the Grammatical Subject is Dat-marked, and that the degradation does not improve under Nom-stacking. He took this to be evidence against analyzing stacked Nominative as case. The judgments of these speakers are predicted in our account as well. Recall that while Nom stacks on Major Subjects, properties sensitive to Grammatical Subjects are not affected by the stacking – cf. (62a-d). What may be going on with these speakers is that they are having trouble treating the Dat-marked NP as a Grammatical Subject in the first place and this difficulty persists under stacking.

5.3.3. Optionality of Case Stacking

Recall that Schütze's central theoretical objection against treating stacked case as case was the apparent optionality of stacking. However, under the analysis of Nom-stacking as stacking on Major Subjects, the structures and derivations associated with stacked and unstacked nominals are different. Therefore, there is no optionality of Nom-stacking on a Major Subject. What gives rise to the appearance of optionality is the fact that the Major Subject position is optional.

(64)   Structure without Major Subject Position – No Stacking
    a. *Cheli-eykey* (**GS**) *ton-i   philyoha-ta*
        C-DAT   money-NOM necessary-DECL
        'Cheli needs money'

Structure with a Major Subject Position -- Stacking

b. *Cheli-eykey-ka$_i$* (**MS**) [e$_i$ (**GS**)　*ton-i*　　*philyoha-ta*]
　　C-DAT-NOM　　　　　　　money-NOM　necessary-DECL
　　'It is Cheli who needs money.'

　　Schütze's argument that stacked case is not case also centered on the contrast between the optionality of stacking on Inherently case-marked nominals (see above) and the obligatory stacking on genuine argument PPs. His claim was that since Postpositions are not case-markers, nothing bans the stacking of Structural case-markers on PPs. The relevant data is given below.

(65)　a. *Pangan-ulo-*(ka)*　　　*macnun*　*panghyang-i-ta* (=28)
　　　　room.inside-LOC-NOM　correct　　direction-COP-DECL
　　　　'Toward the room is the correct direction.'

　　　b. ?*Cikum-pwuthe-*(ka)*　　*mwuncey-lul*　*yakiha-n-ta*
　　　　　Now-FROM-NOM　　　　issue-ACC　　raise-PRS-DECL
　　　　'The problem is (what to do) from now.'

　　　c. *Keki-lul*　　*ka-nun*　　*tey-nun*　　*Seoul-lo-pwuthe-*(ka)*　*ceyil*　*cohta*
　　　　There-ACC　go-ADN　NML-TOP　S-LOC-FROM-NOM　　most　good
　　　　'To go there it is best to leave from Seoul.'

　　The analysis I propose for these sentences is as follows. The case-stacked constituents in these sentences are all Major Subjects and that is why Nom-stacking is obligatory. (65c) is the most transparent case, since *Seoul-lo-pwuthe-ka* is the raised nominal in a Tough Construction (see H-R Chae 1998 for different types of Tough Constructions). As we saw earlier, the Tough nominal is obligatorily case-stacked and functions as a Major Subject, while the (optional) Experiencer argument of the matrix predicate functions as a Grammatical Subject. This is seen in (66) below.[30]

(66)　*keki-lul*　　　*ka-nun*　　*tey-nun*　　　*chopocatul-eykey-nun*(**GS**)
　　　there-ACC　　go-MOD　NML-TOP　beginners-DAT-TOP
　　　Seoul-lo-pwuthe-ka(**MS**)　　*ceyil*　*coh-ta*
　　　S-LOC-FROM-NOM　　　　most　good-DECL
　　　'For beginners, to go there, it is best to leave from Seoul.'

　　In (65b), the case-stacked nominal *cikum-pwuthe-ka* is a Major Subject. The Grammatical Subject, though not expressed in (65b), can be easily filled in, as shown below.[31]

(67)　*cikum-pwuthe-ka*(**MS**)　*kutongan*　*millin*　*il-tul-i*(**GS**)　　*mwuncey-lul*
　　　now-FROM-NOM　　　in.the.past　put.off　work-PL-NOM　problem-ACC
　　　yakiha-lkesi-ta
　　　raise-FUT-DECL
　　　'From now on, the things we put off in the past will create problems.'

Finally, (65a) is an Inverse Copula construction related to (68).

(68)   *macnun   panghyang-un   pangan-ulo-i-ta*
        correct   direction-TOP   room.inside-LOC-COP-DECL
        'The correct direction is toward the room.'

In the analysis of Korean copula constructions in Yoon (2001), the Inverse is derived by fronting the Predicate of the SC complement of the copula to a position where it is interpreted as either Topic or Focus. We have identified these interpretive properties as those of the Major Subject. As we can tell from its Nominative case-marking and focus interpretation, the fronted predicate in (65a) occupies the Major Subject position. This explains the obligatoriness of Case Stacking since we have been assuming that Nom-assignment is obligatory on Major Subjects.[32]

5.3.4. Conditions on Major Subject predication explain restrictions on Case Stacking

As we saw earlier, Major Subjects must be 'news-worthy' items. In addition, the Sentential Predicate in construction with the Major Subject should denote a characteristic property of the referent of the Major Subject (Kuno 1973). This interpretive requirement can be satisfied in various ways. For example, the Sentential Predicate in (69a) below satisfies this condition because the Major Subject and Grammatical Subject stand in a *Type-Subtype* relation (I-S Yang 1972). The 747 is a type of airplane and the Sentential Predicate '747 is big' states a characteristic property of the Major Subject 'airplanes'. The Major Subject 'airplanes', in turn, is news-worthy enough for the following sentence to be construed as saying something relevant about it. In contrast, the assertion in (69b) is anomalous, since the Type-Subtype relationship is reversed. The sentence 'airplanes are big' cannot be construed as saying something relevant about the 747. Therefore, the only felicitous reading of (69b) is if, say, there is a brand of automobile called 747, and comparison is being made among the entities that are called 747. In such a context, the sentence would be a felicitous assertion about entities named '747'. In the same way, we can understand why the Major Subject '747' in (69a) is construed as a Topic, rather than Focus, since the Focus reading presupposes that there is more than one type of entity with the 747 designation.

(69)   a. *Pihayngki-ka   747-i   khu-ta*
            airplane-NOM   747-NOM big-DECL
            'As for airplanes, the 747 is big.'
            'It is airplanes that the 747 is big.' (pragmatically odd)

        b. **747-i   pihayngki-ka   khu-ta*
            747-NOM   airplane-NOM   big-DECL
            'As for the 747, the airplane is big.' (pragmatically odd)

Something along these lines may be behind the restrictions on Nom-stacking observed by Youn (1998) and Gerdts &Youn (1999). In the alternative analysis here, Nom-stacked nominals are Major Subjects. As such, they must qualify as 'news-worthy' entities. In addition, the Sentential Predicate in construction with the Major Subject must state a characteristic property of the Major Subject.

With this background, let us return to the sentences in (47), repeated here, which exemplify the limits on stacking according to Youn (1998) and Gerdts &Youn (1999).

(70)   a. *Phokwu-lo-ka*   *ku*   *tali-ka*   *mwuneci-ess-ta*
          heavy.rain-INST-NOM   that   bridge-NOM   collapse-PST-DECL
          'It was due to heavy rain that the bridge collapsed.'

       b. *Uyca-ey-ka*   *Cheli-ka*   *anc-ass-ta*
          chair-LOC-NOM C-NOM   sit-PST-DECL
          'It was in the chair that Cheli sat.'

       c. *I*   *pang-eyse-ka*   *Cheli-ka*   *nao-ass-ta*
           this   room-FROM-NOM   C-NOM   come.out-PST-DECL
           'It was out of this room that Cheli came out.'

We note first that in (70a), the Nom-stacked adjunct nominal expresses an (instrumental) Cause. It seems that taking a Cause (of events/eventualities) as a Major Subjects is more difficult than taking other types of semantic relations expressed by adjuncts, such as the spatio-temporal Location of events, as a Major Subject. If this is correct, we can understand why (70a) is unacceptable as a Major Subject-Sentential Predicate construction.[33] (70b) is rejected by Youn (1998). However, this may be due to the fact that a non-specific chair is not something that is 'news-worthy' enough to be a Major Subject. Indeed, for many speakers, the following sentence, with the same syntactic structure, is much more acceptable.

(71)   ?*i*   *uyca-ey-ka*   *Kim-taythonglyeng-i*   *anc-usi-ess-ess-ta*
          this   chair-LOC-NOM   Kim-president-NOM   sit-HON-PST-PERF-DECL
          'It was in this chair that President Kim sat.'

Let's consider the following scenario, reportedly based on a true story. The president of South Korea visits Los Angeles and makes an unplanned stop at a restaurant to have lunch. The owner was so honored by the visit that he places the chair on which the president sat during lunch on prominent display in his restaurant. Curious (and flabbergasted!) guests ask why the chair is on display. In such a context, we could imagine the proud owner saying (71). The chair in such a context is certainly a 'news-worthy' item and 'President Kim having sat on it' a relevant property that could be predicated of it. For a similar reason, while Youn (1998) rejects (70c), I find that it sounds better than (70a,b), because it is easier to think of a context where it would be uttered (imagine a scenario where Cheli ran out of a room where he was hiding and police want to know which room he was hiding in).

However, the interpretive conditions that hold between Major Subjects and Sentential Predicates is elusive, since what counts as 'news-worthy' or a 'characteristic property' may be influenced by contextual factors, and as such, might vary from speaker to speaker and context to context. For example, in the literature it is often asserted that (72a) is ungrammatical (likewise for 69a) (Y-S Kang 1985).

(72) a. *kkoch-i*   *cangmi-ka*   *yeppu-ta* ('*' in Y-S Kang 1985)
          flower-NOM   rose-NOM   pretty-DECL

      b. *kkoch-un*   *cangmi-ka*   *yeppu-ta*
          flower-NOM   rose-NOM   pretty-DECL

Interestingly, speakers who reject (72a) readily accept (72b). The reversal of judgments can be explained as follows. These speakers are interpreting the first NP in (72a) as (non-contrastive) Focus. Under this interpretation, the sentence asserts that 'it is the flower that the rose is pretty'. It is not easy to find a context where the utterance would be appropriate since the rose flower is perhaps the only part of the rose plant that is pretty. On the other hand, (72b) asserts that 'as for flowers, the rose is pretty', and is readily accepted by all speakers, because it requires no special context to be accepted. The context-dependency of the interpretive conditions Major Subjects and Sentential Predicates may explain why speakers have varying judgments regarding Nom-stacked sentences, since the felicity of a given sentence with Nom-stacking depends, among others, on finding the right context in which the sentence could be uttered.

5.3.5. Multiple stacking

Multiple Nom-marked Major Subjects are possible, given the right context. This is shown below where the first and second Nom-marked NPs are Major Subjects.

(73) *Cheli-ka chinkwu-ka* [*apeci-ka   tani-nun hoysa*]-*ka   manghayssta*
      C-NOM   friend-NOM   father-NOM   go-ADN   company-NOM   go.bankrupt
      'It is Cheli (not Tongswu) and it is his friend (not a relative) whose father's company went bankrupt.' (one possible reading)

Because of multiple (embedded) foci, and because the relevant contexts may be hard to think of, sentence with multiple stacking (i.e., those with multiple non-nominative Major Subjects) are marginal. However, once the relevant contexts are identified, they can become acceptable. In the contexts provided below each example, the following sentences with multiple stacking are fine for many speakers.

(74) a. *cipan-eyse-ka*   *kyewul-ey-ka*   *Swuni-eykey namphyen-i   mwusepta*
          house-LOC-NOM   winter-LOC-NOM   S-DAT   husband-NOM fearsome
          'It is in the house that it is during the winter that Swuni is afraid of her husband'

          (Context: Swuni has a husband with a mental condition that gets worse in cold weather especially when he is inside the house.)

      b. *cipan-eyse-ka*   *kyewul-ey-ka*   *Swuni-eykey-ka*   *namphyen-i*
          house-LOC-NOM   winter-LOC-NOM   S-DAT   husband-NOM
          mwusepta
          fearsome
          'It's in the house that it's during the winter that it's Swuni who is afraid of her husband'

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(<u>Context</u>: Both Swuni and Yenghi have husbands with the aforementioned condition. Only Swuni is afraid. Yenghi copes with the situation well.)

5.3.6. Unmarked vs. marked instances of stacking

Analyzing Nom-stacked nominals as Major Subjects also helps us understand the reasons behind the two sets of empirical generalizations that have been made about stacking. Recall that in their earlier work, Youn (1990) and Gerdts &Youn (1988) assumed that Nom-stacking was restricted to Grammatical Subjects. In later work, they allow Nom-stacking on constituents other than Grammatical Subjects, but only in clauses with unaccusative predicates (cf. 53).

We can make sense of the earlier Gerdts-Youn generalization as being about the core, or unmarked, cases of stacking, if we make the plausible assumption that a Major Subject that is coreferential with a Grammatical Subject constitutes the unmarked instance of Major Subject.

It is significant that a similar variability holds in SOR/ECM, another Major Subject diagnostic in our account. Many researchers who have not bothered to examine the full range of data claim that only Grammatical Subjects undergo raising in SOR/ECM (Youn 1990, J-S Lee 1992, for example). However, constituents that clearly are not Grammatical Subjects can raise in SOR/ECM, as we saw earlier. We can think of these two sets of contrasting empirical claims in a manner similar to the two sets of claims made about Nom-stacking. If, as we suppose, in the unmarked case, a Major Subject is coindexed with the Grammatical Subject, unmarked instances of SOR/ECM will seem to target the Grammatical Subject. When a Major Subject that is not the Grammatical Subject raises in SOR/ECM, it will constitute a marked case. That is why a cursory examination of the evidence often ignores these cases of SOR/ECM.

Returning to Nom-stacking, the later Gerdts-Youn generalization (cf. 53), especially the idea that only unaccusative predicates allow non-subjects to show Nom-stacking, can also be made sense of. Subjects of unaccusative clauses are less subject-like than those of unergative clauses. This generalization, worked out differently in different frameworks, is widely accepted in the literature. Therefore, it is not surprising that Major Subjects that are not Grammatical Subjects prefer unaccusative clauses to unergative clauses as Sentential Predicates since there would be less 'competition' for subjecthood from an unaccusative Grammatical Subject than an unergative Grammatical Subject, meaning that a clause with an unaccusative predicate is more likely to be reconstrued as a Sentential Predicate.

However, we have seen that there are exceptions to (53). (56), repeated below as (75a), contains a Nom-stacked Major Subject co-occurring with a clause containing an unergative predicate.

(75)   a. *Austin-eyse-ka*   *Bill-i*   *kongpwu-lul* *cal*   *hay-ss-ess-ta*
          A-LOC-NOM   B-NOM   study-ACC   well   do-PST-PERF-DECL
          'It was while he was in Austin that Bill did well in his studies.'

      b. *cangmachel-ey-ka   *nay-ka*   *manhun*   *chayk-ul*   *ilk-ess-ta*
        rainy.season-LOC-NOM I-NOM   many   book-ACC   read-PST-DECL
        'It was during the rainy season that I read many books.' (Youn 1998, ex. (68))

Now, in contrast to (75a) which is acceptable for most speakers, an analogous sentence (75b) with the same syntactic structure has been claimed to be ungrammatical by Youn (1998). What could be the relevant difference between (75a) and (75b)?

Again, the key to the contrast has to do with the interpretive conditions on Sentential Predicates and Major Subjects. For example, (75b) improves if the predicate tense is changed to Present, yielding a generic (vs. episodic) reading.

(76) *?cangmachel-ey-ka*   *salamtul-i*   *chayk-ul*   *manhi ilk-nun-ta*
        rainy.season-LOC-NOM   people-NOM   book-ACC   a.lot   read-PRS-DECL
        'It is during the rainy season that people read a lot.'

This is doubtless because the sentence 'people read books a lot', makes for an easier Sentential Predicate, which states a characteristic property about the Major Subject, 'rainy season'. In contrast, the sentence 'I read many books' cannot be easily construed as saying something characteristic about the Major Subject, 'rainy season'. This may be behind the contrast in judgments regarding structurally identical sentences.

Comparison with SOR/ECM is instructive here again. Various researchers have claimed that the embedded predicate in SOR/ECM is lexically restricted. For example, J-S Lee (1992) claims that the predicates must be intransitives that do not assign Acc case -- unaccusatives and/or individual-level predicates. However, contrary to his claim, embedded transitives are fine for most speakers, as long as the entire embedded clause can be construed as stating a characteristic property of the SOR/ECM nominal (cf. Yoon 2003 for discussion). For example, the embedded clause in (77b), in contrast to that in (77a), has a generic-habitual interpretation, which makes it more suitable as a Sentential Predicate predicated of the raised Major Subject *Yenghi*.

(77)   a. **Cheli-nun Yenghi-lul pap-ul   cikum ha-n-ta-ko   sayngkakhanta*
            C-TOP   Y-ACC   meal-ACC   now   do-PRS-DECL-COMP   think
            'Cheli believes of Yenghi that she is cooking now.'
            (J-S Lee 1992)

        b. *Cheli-nun Yenghi-lul cip-eyse   pap-ul   nul   ha-n-ta-ko*
            C-TOP   Y-ACC   home-LOC   meal-ACC   always   do-PRS-DECL-COMP
            sayngkakhanta
            think
            'Cheli thinks of Yenghi that she always cooks at home.'

In the analysis proposed here, the contrasts shown in (75-77) can be blamed on a common cause. Both Nom-stacked nominals and SOR/ECM nominals are Major Subjects. Therefore, they are sensitive to the same (admittedly illusive) factors that underlie a felicitous Major Subject-Sentential Predicate relation.

6. Conclusion and Remaining Issues

In this paper, I have argued that Nom-stacked constituents are Major Subjects and that the stacked particle should be treated as a Nominative case-marker, rather than a homophonous focus-marker. The conclusion differs from those of previous researchers, in particular, both the earlier and later positions of Gerdts-Youn as well as that of Schütze. However, it would be remiss not to point out that the present analysis builds on crucial insights of earlier analyses. The investigation of the possible correlation of subjecthood with Nom-stacking owes to the work of Gerdts-Youn. In particular, I have recast the insights behind their Case Realization Rule (53) in terms of the licensing properties of Major Subjects and Sentential Predicates. The special interpretive properties of case-stacked nominals that Schütze investigated in detail have been recast in terms of the special properties of Major Subjects, including Non-nominative Major Subjects. Therefore, the major contribution of the present analysis is not so much in the discovery of new empirical generalizations (though there are some), but in attempting to relate the debate on Case Stacking to a known typological (parametric, if you will) property that pervades the syntax of Korean -- the existence of Major Subjects -- which is perhaps itself a reflection of a deeper 'macro'-parameter. I have shown that in addition to Nom-marking, there is at least one other property of Korean that exploits this property, SOR/ECM.

In the remainder of the paper, I will briefly discuss issues and areas that need to be investigated further.

6.1. On Case Alternation

If Nom-stacked nominals are all Major Subjects as the present paper claims, the ability to be marked with a sole Nominative (i.e., to undergo Case Alternation) cannot be a necessary property of Major Subjects, since not all Major Subjects with stacked Nominative undergo Case Alternation. However, since Case Alternation implies Stacking (though not the other way round), we can say that alternating 'Major Subjects' are in some sense more prototypical Major Subjects than the non-alternating ones.[34] This is so since, when we restrict our attention to (Non-nominative Major Subjects coindexed with) Grammatical Subjects, Case Alternation does seems to correlate with Case Stacking (Gerdts &Youn 1988).

6.2. Case-marking and (Major) Subjecthood

According to the analysis in this paper, all Major Subjects are Nom-marked, regardless of whether they also carry Inherent case. This is in contrast to Grammatical Subjects for which Nom-marking is not obligatory, as there are clear cases of Dative (and possibly Locative) Grammatical Subjects in the language. The question naturally arises why this should be so.

A speculative answer could be formulated on the basis of the fact that while a Grammatical Subject is an argument (the most prominent one) of the predicate that is in construction with it, a Major Subject is not, since the Major Subject is not a lexically selected argument of the predicate that heads the Sentential Predicate.

Suppose that the canonical position of Subjects is SpTP, possibly multiple. We proposed

earlier that a Dat/Loc-marked Grammatical Subject occupies SpVP/vP (the lower subject position), rather than SpTP (the higher subject position). When Dat/Loc Subjects occupy SpTP, they do so as Major Subjects, giving rise to Nom-stacking. Now, assume that the SpTP is a position to which Nominative is obligatorily assigned. Since Major Subjects are not arguments of the verb, they never raise from within vP/VP to SpTP, but are directly merged in the higher subject position (Doron & Heycock 1999).[35] The conjunction of these two assumptions predicts that when a non-Nominative XP is merged in SpTP as a Major Subject, it will be obligatorily marked with Nom-case, yielding Case Stacking. In contrast, a Dat-marked Grammatical Subject, being an argument of the verb, can remain in the lower subject position, SpVP/vP. If we assume that there is no obligatory case-driven raising of Grammatical Subjects in Korean/Japanese (Fukui & Takano 1998, contra Miyagawa 2001), the Dat-NP which remains within vP/VP will not be marked with an additional Nom-case.[36]

6.3. Agreement and Subjecthood

The reanalysis of Nom-stacking in this paper no longer makes it possible to view Honorific and Plural Agreement with a Dat-marked Grammatical Subject as agreement with a (covertly) Nom-marked Grammatical Subject, as in the earlier analysis of Gerdts &Youn (1988) and Youn (1990). How then could we explain the unusual pattern of Subj-Predicate Agreement in Korean NNSCs?

The answer must come from the fact that Nominative is not assigned by agreement in Korean, as many researchers have already pointed out (Y-J Kim 1990; K-S Hong 1991, etc.). This is what allows Subject Agreement to be controlled by the Grammatical Subject, regardless of how it is case-marked.

6.4. Acc-stacking and Major Objects

Finally, if our analysis is on the right track, Acc-stacked nominals must function as Non-accusative *Major Objects*. Possible examples of Major Objects without Case Stacking exist in the language. One such example is the Possessor NP in an Inalienable Possession type Multiple Accusative Construction (MAC), illustrated below.

(78) *Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul*(**MO**) *son-ul*(**GO**) *cap-ass-ta*
      C-NOM   Y-ACC   hand-ACC   catch-PST-DECL
      'Cheli caught Yenghi by the hand.'

The two Acc-marked nominals in this construction can be thought of as respectively instantiating the Major Object (MO) and the Grammatical Object (GO). If being selected and assigned an internal theta-role by the verb is a property of Grammatical Objects, the second, Possessee nominal must be the Grammatical Object (Yoon 1990; Maling & Kim 1992, *inter alia*). However, while the second Acc-marked nominal is the selected argument, it is the first Acc-marked NP that is syntactically active and undergoes relation-changing rules that affect Objects in other languages, such as Passive. This may be because it is functioning as a Major Object.[37]

Other potential examples of Major Objects (MO) are found in the following constructions.

(79)   a.   *Cheli-ka   Yenghi-eykey-man-ul$_i$*(MO)   e$_i$ *ton-ul   ponay-ss-ta*
            C-NOM   Y-DAT-ONLY-ACC   money-ACC   send-PST-DECL
            'It was only to Yenghi that Cheli sent money.'

       b.   *Cheli-nun cemsim-ul*(MO)   *cacangmyen-ul   mek-ess-ta*
            C-TOP   lunch-ACC   noodle.name-ACC   eat-PST-DECL
            'As for lunch, Cheli had cacangmyen.'

In (79a), we have Acc-stacking on a Dat-marked Goal. (79b) is a sub-type of MAC in which the two Acc-marked nominals stand in a Topic-Comment relation. The constituents analyzed as Major Objects in (78) and (79a,b) have in common the property that they are not selected as arguments of the predicates in question. This is true in (79a) as well if we take the MO to be coindexed with the unexpressed Goal argument. Like Major Subjects, then, Major Objects will be directly merged into the structure, possibly as multiple Specifiers of VP. They are marked Accusative because they are in the domain of an Accusative assigner.

In sum, the existence of Major Subjects and Objects, coupled with the availability of multiple case assignment, may be what lies behind the peculiarities of Case Stacking constructions in the language. If we are on the right track, Major Subjects and Objects play a much more pervasive role in the grammar of languages like Korean and Japanese. This is certainly a topic that is worth a more extensive investigation than this paper can provide.

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Endnotes:

[1] German may not be an appropriate example since it has been claimed that the Dative is not a Subject.

[2] The reason I qualify this generalization as 'preferential' is that contrary to prevalent belief (e.g., Ura 1999 for Japanese and Gerdts & Youn 1988 for Korean), there are instances where speakers accept Honorific Agreement between the Nom-marked Object and the predicate (cf. Shibatani 1999 for relevant Japanese and Nepali data; J-H Kim 2001 for Korean).

Boeckx (2000) argues that in fact even in Icelandic, a case could be made that the Dat-marked Subject in NNS constructions agrees with the predicate (which also agrees simultaneously with the Nom-marked Object). He bases his analysis on the observation that agreement with Nominative Object fails when the Object is First or Second Person. Taking this to reflect the same generalization that underlies the Person-Case Constraint, Boeckx (2000) argues that it is the agreement with the Dat-marked Subject which prohibits the predicate from agreeing with 1st/2nd person Objects. If Boeckx is correct, then agreement with the NNS is more widespread that previously thought. However, the agreement with Dat-marked Subject in Korean (and Japanese) is much more robust and can be detected readily, since the presence of 1st/2nd person Nom-marked Object plays no interfering role.

[3] In fact, the stated goal of Youn (1990) is to defend the Stratal Uniqueness Law (as it applies to Subjects) with respect to Korean on the face of evidence that seems to contradict it. As is well-known, the issue of the uniqueness of Subjects and Subjecthood diagnostics also depend on whether the syntactic framework is mono-stratal or multi-stratal. We will come back to this issue in section 5.

[4] This question should be understood as a conditional, rather than a bi-conditional. That is, it asks - if some constituent bears the GF of Subject, can/must it be marked Nominative? Nominative-marking does not entail Subjecthood, since the Nominative 'Object' in NNS constructions fails to exhibit properties associated with typical Subjects. However, Shibatani (1999) can be read as endorsing a bi-conditional interpretation, since for him, the Nominative 'Object' is in fact a Subject, a 'Small Subject', while the Dat/Loc-marked NP is a 'Large Subject'. I do not adopt this position in this paper.

[5] The account in Gerdts &Youn (1999) and Youn (1998) are different, as we shall see. The position advocated in their later works is close to that in Yoon (1996).

left-peripheral Major Subject.

[12] Since this type of analysis attributes the focus interpretation of case stacking to constructional focus positions, it is predicted that the focus interpretation will not arise when a stacked case occupies a non-focus position. This prediction is borne out. Genitive is obligatorily stacked on I-case-marked nominals within DPs, and yet no focus interpretation arises. This is so since there are no constructional focus positions within DPs.

(i) Mary-uy   John-eykey-uy   phyenci
     M-gen   J-dat-gen   letter
     'Mary's letter to John'

[13] Schütze's system can account for the case-agreeing patterns in the following way. He can assume either that the case-matching FQ is not assigned Case but only Focus in the Focus position associated with the matrix VP or that the FQ is assigned Acc case but the ECM nominal is assigned Focus from the matrix V. In either case, both the FQ and the antecedent nominal must raise into the domain of the matrix V.

[14] J-M Jo (p.c.) suggests that (45b) could be analyzed as local scrambling of the embedded Object (adjunction to lower IP or CP). Indeed, when a matrix adverb intervenes, forcing the Object to be adjoined to the matrix VP, disjointness between the matrix Subject and the scrambled embedded Object is strongly preferred.

(i) *?Cheli-nun[1]   ku-lul[1], papo-kathi, [Yenghi-ka   coahanta-ko] sayngkakhan-ta
       C-top   he-acc   foolishly   Y-nom   like-comp   think-decl

Since Schütze (2001) assumes that the SOR/ECM nominal is adjoined to the matrix VP in (44b), the disjointness effect can still be accounted for under his analysis.

   However, it seems that we can still construct an argument demonstrating that the position of the SOR/ECM nominal and that of the embedded Object scrambled to matrix VP are different. The two behave differently with respect to Negative Polarity licensing. That is, while an SOR/ECM NPI nominal can be licensed by matrix negation, a scrambled Object cannot, as we see below.

(ii) a. ?Na-nun   Yenghi-pakkey   acikto   pap-ul   cal   hanta-ko   sayngkakha-ci   anhnunta
         I-top   Y-only(NPI)   still   meal-acc well   do-comp   think-comp   neg

    b. *?Na-nun   pap-pakkey   acikto   [Yenghi-ka cal   hanta-ko] sayngkakha-ci   anhnunta
         I-top   meal-only(NPI) still   Y-nom   well   do-comp   think-comp   neg

Since (ii-b) shows that an NPI that is unambiguously adjoined to matrix VP cannot be licensed by matrix negation, we can infer that the SOR/ECM nominal in (ii-a) is not in the same position and that it is in an A-position. However, the relevant contrasts are not sharp.

   The A-position status of the SOR/ECM nominal is independently supported by its ability to undergo Passive in the matrix clause (J-M Yoon 1989).

[15] I have not shown how the uniform Case analysis is able to account for all of Schütze's arguments against Case Stacking introduced in section 3.1, though I have addressed some of them. I will return to some of these facts in section 5.

[16] An analogous claim is made for the stacking of Accusative by Schutze. Accusative stacks only on nominals that behave as Direct Objects, as shown by an alternating Acc case. However, unlike Subjects, the diagnostics for Objects are not as well established. In addition, since the focus of the paper is Non-nominative Subjects, we will restrict our subsequent discussion to Subjects.

[17] Schütze (1996, 2001) claims that the –ka particle here is a Focus-marker assigned by negation, assuming that the complement of the Negative Copula is always in Focus. However, since the analysis of –ka as Focus has been effectively refuted, we assume that –ka is Nom-case here, as elsewhere. Besides, the complement of an affirmative Copula is also Focus, especially in the Cleft construction. However, there is no obligatory –ka marking.

[18] Analogous reasoning picks out the second NP in (57c) as Subject. Youn (1990) posits the following subjecthood tests.

> Final 1 (surface subject): Honorific Agreement, Plural Copying, SOR/ECM, Controller of –*myense* adjunct clause.
> Metastratal 1 (subject at some level of representation): Antecedent of reflexive 'casin'.

[19] In contrast, K-S Hong (1991) assumes that the second nominal is the unique Subject in both sentences, so that in (58a), the agreement holds with *elkwul*. Since faces belong to people, an inference is made that the agreement is to be construed with the possessor of the body part, namely, *ku ai*. This inference leads to unacceptability since children are not usually deemed worthy of honorification.

Hong's proposal is similar to the view of Shibatani (1999), who holds that all initial NPs in MNCs are 'Major Subjects' (or Large Subjects, as he calls them). I do not adopt this view, since I take the initial NP in (58a) to be a Grammatical Subject. This entails that the second NP, *elkwul*, is not a Subject of any kind. In (58b), by contrast, I take the first NP to be a 'Major Subject', while the second is the Grammatical Subject.

[20] What makes (59a', b') bad has nothing to do with the position of the SOR/ECM nominal. Even when the Acc-marked nominal precedes the Nom-marked one, the sentences are still bad, as readers can verify for themselves.

[21]. For example, WH-phrases cannot be Topics but undergo SOR. See Kuroda (1986) and Doron & Heycock (1999) for a more general discussion of the differences between Topics and Major/Broad Subjects.

[22] These include the fact that the nominals preferably co-occur with semantically stative predicates, generic or habitual tense, and get interpreted as specific when they are indefinite.

[23] K-S Hong (1991) also lists the ability to control PRO in an adjunct or complement clause, and the ability to trigger deletion in coordination contexts as properties of Discourse Topics. Whether these too can be considered properties of Major Subjects should be explored further.

[24] There is a technical question of how this comes about. Yoon (2003) argues that the embedded Major Subject moves to a position within the matrix VP where it is assigned Acc case.

[25] Grammatical Subjects need not be marked Nominative. This raises the question of why Major Subjects have to be marked Nominative. We will come back to the possible roots of this difference in section 6. Of course, a Major Subject that undergoes SOR/ECM will surface with Acc case, not Nom. This is because Nom and Acc cannot both be realized. Case resolution rules in Korean demand that the late-assigned case be realized (Yoon 1996).

[26] It is possible, in light of the evidence given in Takano (forthcoming), that the Case-stacked Tough nominal is not a Major Subject, but a Nom-marked *Major Object*. This will explain, among others, why the Tough nominal need not precede the matrix Experiencer. If the Experiencer were the GS and the Tough nominal the MS, we expect the latter to precede the former, since MS are more peripheral than GS.

[27] Since the complement of the Negative Copula in negated Cleft Constructions is also a stacking position, we are led to claim that the constituent occupying that position is also a Major Subject. This analysis is not implausible, since Yoon (2001) argues, following Hoji (1987) and Matsuda (2000), that Cleft constructions are Inverse Copula constructions, in which the pre-copula constituent is the Subject.

What is the status of the nominals that act as Major Subjects in (62) when case is not stacked on them? In (62a), the Dative NP *kyoswunim-kkey* is a Grammatical Subject. In (62b), *cip-eyse* is a fronted adjunct associated with the embedded clause. In (61c), *Austin-eyse* functions as an adjunct to the whole clause. A similar story presumably extends to unstacked *Kim-taythonglyeng-eykey* in (62d). From facts such as these, it should be clear that Major Subjecthood is distinct from Grammatical Subjecthood. It is not even restricted to constituents bearing primary Grammatical Functions (Subject, Object, Indirect Object), as adjuncts can act as Major Subjects.

[28] Since Major Subjects and coreferential Grammatical Subjects are coindexed, the position of the case-stacked nominal in (62a) is different from that of the unstacked Dat-NP. In saying this I am assuming that the presence of the Grammatical Subject (in the form of an empty category) implies that the predicate is a sentential constituent, as should be the case for predicates in construction with Major Subjects.

Another possibility, however, given that predicates that take Dat-marked Subjects can also be intransitive, is that the sentential predicate in (62a) is *ton-i manh-ta*, without a gap in the Exp/Dative position. Under this analysis, the GS will be the DP *ton-i*. I have no evidence to decide between the two analyses.

[29] One might ask why Nom-stacking gives rise to only the Focus reading, not the Topic reading, at least for most speakers. In this connection, the claim by Youn (1998) that he does not find the focus reading obligatory is interesting, since this claim could be construed to mean that for speakers like him, both Topic and Focus readings are possible.

As is well-known, in non-asserted, embedded contexts, focus reading is not obligatory for Nom-marked Major Subjects (Heycock 1993; Kuroda 1986). If case-stacked constituents are Major Subjects, the focus reading should not be obligatory in similar contexts. The prediction seems to be borne out, as we see below (Soowon Kim, p.c.).

(i) manyak Cheli-hanthey-ka   ton-i   manhta-myen   wuli-nun   iceykkes   sok-ass-ta
     if   C-dat-nom   money-nom   a.lot-cond   we-top   till.now   deceive-pst-decl
     'If Cheli in fact has a lot of money, we were being fooled till now.'

The non-obligatoriness of Focus reading on case-stacked XPs in non-asserted contexts is another argument against Schütze's analysis.

[30] But see footnote 24, where it is suggested that the Tough nominal may be a Nom-marked/stacked Major Object, rather than a Major Subject. I will abstract away from this complication in the discussion here.

[31] When case is not stacked, *cikum-pwuthe* functions simply as scene-setting adjunct. As we saw earlier, argumenthood is not necessary for Major Subjects. Therefore, nothing prevents *cikum-pwuthe* from being selected as a Major Subject when other conditions are met.

Unlike PP Major Subjects, genuine PP Grammatical Subjects do not require stacking. This is shown below.

(i) apenim-ccok-eyse   na-eykey   sakwa-lul   mence   ha-si-ess-ta
     father.hon-side-from   I-dat   apology-acc   first   do-hon-pst-decl
     'Father(honorific) apologized to me first.'

As Yoon (2001/to appear) argues, *-eyse* in *apenim-ccok-eyse* is a Postposition (similarly for *-kara* Subjects in Japanese) and the entire constituent functions as the Grammatical Subject, shown by the fact that it controls Honorific Agreement. However, the PP Subject does not require Nom-stacking.

[32] The Inverse nominal in (65a) is unacceptable with a Topic-marker, as shown in (ia). This has to do with the fact that the information structure expressed by its Canonical counterpart (ib) is pragmatically odd.

(i) a. #pangan-ulo-nun   macnun panghyang-i-ta   (inverse)
             'As for the direction toward the inside of the room, it is the correct direction (to follow).'
     b. #macnun   panghyang-i   pangan-ulo-i-ta   (canonical)
             'It is the correct direction (to follow) that the direction toward the inside of the room is.'

[33] However, K-S Hong (p.c.) notes that the following sentence where Nom stacks on Instruments can be acceptable, and I agree with her judgments.

(i) 5000-phawuntu phokthan-ulo-man-i   ce   tongkwultul-i   phakoy-toy-lkesi-ta
     5000-pound   bomb-inst-only-nom   those   caves-nom   destroy-pass-mod-decl
     'It is only with 5000lb bombs that those caves will be destroyed.'

[34] Shibatani (1999) attempts to address this issue in terms of 'degree of dependency'. The idea is that Nom-marked

Major Subjects (Large Subjects, for him) exhibit a greater degree of dependency on the (sentential) predicate that follows it than a Dat/Loc-marked Major Subject.

[35] If this suggestion is on the right track, the dependency between a MS and a coindexed GS in stacking cannot be one of movement, but rather control, contra Yoon (1996). If the relation is control, the existence of case connectivity, which is taken to be a diagnostic of movement, has to be accounted for in some way.

[36] If this suggestion is on the right track, Nom-assignment is obligatory in the higher subject position but not in the lower subject position. Why would this be? Perhaps because the only way of indicating the subject-like status of the higher position is through case-marking, whereas the lower subject is also the most prominent argument in terms of argument structure.

[37] In RG, the fact that only the first NP is 'relationally active' is attributed to the 'chômeur' status of the second NP whose Direct Object status has been usurped by the first nominal which ascends to Direct Object. However, this analysis does not generalize to other MACs for which an Ascension analysis cannot be extended, such as the Topic-Comment type MAC illustrated in (79c). In addition, there is little evidence of real 'chômage' in Korean. For example, as we have seen, the putative 1-chômeur in MNCs may still be active in controlling agreement.