# THE DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION IN KOREAN

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# ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the Korean dative construction that consists of the Goal (Indirect Object: IO), an NP marked with a dative marker, and the Theme (Direct Object: DO), an NP marked with an accusative marker. I propose that [IO-DO] is the underlying order and [DO-IO] is derived through scrambling. Further, I propose that the underlying order [IO-DO] is an instantiation of a prepositional locative structure in which the Goal c-commands the Theme. As supporting arguments, I point out that Korean has another locative structure in the form of a double subject construction. I show that the syntactic relationship in the double subject locative structure is similar to the syntactic relationship in the dative construction.

# DEDICATION

*To my parents*

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# GLOSSARY

ACC (Accusative)

COMP (Complementizer)

DAT (Dative)

DEC (Declarative)

DO (Direct Object)

DOC (Double Object Construction)

DP (Determiner Phrase)

DSC (Double Subject Construction)

GEN (Genitive)

HON (Honorific)

IO (Indirect Object)

NOM (Nominative)

NP (Noun Phrase)

NPI (Negative Polarity Item)

PST (Past)

to-DC (to-Dative Construction)

UTAH (Uniformity of Theta-Role Assignment Hypothesis)

VP (Verb Phrase)

# 1 INTRODUCTION

Korean has a ditransitive construction consisting of a dative NP and an accusative NP. For example, as shown in (1), the ditransitive construction is composed of a dative marked NP *-ey(key)*[1] and an accusative marked NP *-(l)ul*[2]: the dative NP, Goal (Indirect Object: IO), can precede the accusative NP, Theme (Direct Object: DO), and vice-versa. I will refer to this type of ditransitive construction as the Dative Construction.

[Dative Construction]

(1) a. Mary-ka John-*eykey* senmwul-*ul* cwu-ess-ta. [IO-DO]
Mary-NOM John-DAT present-ACC give-PST-DEC
'Mary gave a present to John.'

b. Mary-ka senmwul-*ul* John-*eykey* cwu-ess-ta. [DO-IO]
Mary-NOM present-ACC John-DAT give-PST-DEC
'Mary gave a present to John.'

As shown in (2), Korean has a syntactic operation called scrambling, which freely orders syntactic arguments such as subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects,

[1] The allomorphs of the dative markers depend on the animacy of the complement NP: if the NP encodes an inanimate entity, *-ey* is used, and if the NP encodes an animate entity, *-eykey* is used.
[2] The allomorphs of the accusative markers are phonologically conditioned: if the NP ends with a consonant, *-ul* is used, and if the NP ends with a vowel, *-lul* is used.

as long as the predicate occurs at the end of the sentence (Jo 1986; Lee 1993; Choi 1996; Yang & Kim 2005; Ko 2007; McGinnis to appear)

(2) a. John-*eykey* Mary-ka senmwul-*ul* cwu-ess-ta.
John-DAT Mary-NOM present-ACC give-PST-DEC
'Mary gave a present to John.'

b. John-*eykey* senmwul-*ul* Mary-ka cwu-ess-ta.
John-DAT present-ACC Mary-NOM give-PST-DEC
'Mary gave a present to John.'

c. senmwul-*ul* Mary-ka John-*eykey* cwu-ess-ta.
present-ACC Mary-NOM John-DAT give-PST-DEC
'Mary gave a present to John.'

d. senmwul-*ul* John-*eykey* Mary-ka cwu-ess-ta.
present-ACC John-DAT Mary-NOM give-PST-DEC
'Mary gave a present to John.'

Thus the variation in the word order exemplified in (1-a) and (1-b) can be seen as an instance of scrambling.

This thesis investigates the dative construction in Korean exemplified in (1-a) and (1-b) and addresses the following research questions:

1) Between the [IO-DO] and [DO-IO] orders, which order represents the underlying structure and which order is derived through scrambling?
2) What is the lexical meaning represented by the ditransitive construction in Korean?

The only recent work that directly addresses the first question is Baek and Lee (2004). They propose that [DO-IO] is the underlying structure and [IO-DO] is derived via scrambling. Contrary to Baek and Lee, in this thesis, I propose that [IO-DO] represents the underlying order, as in (1-a), and [DO-IO], as in (1-b), is derived from [IO-DO] by moving the DO across the IO. The derivation results from scrambling.

In answering the second question, I will extend Harley's (2002) work on the to-dative construction and the double object construction in English.

(3) a. Tom sent a letter to Mary. [To-Dative Construction]

b. Tom sent Mary a letter. [Double Object Construction]

Harley argues that the to-dative construction in (3-a) is a projection of a prepositional locative structure where the DO has the Locatee role and the IO has the Location role, and the double object construction in (3-b) is a projection of a prepositional possessive structure where the IO has the possessor role and the DO has the possessee role. She further argues that cross-linguistically in locative structures the Locatee (Theme) c-commands the Location (Goal) and in possessive structures the possessor (Goal) c-commands the possessee (Theme). I will argue that Korean forms a counterexample to Harley's typological generalization about ditransitive structures,

and show that the dative construction with the underlying order [IO-DO] in Korean instantiates the prepositional locative structure in which the Goal c-commands the Theme.

Another type of ditransitive construction attested in Korean contains two accusative marked NPs, as in (4). I will refer to this type of ditransitive construction as the Double Object Construction.

[Double Object Construction]

(4) Mary-ka John-*ul* senmwul-*ul* cwu-ess-ta.
Mary-NOM John-ACC present-ACC give-PST-DEC
'Mary gave John a present.'

While all ditransitive verbs can occur in the dative construction, only a small number of ditransitive verbs, such as *cwuta* 'give' or *kaluchita* 'teach', can occur in the double object construction, as shown in Jung and Miyagawa (2004). I will briefly discuss the double object construction in chapter 4.

This thesis is organized as follows. In chapter 2, I provide a brief overview of the two recent approaches to English ditransitive constructions that have been proposed in the literature. In particular, I focus on Larson (1988) and Harley (1996, 2002). In addition, I briefly introduce Baek and Lee's (2004) approach to the Korean ditransitive construction.

In chapter 3, I examine the Korean dative construction in which the Goal (IO) is marked with the dative marker *-ey(key)* and the Theme (DO) is marked with the

accusative marker *-(l)ul*. I provide three supporting arguments, quantifier scope, the chain condition of *cakicasin* 'self' and idiomatic expressions in Korean, to show that [IO-DO] is the underlying order and [DO-IO] is derived through scrambling.

In chapter 4, I propose that the underlying order [IO-DO] is an instantiation of the prepositional locative structure, similar to Harley's (1996, 2002) proposed structure for the to-dative construction in English. However, I show one major difference between Harley's structure and my own, concerning the syntactic relationship between the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) arguments. In contrast to Harley's proposal that in the prepositional locative structure the Theme c-commands the Goal, I argue that in the Korean prepositional locative structure, the Goal (IO) c-commands the Theme (DO). Korean, thus, becomes a counterexample to Harley's typological generalization about the structural relationship between the NP with the Locatee role and the NP with the Location role. As further support for my proposal, I show that Korean has another locative structure in the form of a double subject construction and I point out that the syntactic relationship between the Location and the Theme in the double subject locative structure is similar to the syntactic relationship between the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) in the dative construction. Moreover, I discuss the Korean double object construction in which both the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) are accusative marked NP*s*. I present Jung and Miyagawa's (2004) analysis that the Korean double object construction corresponds to the prepositional possessive structure that Harley (2002) proposed for the double object construction in English. It will be shown that only a small number of Korean ditransitive verbs can occur in the double object construction.

In chapter 5, I summarize the main findings and conclude this thesis with questions for future research.

# 2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

First, I provide a brief overview of two recent approaches to the ditransitive constructions in English. Second, I introduce a recent approach to the Korean ditransitive construction. In section 2.1, I briefly introduce the structure of English ditransitives. In section 2.2, I review Larson's Derivational Approach (1988). In section 2.3, I present Harley's Alternative Projection Approach (1996, 2002). They account for the two types of ditransitive constructions in English: the double object construction and the to-dative construction. In section 2.4, I examine Baek and Lee's Derivational Approach (2004) to the Korean ditransitive construction. In section 2.5, I briefly summarize this chapter.

## 2.1 The Structure of English Ditransitives

The ditransitive construction in English has received much attention among linguists (e.g., Larson 1988; Pesetsky 1995; Harley 1996, 2002). The following examples show that English has two different syntactic frames for argument realization associated with ditransitive verbs such as 'send'.

(1) a. Tom sent Mary a letter. [Double Object Construction]

b. Tom sent a letter to Mary. [To-Dative Construction]

(1-a) is an example of a double object construction (DOC) and consists of two NPs: the Goal 'Mary' as an indirect object (IO) precedes the Theme 'a letter' as a direct object (DO). (1-b) is an example of a to-dative construction (to-DC) in which the Theme (DO) 'a letter' precedes the Goal (IO) 'to Mary'.

An important question regarding the two syntactic frames associated with ditransitive verbs is whether the two frames, the DOC and the to-DC, are derived from the same underlying structure or whether each frame has its own underlying representation. Recent proposals in the literature on the derivation of the ditransitive construction can be divided into two approaches. First, the Derivational Approach (e.g., Larson 1988), which views the two frames as syntactically or semantically related, states that one frame represents the underlying order and the other frame is derived via syntactic operations. The Alternative Projection Approach (e.g., Pesetsky 1995; Harley 1996, 2002), on the other hand, states that the DOC and the to-DC are not syntactically or semantically related to each other. This approach views each frame as having its own underlying representation.

## 2.2 Larson's Derivational Approach (1988)

Larson (1988) provides a very influential analysis of ditransitive constructions. His main proposal is that the DOC is derived from the to-DC via a passive-like operation. The starting point of his analysis is the syntactic asymmetries observed in the DOC: the Goal asymmetrically c-commands the Theme in the DOC as illustrated by anaphor binding in (2), negative polarity item (NPI) licensing in (3) and weak crossover in (4) (Barss & Lasnik 1986).

(2) Anaphor binding

a. John showed Mary herself. [DOC]

b. *John showed herself Mary.

(3) NPI licensing

a. John sent no one anything. [DOC]

b. *John sent anyone nothing.

(4) Weak Crossover

a. [Which worker]$_i$ did you deny $t_i$ his$_i$ paycheck? [DOC]

b. *[Which paycheck]$_i$ did you deny its$_i$ owner $t_i$?

(Larson 1988)

For example, in (2), the anaphor 'herself' must be bound by a c-commanding antecedent 'Mary'. Example (2-a) is grammatical because the Goal 'Mary' c-commands the Theme 'herself'. However, (2-b) is ungrammatical because the Goal 'Mary' does not c-command the Theme 'herself'. In (3), an NPI should appear in the scope of a negative constituent. In (3-a), the Goal 'no one' c-commands the Theme 'anything', hence the NPI licensing condition is met. In (3-b), the Theme 'nothing' does not c-command the Goal 'anyone', hence the NPI is not licensed and the example is ungrammatical. The data in (4) illustrate weak crossover: a *wh*-phrase cannot cross over a co-referential pronoun when undergoing wh-movement. Example (4-a) is grammatical because 'which worker' does not cross over the coreferential

pronoun 'his' when moving to the initial position. However, in (4-b), 'which paycheck' moves over the coreferential pronoun 'its', rendering the sentence ungrammatical.

The asymmetries also occur with the to-DC: the Theme asymmetrically c-commands the Goal, as illustrated in (5) to (7).

(5) Anaphor binding

a. I showed Mary to herself. [to-DC]

b. *I showed herself to Mary.

(6) NPI licensing

a. John sent no books to any of the students. [to-DC]

b. *John sent any of the books to none of the students.

(7) Weak Crossover

a. Which paycheck$_i$ did you deny t$_i$ its owner? [to-DC]

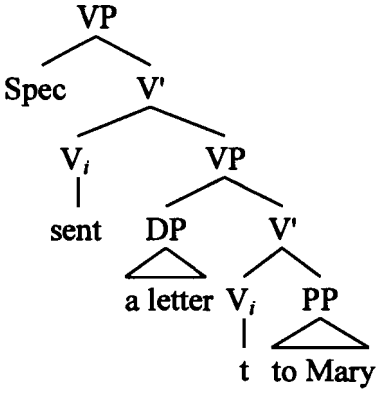
b. *Which worker$_i$ did you deny his$_i$ paycheck to t$_i$?

(Larson 1988)

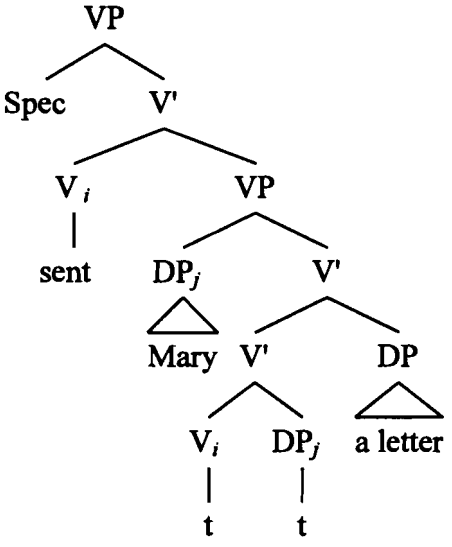
In order to capture the syntactic asymmetries attested in the two constructions, Larson proposes a VP shell hierarchical structure in which one VP is embedded directly under the other. He argues that the creation of two VP shells is able to account for the asymmetrical c-commanding relationship between the Goal (IO) and

the Theme (DO). Larson proposes (8-a) for the to-DC and (8-b) for the DOC. In (8-a), the DO asymmetrically c-commands the IO, accounting for (5), (6), and (7). In (8-b), the IO asymmetrically c-commands the DO, accounting for (2), (3), and (4).

(8) a. John sent a letter to Mary. [to-DC]




b. John sent Mary a letter. [DOC]

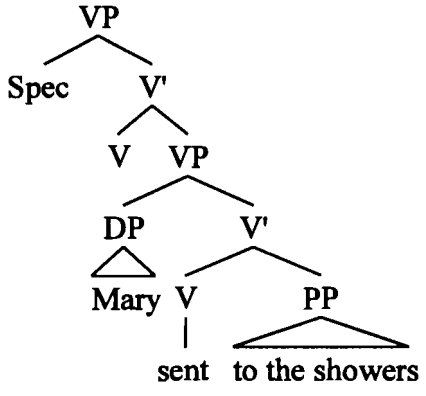



An important argument to support Larson's VP shell analysis comes from 'Verb + Goal' idioms in English, the so-called 'discontinuous idioms' found in the to-DC. According to Larson, in 'Verb + Goal' idioms in the to-DC in English, the ditransitive verb and the Goal (IO) form a single idiomatic constituent excluding the Theme (DO). This is an idiom-as-constituents theory that stipulates that an idiomatic expression forms a constituent at some point in the syntactic derivation. The 'Verb + Goal' idioms in the to-DC are called discontinuous because the ditransitive verb initially forms a constituent with the Goal (IO) at some syntactic level and it later moves to the upper VP. For instance, in (9), 'sent' forms a constituent with 'to the

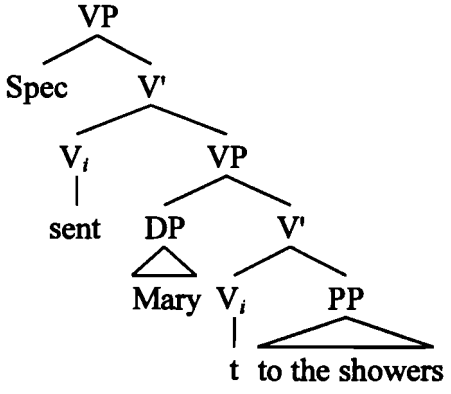
showers', excluding 'Mary', to build an idiom at the beginning of the derivation and then moves to the upper VP. Larson argues that most idioms formed with a ditransitive verb in English are 'Verb + Goal' idioms that appear in the to-DC.

(9) The coach *sent* Mary *to the showers.* [to-DC]

'The coach took Mary out of the game.'



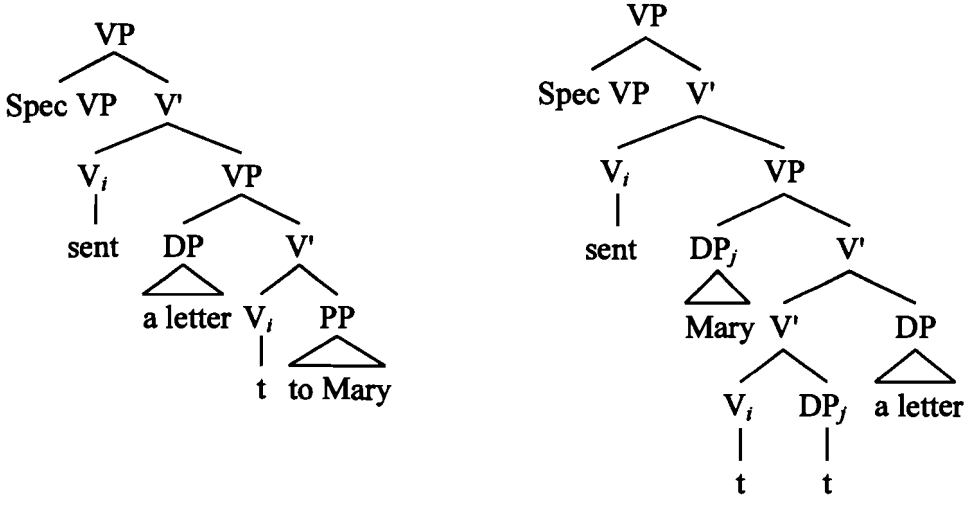

a. Underlying structure




b. Surface structure

Further, on the basis of the VP shell-approach, he argues that the to-DC in (8-a), repeated below as (10-a), is the underlying structure from which the DOC in (8-b), repeated below as (10-b), is derived. The transformation from the to-DC to the DOC is achieved by 'dative shift', a passive-like operation applied to the lower VP of the to-DC structure: this causes the Goal to move to the specifier position of the lower VP and the Theme to be generated in an adjunct position in the DOC.

(10) a. John sent a letter to Mary. [to-DC] b. John sent Mary a letter. [DOC]




In (10-a), the Theme (DO) 'a letter' is generated in the position of the specifier of the lower VP and the Goal (IO) 'to Mary' in the complement of the lower VP. Once an operation similar to passivization is applied to the lower VP, the dative marker assigned to the IO 'to Mary' is absorbed and the theta-role assigned to the DO 'a letter' undergoes demotion. This syntactic operation generates DOC, as in (14-b): the Goal (IO) 'Mary' moves to the specifier position of the lower VP and the Theme (DO) 'a letter' is in the adjunct position of the lower VP.

Larson's transformational approach relies on his assumption that the IO and the DO in the to-DC and the DOC have the same theta roles, and the Uniformity of Theta-Role Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH), initially proposed by Baker (1995). According to Baker, UTAH states that identical thematic relationships are represented by identical structural relationships between items at the level of D-structure. Larson extends Baker's UTAH and proposes Relativized UTAH. The Relativized UTAH states that identical thematic relations are represented by identical relative

hierarchical relations between items at D-structure. In Larson's account of ditransitive structures, the Theme (DO) is hierarchically higher than the Goal (IO) in the to-DC and equivalent thematic roles are assigned to the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) in the DOC and the to-DC. For example, in (11), according to Larson, the IO 'John' in the to-DC has the same thematic role as the IO 'John' in the DOC. As the two constructions have the same argument structure, the DOC is transformed from the to-DC via 'dative shift'.

(11) a. Tom gave a book to John. [to-DC]

b. Tom gave John a book. [DOC]

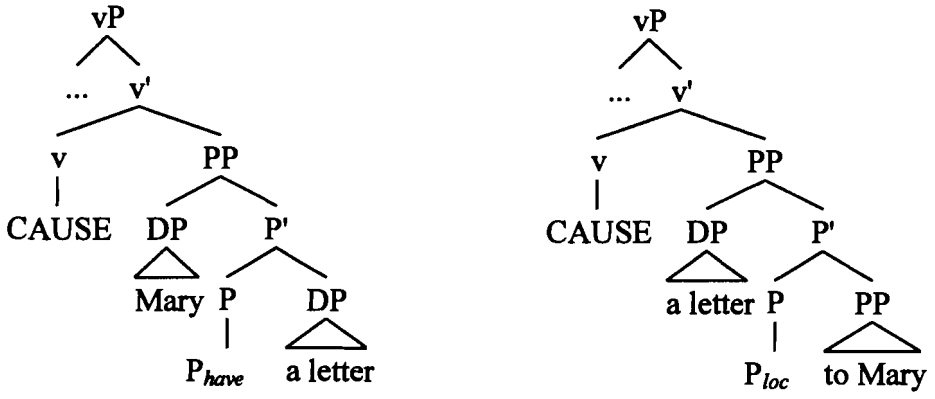
In summary, Larson captures the hierarchical structure of the Goal and the Theme with the VP-shell analysis and proposes that the DOC is derived from the to-DC via 'dative shift' in English. He presents 'discontinuous idioms' as a supporting argument for the VP-shell analysis and motivates transformation of the DOC from the to-DC by appealing to Relativized UTAH.

## 2.3 Harley's Alternative-Projection Approach (1996, 2002)

In contrast to Larson (1988), Harley (1996, 2002) proposes that the DOC and the to-DC have alternative projections. The DOC has a prepositional possessive structure headed by an abstract possessive preposition, $P_{have}$, and the to-DC has a prepositional locative structure headed by an abstract locative preposition, $P_{loc}$. Harley argues that ditransitive verbs are decomposed into little $v_{cause}$ + $P_{have}$ in the DOC and little $v_{cause}$ + $P_{loc}$ in the to-DC. In (12-a), the DOC is projected from $P_{have}$:

the IO 'Mary' encodes the meaning of possessor and the DO 'a letter' encodes the meaning of possessee. This $P_{have}$ moves to the little v that contributes the causative meaning and little $v_{cause}$ + $P_{have}$ together are spelled out as a ditransitive verb such as 'give'.

(12) a. John gave Mary a letter. [DOC] b. John gave a letter to Mary. [to-DC]




On the other hand, in (12-b), the to-DC is projected from $P_{loc}$: the IO 'Mary' encodes the meaning of Location and the DO 'a letter' encodes the meaning of Locatee. This $P_{loc}$ is the head of the PP complement to the little v and combines with it to be spelled out as a ditransitive verb such as 'give'. By postulating alternative projections for the DOC and the to-DC, Harley presents a base-generated analysis where the DOC and the to-DC have different underlying forms, in contrast to Larson's derivational analysis.

Harley accepts syntactic asymmetries between the IO and the DO noted by Larson (1988). However, she argues that Larson's derivational approach presents a problem. First, in Harley's view, in the DOC, the IO is a possessor and the DO a

possessee, whereas in the to-DC the IO is a Location and the DO a Locatee. This is different from Larson's view which postulates identical thematic roles for the IO and the DO in the two constructions.

An argument supporting Harley's idea comes from the animacy constraint observed in the DOC but not in the to-DC, known as Oehrle's generalization, as the following examples in (13) show.

(13) a. The editor sent the article to Sue. [to-DC]

b. The editor sent Sue the article. [DOC]

c. The editor sent the article to Philadelphia. [to-DC]

d. ?? The editor sent Philadelphia the article. [DOC]

(Green 1974; Oehrle 1976)

In both (13-a) and (13-b), the IO 'Sue' is animate and both sentences are grammatical. However, when the IO is inanimate, as in (13-c) and (13-d), there is a contrast in grammaticality. While the to-DC in (13-c) is grammatical, the DOC in (13-d) is grammatical only when the Goal 'Philadelphia' indicates a group of people or an organization rather than a Location. This animacy constraint in the DOC can be accounted for by Harley: the IO in the DOC must be animate because it receives a possessor interpretation and a possessor thematic role. (13-d), thus, can be construed as follows.

(14) The editor sent Philadelphia the article. [DOC]

'The editor CAUSED the group or organization in Philadelphia to HAVE the article.'

In contrast, in the to-DC, there is no animacy requirement on the Goal because it receives Location meaning and a location thematic role: either an animate or an inanimate IO can receive a Location meaning and a Location thematic role. Thus, (13-c) can be construed as follows.

(15) The editor sent the article to Philadelphia. [to-DC]

'The editor CAUSED the article to GO TO Philadelphia'.

A similar contrast in interpretation is attested in the examples in (16). On closer examination, comparing (16-a) and (16-b), there is a much stronger implication that the students actually learned some French in (16-a) than in (16-b) (Oehrle 1976; Larson 1988).

(16) a. John taught the students French. [DOC]

b. John taught French to the students. [to-DC]

This interpretational difference can be accounted for by Harley's proposal that the IO in the DOC receives a possessor role and the IO in the to-DC receives a Location role: the students HAVE the knowledge of French in the DOC but not in the to-DC.

These examples show different thematic roles for the same NPs: a possessor relationship exists between the IO and the DO in the DOC but not in the to-DC. Thus, the DOC cannot be derived from the to-DC, contrary to Larson's derivational approach.

On the basis of the $P_{have}$ and $P_{loc}$ structures in her alternative projection approach in English, Harley formulates an interesting cross-linguistic generalization: across languages, in a $P_{loc}$ structure, the Locatee (Theme) c-commands the Location (Goal), and if a language has a $P_{have}$ structure, the possessor (Goal) c-commands the possessee (Theme).

## 2.4 Baek and Lee's Derivational Approach (2004)

In Korean, the only recent discussion that directly deals with the dative construction is Baek and Lee (2004). They propose that [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) is the underlying structure and [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) is derived via scrambling. They use quantifier scope between the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) to determine the underlying order of the dative construction in Korean.

The data in (17) are examples given by Baek and Lee (2004). They claim that [Goal-Theme] in (17-a) is ambiguous, while [Theme-Goal] in (17-b) is not.

(17) a. Sue-ka **motun** ai-*eykey* **etten** mwuncey-*lul* cwu-ess-ta. [Goal-Theme]
Sue-NOM every kid-DAT some problem-ACC give-PST-DEC
'Sue gave some problem to every kid.'

b. Sue-ka **motun** mwuncey-*lul* **etten** ai-*eykey* cwu-ess-ta. [Theme-Goal]
Sue-NOM every problem-ACC some kid-DAT give-PST-DEC
'Sue gave every problem to some kid.'

In their analysis, [Goal-Theme] in (17-a) has flexible scope: both the reading in which *motun* 'every' takes scope over *etten* 'some' and the reading in which *etten* 'some' takes scope over *motun* 'every' are available. [Theme-Goal] in (17-b), according to them, has rigid scope: only the reading in which *motun* 'every' takes scope over *etten* 'some' is available. Baek and Lee (2004), therefore, argue that [DO-IO] is the underlying order.

## 2.5 Summary

In this chapter, two main approaches in the literature on the English ditransitive construction were reviewed: Larson's Derivational Approach and Harley's Alternative Projection Approach. While both approaches capture some of the facts pertaining to the ditransitive construction, Harley's work additionally correctly predicts the animacy constraint on the DOC and the meaning difference between the DOC and the to-DC. Harley's approach is therefore a good starting point for an analysis of the dative construction in Korean.

In addition, one recent work on the Korean dative construction was briefly introduced: Baek and Lee's Derivational Approach. They argue that [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) is the underlying order and [IO-DO] is the derived order. They use quantifier scope in Korean to support their claim. However, in contrast to Baek and Lee (2004), I propose that [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) is the underlying structure and

[DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) is derived via scrambling. In my thesis, I will use the same argument, quantifier scope in Korean, and show that quantifier scope in fact supports that [IO-DO] [(Goal-Theme)] is the underlying order and [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) is the derived order.

In chapter 3, I investigate and discuss the dative construction in Korean and establish that the underlying order is [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]). I adopt Harley's analysis that the structure of the ditransitive construction is a projection of a prepositional head, and propose that in the Korean dative construction, the Goal (IO) in the specifier of the prepositional phrase c-commands the Theme (DO) in the complement position of the preposition.

# 3 [IO-DO] AS THE UNDERLYING ORDER

In this chapter, I propose that the dative construction in Korean has an underlying order in which the Goal (IO) precedes and c-commands the Theme (DO).

In section 3.1, I examine the Korean dative construction consisting of the Goal (IO) marked with the dative marker *-ey(key)* and the Theme (DO) marked with the accusative marker *-(l)ul*. I propose that the Korean dative construction has the underlying order [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) and the [DO-IO] order is derived via scrambling of the DO over the IO. In section 3.2, I provide three supporting arguments for my proposal. I present quantifier scope in section 3.2.1, the chain condition in section 3.2.2, and ditransitive idioms in section 3.2.3.

## 3.1 The Structure of Korean Ditransitives

Korean has a dative construction consisting of the Goal (IO) marked with the dative marker *-ey(key)* and the Theme (DO) marked with the accusative marker *-(l)ul*. The Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) can be ordered freely with respect to each other.

For example, in (1-a), the animate Goal (IO) marked with the dative marker *-eykey* precedes the Theme (DO) marked with the accusative marker *-ul*. In (1-b), the Theme (DO) marked with the accusative marker *-ul* precedes the animate Goal (IO) marked with the dative marker *-eykey*.

(1) a. Mary-ka John-*eykey* senmwul-*ul* cwu-ess-ta. [IO-DO]

Mary-NOM John-DAT present-ACC give-PST-DEC

'Mary gave a present to John.'

b. Mary-ka senmwul-*ul* John-*eykey* cwu-ess-ta. [DO-IO]

Mary-NOM present-ACC John-DAT give-PST-DEC

'Mary gave a present to John.'

In (2-a), the inanimate Goal (IO) marked with the dative marker *-ey* precedes the Theme (DO) marked with the accusative marker *-lul*. In (2-b), the Theme (DO) marked with the accusative marker *-lul* precedes the inanimate Goal (IO) marked with the dative marker *-ey*.

(2) a. Sue-ka chip-*ey* sopo-*lul* ponay-ess-ta. [IO-DO]

Sue-NOM home-DAT parcel-ACC send-PST-DEC

'Sue sent a parcel to the home.'

b. Sue-ka sopo-*lul* chip-*ey* ponay-ess-ta. [DO-IO]

Sue-NOM parcel-ACC home-DAT send-PST-DEC

'Sue sent a parcel to the home.'

The variation in the word order in examples in (1) and (2) are due to scrambling. As Korean is a scrambling language, arguments of a verb can be arranged relatively freely as long as the predicate is at the end of the sentence.

In the rest of chapter 3, I address the first research question regarding the dative construction in Korean raised in chapter 1: between the [IO-DO] and [DO-IO] orders, which order represents the underlying structure and which order represents the derived structure through scrambling? I show that [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]), as in (1,2-a), represents the underlying structure and [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]), as in (1,2-b), is derived by moving the Theme over the Goal, through scrambling. That is, scrambling derives the non-base structure [DO-IO] from the base structure [IO-DO].

## 3.2 Supporting Arguments

In sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2, and 3.2.3, I show that quantifier scope, the chain condition, and ditransitive idioms support that [IO-DO] is the underlying structure. My proposal is thus in contrast to Baek and Lee's (2004) proposal that [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) represents the underlying structure in the Korean dative construction.

### 3.2.1 Quantifier Scope

Evidence from quantifier scope supports that [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) is the underlying structure, and the reverse order [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) is derived. Quantifier scope was originally used by Baek and Lee (2004) to argue for the opposite position, namely that [DO-IO] is the underlying order. I will point out a flaw in their application of this test at the end of this section.

In order to follow my argumentation, it is important first to understand 'quantifier scope freezing'. Quantifier scope freezing is an interpretive property of quantifiers in Korean that is distinct from English.

In English, as shown in (3), scope ambiguity is attested: 'some' can take scope over 'every' and 'every' can take scope over 'some'.

(3) **Some** student read **every** book. (some > every, every > some)

Two readings are thus available in (3). Under the 'some > every' reading, a particular student read all the books. Under the 'every > some' reading, for each book, a possibly different student read it.

In contrast, in Korean, scope ambiguity does not occur in the corresponding double quantifier sentence in (4). This sentence has the canonical SOV order (Joo 1989; Ahn 1990; Sohn 1995; Hagstrom 1998).

(4) **etten** haksayng-i **motun** chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
some student-NOM every book-ACC read-PST-DEC
'Some student read every book.' (some > every, *every > some)

The only available reading in (4) is that 'a particular student read all the books', the reading under the 'some > every' scope.

However, if the object precedes the subject through scrambling, scope ambiguity becomes available, as in (5).

(5) **etten** chayk-ul$_i$ **motun** haksayng-i $t_i$ ilk-ess-ta.

some book-ACC every student-NOM read-PST-DEC

'Every student read some book.' (some > every, every > some)

Two readings are thus available in (5). When 'some' takes scope over 'every', the interpretation is that there is a particular book that all the students read. When 'every' takes scope over 'some', the interpretation is that each student read a possibly different book.

Thus, scope rigidity is attested in [Subject-Object], the canonical word order in Korean, as in (4), but not in [Object-Subject], a scrambled word order, as in (5). This is referred to as the 'scope freezing effect', i.e., scope is frozen in the canonical word order. But scope is flexible in the scrambled order: the trace of the scrambled object allows the inverse scope to be possible.

Now, let us see what scope ambiguity can tell us about the underlying structure of the Korean dative construction. If [Goal-Theme] ([IO-DO]) is the underlying order, then an [IO-DO] sentence containing a quantified IO and a quantified DO should not have flexible scope due to the 'scope freezing effect', whereas a corresponding [Theme-Goal] ([DO-IO]) sentence should show flexible scope. Indeed, this prediction is borne out in (6).

(6) a. Tom-i **etten** ai-*eykey* **motun** chayk-*ul* cwu-ess-ta. [Goal-Theme]

Tom-NOM some kid-DAT every book-ACC give-PST-DEC

'Tom gave every book to some kid.' (some > every, *every > some)

b. Tom-i **etten** chayk-*ul*$_i$ **motun** ai-*eykey* $t_i$ cwu-ess-ta. [Theme-Goal]
Tom-NOM some book-ACC every kid-DAT give-PST-DEC
'Tom gave some book to every kid.' (some > every, every > some)

In (6-a), [Goal-Theme] ([IO-DO]) reveals rigid scope. Only the reading in which *etten* 'some' takes scope over *motun* 'every' is available such that 'Tom gave all the books to a particular kid'.

However, as shown in (6-b), the reverse order, [DO-IO], has flexible scope: both the reading in which *etten* 'some' takes scope over *motun* 'every' and *motun* 'every' takes scope over *etten* 'some' are available. The 'some > every' reading can be paraphrased as 'there is a particular book that Tom gave to all the kids'. The 'every > some' reading is 'for every book, Tom gave it to a possibly different kid'.

Thus, the properties of quantifier scope support that the underlying structure of the dative construction is [Goal-Theme] ([IO-DO]) and [Theme-Goal] ([DO-IO]) is the derived structure.

According to Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004), however, in Japanese, another scope freezing language, quantifier scope between the Goal and the Theme in [IO-DO] depends on the animacy of the Goal argument. This casts doubt on the derivational approach for the Japanese ditransitive construction. Thus, I will present the relevant Japanese data, consider the corresponding examples in Korean, and determine whether the animacy of the Goal (IO) makes a difference in the quantifier scope judgment in Korean.

Like Korean, Japanese is a language that shows the 'scope freezing effect': scope is frozen in the canonical SOV word order, as in (7-a), whereas it is flexible in a scrambled word order, as in (7-b).

(7) a. **dareka**-ga **daremo**-o aisiteiru. [Japanese]
someone-NOM everyone-ACC love
'Someone loves everyone.' (some > every, *every > some)

b. **dareka**-o$_i$ **daremo**-ga $t_i$ aisiteiru.
someone-ACC everyone-NOM love
'Everyone loves someone.' (some > every, every > some)

Now, consider the ditransitive construction in Japanese. In Miyagawa and Tsujioka's analysis (2004), there is no scope ambiguity when the Goal is animate as in (8-a) but when the Goal is inanimate as in (8-b), scope ambiguity appears.

(8) a. Taroo-ga **dareka**-*ni* **dono**-nimotu-mo okutta. [IO-DO]
Taro-NOM someone-DAT every-package sent
'Taro sent every package to someone.' (some > every, *every > some)

b. Taroo-ga **dokoka-*ni*** **dono**-nimotu-mo okutta. [IO-DO]

Taro-NOM some.place-DAT every-package sent

'Taro sent every package to some place.' (some > every, every > some)

(Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004)

The quantifier scope is also flexible in [Theme-Goal] in Japanese, as it is in Korean. As in (9), the inverse scope is attested when the Theme scrambles over the Goal: the trace of the Theme makes the inverse scope possible.

(9) Taroo-ga **dono-nimotu$_i$**-mo **dareka**-ni $t_i$ okutta. [DO-IO]

Taro-NOM every-package someone-DAT sent

'Taro sent someone every package.' (some > every, every > some)

Thus, in Japanese, the fact that the inanimate Goal in [Goal-Theme] makes flexible scope available casts doubt on the derivational approach for the Japanese ditransitive construction. If [Goal-Theme] is the underlying structure and [Theme-Goal] is the derived structure produced by moving the Theme over the Goal, [Goal-Theme] should not present flexible scope. However, flexible scope is attested in [Theme-Goal], as in (9), but also in [Goal-Theme], as in (8-b). This fact leads Miyagawa and Tsujioka to propose that [Goal-Theme] and [Theme-Goal] have their own underlying representations.

Now, I analyze the corresponding example with an inanimate Goal in Korean to determine whether or not the animacy of the Goal argument makes a difference in the quantifier scope judgment in Korean. Consider the data in (10).

(10) John-i **etten cangso-*ey*** **motun** senmwul-*ul* ponay-ess-ta. [IO-DO]
John-NOM some place-DAT every present-ACC send-PST-DEC
'John sent every present to some place.' (some > every, *every > some)

In (10), the corresponding example with an inanimate Goal argument in Korean does not display scope ambiguity: ***etten*** 'some' can only take scope over ***motun*** 'every' and not vice-versa. The only reading available is that 'John sent all the presents to a particular place'.

Thus, in contrast to Japanese, scope ambiguity is not attested in [Goal-Theme] ([IO-DO]) in Korean regardless of the animacy of the Goal argument. This further supports that [IO-DO] represents the underlying order.

In contrast to my proposal, Baek and Lee (2004) argue that [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) is the underlying order and [IO-DO] is the derived order. Baek and Lee (2004) also use quantifier scope between the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) to determine the underlying order of the dative construction in Korean. However, they reach the opposite conclusion from me. This is because for Baek and Lee, [DO-IO] does not reveal flexible scope but the reverse order [IO-DO] does.

The data in (11), repeated from (17) in section 2.4, are examples given by Baek and Lee (2004). They claim that [Goal-Theme] in (11-a) is ambiguous, while [Theme-Goal] in (11-b) is not.

(11) a. Sue-ka **motun** ai-*eykey* **etten** mwuncey-*lul* cwu-ess-ta. [Goal-Theme]
Sue-NOM every kid-DAT some problem-ACC give-PST-DEC
'Sue gave some problem to every kid.'

b. Sue-ka **motun** mwuncey-*lul* **etten** ai-*eykey* cwu-ess-ta. [Theme-Goal]
Sue-NOM every problem-ACC some kid-DAT give-PST-DEC
'Sue gave every problem to some kid.'

In their analysis, [Goal-Theme] in (11-a) has flexible scope: both the reading in which *motun* 'every' takes scope over *etten* 'some' and the reading in which *etten* 'some' takes scope over *motun* 'every' are available. [Theme-Goal] in (11-b), according to them, has rigid scope: only the reading in which *motun* 'every' takes scope over *etten* 'some' is available.

However, upon closer examination, the data that they are using are not appropriate for testing scope ambiguity. In (11-a), the Goal (IO) is marked with a universal quantifier *motun* 'every' and the Theme (DO) with an existential quantifier *etten* 'some'. This sentence has the 'every > some' reading: this covers both the situation in which 'each kid received a different problem' and the situation in which 'each kid received the same problem'. Hence, (11-a) illustrates an issue of vagueness,

not ambiguity. Moreover, in (11-b), on closer examination, scope ambiguity does occur: in addition to the reading in which 'every problem is given to a different kid', the reading in which 'a particular kid got all the problems' is available. The two readings occur because *motun* 'every' takes scope over *etten* 'some' and vice-versa.

To summarize, on the basis of scope freezing in [Goal-Theme] regardless of the animacy of the Goal argument and scope ambiguity in [Theme-Goal], I conclude that [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) derives [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) in Korean.

### 3.2.2 The Chain Condition of *cakicasin* 'self'

The next argument that supports that [IO-DO] represents the underlying order is provided by the chain condition of *cakicasin* 'self' in Korean. I show that the Korean anaphor *cakicasin* 'self' is sensitive to the chain condition and this sensitivity can be used to support the proposal that [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) is the underlying structure in the dative construction in Korean.

Rizzi (1986) notes that when a DP that is an R-expression moves over an anaphor, the trace of the moved R-expression and the anaphor form a chain. The chain condition states that the trace of the R-expression cannot be locally c-commanded by the anaphor in a chain. The violation of the chain condition usually results in ungrammaticality in Italian, as in (12).

(12) *Gianni$_i$ si$_i$ è stato affidato t$_i$

Gianni to-himself was entrusted

'Gianni was entrusted to himself.'

In (12), the R-expression 'Gianni' moves over the anaphor 'himself', leaving a trace 't'. The anaphor 'himself' and the trace 't' form a chain. In this chain, the trace 't' is c-commanded by the anaphor 'himself': this is a violation of the chain condition, resulting in ungrammaticality.

A similar chain condition effect is observed in Korean with the Korean anaphor *cakicasin* 'self'.

(13) a. *John-ul$_i$ cakicasin-i$_i$ t$_i$ po-ass-ta.

John-ACC self-NOM see-PST-DEC

'Self saw John.'

b. John-ul$_i$ cakicasin-uy$_i$ hyeng-i t$_i$ po-ass-ta.

John-ACC self-GEN brother-NOM see-PST-DEC

'Self's brother saw John.'

The example in (13-a) shows that the chain condition is in effect in Korean: in a chain formed by the anaphor *cakicasin* 'self' and the trace of the R-expression 'John', the anaphor locally c-commands the trace of the R-expression 'John'. In contrast, in

(13-b), the chain condition is not violated: the anaphor *cakicasin* 'self' is embedded within a DP and so it does not locally c-command the trace of the R-expression. In other words, (13-a) violates the chain condition in which the trace of 'John' is c-commanded by the anaphor *cakicasin* 'self', resulting in ungrammaticality, whereas (13-b) does not violate the chain condition and so the example is grammatical.

I now turn to the data in the dative construction. I predict that the chain condition effect should be observed with the anaphor *cakicasin* 'self' in [DO-IO], but not in [IO-DO]. If [DO-IO] is derived through scrambling of the DO over the IO, then there is a trace of the DO c-commanded by the IO. This then means that if the DO is an R-expression and the IO is an anaphor, the chain condition effect should be observed, resulting in ungrammaticality. This prediction is borne out.

In (14-a), no chain condition effect is observed: the DO, the reflexive anaphor *cakicasin* 'self', is in a base-generated position and is c-commanded by the coreferential R-expression 'John'. In contrast, a chain condition effect is observed in (14-b). The DO has moved over the IO, leaving a trace. This trace forms a chain with the anaphor *cakicasin* 'self' and is c-commanded by the anaphor, resulting in ungrammaticality.

(14) a. Sue-ka John-*eykey*$_i$ cakicasin-*ul*$_i$ poyecwu-ess-ta. [IO-DO]
Sue-NOM John-DAT self-ACC show-PST-DEC
'Sue showed self to John.'

b. *Sue-ka John-*ul*$_i$ cakicasin-*eykey*$_i$ $t_i$ poyecwu-ess-ta. [DO-IO]

Sue-NOM John-ACC self-DAT show-PST-DEC

'Sue showed John to self.'

In sum, the fact that the chain condition effect is observed in [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) supports my proposal that the DO (Theme) has scrambled over the IO (Goal) leaving a trace and that [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) is the underlying order.

### 3.2.3 Theme (DO) + Ditransitive Verb Idioms

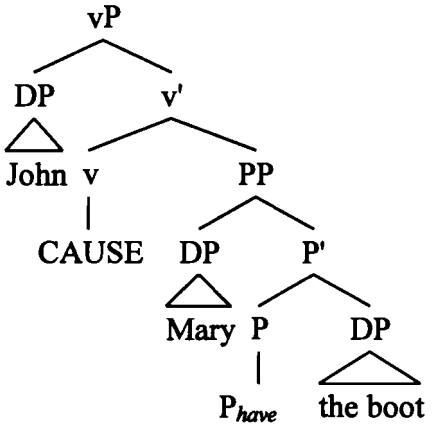
Another supporting argument for the proposal that [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) represents the underlying order in Korean is provided by the existence of idioms formed by ditransitive verbs and the Theme (DO) in Korean, to the exclusion of the Goal (IO).

It has been shown that the majority of idioms in a ditransitive construction form a single constituent at some structural level (Richards 2001; Harley 2002). According to Harley (2002), there are two types of idioms in the ditransitive construction in English: [Verb + Theme] idioms that appear in the DOC and [Verb + Goal] idioms that appear in the to-DC. Each of these two types of idioms forms a single constituent at some structural level.

The two trees in (15) and (16) illustrate Harley's idioms. In (15), the DOC headed by $P_{have}$, $P_{have}$ combines with the Theme (DO) to build an idiomatic meaning as a single constituent and is spelled out as a lexically ditransitive verb when it moves to the little v. In (15-a), 'give' forms a constituent with 'the boot' to produce an idiomatic interpretation in the DOC: the idiomatic meaning cannot be preserved in the

to-DC, as illustrated in (15-b). She calls this a '$P_{have}$ + Theme' idiom. In other words, $P_{have}$ combines with the Theme 'the boot' to create an idiomatic meaning at some syntactic level as a single constituent and is spelled out as the lexical ditransitive verb 'give' when $P_{have}$ combines with the little v that contributes the causative meaning. Thus, an idiom of [Ditransitive Verb + Theme] is formed in the DOC, to the exclusion of the IO, as in (15-a).

(15) DOC




a. John *gave* Mary *the boot.* [DOC]

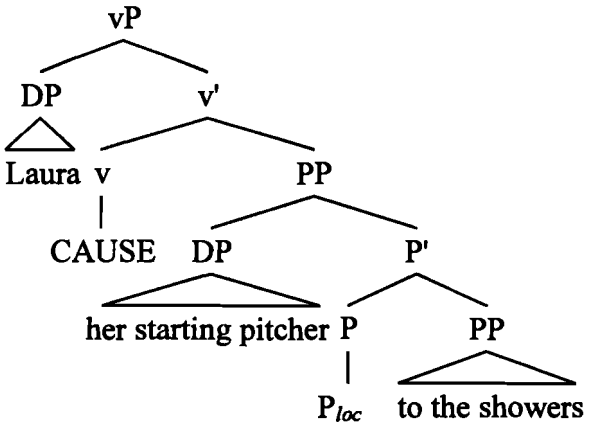
'John stopped employing Mary.'

b.*John gave the boot to Mary. [to-DC]

Similarly, in the to-DC headed by $P_{loc}$ in (16), this $P_{loc}$ combines with the Goal to build an idiomatic expression at some syntactic level as a single constituent and is spelled out as a lexically ditransitive verb such as 'give' when it moves to the little v that contributes the causative meaning. Thus, an idiom of [Ditransitive Verb + Goal]

is formed in the to-DC, to the exclusion of the DO, as in (16-a). Harley calls this a '$P_{loc}$ + Goal' idiom.

(16) to-DC




a. Laura *sent* her starting pitcher *to the showers*. [to-DC]

'Laura took her starting pitcher out of the game.'

b. *Laura sent the showers her starting pitcher. [DOC]

In sum, Harley suggests that there are two types of idioms: 'Verb + Goal', which appears in the to-DC and 'Verb + Theme', which appears in the DOC. She accounts for the two different idiomatic forms using the alternative projections, $P_{have}$ and $P_{loc}$, in replacement of Larson's VP shells. The two types of idioms are '$P_{loc}$ + Goal' in the to-DC and '$P_{have}$ + Theme' in the DOC. In Harley's analysis, the different semantic content of $P_{have}$ and $P_{loc}$ is the reason why an idiom cannot freely shift between the DOC and the to-DC. Further, 'Verb + Goal' idioms in the to-DC

cannot shift to the DOC because 'P + Goal' does not form a constituent in the DOC, and 'Verb + Theme' idioms in the DOC cannot shift to the to-DC because 'P + Theme' does not form a constituent in the to-DC.

Idioms in Korean also tend to form constituents to the exclusion of non-idiomatic elements, as shown in the following data involving the double nominative construction (Kim 1990).

(17) a. Inho-ka **pay-ka** **aphu-ta.**
Inho-NOM stomach-NOM ache-DEC
Lit.: 'As for Inho, his stomach aches.'
'Inho is jealous.'

b. **pay-ka** Inho-ka **aphu-ta.**
stomach-NOM Inho-NOM ache-DEC
Lit.: 'As for the stomach, Inho's aches.'
?? 'Inho is jealous.'

(18) a. Yumi-ka **son-i** **khu-ta.**
Yumi-NOM hand-NOM big-DEC
Lit.: 'As for Yumi, her hand is big.'
'Yumi is generous.'

b. **son-i** Yumi-ka **khu-ta.**

hand-NOM Yumi-NOM big-DEC

Lit.: 'As for hand, Yumi's is big.'

?? 'Yumi is generous.'

For example, in (17-a), the second nominative NP *payka* 'stomach' combined with the predicate *aphuta* 'ache' forms an idiom as a single constituent. In contrast, in (17-b), the two idiomatic elements *payka* 'stomach' and *aphuta* 'ache' cannot form a single constituent, so only the literal reading is available. The data in (18) also show that idioms in Korean form a single constituent.

I now turn to idioms in the dative construction in Korean and show that here idioms also tend to form constituents to the exclusion of non-idiomatic elements.

(19) a. Sue-ka emma-*eykey* **olipal-*ul*** **naymil-ess-ta.** [Goal-Theme]

Sue-NOM mother-DAT duck's foot-ACC show-PST-DAT

Lit.: 'Sue showed a duck's foot to (her) mother.'

'Sue lied to (her) mother.'

b. Sue-ka **olipal-*ul*** emma-*eykey* **naymil-ess-ta.** [Theme-Goal]

Sue-NOM duck's foot-ACC mother-DAT show-PST-DEC

Lit.: 'Sue showed a duck's foot to (her) mother.'

?? 'Sue lied to (her) mother.'

For example, in (19-a), the Theme, *olipalul* 'duck's foot' combined with a ditransitive verb *naymilessta* 'showed' forms an idiom in [Goal-Theme]. In [Theme-Goal] in (19-b), while the literal reading 'Sue showed a duck's foot to her mother' is available, the sentence is degraded under the idiomatic interpretation. This may be due to discourse effects caused by scrambling. In general, a scrambled phrase is associated with special discourse effects, such as focus, or topichood (Choi 1996). If [Theme-Goal] is derived by scrambling of the Theme over the Goal, the Theme would be associated with a special discourse function that may clash with an idiomatic interpretation. More Korean idioms are given in (20), (21), and (22).

(20) a. nay-ka John-*eykey* **han tek-*ul*** **sso-ass-ta.** [Goal-Theme]
I-NOM John-DAT one tray.of.food-ACC shoot-PST-DEC
Lit.: 'I shot one tray of food to John.'
'I treated John (by buying him a meal).'

b. nay-ka **han tek-*ul*** John-*eykey* **sso-ass-ta.** [Theme-Goal]
I-NOM one tray.of.food-ACC John-DAT shoot-PST-DEC
Lit.: 'I shot one tray of food to John.'
?? 'I treated John (by buying him a meal).'

(21) a. Sue-ka Joe-*eykey* **uysim-*ul*** **sa-ss-ta.** [Goal-Theme]

Sue-NOM Joe-DAT doubt-ACC buy-PST-DEC

Lit.: 'Sue bought a doubt from Joe.'

'Sue caused Joe to doubt him.'

b. Sue-ka **uysim-*ul*** Joe-*eykey* **sa-ss-ta.** [Theme-Goal]

Sue-NOM doubt-ACC Joe-DAT buy-PST-DEC

Lit.: 'Sue bought a doubt from Joe.'

?? 'Sue caused Joe to doubt him.'

(22) a. Tom-i cokwuk-*ey* **mom-*ul*** **patchi-ess-ta.** [Goal-Theme]

Tom-NOM homeland-DAT body-ACC give-PST-DEC

Lit.: 'Tom gave his body to (his) homeland.'

'Tom devoted himself to his homeland.'

b. Tom-i **mom-*ul*** cokwuk-*ey* **patchi-ess-ta.** [Theme-Goal]

Tom-NOM body-ACC homeland-DAT give-PST-DEC

Lit.: 'Tom gave his body to (his) homeland.'

?? 'Tom devoted himself to his homeland.'

If the underlying order in the dative construction is [Goal-Theme], then most idioms in the ditransitive construction should be of the [Theme + Ditransitive Verb] type, because the Theme and the ditransitive verb form a constituent at some structural

level. Hong's (1998) quantitative analysis of the Korean idioms supports this prediction. According to Hong, Korean idiomatic expressions are usually formed as [Theme + Verb].

Using a dictionary of Korean idiomatic expressions that includes approximately 3,300 idioms, Hong classifies [Argument + Verb] idioms according to the theta-role of the argument. Her findings are summarized in [Table 1].

Table 1 - Types of theta-roles in verb idioms in Korean

| Theta-roles | Number of verbs | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Agent | 18 | 0.6 |
| Beneficiary | 0 | 0 |
| Theme | 2539 | 88.0 |
| Location | 328 | 11.4 |
| Total | 2885 | 100% |

Table 1 shows that the majority of [Argument + Verb] idioms have a Theme argument. Restricting the data to idioms formed with a ditransitive verb, Hong also found that most idioms contain a Theme argument. Her findings are summarized in Table 2.

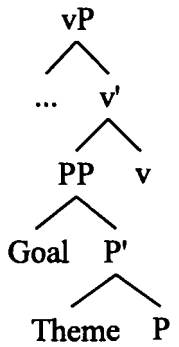
Table 2 - Types of theta-roles in ditransitive verb idioms in Korean

| Theta-roles | Number of idioms in ditransitive construction | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Agent | 0 | 0 |
| Theme | 214 | 74.0 |
| Location | 45 | 15.6 |
| Theme + Location | 30 | 10.4 |
| Agent + Theme + Location | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 289 | 100% |

According to her classification, there are 289 idioms that are formed with a ditransitive verb, and the majority of them contain a Theme argument as shown in Table 2 (Theme: 74.0%, Theme + Location: 10.4%).

The fact that most idioms containing a ditransitive verb are formed with a Theme argument supports the structure in (23) for the Korean dative construction.

(23)



In (23), the Theme and P form a single constituent. At the P' level, the idiomatic meaning is established for [Theme + Ditransitive Verb] idioms. When P moves to the little v, the ditransitive verb is spelled out.

At this point, a question arises concerning the idioms formed with the Location argument[3]. As shown in Table 2, the number of idioms in the ditransitive construction containing the Location role is 45 (15.6%). The presence of these idioms goes against the idiom-as-constituents theory, because the ditransitive verb and the Location (Goal) do not form a constituent. However, across languages, the majority of idioms generally respect constituency in which idiomatic elements function together as a single unit, to the exclusion of non-idiomatic elements. This general tendency of idioms is observed in Korean too, as most idioms in the ditransitive construction are of the [Verb + Theme] type.

Summing up, the fact that most idioms in the ditransitive construction in Korean are of the [Theme + Ditransitive Verb] type supports my proposal that [Goal-Theme] ([IO-DO]) represents the underlying structure, as shown in (23).

## 3.3 Summary

To support my proposal that [IO-DO] is the underlying order and [DO-IO] is derived via scrambling, I have provided arguments relating to quantifier scope, the chain condition, and ditransitive idioms.

I argued that the presence of flexible scope and chain condition effects in [DO-IO], but not in [IO-DO], shows that [IO-DO] is the underlying order and

[3] Following Jackendoff (1972), I assume that the thematic role of the Location patterns with the one of the Goal.

[DO-IO] is derived by scrambling the DO over the IO. Furthermore, I argued that the fact that most idioms that are formed with a ditransitive verb contain a Theme argument to the exclusion of a Goal argument shows that the Theme forms a constituent with the verb, and as such, [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) represents the underlying order.

In the next section, I establish that the Korean dative structure is a projection of the prepositional locative head $P_{loc}$, not $P_{have}$.

# 4 LEXICAL MEANING OF THE DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION

In this chapter, I propose that the underlying structure [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) is an instantiation of the prepositional locative structure headed by $P_{loc}$, similar to Harley's proposed structure for the to-DC in English. However, in section 4.1, in contrast to English (Harley 2002), I argue that in the Korean prepositional locative structure, the Goal (IO) c-commands the Theme (DO). This is contrary to Harley's typological generalization that cross-linguistically the Theme (DO) c-commands the Goal (IO) in locative structures.

As support for my proposal, in section 4.2, I show that Korean has another locative structure in the form of a double subject construction. I point out that the syntactic relationship between the Location and the Theme in the double subject locative construction is similar to the syntactic relationship between the Goal and the Theme in the dative construction: in both, the NP with the Location (Goal) role c-commands the NP with the Locatee (Theme) role. Three supporting arguments are provided for this claim: quantifier scope, PRO controlling, and honorific agreement. I will show that the Location is the sentential subject of the double subject locative construction and, as the sentential subject, the Location c-commands the Theme. Thus, [Location-Theme] is the underlying structure in which the Location c-commands the Theme. This reinforces my proposal that [IO-DO] is an instantiation of the prepositional locative structure in Korean in which the Goal c-commands the

Theme. Korean thus turns out to be a counterexample to Harley's typological generalization.

In section 4.3, I briefly discuss the Korean double object construction in which both the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) are accusative marked *-(l)ul*. I provide Jung and Miyagawa's (2004) analysis that the Korean double object construction is an instantiation of the prepositional possessive structure, corresponding to Harley's (2002) proposed structure for the double object construction in English.

## 4.1 [IO-DO] as an Instantiation of the $P_{loc}$ structure

I summarize Harley's analysis concerning the prepositional possessive structure headed by $P_{have}$ and the prepositional locative structure headed by $P_{loc}$ in English before going into the discussion on Korean.

As discussed in section 2.3, Harley (2002) proposes that the DOC and the to-DC are separately headed by different elements, $P_{have}$ and $P_{loc}$, respectively. In the DOC, there is an animacy constraint on the Goal argument as in (1). Harley connects this to the semantics of possession and establishes that the DOC is headed by $P_{have}$, an abstract preposition that encodes a possessor role on the Goal argument.

(1) a. The editor sent **Sue** the article. [DOC]

b. ?? The editor sent **Philadelphia** the article. [DOC]

In (1), the Goal argument 'Sue' or 'Philadelphia' is interpreted as a possessor that is required to be an animate entity. (1-b) is grammatical only under the reading that 'Philadelphia' refers to an organization or a group of people.

In contrast, in the to-DC, as in (2), there is no animacy constraint on the Goal argument. In (2-b), 'Philadelphia' does not have to refer to an animate entity to receive a grammatical reading.

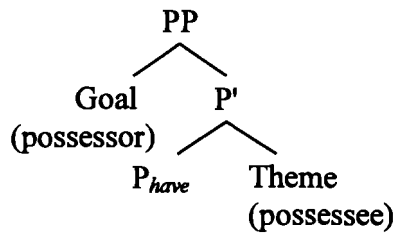
(2) a. The doctor sent the article to **Sue**. [to-DC]

b. The doctor sent the article to **Philadelphia**. [to-DC]

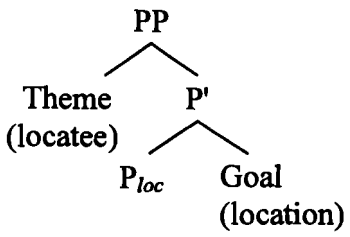
Harley connects this to the semantics of Location and establishes that the to-DC is headed by $P_{loc}$, an abstract preposition which encodes a Location role on the Goal argument.

In other words, in English, the DOC is grammatical only when the Goal argument is animate as in (1), while the to-DC is not subject to this restriction, as shown in (2). Harley (2002) thus proposes that the DOC establishes a prepositional possessive structure in which the Goal (possessor) c-commands the Theme (possessee), and the to-DC establishes a prepositional locative structure in which the Theme (Locatee) c-commands the Goal (Location). The trees in (3) and (4) show the DOC and the to-DC structures, respectively, as proposed by Harley.

(3) Double Object Construction (DOC)




(4) To-Dative Construction (to-DC)



On the basis of the distribution of $P_{have}$ and $P_{loc}$ in English and other languages, Harley formulates an interesting cross-linguistic generalization: across languages, in the $P_{loc}$ structure, the Locatee (Theme) c-commands the Location (Goal) and, if a language has the $P_{have}$ structure, the possessor (Goal) c-commands the possessee (Theme).

I now turn to the Korean data. I propose that the underlying structure [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) establishes a prepositional locative structure headed by $P_{loc}$, similar to Harley's to-DC in English. However, the c-commanding relationship between arguments in the Korean prepositional locative structure is at odds with Harley's typological generalization. In Korean, the IO (Goal) c-commands the DO (Theme) unlike the corresponding structure in English, in which the DO (Theme) c-commands the IO (Goal).

The first piece of evidence in support of my proposal that the Korean [IO-DO] is a projection of $P_{loc}$ is that there is no animacy constraint on the Goal argument in Korean. For example, as the data in (5) show, both the inanimate Goal argument *hakkyo/sewulsi* 'school/Seoul city' in (5-a) and the animate Goal argument *chinkwu* 'friend' in (5-b) are allowed.

(5) a. Sue-ka **hakkyo/sewulsi-*ey*** ton-*ul* ponay-ess-ta. [Goal-Theme]
Sue-NOM school/Seoul city-DAT money-ACC send-PST-DEC
'Sue sent money to school/Seoul city.'

b. Sue-ka **chinkwu-*eykey*** ton-*ul* ponay-ess-ta. [Goal-Theme]

Sue-NOM friend-DAT money-ACC send-PST-DEC

'Sue sent money to a friend.'

That the animacy constraint does not apply to [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) supports that the dative construction in Korean is a prepositional locative structure rather than a prepositional possessive structure.

Moreover, there is no animacy constraint on the Goal argument in [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) either, as shown in (5-c) and (5-d). This supports that [DO-IO], the scrambled order, is also an instantiation of the prepositional locative structure headed by $P_{loc}$. (5-a) and (5-c) can be construed as 'Sue CAUSED the money to GO TO school/ Seoul City' and (5-b) and (5-d) can be construed as 'Sue CAUSED the money to GO TO a friend'.

(5) c. Sue-ka ton-*ul* **hakkyo/sewulsi-*ey*** ponay-ess-ta. [Theme -Goal]

Sue-NOM money-ACC school/Seoul city-DAT send-PST-DEC

'Sue sent money to school/Seoul city.'

d. Sue-ka ton-*ul* **chinkwu-*eykey*** ponay-ess-ta. [Theme- Goal]

Sue-NOM money-ACC friend-DAT send-PST-DEC

'Sue sent money to a friend.'

In addition, the data in (6) below further support that the Goal argument in the Korean dative construction has the semantics of Location corresponding to the Goal argument in the to-DC in English.

(6) a. Sue-ka haksayngtul-*eykey* hankwuke-*lul* kaluchi-ess-ta. [Goal-Theme]
Sue-NOM students-DAT Korean-ACC teach-PST-DEC
'Sue taught Korean to the students.'

b. Sue-ka hankwuke-*lul* haksayngtul-*eykey* kaluchi-ess-ta. [Theme-Goal]
Sue-NOM Korean-ACC students-DAT teach-PST-DEC
'Sue taught Korean to the students.'

In English, for example, as discussed in section 2.2, there is a much stronger implication that the students actually learned French in (7-a) compared to (7-b). (7-b) does not imply that the students necessarily learned French (Oehrle 1976; Larson 1988; Harley 2002).

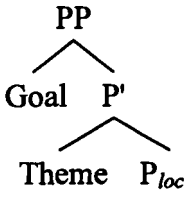
(7) a. John taught the students French. [DOC]
b. John taught French to the students. [to-DC]

The corresponding Korean examples in (6) have a similar interpretation to that in (7-b).

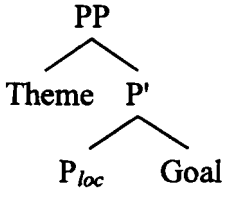
In other words, the data in (6) do not imply that the students necessarily possess the knowledge of Korean. In (6-a) and (6-b), students were taught Korean by Sue, but it does not guarantee that they actually learned to speak or write Korean. This makes sense if 'students' receive a Location role. Both the examples in (6) can be construed as 'Sue CAUSED the knowledge of Korean to GO to the students'.

Therefore, on the basis of there being no animacy constraint on the Goal argument and the Goal argument patterning with the Location role, I propose that the Korean dative construction is a prepositional locative structure headed by $P_{loc}$ where the Goal (IO) c-commands the Theme (DO) as in (8). The reverse order [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) is derived by scrambling of the DO (Theme) over the IO (Goal).

(8) Korean (Proposed):




(9) Harley (2002):




The proposed $P_{loc}$ structure for Korean, however, is very different from Harley's (2002) proposed structure. According to Harley, in the prepositional locative structure, the Theme c-commands the Goal, as the tree in (9) shows. She claims that this c-commanding relationship is observed across all languages.

But in the Korean prepositional locative structure proposed in (8), the Goal

c-commands the Theme. According to my analysis, Korean thus becomes a counterexample to Harley's cross-linguistic generalization that the Theme (Locatee) c-commands the Goal (Location).

In the next section, I discuss the Korean case further and show that Korean has another locative structure in the form of a double subject construction. I point out that the arguments in the double subject locative construction have the same c-commanding relationship as [Goal-Theme] ([IO-DO]) in the dative construction in Korean. This reinforces my conclusion that the Korean $P_{loc}$ structure differs from the English $P_{loc}$ structure.

## 4.2 The Double Subject Locative Construction

In this section, I show that Korean has another locative structure in the form of a double subject construction. Following previous arguments (Youn 1985, 1989; Gerdts & Youn 1989a, 1989b; O'Grady 1991; Yoon 2001), I will show that the NP with the Location role in the double subject locative construction is the sentential subject, and as such, it c-commands the NP with the Theme role. By doing so, I correlate the syntactic relationship in the double subject locative construction with the dative construction. Specifically, the syntactic relationship between the Location and the Theme in the double subject construction is parallel to the syntactic relationship between the Goal and the Theme in the dative construction.

As the data in (10) show, the Korean double subject locative construction (DSC) consists of the Location marked with the dative *-ey(key)* and the Locatee (Theme) argument marked with the nominative case *-i/ka.* The Location argument can also appear in the nominative case. As shown in (10-a), the Location can precede

the Locatee (Theme) or as illustrated in (10-b), the Locatee (Theme) can precede the Location.

(10) a. chayksang-*ey* chayk-*i* iss-ta. [DSC]

desk-DAT book-NOM exist-DEC

Location Locatee (Theme)

'On the desk, the book exists.' (There is a book on the desk.)

b. chayk-*i* chayksang-*ey* iss-ta. [DSC]

book-NOM desk-DAT exist-DEC

Locatee (Theme) Location

'The book exists on the desk.' (There is a book on the desk.)

I argue that [Location-Theme] in (10-a) is the underlying structure and [Theme-Location] in (10-b) is derived through scrambling of the Theme over the Location. This makes the syntactic relationship between *chayksang* 'desk' and *chayk* 'book' in (10-a) equivalent to the syntactic relationship between *hakkyo* 'school' and *ton* 'money' in [IO-DO] given in (11): the Location c-commands the Locatee (Theme) in the double subject construction, similar to the way that the Goal c-commands the Theme in [IO-DO].

(11) Mary-ka hakkyo-*ey* ton-*ul* cwu-ess-ta. [IO-DO]

Mary-NOM school-DAT money-ACC give-PST-DEC

Goal Theme

'Mary gave money to school.'

The c-commanding relationship between [Location-Theme] and [Goal-Theme] is consistent with Kuno's (1973) general hierarchy of semantic roles. According to Kuno (1973), in Japanese, the Goal is hierarchically higher than the Theme. This is consistent with my claim that the Location c-commands the Theme in the double subject construction and the Goal (IO) c-commands the Theme (DO) in the dative construction.

In addition, previous studies on the syntax of the double subject locative construction have shown that the first NP, the Location, is the sentential subject of the double subject construction (Gerdts & Youn 1988, 1999; Kim 1990; O'Grady 1991; Yoon 2001). This again supports that the Location c-commands the Theme because a sentential subject c-commands everything else in the clause.

In the rest of section 4.2, I discuss quantifier scope, PRO controlling, and honorific agreement as supporting arguments for the claim that the syntactic relationship between the Location and the Theme in the double subject locative construction is similar to the syntactic relationship between the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) in [IO-DO] in the Korean dative construction. I show that the underlying structure is [Location-Theme], with the Location c-commanding the Theme, just as [Goal-Theme] is the underlying order in the dative construction, with the Goal

c-commanding the Theme. I show that the Location as the sentential subject of the double subject locative construction c-commands the Theme. This is significantly different from Harley's cross-linguistic generalization that the Theme c-commands the Goal (Location) in the prepositional locative structure: in the Korean prepositional locative structure the Goal (Location) c-commands the Theme.

First, one piece of evidence comes from quantifier scope, which was already used to establish the underlying order in the dative construction in section 3.1. Quantifier scope supports that in the double subject locative construction, [Location-Theme] is the underlying structure, deriving the reverse structure [Theme-Location] through scrambling. I show that [Location-Theme] does not display scope ambiguity, similar to [Goal-Theme] ([IO-DO]), while [Theme-Location] does, similar to [Theme-Goal]. This shows that the Location is the sentential subject in [Location-Theme] and as such it c-commands the Theme.

As already noted in section 3.2.1, scope freezing is attested in [Subject-Object], the canonical word order in Korean, but not in [Object-Subject], the scrambled word order. In other words, scope is frozen in the canonical word order, while scope is flexible in the scrambled order. This is called the 'scope freezing effect' in Korean.

Quantifier scope can be used to establish the underlying structure in the double subject locative construction. If [Location-Theme] is the underlying structure, it should show frozen scope. In contrast, [Theme-Location] should show flexible scope. Indeed, this prediction is borne out as illustrated in (12).

(12) a. **etten** pang-*ey* **motun** khemphyuthe-*ka* iss-ta. [Location-Theme]

some room-DAT every computer-NOM exist-DEC

'In some room, every computer exists.' (some > every, *every > some)

b. **etten** khemphyuthe-$ka_i$ **motun** pang-*ey* $t_i$ iss-ta. [Theme-Location]

some computer-NOM every room-DAT exist-DEC

'In every room, some computer exists. (some > every, every > some)

For example, in (12-a), [Location-Theme] reveals frozen scope: *etten* 'some' only takes scope over *motun* 'every' and not vice-versa. The only available reading in (12-a) is that 'all the computers are in a particular room'.

In contrast, the reverse order [Theme-Location], as in (12-b), has flexible scope: *etten* 'some' takes scope over *motun* 'every' and vice-versa. This indicates that in (12-b), the Theme *etten khemphyuthe* 'some computer' has scrambled over the Location *motun pang* 'every room', leaving a trace. The trace of the Theme allows the inverse scope reading 'every > some'. Two readings are thus available in (12-b). When 'some' takes scope over 'every', the interpretation is that 'there is a particular computer in all the rooms'. When 'every' takes scope over 'some', the interpretation is that 'every room is equipped with a possibly different computer'.

Similar scope ambiguity is attested with an animate Location, as the data in (13) show.

(13) a. **etten** haksayng-*eykey* **motun** chayk-*i* iss-ta. [Location-Theme]
some student-DAT every book-NOM exist-DEC
'To some student, every book exists.'

b. **etten** chayk-$i_i$ **motun** haksayng-*eykey* $t_i$ iss-ta. [Theme-Location]
some book-NOM every student-DAT exist-DEC
'To every student, some book exists.'

For example, in (13-a), [Location-Theme] reveals frozen scope: *etten* 'some' takes scope over *motun* 'every' but *motun* 'every' does not take scope over *etten* 'some'. The only available reading in (13-a) is that 'a particular student has all the books'.

In contrast, the reverse order [Theme-Location] in (13-b) has flexible scope: both the reading in which *etten* 'some' takes scope over *motun* 'every' and *motun* 'every' takes scope over *etten* 'some' are available. This indicates that in (13-b), the Theme *etten chayk* 'some book' has scrambled over the Location *motun haksayng* 'every student', leaving a trace. The trace of the Theme makes the inverse scope reading 'every > some' possible. The sentence is thus ambiguous between two readings: 'there is a particular book that all the students have', where *etten* 'some' takes scope over *motun* 'every', and 'every student has a possibly different book', where *motun* 'every' takes scope over *etten* 'some'.

In summary, on the basis of scope freezing in [Location-Theme] and scope ambiguity in [Theme-Location], I conclude that [Location-Theme] is the underlying structure in which the Location as the sentential subject c-commands the Theme. This

supports that the syntactic relationship between the Location and the Theme in the double subject locative construction is similar to the syntactic relationship between the Goal and the Theme in the dative construction.

Next, previous studies on the syntax of the double subject locative construction have shown that the Location is the sentential subject of the double subject construction (Gerdts & Youn 1988, 1999; Kim 1990; O'Grady 1991; Yoon 2001).

One of the arguments discussed in the previous literature (Youn 1985, 1989; Gerdts & Youn 1989b; O'Grady 1991; Yoon 2001) comes from PRO controlling. If the Location c-commands the Theme, the Location as the sentential subject should be able to control a PRO in a subject-oriented adjunct clause. This prediction is borne out as shown in (14).

As the data in (14) show, the PRO in the *-myenseto* 'though' clause, a subject-oriented adjunct clause, can only be controlled by the Location argument in the double subject locative construction.

(14) a. [$PRO_{i/*k}$ koa-**myenseto**] Sue-*eykey*$_i$ enni-*ka*$_k$ iss-ta. [Location-Theme]
orphan-COMP Sue-DAT sister-NOM exist-DEC
'Though PRO being an orphan, to Sue, a sister exists.'

b. [$PRO_{i/*k}$ koa-**myenseto**] enni-*ka*$_k$ Sue-*eykey*$_i$ t$_k$ iss-ta. [Theme-Location]
orphan-COMP sister-NOM Sue-DAT exist-DEC
'Though PRO being an orphan, to Sue, a sister exists.'

For example, in (14-a), 'Sue' as the sentential subject is able to control the subject PRO in the adjunct clause, while *enni* 'sister' cannot control the PRO. In the scrambled order shown in (14-b), the Location 'Sue' as the subject is also able to control the subject PRO in the subject-oriented adjunct clause.

Therefore, given that the Location controls the missing subject PRO in the *-myenseto* 'though' clause in Korean, a subject-oriented adjunct clause, it can be concluded that the Location is the sentential subject and as such, it c-commands the Theme. This supports my proposal that the syntactic relationship between the Location and the Theme in the double subject construction is similar to the syntactic relationship between the Goal and the Theme in the dative construction.

Another supporting argument in the literature for the proposal that the Location as the sentential subject c-commands the Theme and that [Location-Theme] is the underlying structure is provided by the honorific agreement between the sentential subject and the predicate (Gerdts & Youn 1989a, 1989b; Youn 1985, 1989; O'Grady 1991; Yoon 2001).

In (15-a), the honorific subject marker *-kkey* on the Location co-occurs with the honorific marking *-(u)si-* on the predicate. The same holds in the scrambled order shown in (15-b). In contrast, example (15-c) is not grammatical because the honorific marking *-(u)si-* on the predicate does not agree with *aki-eykey* 'baby-DAT'. The same holds in the scrambled order shown in (15-d).

(15) a. sensayngnim-***kkey*** aki-*ka* iss-**usi**-ta. [Location-Theme]

teacher-DAT.HON baby-NOM exist-HON-DEC

'To a teacher, a baby exists.'

b. aki-$ka_i$ sensayngnim-***kkey*** $t_i$ iss-**usi**-ta. [Theme-Location]

baby-NOM teacher-DAT.HON exist-HON-DEC

'To a teacher, a baby exists.'

c. *?? aki-*eykey* sensayngnim-*i* iss-**usi**-ta. [Location-Theme]

baby-DAT teacher-NOM exist-HON-DEC

'To a baby, a teacher exists.'

d. * sensayngnim-$i_i$ aki-*eykey* $t_i$ iss-**usi**-ta. [Theme-Location]

teacher-NOM baby-DAT exist-HON-DEC

'To a baby, a teacher exists.'

The fact that the honorific agreement occurs between the sentential subject and the predicate in Korean supports the claim that [Location-Theme] is the underlying structure, as the sentential subject with the Location role c-commands the Theme.

## 4.3 The $P_{have}$ Structure in the Korean Ditransitive Construction

So far, I have shown that Korean has a dative construction in which the Goal (IO) is a dative marked NP *-ey(key)* and the Theme (DO) is an accusative marked NP

*-(l)ul,* corresponding to the to-dative construction in English. I have proposed that [IO-DO] ([Goal-Theme]) is the underlying order and [DO-IO] ([Theme-Goal]) is the derived order by moving the DO over the IO through scrambling. I have also proposed that the underlying order [IO-DO] is an instantiation of the prepositional locative structure where the Goal c-commands the Theme.

The question that arises now is whether Korean has a double object construction that instantiates the prepositional possessive structure, similar to the double object construction in English, as proposed by Harley (discussed in section 2.2). I present arguments from Jung and Miyagawa (2004) that support that the double object construction in Korean encodes the meaning of possession.

Let us first examine the double object construction in Korean. As the data in (16) show, the double object construction in Korean consists of two accusative marked NPs.

(16) a. Mary-ka John-*ul* senmwul-*ul* cwu-ess-ta. [DOC]
Mary-NOM John-ACC present-ACC give-PST-DEC
'Mary gave John a present.'

b. Tom-i chinkwu-*lul* swuhak-*ul* kaluchi-ess-ta. [DOC]
Tom-NOM friend-ACC math-ACC teach-PST-DEC
'Tom taught (his) friend math.'

While in Korean, all ditransitive verbs can occur in the dative construction, only a small number of ditransitive verbs can appear in the double object construction, as shown in Jung and Miyagawa (2004). For example, as illustrated in (16), ditransitive verbs such as *kaluchita* 'teach' or *cwuta* 'give' can occur in the double object construction. They can also occur in the dative construction as shown in (17).

(17) a. nay-ka John-*eykey* hankwuke-*lul* kaluchi-ess-ta. [to-DC]
I-NOM John-DAT Korean-ACC teach-PST-DEC
'I taught Korean to John.'

b. nay-ka hakkyo-*ey* ton-*ul* cwu-ess-ta. [to-DC]
I-NOM school-DAT money-ACC give-PST-DEC
'I gave money to school.'

Jung and Miyagawa (2004) refer to these types of ditransitive verbs, which can appear both in the dative construction and in the double object construction in Korean, as *cwuta* 'give' type verbs. According to Jung and Miyagawa (2004), only *cwuta* 'give' type verbs may have a clear possessive interpretation and are able to appear in the double object construction in Korean.

In contrast, other ditransitive verbs, referred to as *ponayta* 'send' type verbs by Jung and Miyagawa, are not able to appear in the double object construction in Korean (Jung & Miyagawa 2004). Instead, *ponayta* 'send' type verbs such as *ponayta*

'send' and *tenchita* 'throw' can only occur in the dative construction, as shown in (18).

(18) a. *nay-ka hakkyo-*lul* pyenchi-*lul* ponay-ess-ta. [DOC]
I-NOM school-ACC letter-ACC send-PST-DEC
'I sent school a letter.'

b. nay-ka hakkyo-*ey* pyenchi-*lul* ponay-ess-ta. [to-DC]
I-NOM school-DAT letter-ACC send-PST-DEC
'I sent a letter to school.'

c. *Tom-i Mary-*lul* kong-*ul* tenchi-ess-ta. [DOC]
Tom-NOM Mary-ACC ball-ACC throw-PST-DEC
'Tom threw Mary a ball.'

d. Tom-i Mary-*eykey* kong-*ul* tenchi-ess-ta. [to-DC]
Tom-NOM Mary-DAT ball-ACC throw-PST-DEC
'Tom threw a ball to Mary.'

The data in (18-a) and (18-c) show that *ponayessta* 'sent' and *tenchiessta* 'threw' cannot appear in the double object construction, while the data in (18-b) and (18-d) show that they can appear in the dative construction.

Thus, as noted in Jung and Miyagawa (2004), only a limited number of ditransitive verbs, that is, *cwuta* 'give' type verbs, can occur in the double object construction. Most ditransitive verbs in Korean, however, behave like *ponayta* 'send' type verbs and thus do not occur in the double object construction.

Further, Jung and Miyagawa (2004) discuss that the double object construction in Korean corresponds to a prepositional possessive structure, similar to Harley's proposed structure for the double object construction in English. One piece of evidence in support of the $P_{have}$ structure in the Korean double object construction is that there is an animacy constraint on the Goal argument. Consider the examples in (19).

(19) a. John-i yetongsayng-*ul* kkoch-*ul* cwu-ess-ta. [DOC]
John-NOM sister-ACC flower-ACC give-PST-DEC
'John gave (his) sister the flower.'

b.?? John-i hakkyo-*lul* ton-*ul* cwu-ess-ta. [DOC]
John-NOM school-ACC money-ACC give-PST-DEC
'John gave the school the money.'

In (19), the Goal argument *yetongsayng* 'sister' or *hakkyo* 'school' is interpreted as a possessor that is animate. (19-b) is grammatical only under the reading that *hakkyo* 'school' refers to a certain group of people, that is, an animate entity. This animacy constraint in the double object construction in Korean can be explained by Harley's

prepositional possessive structure, $P_{have}$. The IO receives a possessor interpretation and has a possessor thematic role. Thus, (19-a) can be construed as 'John CAUSED his sister to HAVE the flower' and (19-b) can be construed as 'John CAUSED the school to HAVE the money'. The animacy constraint in the double object construction, therefore, supports the claim that the double object construction in Korean is a prepositional possessive structure.

Moreover, examples in (20) and (21) further suggest that the Goal argument in Korean, like the Goal argument in the double object construction in English, has the semantics of possessor. As pointed out in chapters 2 and 3, the example in (20-a), compared to the one in (20-b), has a much stronger implication that the students possess the knowledge of French (Oehrle 1976; Larson 1988; Harley 2002).

(20) a. John taught the students French. [DOC]

b. John taught French to the students. [to-DC]

This is analogous to the Korean data in (21).

(21) a. Sue-ka haksayngtul-*ul* hankwuke-*lul* kaluchi-ess-ta. [DOC]

Sue-NOM students-ACC Korean-ACC teach-PST-DEC

'Sue taught the students Korean.'

b. Sue-ka haksayngtul-*eykey* hankwuke-*lul* kaluchi-ess-ta. [to-DC]

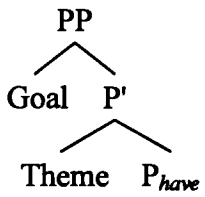
Sue-NOM students-DAT Korean-ACC teach-PST-DEC

'Sue taught Korean to the students.'

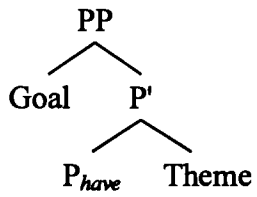
(21-a) carries the implication that the students acquired Korean, while (21-b) does not have this implication.

Thus, given that the animacy constraint applies to the Goal argument and the Goal argument has the semantics of possessor, as presented in Jung and Miyagawa (2004), the double object construction in Korean instantiates the prepositional possessive structure, $P_{have}$. This is illustrated in (22), in which the Goal c-commands the Theme. The $P_{have}$ structure for Korean is therefore consistent with Harley's (2002) cross-linguistic generalization that in the prepositional possessive structure, the Goal c-commands the Theme, as illustrated in (23).

(22) Korean:




(23) Harley (2002):

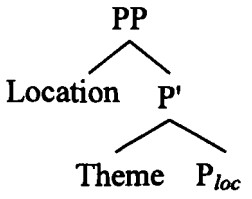



## 4.4 Summary

In sum, to support my claim that the Korean dative construction is an instantiation of the prepositional locative structure headed by $P_{loc}$, I provided three arguments, quantifier scope, PRO controlling, and honorific agreement. I argued that

this supports that the Location is the sentential subject of the double subject locative construction and that as the sentential subject, it c-commands the Theme. Thus, [Location-Theme] is the underlying structure and [Theme-Location] is derived through scrambling. I propose that [Location-Theme] establishes a locative structure in which the Location c-commands the Theme as in (24).

(24) Double Subject Locative Construction in Korean




This supports that the syntactic relationship between the Location and the Theme in the double subject locative construction is similar to the syntactic relationship between the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) in the dative construction. This reinforces my proposal that [IO-DO] is an instantiation of a prepositional locative structure in Korean in which the Goal c-commands the Theme. This means that Korean is a counterexample to Harley's typological generalization that the Theme c-commands the Goal in a prepositional locative structure.

In addition, I provided Jung and Miyagawa's (2004) analysis that the Korean double object construction is an instantiation of the possessive structure. This corresponds to Harley's (2002) proposed structure for the double object construction in English.

# 5. CONCLUSION

In section 5.1, I summarize this thesis. In section 5.2, I conclude this thesis by raising further research questions on the ditransitive construction in Korean for future research.

## 5.1 Summary

This thesis has investigated the Korean dative construction consisting of the Goal (IO), an NP marked with the dative marker *-ey(key)*, and the Theme (DO), an NP marked with the accusative marker *-(l)ul*. I have proposed that [IO-DO] is the underlying order and [DO-IO] is derived through scrambling. Three arguments were provided to support [IO-DO] as the underlying order: quantifier scope, the chain condition, and [Theme + Ditransitive Verb] idioms in Korean.

Further, I proposed that the underlying order [IO-DO] is an instantiation of the prepositional locative structure, $P_{loc}$, similar to Harley's (2002) proposed structure for the to-dative construction in English. However, concerning the syntactic relationship between the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) argument, the Korean prepositional locative structure is at odds with Harley's cross-linguistic observation. In contrast to Harley's proposal that in a prepositional locative structure, the Theme c-commands the Goal, I argued that in the Korean prepositional locative structure, the Goal c-commands the Theme. My analysis, thus, showed that Korean becomes a counterexample to Harley's typological generalization.

As further support for my proposal, I discussed that Korean has another locative structure in the form of a double subject construction. I argued that the syntactic relationship between the Location and the Theme in the double subject locative structure is similar to the syntactic relationship between the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) in the dative construction. For this claim, I provided three supporting arguments: quantifier scope, PRO controlling, and honorific agreement. I showed that all three arguments support that the Location is the sentential subject of the double subject locative construction and that as the sentential subject it commands the Theme. Therefore, I proposed that [Location-Theme] establishes a locative structure in which the Location c-commands the Theme. I argued that the syntactic relationship between the Location and the Theme in the double subject locative construction is similar to the syntactic relationship between the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) in the dative construction. I claimed that this reinforces my proposal that [IO-DO] is an instantiation of the prepositional locative structure in Korean in which the Goal c-commands the Theme.

In addition, I discussed the Korean double object construction in which both the Goal (IO) and the Theme (DO) are accusative marked NPs. I presented Jung and Miyagawa's (2004) analysis that the Korean double object construction corresponds to the prepositional possessive structure that Harley (2002) proposed for the double object construction in English. It was shown that only a small number of Korean ditransitive verbs can occur in the double object construction.

## 5.2 Future Research

This section provides questions for further research on the ditransitive construction in Korean.

In this thesis, I have proposed that [IO-DO] is the underlying structure of the dative construction in Korean and [DO-IO] is derived via scrambling. To support my proposal, I have presented arguments from quantifier scope, the chain condition, and ditransitive idioms. While my proposal is supported by syntactic and semantic factors in Korean, further research that considers discourse/pragmatic factors could strengthen my proposal. One previous analysis (Kaiser 2000) reveals that [DO-IO] is the underlying structure in the ditransitive construction in Finnish, using findings from pragmatic/discourse contexts. Similarly, a corpus study in Korean from a pragmatic/discourse perspective could further test my proposal that [DO-IO] is derived from [IO-DO] via scrambling.

In addition, investigating the patterns of language development might be helpful in testing my proposal that [IO-DO] is the underlying order and [DO-IO] is the derived order. Previous studies (Zoh 1981; Kim 1997) show that Korean-speaking children adhere to the canonical SOV order in the early stages of language acquisition, in spite of the fact that with age, they allow more flexible word order via scrambling. Then, if [IO-DO] is the canonical word order, given my proposal, I predict that data from children's speech would exhibit a relatively higher proportion of [IO-DO] compared to [DO-IO].

Moreover, section 4.3 showed that while most ditransitive verbs in Korean, the *ponayta* 'send' type verbs, only occur in the dative construction, only a small

number of ditransitive verbs, the *cwuta* 'give' type verbs, can occur in both the dative and the double object construction. It would be interesting to investigate how the two types of ditransitive verbs are acquired by Korean children. Previous studies that investigated how the DOC and the to-DC are acquired in English (Campbell & Tomasello 2001; Snyder & Stromswold 1997; Viau 2006) have implications for Korean. These studies examined whether the DOC or the to-DC is acquired earlier in English. With the assumption that lexical decomposition plays a significant role in language acquisition, the studies argue that the DOC is acquired before the to-DC in language development. They discuss that the delayed acquisition of the to-DC, relative to the DOC, is due to the fact that 'HAVE', the semantic component in the DOC, is acquired before 'GO' (or 'LOCATE'), the semantic component in the to-DC. In other words, since 'HAVE' is acquired earlier than 'GO' in language development, the DOC is acquired before the to-DC.

Applying their argument to the Korean data, it would predict that *cwuta* 'give' type verbs are acquired before *ponayta* 'send' type verbs. Although this implication is not directly related to my present thesis, such acquisition data obtained from Korean children, through a controlled psycholinguistic experiment, would provide further insights into the nature of the ditransitive construction in Korean.

Further, I showed that extending the ideas from Harley (2002), the underlying order [IO-DO] is an instantiation of the prepositional locative structure in which the Goal c-commands the Theme, in contrary to Harley's cross-linguistic observation that the Theme c-commands the Goal in locative structures. Korean thus turns out to be a counterexample to Harley's typological generalization. In contrast, the double object

construction in Korean is consistent with her typological generalization: it is projected from the prepositional possessive structure in which the Goal (possessor) c-commands the Theme (possessee). The data in Korean, thus, shed new light on the typology of dative construction cross-linguistically: there is another type of dative construction projected from a prepositional locative structure in which the Goal (Location) c-commands the Theme (Locatee).

As Korean is a language with rich morphology (case and postposition), it may be using morphological information to make a distinction between locatives and possessives, instead of structural information. It remains as future work to identify other languages that are similar to Korean this way and verify the hypothesized correlation between rich morphology and the lack of structural distinction between locatives and possessives.

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