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When Formalism Meets Functionalism: An Overview of Korean Multiple Nominative Constructions

Yoon, James Hye Suk · Park, Chongwon
(University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign · University of Minnesota Duluth)

Yoon, James Hye Suk & Park, Chongwon. 2024. When Foramlism Meets Functionalism: An Overview of Korean Multiple Nominative Constructions. ***Sign Languages and Linguistics Convergence Research,*** *1*(2), 431-476. This article seeks to critically assess the current body of research on Korean Multiple Nominative Constructions (MNCs), with a particular focus on studies grounded in cognitive-functional theories. The majority of research on Korean MNCs has been conducted within the formal-generative framework, which has led to significant advancements in our understanding. However, they suffer from the failure to recognize the context dependency of judgments of well-formedness regarding MNCs. Failure to pay due attention to contextual factors has led to misleading generalizations, with deleterious consequences for theoretical proposals built upon them. The critical survey of functionally oriented research on MNCs reveals complementary insights that can lead to a deeper understanding and informed analyses of MNCs. In particular, we focus on the illusive interpretive factors that constrain the outer nominal (or Major Subject) and the inner clause (or Sentential Predicate) in MNCs, arguing that MNCs can occur in a variety of discourse contexts, which implies that the reduction of MNCs to topic-comment structures is misguided. MNCs are structures that have subject-predicate partitions at more than one level where typical subject properties are distributed between the outer and inner subjects, as argued by earlier researchers. The illusive property of 'relevance' that Sentential Predicates must satisfy in a well-formed MNC is shown to be intricately tied to the interpretation given to the Major Subject.

Key Words: Adjunct Type MNC, Grammatical Subject, Major Subject, Possession Raising, Possession Type MNC, Reference Point, Sentential Predicate

1. Introduction[1)]

This article seeks to critically assess the current body of research on Korean Multiple Nominative Constructions (MNCs), with a particular focus on studies grounded in cognitive-functional theories. Although the majority of research on Korean MNCs has been conducted within the formal-generative framework, leading to significant advancements in our understanding of these constructions, research in this tradition has been plagued with limitations. Challenges such as misleading generalizations and conflicting assessments of grammaticality on the bases of decontextualized and isolated examples are common, though the well-formedness of MNCs is intricately tied to the discourse context in which they are used, as we shall see. Formal/generative analyses focus on finding generalizations of theoretical interest to current syntactic theories, such as the mechanisms that give rise to multiple case-marking and the thematic licensing of outer nominatives. However, unless the factual generalizations are grounded in a comprehensive understanding of all the factors that impact the acceptability of MNCs, analyses built on partial and misleading generalizations cannot serve to advance our knowledge. In contrast, functionally oriented approaches seek to incorporate contextual factors into their analyses and are concerned less about the purely syntactic aspects of MNCs, such as the question of how multiple case-marking arises.

It is noteworthy that scholars from both formal-generative and functional perspectives occasionally converge on similar conceptualizations of MNCs, albeit

1) The abbreviations used in this article are as follows. ACC: Accusative, ADN: Adnominalizer, A-MNC: Adjunct type MNC, CG: Cognitive Grammar, COMP: Complementizer, CONJ: Conjunction, CONN: Connective, COP: Copula, DCL: Declarative, DR: Discourse Rheme, DS: Discourse Structure, DSC: Double Subject Construction, DT: Discourse Theme, EXCL: Exclamation, GEN: Genitive, GS: Grammatical Subject, HON: Honorific, INF: Infinitive, KES: The bound morpheme kes, KAFC: Korean Argument Focus Construction, KPCC: Korean Predicate Clause Construction, MAC: Multiple Accusative Construction, MNC: Multiple Nominative Construction, MS: Major Subject, NEG: Negation, NOC: Nominative Object Construction, NOM: Nominative, PL: Plural, P-MNC: Possession type MNC, PR: Possessor Raising, PRS: Present, PST: Past, Q: Question, RCG: Radical Construction Grammar, QS: Quotation Statement, RP: Reference Point, SP: Sentential Predicate, TOP: Topic.

using different terminologies and frameworks. However, differences in terminology and assumptions often make it challenging to separate substantial insights from mere terminological differences. By examining research conducted within functionalist frameworks, this article aims to identify potential areas of consensus between formal-generative and functional approaches and discuss their implications for future research directions.

To achieve these objectives, the article evaluates existing cognitive-functional analyses in relation to key questions that have been extensively explored in formal-generative studies of MNCs: [1] the typology of MNCs-how many types are there, and what criteria define these types? [2] the grammatical role of multiple nominative-marked NPs-do they function as subjects or fulfill other roles, and if they are subjects, why is there variation among them? [3] the interpretive properties of MNCs-what is the relationship between outer nominative (aka Major Subject (MS)) and the inner nominative (aka Grammatical Subject (GS)), and what are the defining characteristics of Sentential Predicates (SP) and Major Subjects (MS) in MNCs?

By identifying answers to the questions formulated above, we hope to showcase the value of a formalist-functionalist dialogue. Korean MNCs are ideally suited to demonstrate the advantage of such a dialogue because these are some of the many phenomena where functional and discoursal factors can deeply inform formal grammatical patterns. While we are somewhat agnostic as to the value of positing a parameter of 'discourse/topic prominence' argued to characterize the grammar of Korean globally, we believe Korean MNCs are susceptible to the rich interplay of formal-structural and functional-discoursal factors. This is why MNCs constitute an ideal laboratory to test the value of formal-functional symbiosis.

While the diversity of perspectives should enrich our understanding of a given phenomenon, the sociology of the field is such that there is little communication between the two camps. The lack of communication cannot be blamed solely on differences in theoretical assumptions and representational choices since whatever communication exists between the camps is often uni-directional, typically in the form of functionalist critiques of formal analyses with little engagement of formalist critiques of functionalist work. As a result,

the communication is far from collegial and often adversarial. Granted that there are plenty of venues to air one's ideas in each of these camps without the need to engage in cross-theoretical dialogue, we nevertheless think that the lack of fertile communication has not served to advance the field. We believe the situation does not have to be this way. When methodological and theoretical blinders are removed or put in proper perspective, an insightful understanding of language can be gained.

The organization of this article is as follows. In Section 2, we provide a brief survey of formal-generative approaches to Korean MNCs by addressing the strengths and weaknesses of the existing proposals. With this background, we critically appraise cognitive-functional research on MNCs in Sections 3 and 4. While Section 3 exclusively discusses Cognitive Grammar (CG) approaches to MNCs in Korean and Japanese, Section 4 is devoted to other (broadly construed) functional approaches. Section 5 concludes this article, by summarizing our answers to the questions raised in Section 1 and discussing the implications and future direction of our research.

2. Generative-formal answers to the questions about MNCs

Formal-generative approaches assume that syntactic structure is a projection of lexical properties. From this perspective, the *prima facie* challenge raised by MNCs has to do with the thematic licensing of outer nominatives that are clearly not arguments of the lexical predicate. Since there can be any number of outer nominatives in MNCs, a minor modulation of the principles of structure projection based on argument structure would not suffice to account for the licensing of such NPs. Therefore, in many formal approaches, the thematic licensing problem is handled by assuming that there is an underlying source of MNCs where the outer nominatives are licensed thematically. The source is internal possession constructions, which are readily available as synonymous paraphrases of many MNCs, as illustrated in (1).

(1) a. Cheli-ka apeci-ka sengkyek-i acwu koyakha-ta.
C-NOM father-NOM personality-NOM very nasty-DCL
'Cheli's father has a bad temper.'
b. Cheli-uy apeci-uy sengkyek-i acwu koyakha-ta.
C-GEN father-GEN personality-NOM very nasty-DCL
'Cheli's father has a bad temper.'
'Cheli's father's personality is nasty.'

From the underlying structure in (1b), an MNC like (1a) is assumed to be derived by a syntactic rule of Possessor Raising (PR) (S.-A. Chun, 1985: H.-S. Choe, 1986). Depending on the analysis, the raised possessor then becomes the surface subject of the sentence. When PR has applied more than once, scholars differ on whether there is more than one subject in MNCs in surface structure.

While PR analyses offer a principled solution to the thematic licensing problem of outer nominatives, it is by now well known that it faces innumerable challenges (Yoon, 2015 for a summary). One obvious challenge comes from the existence of MNCs where the outer nominative cannot be paraphrased as possessor of the inner nominative, as shown in (2).

(2) a. I kosoktolo-ka thulek-i manhi tani-n-ta.
this highway-NOM truck-NOM a.lot.of drive-PRS-DCL
'Lots of trucks drive on this highway.'
b. *I kosoktolo-uy thulek-i manhi tani-n-ta
this highway-GEN truck-NOM a.lot.of drive-PRS-DCL
Intended: 'Lots of trucks drive on this highway.'

This is not taken to be a challenge, however, in formal approaches that take the role borne by the outer nominative in (2a) to be an adjunct role. PR is not implicated in the derivation of the MNC in (2a). This then raises the question of why the adjunct NP is marked in a manner typical of argumental subject NPs, that is, with the particle *ka/i*. Answers given vary, but one that is common assumes that the particle is not always a marker of nominative case but can also function as a focus or topic marker (Yoon, 1986: Schütze, 2001: Kim,

Sells, & Yang (KSY, hereafter), 2007).[2] If this analysis is correct, it is predicted that there are differences between the outer nominative in MNCs like (1a), which are called Possessor type MNCs (P-MNCs), and those like (2a), called Adjunct (or Focus) type MNCs (A-MNCs). In particular, the *ka*-marked outer nominative in P-MNCs is a (surface) subject and the particle *ka/i* realizes nominative case, while that in A-MNCs is an adjunct, with *ka/i* a marker of focus/topic. In addition, subjecthood remains on the inner nominative in the latter.

Proponents of this position point to facts such as (3) below to support their supposition that there are two distinct sub-types of MNCs. Assuming subject honorification to be a valid subject diagnostic in Korean, the fact that it appears to be controlled by the outer nominative in the P-MNC (3a) but by the inner nominative in the A-MNC (3b) offers prima facie support for the bifurcation.

(3) a. Kim-sensayng-nim-i sengkyek-i acwu coh-usi-ta.
K-teacher-HON-NOM personality-NOM very good-HON-DCL
'Professor Kim has a good personality.'
b. I hakkyo-ka kyoswu-nim-tul-i acwu hwullyungha-si-ta.
this school-NOM professor-HON-PL-NOM very outstanding-HON-DCL
'The faculty of this college are outstanding.'

While many scholars working in the formal-generative tradition have adopted the analyses and the typology of MNCs sketched above, others have taken a different approach. Though details differ, these researchers assume that the outer nominatives are licensed uniformly as an (argumental) subject of a clausal or sentential predicate consisting of the inner nominative and the lexical predicate (inner clause) and, therefore, that the outer nominative is a subject in both

2) This predicts that the outer nominative should have a focus or topic reading. Focus-type MNC is another term used for A-MNCs, the choice of the term based on the supposition that the initial nominal is always construed with narrow focus (KSY, 2007). This is not a viable position to maintain, as will become clear. An alternative would be to assume that *ka/i* is a case-marker that is assigned to a bare NP adverb. Case assignment to bare NP adverbials is possible in Korean, as is well-known (Kim & Maling, 1993).

P-MNCs and A-MNCs. In terms of how the thematic role of the outer nominative is licensed, proposals vary. When the nominal is linked interpretively with the possessor role of the inner nominative, various mechanisms have been posited to allow the possessor role to be assigned in a delayed manner (Yoon, 2007: Vermeulen, 2005). Crucially, however, PR is not countenanced, which shields these analyses from technical and empirical problems facing PR analyses. The outer nominative is deemed to be a subject in both types of MNCs. This then raises the question of why subject honorification seems to be controlled by different NPs in the two types, as we have seen. An alternative explanation offered invokes metonymy (Hong, 1991). Hong maintains that subject honorification is always controlled by the inner nominative (or the Grammatical Subject, GS). When it appears to be controlled by the outer nominative (or the Major Subject, MS), it is through metonymy (Hong, 1991). Specifically, *sengkyek 'personality'* is a metonym for the person who possesses it. This line of explanation can explain the contrast between (3a) and (4) below, since unlike one's personality, a contingently possessed umbrella or watch is not likely to be construed as a metonym for its possessor.

(4) *? Kim-kyoswu-nim-i wusan-kwa sikyey-ka pissa-n
K-professor-HON-NOM umbrella-CONJ watch-NOM expensive-ADN
swuip-phwum-i-si-ta.
import-goods-COP-HON-DCL
'Professor Kim's umbrella and watch are expensive imports.'

Going beyond subject honorification and examining the entire list of proposed subject diagnostics reveals that they are controlled by different NPs in MNCs: some are controlled by the outer nominative/MS, while others are controlled by the inner nominative/GS. Those who adopt metonymy to account for the difference between (3a) and (3b) view subject honorification as exclusively controlled by the inner nominative. A common crosslinguistic subject diagnostic that is exclusively controlled by the outer nominative in MNCs is Subject-to-Object Raising (SOR).[3)]

(5) a. Na-nun Kim-kyoswunim-ul/i sengkyek-i/*ul
I-TOP K-professor-ACC/NOM personality-NOM/*ACC
acwu coh-usi-ta-ko sayngkak-ha-n-ta.
very good-HON-DCL-COMP think-do-PRS-DCL
'I think Professor Kim has a very good personality.'

b. Na-nun I kosoktolo-lul/ka thulek-i/*ul
I-TOP this highway-ACC/NOM truck-NOM/*ACC
manhi tani-n-ta-ko sayngkak-ha-n-ta.
a.lot.of drive-PRS-DCL-COMP think-do-PRS-DCL
'I think lots of trucks drive on this highway.'

As to why subject diagnostic properties are split in this way, Yoon (2007, 2009) relies on crosslinguistic research on subject diagnostics, which has identified two distinct notions that are regularly encoded in subjects, one being the subject as the most prominent argument of a predicate and the other being the subject as structurally and positionally the most prominent nominal, or the pivot. Research on ergative languages (Dixon, 1994: Falk, 2006) has clearly shown that the two dimensions of subjecthood need not converge on a single nominal. While Korean is not an ergative language, if there are multiple subjects in MNCs, the subjects are not all uniform when viewed in terms of the two dimensions. Subjects-qua-prominent argument role is the prerogative of the inner nominative/GS; the outer nominative, if it is a subject, can only be one in virtue of being the most prominent NP syntactically (Pivot), as it is not an argument of the lexical predicate but still structurally and functionally more prominent than

3) The full list of subject diagnostics and how they are split between MS and GS, à la Yoon (2007, 2009), are as follows:
- Inner nominative/GS: Subject honorification and equi controller in obligatory control.
- Outer nominative/MS: Subject-to-Object Raising and nominative case marking.
Chae & Kim (2008) assert that either the MS or the GS can control subject diagnostics, contra Yoon (2007). While this may appear to be the case for the highly context-dependent and slippery subject honorification diagnostic, other diagnostics clearly cannot be controlled by either nominal when both are present. SOR in (5a, b) is one such example. So is complement PRO control, which is exclusively the prerogative of the GS.

the inner nominative.[4] Yoon argues that the distribution of subject properties among different nom-marked NPs in MNCs can be predicted from this perspective, given the different statuses of the inner and outer nominatives. In particular, SOR is a diagnostic that targets subjects in their role as Pivot, and it is not surprising that it should target the outer nominative in MNCs.

A corollary of the multiple subjects approach to MNCs is that the particle *ka/i* that surfaces on both the outer and inner subjects can be viewed as the marker of nominative case, and not discourse functions such as focus and/or topic.[5] While this is a welcome result, it does not address the question of what can constitute a well-formed inner clause/Sentential Predicate (SP) in felicitous MNCs, regarding which there has been a long-standing observation that in MNCs, the SP must be construable as denoting a relevant property of the referent of the MS/outer nominative, or that the SP be construable as being "about" the MS/outer nominative. As to how exactly this requirement is fleshed out, proposals run the gamut from the claim that the lexical predicate within the SP must be stative/individual-level predicates (Suh, 2003) to positions that hold that almost any SP that can be construed in a given context as describing a relevant property of the MS is allowed (Chae & Kim, 2008: Hong, 2014).[6] In between are proposals that claim that the property denoted by the SP should be construable as one that "characterizes" the referent of the MS in a particular

4) This conclusion remains valid even in approaches where the subject/external argument is assumed to be 'severed' (Kratzer, 1996) from the internal arguments in a decompositional-exoskeletal deconstruction of argument structure. While there may be two distinct semantic heads involved in licensing the two classes of argument roles, the heads merge into one in the derivation. In addition, other measures of what constitutes a complete, or closed, argument structure complex (such as the calculation of the domain of binding or locality domains such as phases) count the external argument and internal argument(s) as part of a single domain.

5) It is well-known that NPs marked with *-ka/i* can assume a variety of information-structural roles (Lee & Shimojo, 2016: Cho & Whitman, 2020). If *-ka/i* on the outer nominative/MS is nominative case, we expect it to be similarly flexible in terms of its construal.

6) Chae & Kim (2008) simply assume that the SP must be construable as [+property], leaving the exact content of how it comes to be construed as property-denoting open.

discourse context (Jang, 1998). This implies that SPs containing stative predicates or those construed as describing a resultant state are felicitous. Other approaches try to reduce the restrictions on the interpretive property of SP to the relationship between the MS and GS. Na & Huck (1983) invoke the idea of thematic subordination to model different types of semantic relationships between the MS and GS and use it to constrain well-formed SPs. Needless to say, this type of approach fails to generalize to A-MNCs, where there is no necessary relation between the MS and the GS, but the SP must still be construable as describing a relevant property of the MS.

Understandably, the exact interpretive properties of MNCs, except for the limited focus on the construal of the MS that undergirds the non-case analysis of *ka/i* on MS discussed earlier, are not major issues of concern to formal approaches and is a topic that a cognitive-functional perspective has much potential to shed light on.

An area of concern for formal analyses that cognitive-functional approaches do not have much to say about is the provenance of multiple identical case-marking. That is, assuming that *ka/i* on all the outer and inner nominatives are realizations of case, the question for formal approaches is how to model this, especially given the assumption that normal instances of case-licensing work in a one-to-one fashion, with a single nominal carrying case that is licensed (locally) by a unique case-governor. Proposals to account for the mechanisms that give rise to multiple instances of nominative case within formal approaches are diverse. At one extreme are proposals that assume that, despite appearance to the contrary, there is only one NP in MNCs that carries nominative case; all others carry homophonous particles that mark something other than case (Schütze, 2001). Another version of the unique case-marking approach assumes that while ka/i realizes nominative case in all NPs marked by it, only one instance, presumably the one assigned to the (unique) subject NP, is assigned case by the case-licensing head, while other NPs that carry the same particle arise through case agreement (Youn, 1990: Ryu, 2013). At the other end of the spectrum are proposals that assume that MNCs are characterized by the presence of multiple nom-marked NPs, because nominative is not an ‘assigned’ case, but one that is assigned as a last resort, or as a default case, to NPs that do not

receive case from case-assignment principles in the language (Kim, 1990). There is a related approach that holds that nominative in Korean is not a case that is assigned by a case-licensing head but is assigned based on the computation of structural relations in a certain local domain (Kang, 1985). This is similar to the Dependent Case view of Korean case assignment defended by later researchers (Levin, 2017: Lee, 2021). The Dependent Case system can be implemented by assuming that in MNCs there are multiple, layered, domains where nominative can be licensed.

With this background, we now turn to a critical appraisal of cognitive-functional research on MNCs.

3. Cognitive-functional approaches to MNCs

To the extent of our knowledge, not much work has been done on MNCs in linguistic research that is broadly within cognitive and/or functionally oriented, though the interest in MNCs and their ilk was sparked by the functionally oriented work of Li & Thompson (1976). Our goal in this section is to present analyses of MNCs in this tradition, with a view to assessing their answers to the questions identified as framing the debate about MNCs within formal approaches to MNCs.[7] Before engaging in this exercise, we must highlight some important distinctions that are sometimes glossed over regarding cognitive-functional approaches.

Cognitive approaches to language are often grouped together with functional approaches, sometimes under the rubric of cognitive-functional approaches. Both approaches view language as a complex system that involves cognitive, social, and communicative dimensions. They both emphasize the importance of language use in shaping linguistic structures and meanings. Both cognitive and functional approaches draw insights from multiple disciplines to explain language phenomena. However, it is crucial to understand that these two are distinct

7) That is, the following questions: [1] semantic/thematic licensing of non-selected NPs, [2] grammatical role of MS/GS, [3] typology of MNC, [4] case-marking, and [5] interpretive properties.

theoretical frameworks, each offering unique and significant perspectives on language and its usage. The cognitive approach focuses on elucidating the mental processes involved in language use, including how language is learned, processed, and represented in the mind. The functional approach focuses primarily on the communicative function of language, emphasizing how language functions in social contexts to achieve goals and maintain social relationships. Usage-based approaches are more functional than cognitive in this sense.[8)]

Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991, 2008, 2009) is an approach that is situated squarely within the cognitive tradition, where grammar is conceptualized and modeled in terms of assemblages of symbolic representations whose non-phonological primitives are semantic-conceptual, rather than formal-syntactic. Kumashiro & Langacker (2003) (K&L, hereafter) and Langacker (2004) dealt with Japanese MNCs (which they call double subject constructions) in CG. Based on K&L (2003), Park (2011, 2019) analyzes MNCs in Korean. This section introduces analyses of Korean MNCs from a Cognitive Grammar perspective based on said researchers' proposals.

3.1 Cognitive Grammar (CG) analyses of MNCs

3.1.1 Reference point subject

The gist of the aforementioned researchers' claims is that MNCs are a language-particular instantiation of the reference point phenomenon. A good analogy to describe the notion of reference point (RP) is that of bird watchers looking for falcons in a densely wooded area. One bird watcher spots a bird immediately and notifies his companion. Not seeing the bird right away, the companion would ask exactly where the bird is since the heavily wooded area provides many places for a falcon to perch. The first bird watcher would then provide some RP for the companion, perhaps with the aid of a preposition

8) This is not to deny that there are traditions that combine insights from both traditions. The term 'usage-based' was coined by Langacker (1987), and Langacker's CG falls within the category that combines insights from functional and cognitive traditions. Other works that can be categorized in this group include but are not limited to Bybee (2006, 2010), Goldberg (1995, 2006), and Croft (2001).

phrase: *The bird is near the big rock.* Although the example is an analogy, it would be fair to say that it explains this basic concept very clearly; an RP is a mental address that enables one entity to make mental contact with another, in this example, the companion with the falcon.[9)]

Conceptualized in this way, RP phenomena are pervasive in languages. In (6) below, the possessive, left-dislocated, topicalized nominals and the locative possessor exhibit RP properties with respect to the following nominal, predicate, or clause/comment.

(6) a. John's book
b. That movie, it's really starting to depress me.
c. That book, we never should have bought.
d. Na-eykey ttal-i iss-ta.
I-to daughter-NOM exist-DCL
'I have a daughter.'

Therefore, to call something an RP phenomenon is not saying much by itself because of the diverse ways in which the reference point-target relation can be encoded in the grammars of languages.

The specific claim that K&L and Langacker make about MNCs is that the construction instantiates something they call RP subject creation. Let us now compare the two sentences below to understand how it works: (7) is a regular clause where there is only one nominative-marked nominal, whereas (8) is an example of an MNC.

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9) In this example, *the bird and the big rock* are individually conceptually salient. In this situation, the speaker first directs the listener's attention to the *big rock* to locate *the bird*, which is mentally accessible in relation to the big rock. For this reason, *the big rock* (reference point) functions as a mental address for *the bird* (target). Often, one reference point affords potential access to many different targets. As a result, the number of targets for one reference point is not definite. Nonetheless, some targets are more easily accessible through a reference point than others. Consider *the car's headlight* vs. * *the headlight's car*. The second example is unacceptable because it is difficult to draw a mental path from *the headlight to car*.

(7) Mary-ka yeyppu-ta.
M-NOM pretty-DCL
'Mary is pretty.'

(8) Mary-ka nwun-i yeyppu-ta.
M-NOM eye-NOM pretty-DCL
'Mary's eyes are pretty/Mary has pretty eyes'

In (7), the nominal Mary combines with the predicate *yeyppu-ta* 'pretty' to form a clause. Here, Mary is the subject/trajector. In comparison with (7), (8) illustrates a different situation. The outer nominal in (8) serves as an RP with respect to *nwun* 'eye' as well as the inner clause— *nwun-i yeyppu*-ta 'eyes are pretty.' Importantly, the outer nominal is realized as a subject, which arises from a language-particular mechanism of Reference point subject creation.[10] And because the newly created nominal is a subject/trajector, it is marked as such (nominative) by the case-marking system of the language, resulting in an MNC.

A second part of K&L's analysis involves the claim that not all MNCs are created equal. A sentence with two nom-marked NPs instantiates either a Double Subject Construction (DSC) proper or a complex predicate construction. (9－10) are examples of DSCs, whereas (11-12) are complex predicate constructions. The intuitive difference between the two sub-types of MNCs involves the degree of conceptual autonomy of the second nom-marked NP and the predicate. If it is autonomous, then it is a double subject construction, while if it isn't, then it instantiates a complex predicate construction.

(9) Taroo-ga fuku-ga itsumo hade-da.
T-NOM clothes-NOM always gaudy-COP
'Taro always has gaudy clothes.'
(K&L, 2003, p. 26)

10) Reference point subject creation is defined as "the relation between two adjacent levels in a symbolic assembly, such that the higher level constitutes a profiled reference point relationship whose target is the process profiled at the lower level" (K&L, 2003, pp. 31－32).

(10) Taroo-ga sashimi-ga tabe-rare-ru.
T-NOM sashimi-NOM eat-POT-INF
'Taroo can eat sashimi.'
(K&L, 2003, p. 26)

(11) Taroo-ga hana-ga hikui.
T-NOM nose-NOM low
'Taro has a flat nose.'
(K&L, 2003, p. 2)

(12) Taroo-ga aisukurimu-ga suki-na (koto)
T-NOM ice.cream-NOM like-be (that)
'(that) Taroo likes ice cream'
(K&L, 2003, p. 28)

They argue that the perceived degree of conceptual autonomy of NP2 + predicate correlates with differences in the subjecthood of the two nom-marked nominals: in DSCs, NP2 retains typical properties of subjects, while in the complex predicate construction, NP1 controls these properties; in other words, there are two distinct subjects in the former, while in the latter, there is only one. They consider three tests attributed to subjects in Japanese: honorification, reflexive, and embedding. Regarding these three tests, double subject constructions exhibit the following properties. First, only NP1 controls subject honorification. Second, both NP1 and NP2 can control the subject-oriented reflexive *jibun.* Third, embedding is not freely permitted due to the construction's structural complexity; two layers of clausal organization are needed for double subject constructions in K&L's analysis.[11] Complex predicates contrast with double subject proper in all three properties. Only NP1 controls

11) The reason given for why DSC type MNCs resist embedding is odd, since embedding can be recursive. The idea seems to be that if a DSC is embedded, there are three levels of embedded clauses, while with complex predicate-type MNCs, there are only two levels of embedding so that the added complexity of another layer of embedding should lead to differences in acceptability.

subject honorification and *jibun*. Unlike the case of double subject constructions, embedding is permitted in complex predicate constructions.

In dividing MNCs into subtypes, K&L's approach is reminiscent of the proposals for Korean MNCs that differentiate subtypes of MNCs according to their structure and derivation. What is peculiar is that their typology does not align with what we have seen for Korean MNCs, where the major distinction was made between P-MNC and A-MNC. The DSC-complex predicate dichotomy does not align with this distinction. For example, (9) is an instance of P-MNC, while (10) is that of A-MNC. The two subtypes are grouped under one label in their typology. Interestingly, these researchers treat the Nominative Object Construction (NOC) shown in (12) as a DSC, though most researchers do not share this view.

3.1.2 Park (2019)

Park (2011, 2019) takes a position similar to K&L regarding MNCs in Korean, in viewing them as RP subject constructions. The main difference between his analysis and K&L's has to do with the distinction between DSCs and complex predicate type MNCs in Korean. Park argues that the evidence does not support positing the distinction for Korean MNCs. The simple reason is that the grammatical tests that K&L employed do not justify the dichotomy in Korean. Neither is the perceived conceptual autonomy of the inner nominal + predicate (inner clause) a reliable diagnostic in distinguishing the two types.

First, there are MNCs where either NP1 or NP2 can control honorification in Korean.[12] Second, the Korean reflexive caki can be bound either by NP1 or NP2 even in MNCs that K&L would analyze as complex predicate constructions for which they predict only NP1 should be the possible antecedent. Third, almost any MNC can be embedded. In addition, the inner clause in putative complex

12) Park's example where either NP (or both) appears to control SH is the following:
(i) Kim-sensayng.nim-i atu-nim-i ttokttokha-si-ta.
K-teacher.HON-NOM son-HON-NOM smart-HON-DCL
'Professor Kim's son is smart.'
Both NP1 and NP2 carry the honorific suffix -nim, which makes it difficult to determine which nominal controls *si*-marking on the predicate.

predicate MNCs can be easily coordinated with that of putative double subject MNCs (cf. Park, 2019, p. 52 for examples). This type of coordination is expected to be unacceptable in K&L's analysis since the predicates are of different types (clause vs. predicate) in the two MNCs. There is thus no basis for the structural differentiation between DSCs and complex predicate type MNCs.

What about the distinction between P-MNCs and A-MNCs? Park's position agrees with those of researchers such as Yoon (2009) and Chae & Kim (2008), who do not assume they differ in structure. However, we know that there are differences between the two, specifically with respect to the Sentential Predicate/inner clause. In the former, we typically find an interpretive relation (such as thematic subordination, à la Na & Huck, 1993) holding between the MS and GS, while in the latter, there is no relationship between the two. Nevertheless, in both cases, the SP must express a relevant property of the referent of the MS (cf. Section 2).

The similarities and differences between the two are accounted for by Park in the following manner. In both constructions, the MS/outer nominal serves as an RP subject with respect to the inner clause. The main difference between the two types is whether the GS/inner nominal invokes another reference point. In the P-MNC in (14a), *nwun* 'eye' intrinsically invokes an RP (the possessor of eyes) by virtue of its meaning as a conceptually dependent relational nominal. This is shown schematically in (14b). Since R is the reference point with respect to *nwun* 'eye' in (14b), its possessor reading is naturally expected. When the RP is realized within the NP, we have an internal possession structure in (13).

(13) Cheli-uy nwun-i ppalkah-ta.
C-GEN eye-NOM red-DCL
'Chelswu's eyes are red.'

However, the RP invoked by *nwun* 'eyes' need not be realized within the NP. This is the situation in MNCs (aka external possession construction), where a new reference point relationship is created at the clausal level, as schematically shown in (14c). MNCs arise when the RPs invoked by the

nominal as in (14b) and introduced at the clausal level via reference point subject creation are identified. Thus, in the MNC in (14a), the outer nominal/MS Chelswu serves as the profiled reference point relationship whose target is the process profiled at the lower level. At the same time, it also profiles the reference point for the inner nominal/GS *nwun*, because in P-MNCs the two reference points and the relationships are equated.

(14) a. Chelswu-ka nwun-i ppalkah-ta.
C-NOM eye-NOM red-DCL
'Chelswu's eyes are red.'
b. [R nwun-i] ppalkah-ta
c. R1 [[R2 nwun-i] ppalkah-ta] R1 = R2

In a sense, the analysis is similar to Possessor Raising (PR) analyses. However, the mechanism that equates the two RPs in MNCs is not syntax; it is, if anything, a conceptual version of PR. And because the relation is non-syntactic, it does not predict that known constraints on syntactic dependencies should characterize the relation between the understood possessor of the inner nominal/GS and the outer nominal/MS.

For A-MNCs like (15a), Park proposes the following: unlike in P-MNCs, the inner nominal does not invoke a reference point because the inner clause in (15b) is readily conceptualized without invoking the outer nominal. In other words, in this type of MNC, there is no interpretive relationship between the inner nominal/GS and the outer nominal/MS. However, just as in P-MNCs, a reference point relationship is invoked and profiled at the composite-structure level via reference point subject creation. Therefore, the outer nominal/MS must be construable as profiling the relevant reference point. In the case of (15b), the RP evoked at the clausal level is LOCATION. The inner clause/SP states that this location affords a good view of *Mount Selak.san*, which is relevant information that can be predicated of locations.

(15) a. I kos-i Selak.san-i cal poi-n-ta
This place-NOM Mt.Selak-NOM well be.seen-PRS-DCL

'This place has a good view of Mt. Selak.'
b. Selak.san-i cal poi-n-ta
c. R [Selak.san-i cal poi-n-ta]

In Park's analysis, while P-MNCs and A-MNCs do not differ in terms of the structure, they do so at the interpretive level. By contrast, K&L posit a dichotomy of double subject and complex predicate type MNCs, based on the perceived conceptual autonomy of the inner clause and grammatical tests for subjects.

K&L's analyses are problematic because deciding between the double subject and complex predicate parses of MNCs by appeal to conceptual autonomy is not reliable. For example, K&L treat (16a) as a double subject type MNC, whereas (16b) is treated as a complex predicate MNC, based on the conceptual autonomy of the inner clause in the double subject construal. To us, however, the inner clause of (16a) exhibits a low degree of conceptual autonomy; 'wife's being young' cannot be conceptualized without saliently invoking the husband, just as 'nose being flat' cannot be uttered without the possessor of the nose in mind.[13] Since the grammatical tests do not clearly differentiate the outer and inner nominals in the case of Korean MNCs, the distinction between DSC and complex predicate MNCs is hard to maintain.

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13) Conceptual autonomy of inner clauses/SP in MNCs seems to be a matter of degree and context-dependent. RP is strongly evoked when the inner nominal/GS is headed by an inherently relational nominal, such as body parts or kinship terms. This explains why most P-MNCs have inner nominals headed by relational nouns. In other cases, only the discourse context may facilitate the construal of an inner clause as lacking autonomy and hence be construed as predicating a property. Consider the following:

(ii) ku-ka tani-nun hoysa-ka kos mangha-l kes-i-ta.
that.person-NOM go-ADN company-NOM soon go.bust-ADN KES-COP-DCL
'The company at which he is employed will go bust soon.'
The sentence is not felt to be incomplete when we know the referent of the pronoun within the subject. However, it can function as the inner clause in an MNC.

(iii) Cheli-ka ku-ka tani-nun hoysa-ka kos mangha-l kes-i-ta.
C-NOM that.person-NOM go-ADN company-NOM soon go.bust-ADN KES-COP-DCL
'Chelswu's company, where he is employed, will go bust soon.'

We hypothesize that even in (iii), the RP evoked by the inner nominal/GS is equated with that introduced at the clausal level.

(16) a. Yamada-sensei-ga okusan-ga o-wakai.
Y-teacher-NOM wife-NOM HON-young
'Professor Yamada has a young wife.'
(K&L, 2003, p. 27)
b. Taroo-ga hana-ga hikui.
T-NOM nose-NOM low
'Taro has a flat nose.'
(K&L, 2003, p. 2)

Things are different in the case of A-MNCs, where the inner clause is felt to have a sense of conceptual autonomy.[14] The examples in (17) illustrate A-MNCs. The inner clauses in (17a) and (17b) seem conceptually autonomous when compared to the examples in (16); we can note the frequent falling of rain without paying attention to the month, and we can see lots of trucks going by without saliently invoking the highway. This is because A-MNCs do not involve the RPs at the clausal level being equated with that invoked by the inner nominal/GS.

(17) a. yuwel-i pi-ka cacwu o-n-ta.
June-NOM rain-NOM frequently come-PRS-DCL
'It rains a lot in June.'
b. I kosoktolo-ka thulek-i manhi tani-n-ta.
this highway-NOM truck-NOM a.lot.of drive-PRS-DCL
'Lots of trucks drive on this highway.'

Since A-MNCs do not involve the equating of reference points, there is no relationship between the outer nominal/MS and the inner nominal/GS. The fact that the outer nominal/MS cannot be expressed as a possessor of the inner nominal/GS, as indicated in (18), naturally follows.

14) The reason is that in the inner clause/SP in P-MNCs an argument role of the relational noun that heads GS is unsaturated, while in A-MNCs, the obligatory arguments of the inner clause/SP are fully saturated within it.

(18) a. *yuwel-uy pi-ka cacwu o-n-ta.
June-GEN rain-NOM frequently come-PRS-DCL
Intended: 'It rains a lot in June.'
b. *i kosoktolo-uy thulek-i manhi tani-n-ta.
this highway-GEN truck-NOM a.lot.of drive-PRS-DCL
Intended: 'Lots of trucks drive on this highway.'

Nevertheless, the inner clause/SP of A-MNCs is interpretively constrained, as we will see in detail in the next section. Not just any clause can function felicitously as the SP of A-MNCs. The question is why this is so, and how this is modeled in the CG account of Park (2019).

The answer comes from the fact that the clausal subject is a reference point subject whose target is the process profiled by the entire inner clause/SP. For example, *yuwel* 'June' in (17a), functions as the reference point with respect to the target clause *pi-ka cacwu o-n-ta.* The reference point affords potential access to many different targets in its domain (called dominion in CG). In the case of (17a), the domain comprises a set of targets that can be readily associated with *yuwel* 'June.' The conceptualizer then mentally zooms in on one particular target in the domain that can characterize *yuwel* 'June.' Park calls this domain highlighting, following Croft (1993).

Specifically, in (17a), the MS/RP subject *yuwel* 'June' evokes multiple targets in its domain such as time, season, weather, etc. The inner clause/SP must state something that is relevant to one of the evoked targets. The SP, pi-ka cacwu o-n-ta, 'it rains a lot', highlights the domain of weather and states that in this domain, *yuwel* is characterized by the proposition that it rains a lot. This is relevant information and the resulting MNC is judged acceptable.

Conceptualized in this way, the reason that the A-MNC in (19) is odd becomes easy to understand.

(19) ?? yuwel-i Cheli-ka cip-ey o-n-ta.
June-NOM C-NOM home-to come-PRS-DCL
Intended: 'Cheli comes home in June.'

For the MNC to be felicitous, the inner clause/SP must state something relevant to one of the targets in the domain evoked by the MS/RP subject *yuwel*. The proposition that 'Cheli is coming home' highlights the domain of time, but its content can hardly be construed as characteristic/relevant in general to how we think of months of the year. A particular individual coming home is not a general property of the month of June.

However, things change when we have an indication that the proposition is important/relevant. This can happen when the MS *yuwel* is interpreted with narrow focus, which makes the inner clause/SP the relevant presupposition in that discourse context. Thus, (20) can become acceptable in the following context.

(20) Q: Encey Cheli-ka cip-ey o-ni? Phalwel? Animyen yuwel?
when C-NOM home-to come-Q August or June
'When does Cheli come home? June or August?
A: (phalwel-i anila) yuwel-i Cheli-ka cip-ey o-n-tay.
August-NOM not June-NOM C-NOM home-to come-PRS-QS
'(Not in August) (I heard that) it is June when Cheli comes home.

Similarly, the improved acceptability of (21) is also predicted. Notice that the narrow focus construal of *yuwel* 'June' is not required in (21) below.

(21) yuwel-i taypwupwun-uy hakkyo-ka panghak-ul ha-n-ta.
June-NOM most-GEN school-NOM break-ACC do-PRS-DCL
'Most schools start summer break in June.'

A relevant proposition in the domain of time with respect to calendar months could be information about significant events such as the beginning and end of the school year, and this explains the felicity of (21).

4. Other cognitive-functional approaches

Park (2011, 2019) is the most detailed cognitive treatment of the MNC we are aware of, but there are other works that approach aspects of MNCs from a relatively cognitive-functional perspective. In the remaining subsections, we evaluate three proposals that draw on insights from functional approaches.

4.1 A functional syntax approach (Jang, 1998)

The work does not offer a comprehensive analysis of MNCs but focuses on what Jang (1998) takes to be the interpretive conditions of felicitous SPs in MNCs. Since he does not deal with the syntactic aspects of MNCs other than a brief remark that what we call the MS may not be a subject, we are not certain of the extent to which the work can be considered functionalist. The overall perspective seems similar to that adopted in Kuno's works (Kuno, 1987, etc.). The focus of Kuno's research is not to frame linguistic generalizations in functional-communicative terms but to identify non-structural and functional factors that constrain grammatical rules and generalizations framed in generative grammar. Jang (1998) is to be understood in this light.

In any case, Jang's main argument is that MNCs are possible only when the first NP in the MNC is understood as being "characterized" by the remaining clause. Characterization can be equated to other factors, though broadly Jang seems to have in mind something like individual-level or property predication.

With this in mind, let us consider Jang's examples. According to Jang, (22) is a felicitous MNC because someone's mother having passed away is an important societal milestone that could be used to characterize individuals. It is a state that is not transient, given the irreversible nature of death.

(22) Chelswu-ka emeni-ka tolaka-si-ess-ta.
C-NOM mother-NOM pass.away-HON-PST-DCL
'Chelswu's mother passed away.'
(Jang, 1998, p. 102)

Jang judges the MNC in (23) as less than felicitous because the particular incident of *Chelswu's* brother crying may not be significant enough to characterize *Chelswu.* In addition, the event is certainly transient since the crying will likely stop, which makes using the state that results from his brother's crying not particularly useful in characterizing *Chelswu.*

(23) *Chelswu-ka tongsayng-i wul-ko iss-ta.
C-NOM brother/sister-NOM cry-COMP exist-DCL
'Chelswu's sister is crying.'
(Jang, 1998, p. 104).

In a nutshell, Jang argues that property/state-denoting predicates are optimal in the MNC because those predicates can be construed easily as characterizing the first NP. Jang notes that the topic marker, *-(n)un,* increases the characterizational ability of predicates. Substituting *-ka* with nun for MNCs that fail the characterization requirement is said to improve it, as shown in (24). The judgments reported are Jang's.

(24) a. *Chelswu-ka oyn pal-i nelp-ta.
C-NOM left foot-NOM wide-DCL
'Chelwu has a wide left foot.'
(Jang, 1998, p. 111)
b. Chelswu-nun oyn pal-i nelp-ta.
C-TOP left foot-NOM wide-DCL
'As for Chelswu, he has a wide left foot.'
(Jang, 1998, p. 111)

We argue below that Jang's (1998) view of what constitutes a "characterizing" property in MNCs is overly restrictive. While an example of an MNC given out of the blue, or one where the MS receives a topic-like interpretation, prefers the SP to be construable as property-denoting, this is not the case for all MNCs. In particular, SPs that do not denote stable properties are fine when the MS is construed as receiving narrow focus. In other words,

the interplay of the interpretation of the MS and what counts as characteristic/characterizing for the SP is not noted at all by Jang.

Let us revisit (23) with a specific discourse context. In the answer (25A) to the question posed in (25Q), the first NP has a focal interpretation. Although 'sister's crying' is not an inherent/characteristic property of Chelswu, the property can be ascribed to the MS *Chelswu* in certain MNCs, such as the discourse context described below.

(25) Q. [Situation: There are children in the afterschool program called Girls Club. Today is the day the children's siblings come and play with their sisters. After confirming every child's sibling has arrived, the director notices one child crying. Then, she's asking this question]: Whose sister is crying?

A. Chelswu-ka tongsayng-i wul-ko iss-e.
C-NOM sister/brother-NOM cry-COMP exist-DCL
'It is Chelswu whose sister is crying.'

The lack of consideration of discourse context is a pervasive problem for Jang's paper. For example, we do not agree with the contrast in (24). Both statements require appropriate context, one where the width of one's left foot is at issue. Topic-marking in (24b) just facilitates the conjuring up of such contexts, but there is no material difference between the two, as far as we are concerned. This is so especially since it is by now well-known that *-ka*-marked nominals can be construed as topics in Korean (Lee & Shimojo, 2016: Park & Yeon, 2023, etc.).

4.2 A discourse structure-based approach (Hong, 2014)

Hong (2014) falls within the functionalist approach category. While not discounting the role of argument structure, syntax, semantics, and information structure in the analysis of MNCs, Hong claims that focusing just on these levels of analyses misses an overarching organizational principle behind MNCs and other multiple case constructions such as Multiple Accusative Constructions (MACs). Specifically, she points out the limited utility of focusing on the

fine-grained semantic relations between MS and GS (such as that pursued in Ryu, 2013) and points out, correctly, that the MS cannot be identified as topic or focus in information-structural terms. She also argues against analyses that posit multiple subject-predicate partitions in MNCs, given the unreliability of subject diagnostics in Korean and because different nominals in MNCs control typical subject properties. Finally, she claims that focusing on the subject-predicate partitioning of MNCs fails to highlight the affinity of MNCs and MACs because the latter clearly does not implicate subject-predicate partitions but shares similarities at the Discourse Structure level.

Hong argues that MNCs should be explained in terms of how speakers package and arrange the information they intend to convey within a sentence. After emphasizing the communicative motivation for MNCs, she proposes an analysis of MNCs in terms of a layer of organization she calls Discourse Structure (DS). She takes this structure to consist of iterative partitions of utterances into Discourse Themes and Discourse Rhemes, an organization that she takes to be rooted in characteristic features of Korean as a discourse-oriented language with SOV order (Hong, 2014, p. 686).

Since Hong borrows her notion of Discourse Structure from Halliday (1985/1994), we will briefly introduce Halliday's Thematic Structure. Halliday's Thematic Structure revolves around the organization of language based on how participants and circumstances are highlighted within a clause. It focuses on identifying the thematic elements of a sentence, namely the Theme and the Rheme. The Theme, which is typically the initial part of the clause, introduces what the sentence is about, while the Rheme provides further information or comments on the Theme. This thematic organization helps understand how information is structured and communicated in discourse, emphasizing the functional roles of elements within a clause to effectively convey meaning. Theme-Rheme dichotomy is similar to other distinctions, such as Topic-Comment (or Focus-Ground/Presupposition).

That being said, Hong's Discourse Theme (DT) and Discourse Rheme (DR) differ from Halliday's Theme and Rheme in three ways. First, Halliday's Theme includes all elements appearing before the predicate. Second, Halliday equates (Topical) Theme with topic. Third, the Theme-Rheme division occurs only once

in a sentence in Halliday's analyses. Hong's DT analysis for Korean differs from Halliday's Theme in that DT consists of only one constituent. Hong also assumes that Theme and topic are distinct notions. Unlike topic, DT does not have to be old information or something presupposed. As shown in (26a), MS (DT for Hong) can be an indefinite NP. An interrogative MNC, such as (26b), is also acceptable, where the wh-expression serves as the starting point of the message without being a topic of the sentence.

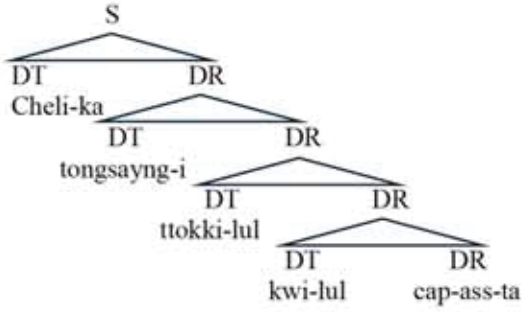
(26) a. Weyn yeca-ka son-i kuli khu-nya?
what woman-NOM hand-NOM that.much big-Q
'What kind of woman has such a big hand!'
(Hong, 2014, p. 692)
b. Nwu-ka son-i khu-nya? who-NOM hand-NOM big-Q
'Whose hand is big?'

So what explains the differences between how DS is organized in different languages? Hong seems to be assuming that the differences in how DT is realized reflect the heavily discourse-oriented nature of Korean, as well as its head-finality, though these are at best suggestions, from what we can tell.

Let us consider (27), a simplified example from Hong that illustrates how she analyzes information packaging using DS.

(27) Cheli-ka tongsayng-i ttokki-lul kwi-lul cap-ass-ta
C-nom brother-nom rabbit-acc ears-acc catch-pst-decl
'Cheli's brother caught the rabbit by the ears.'
(Simplified from Hong, 2014, p. 687)

The DT parse of an MNC (which also has MAC in the predicate portion) is shown in Figure 1 for the sentence in (27).



[Figure 1] The Discourse Structure for (27)

In this situation, the speaker starts the discourse/message with *Cheli-ka,* and the hearer expects relevant information about *Cheli* to follow. This is because the interlocutors share the assumption that the purpose of the discourse is to say something about *Cheli.* As for the requirement that the constituent we are calling SP (and which Hong calls DR, when it is a part of MNC) must state something "about" the MS (DT for Hong), she seems to be in agreement with our view that the "aboutness" condition (equivalently, the relevant property predication condition) cannot be reduced to the requirement that the MS be construed information-structurally as referentially and/or relationally given. In the discourse provided in (28), the old/presupposed information is in the predicate/SP, and the MS is relationally new (i.e., focus).

(28) A: (na cikum kulim-ul kuli-nuntey son-i khu-n
I now picture-ACC draw-CONN hand-NOM big-ADN
moteyl-i philyohay).
model-NOM need.END
'I am drawing a picture right now, and I need someone with big hands.'
Nwu-ka son-i kh(u)-e?
who-NOM hand-NOM big-Q
'Who's got big hands?'

B: Cheli-ka son-i khu-ci!
C-NOM hand-NOM big-EXCL
'Cheli does!'
(Hong, 2014, p. 693)

Similarly, her argument about the relevance/aboutness condition is that it too is context-dependent, a position that we agree with.

To illustrate the context-dependent nature of what counts as a felicitous SP/DR in an MNC, she gives the following examples, where the GS within the SP/DR contains a relational nominal son 'hand'. In many analyses of MNCs, the MS/DT must denote the inalienable possessor of the hand, as in (29a). Hong points out, however, that the inalienable interpretation is not necessary, as shown in (29b－c), where the hand cannot be *Cheli's* own (Hong, 2014, p. 693).[15)]

(29) a. Cheli-ka son-i khu-ta.
C-NOM hand-NOM big-DCL
'Cheli's hand is big.'
b. Cheli-ka (pwulhaynghakey) (wuli) son-i an-tah-nun-ta.
C-NOM unfortunately we hand-NOM NEG-reach-PRS-DCL
'(Unfortunately) (our) hands couldn't reach Cheli.'

15) The parse of (29b), where we added items that were not originally in Hong's paper to make them natural, involves the MS Cheli-ka binding the (dative-marked) null complement of the predicate an-tah-ta 'not.reach,' as in (iv).
(iv) Cheli-kai (pwulhaynghakey) [(wuli) son-i ei an-tah-nun-ta]
C-NOM unfortunately (our) hands-NOM neg-reach-PRS-DCL
'(Unfortunately) (our) hands couldn't reach Cheli.'
(29c) also has an interesting structure, where the SP/inner clause appears to be an inverse copula construction, to which the MS is connected by coindexation with the possessor. Schematically, the parse is illustrated in (v).
(v) Cheli-kai [son-i (ku-uyi) cenmwun-i-ta]
C-NOM hands-NOM (he-GEM) specialty-COP-DCL
'Cheli specializes in hands (i.e., he is a hand surgeon/specialist).'
As MNCs, these are atypical as they involve the linking/binding between the MS and a position other than the possessor of the GS. Yoon (2007) argues that while rare, such MNCs are attested.

c. Cheli-ka son-i (ku-uy) cenmwun-i-ta.
C-NOM hand-NOM he-GEN specialty-COP-DCL
'Cheli specializes in hands (i.e., he is a hand surgeon/specialist).'

The context relevance of what counts as (what Yoon calls) "newsworthy" MS (or DT) (and a relevant SP, or relevant DR) is also shown by (30), where the body part nominal and not the human possessor is chosen as DT (Hong, 2014, p. 694).

(30) a. Son-i Chelswu-ka khu-ta.
hand-NOM C-NOM big-DCL
'As for hands, Cheli has a big one.'
b. (Wuli) son-i (pwulhayngkakey) Chelswu-ka an-tah-nun-ta.
we hand-NOM unfortunately C-NOM NEG-reach
'As for (our) hands, (unfortunately) (they) couldn't reach Cheli.'
c. Son-i Chelswu-ka (ku-uy) cenmwun-i-ta.
hand-NOM C-NOM he-GEN specialty-COP-DCL
'Speaking of hand specialists, Cheli's is one.'

Yoon (2015) points out the difficulties such examples raise for syntactic analyses of MNCs invoking PR.

Evaluating Hong's proposal is somewhat difficult because, at one level, she is proposing a highly modular analysis of MNCs where the full repertoire of grammatical resources is involved in accounting for various aspects of MNCs. Her view is that we need argument structure to model the fact that the MS is not an argument of the basic predicate and syntactic mechanisms of case-marking to account for the multiple appearances of nominative in MNCs (and accusative in MACs). She also assumes that the information-structural status of nominals/MS in MNCs is determined by the information packaging of the MNC in a discourse context. Many of her observations about the MS/DT and SP/DR are points that we agree with. So, the question is what we gain by imposing a layer of DS parse on MNCs that is orthogonal to all other modular dimensions of analyses.

Aside from specific points made about different aspects of MNCs, we find surprisingly little engagement of the rationale for the DS overlay on MNCs. The closest argument for DS that Hong provides is that the iterative DT-DR partition is something that represents the discourse-oriented nature of Korean well and is also natural given its SOV, or strict head-final, syntax. However, the causal or correlational connections between the pieces of the argument are left largely implicit, making it difficult to evaluate this line of possible argument for the particular DS structuring of Korean sentences. What is particularly concerning is the overlap between her DS and information structure: why do we need both?

Leaving this aside for now, the major point of disagreement between Hong and proponents of the multiple-subjects-layered-predicates analysis of MNCs seems to hang on her criticism of the sentential predication analysis and the related idea that both the outer and inner nominals are subjects in MNCs. Hong criticizes this view based on what she takes to be the definition of subjecthood in Universal Grammar (UG). According to her, the notion of subjects and predicates are categories that make sense for "grammar-oriented" languages like English, where there is a unique subject-like NP paired with a unique predicate. If one adopts this view, there can only be one subject in MNCs, though it is hard to find proponents of UG who hold this simplistic view.

As discussed earlier, the current consensus on subjects and subjecthood is that the properties that are typically associated with subjects are distributed positionally and derivationally in different constructions and languages. Unified accounts of split subject behavior in typologically different languages (ergative-absolutive vs. nominative-accusative) abound. Since Keenan (1976), it has been recognized that grammatical subjects in languages like English conflate roles that can be controlled by distinct nominals in some languages. Hong does not countenance this possibility. Instead, she assumes that typical subject properties—formal marking properties like nominative case and controlling subject-verb agreement, functional properties like being the subject of a semantic predicate, and distributional properties like being able to function as a pivot-should converge on a single nominal. However, since they are distributed among different NPs in MNCs, she questions whether the notion of subject is useful for Korean and proposes instead to capture the common properties of the

multiple nom-marked NPs through her DS proposal.

Let us illustrate Hong's position with the examples in (31). She claims that both *Chelswu* and *halapeci* 'grandfather' should be the subjects when viewed from the functional dimension because they are the notional subjects of their respective predicates in (31a). However, Hong says only *halapeci* behaves like a subject when it comes to controlling honorific agreement. In (31b), only *Chelswu* can undergo SOR, which is another common diagnostic used to identify subjects cross-linguistically. In other words, *Chelswu* and *halapeci* exhibit only partial subject properties. Therefore, they cannot both be subjects. From this, she argues that notions like subjects, etc., may not be helpful in the analysis of languages like Korean.

(31) a. Chelswu-ka halapeci-ka sensayngnim-i-si-ess-ta.
C-NOM grandfather-NOM teacher-COP-HON-PST-DCL
'Chelswu's grandfather was a teacher.'
(Hong 2014: 685)

b. Na-nun Chelswu-lul [halapeci-ka sensayngnim-i-si-ess-ta-ko]
I-TOP C-ACC grandfather-NOM teacher-COP-HON-PST-DCL-COMP
kiek-ha-n-ta.
remember-do-PRS-DCL
'I remember that Chelswu's grandfather was a teacher.'
(Hong, 2014, p. 685)

We do not believe this is a valid criticism of the multiple subject approach to MNCs, given that there are proposals that take both the MS and GS to be subjects but also explain the differences with respect to which typical subject properties are controlled by which subject in MNCs (Yoon 2004, 2007, 2009).[16)]

16) Another criticism against the clausal predicate approach that Hong makes is that it cannot generalize to MACs. It is unclear why this is a legitimate criticism. The set of properties that must obtain between outer and inner NPs marked accusative, which we can call Major versus Grammatical Objects, are quite different from those that hold between MS and GS, as is well-known. That is, viewing the 'major object' in MACs and the MS in MNCs as DTs is insufficient to explain the differences between the two multiple case-marking constructions.

Hong points to the fact that different nom-marked NPs in MNCs can split common subject properties to argue against the utility of the concept of subject, and presumably grammatical relations in general, in Korean and as a motivation of her DS analysis where what is shared by the nom-marked nominals in MNCs is their status as Discourse Theme (DT). However, since DT status is conferred not only on the multiple nom-marked NPs in MNCs, but also acc-marked NPs in MACs, because being a DT is orthogonal to case-marking, calling the nom-marked NPs Discourse Themes cannot suffice to account for their properties. For example, why does the highest/first nom-marked NP/DT undergo SOR while subject honorification is controlled by some other nom-marked NP/DT? The ability to undergo SOR is surely not a general property of constituents functioning as DTs cross-linguistically; it is a property that is reserved for nominals that have the status of subjects in some sense, as argued by Yoon (2007), who showed that the non-subject constituents of the embedded clause that can be targeted by SOR in Korean are necessarily Major Subjects, and MS undergoes SOR qua a Pivot subject, as is the case cross-linguistically.

In Hong's view, the interpretive constraint on MS-SP partition of MNCs at the level of DS, where it is partitioned into DT-DR, is relevance/aboutness.[17] To her credit, she shows that speaker's judgment that the SP/inner clause predicates something relevant to/about the referent of the MS is highly context-dependent and cannot be reduced to specific interpretive relations between the MS and GS (as per Ryu, 2013: Na & Huck, 1993, etc.) or the requirement that the lexical predicate of the inner clause be stative/individual-level (contra Jang, 1998: pro Chae & Kim, 2008: Yoon, 2007: Park, 2011, 2019, etc.). However, Hong does not provide an account of how context-dependent relevance/aboutness is computed by language users. There is no denying that DR must be relevant to DT to make an utterance felicitous. For example, the inner clause in (31a) is understood as saying something relevant to *halapeci* 'grandfather.'

But how this relevance is computed needs to be clarified. As discussed in Section 3.1.2, one way to flesh out the relevance condition is to make use of

17) We do not believe she uses the term *relevance* in the technical sense of Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995: Clark, 2013) but informally and synonymously with "aboutness."

Croft's (1993) domain highlighting. Induced by the inner clause, the component domain, i.e., MONEY/FINANCE, is highlighted in the domain matrix of *halapeci*. Through this domain-highlighting mechanism, the statement in DR becomes relevant to DT.

Overall, while there are aspects of Hong's work that we are in agreement with, especially the expanded generalizations about possible MNCs that are problematic for formal approaches, her major goal of motivating the need for a layering of DS consisting of iterative partitions of DT-DR as the discourse scaffolding of Korean utterances is underdeveloped at best. Nor does she make a successful connection between the discourse scaffolding and other salient aspects of Korean, such as its heightened discourse-orientation and strict head-final order.

4.3 A Radical Construction Grammar approach (I. Kim, 2023)

The aim of I. Kim's (2023) proposal is two-fold. First, he criticizes previous functional-typological studies that analyze Korean MNCs as topic-comment sentences. Second, he proposes a clausal predicate analysis, where the outer NP/MS is a subject, and implements his analysis in Croft's (2001) Radical Construction Grammar (RCG).

Since RCG is a relatively less-known framework, we would like to provide a quick summary. The term "radical" in RCG signifies a departure from generative approaches to syntax, emphasizing the role of constructions at all levels of linguistic analysis, including morphosyntax, syntax, and semantics. Perhaps a more unique property of RCG is its typological foundation. RCG integrates insights from typology into its constructional analyses. By examining a broad range of related constructions across languages, RCG seeks to identify universal principles underlying the diversity of constructions found in human languages. I. Kim's multi-layered analysis of the MNC given in (32) is illustrated in Table 1 below.

(32) ku nala-ka umsik-i pissa-ta.
that country-NOM food-NOM expensive-DCL
'The food in the country is expensive.'
(I. Kim, 2023, p. 524)

[Table 1] RCC analysis of (27) (I. Kim, 2023, p. 525)

Sentence	*ku nala-ka*	*umsik-i*	*pissa-ta*
Construction	Korean Predicate Clause Construction		
Roles	ClPredSubj	IntrSubj	IntrPred
		IntrCl	
semantic category	object	object	property
		situation	
information packaging	reference	reference	predication
		predication	
construction	predicate clause (situation predication)		
strategy	zero coded strategy		

Constructions in RCG are form-function pairings, with function further divided into information packaging and semantic content/category. The constructional parse of MNC has information about the grammatical roles (third line) that compose the construction (second line). The form (first line) as well as the particular grammatical aspects and component roles in the construction (second and third lines) are language-specific. The functional parse of the construction part (fourth and fifth lines) shows the semantic and information-structural roles of the components of the construction in crosslinguistic functional terms. The typological functional grounding of the particular construction (Korean Predicate Clause Construction, hereafter KPCC) is described in the last two lines. The last line says that the KPCC uses a zero-coding strategy, that is, it juxtaposes the clausal subject and the predicate directly without the use of a construction-specific marker.[18] The line immediately above it says that the KPCC is a predicate clause (situation predication) construction, which may be found in other languages with constructions specific to them.

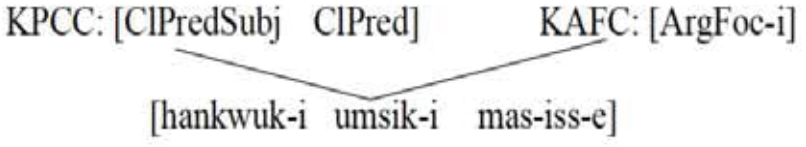
As in other construction-based approaches, RCG assumes a hierarchy of constructions, and individual constructions may inherit properties from superordinate constructions in the hierarchy. Multiple inheritance is seen below.

18) *-ka* is not a dedicated marker of the construction since it is a general case-marker for subjects.

The MNC in (33b) answers (33a). As an answer to (33a), the subject of the clausal predicate in (33b)—*Hankwuk* 'Korea'—is required to be an argument focus.

(33) a. Enu nala-ka umsik-i masiss-ni?
which country-NOM food-NOM delicious-Q
'Which country's food is delicious?'
b. Hankwuk-i umsik-i masiss-e.
Korea-NOM food-NOM delicious-End
'The food in Korea is delicious.'
(I. Kim, 2023, p. 530)

This requirement is satisfied by the multiple inheritance system that consists of two constructions: KPCC and Korean Argument Focus Construction (KAFC). These two constructions are represented in Figure 2, where KPCC depicts the construction with the clausal predicate and its subject, and KAFC illustrates the construction that contains one nominative-marked focus.



[Figure 2] Multiple parents for (33b) (I. Kim 2023: 531)

By inheriting from two parents, a specific type of information structure arises for (33b), where the first nominal receives focus interpretation with the nominative marking, without a dedicated focus-marker (such as *man*).

In terms of the analysis of the details of MNCs, the proposal is less specific than many formal analyses (such as Chae & Kim, 2008: KSY, 2007) or the CG analysis of Park (2011, 2019), except for the additional information showing how the KPCC is situated within the broader cross-linguistic inventory of related constructions.

The main aims of I. Kim (2023) are to argue against a topic-comment analysis of Korean MNCs and to defend the clausal predicate-subject analysis of KPCC/MNCs. His core argument in this regard is that in most functional and descriptive research that takes the outer nominative/MS as a topic, the term is used in an intuitive and imprecise sense. He then goes on to develop a definition of topics as relationally or referentially given and proceeds to show that the outer nominal/MS in MNCs need not have these properties because MNCs allow a variety of information packaging.

This is a useful exercise and the interpretive flexibility of the outer nominal/MS in MNCs is something that we agree with, as do scholars such as Hong (2014). However, there are claims made in I. Kim's paper, which, though not central to the argument he is making, are problematic. First, his evaluation of previous functionally oriented work on MNCs is misguided and selective. In particular, although he mentions Park & Yeon (2023) as endorsing a topic-comment analysis of MNCs, the assessment is incorrect. Park & Yeon (2023) observe that the first nominal in (34) has a topic construal in root contexts because it is construed as given referentially and relationally.

(34) Cheli-ka apeci-ka pwucaya.
C-NOM father-NOM rich
'Cheli, (his) father is rich.'
(Park & Yeon, 2023, p. 20)

But their point was that this is due to the lack of contextualizing context for examples such as (34) and is not a claim that (34) is always a topic-comment construction. As we have seen, with the right context, the outer nominal can introduce novel referents or have focal interpretation. I. Kim further criticizes that Park & Yeon (2023) use the notions of referential and relational givenness without justification. However, Park & Yeon (2023, pp. 21) clearly state that a topic must be referentially and relationally given. They also provide clear definitions of referential and relational givenness. In fact, I. Kim (2023, pp. 512−513) uses an almost identical definition of relational givenness as Park & Yeon (2023).

It is also unfortunate that he states that almost all extant research analyzes MNCs as a topic-comment structure, where the first NP is a topic. According to I. Kim (2023), only a few scholars such as Rhee (1999) and Chae & Kim (2008) have recognized the interpretive flexibility of the MS nominal. He (I. Kim, 2023, p. 515) further claims that *Kwukehak* scholars have the same "problem" in that they analyze MNCs as a topic-comment structure without defining the topic in precise terms. This is an erroneous assessment. Some *Kwukehak* scholars made elaborate observations on MNCs and concluded that the topic-comment split does not always work in accounting for them. Y. Choi (2016) and her work on information structure (Y. Choi 2018, 2019, 2020, 2022, among others) are good examples. In addition, besides his earlier work with H.-R. Chae, there are many examples of formal analyses that view the outer nominal/MS as a subject, which is flexibly interpreted in information structural terms depending on the discourse context (Yoon, 2004, 2007, 2009).

In addition to the misrepresentation of previous research, I. Kim (2023) lacks an explanation of the relationship between a topic-comment interpretation and the notion of a subject of the clausal-predicate. He (I. Kim, 2023, p. 532) states that "[g]iven the problems of the topic-comment analysis of the KPCC, this paper proposed that the KPCC should be analyzed as a predicate clause construction […]" It seems to us that I. Kim assumes that the non-topic-comment properties of MNCs naturally lead to (or support) the clause predicate analysis. However, they are orthogonal concepts; these two have no causal relation. The subjecthood of MS needs to be argued for, not assumed.

5. Summary and conclusion

In the Introduction, we raised three questions, which are summarized in (35).

(35) a. How many types of MNCs exist, and what criteria define these types?
b. Do they function as subjects or fulfill other roles? If they are subjects, why is there variation among them?

c. What is the relationship between Major Subject (MS) and Grammatical Subject (GS), and what are the defining characteristics of Sentential Predicates (SP) and Major Subjects (MS)?

We attempted to answer the questions through critical reviews of extant research from functionalist viewpoints. Regarding the typology of MNCs addressed in (35a), our conclusion is that we need not catalog different types of MNCs structurally. While P-MNCs and A-MNCs do not differ in terms of structure, they do so at the interpretive level. The crucial difference comes from whether there is a direct conceptual relation between MS and GS. As for (35b), our position is that both MS and GS are subjects, though their grammatical statuses are not identical. MS is the subject in relation to the SP/inner clause, but GS is the subject of a VP predicate (Yoon 2007, 2009, 2015). This position is aligned with the functionalist analysis proposed by Park (2019), where MS is tantamount to the reference point subject with respect to the inner clause, and GS serves as an inherent reference point in relation to the VP predicate. This difference predicts different types of behaviors of MS and GS both at syntactic and conceptual (interpretive) levels. To answer (35c), we identified two types of MNCs on the conceptual plane. In the first type (P-MNC), MS and GS exhibit a possession-like relationship, resulting from a PR-like mechanism operating at a conceptual level. We don't need this mechanism for the second type (A-MNC).

What is the defining characteristic of MS, then? In a nutshell, something chosen as an MS must be "newsworthy." This characteristic is symptomatic of MS's role as a reference point subject. As a mental address to a target concept, the MS qualifies as the prime candidate to be "talked about" in a discourse. Note that GS does not need this property; it can even be an expletive. To identify the defining characteristics of SP, we need to consider the interplay between MS's interpretive properties and SP's felicity. If the MS is construed as a topic, or if the MNC is uttered in a neutral context, where the MS is neither topical nor receives narrow focus, the SP should be construable as predicating a property of the referent of the MS that could be thought of as characteristic of the MS. However, when the MS is construed with narrow focus, the range of acceptable SPs in MNCs is widened. Any SP that can be construed as denoting

a relevant property in that context can become acceptable.

When we work in our favored silos, we tend to miss convergences among ideas. Similarly, when ideas are expressed in a theoretical idiom that has limited local, or at best, regional, currency, it may become difficult to assess the core insights underlying them and to convey the insights to those conversant in a different theoretical language. Working within a particular framework of ideas, practitioners are often beholden to guiding assumptions that may need to be critically re-evaluated but are taken to be the sacred cows that need to be revered at all costs. Examining atypical phenomena, such as, MNCs from a multiplicity of perspectives is an interesting exercise because doing so allows us to disentangle some of these connections, and shed light on the blind alleys to which we may have been unwittingly led in our analyses.

Korean MNCs have drawn a great deal of attention mainly from two different traditions. The first concerns *Kwukehak* scholarship, in which the focus tends to be placed on description over theory and on an attempt to eschew universal accounts in favor of accounts that work best for Korean. While this tradition has much insightful work, it is difficult to label it as a theoretical camp. The second is the formal linguistics tradition, which seeks to describe speakers' implicit knowledge about the structure of their language. Despite the rising popularity of cognitive-functional linguistics, investigating Korean MNCs from this perspective is still in its early stages. By reviewing representative functionalist approaches to these constructions, we explored how to incorporate their insights to broaden our understanding. We hope our attempt was successful.

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Yoon, James Hye Suk
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
707 S. Mathews Ave, Urbana, IL 61801, USA
Phone: +1-217-244-0661
Email: jyoon@illinois.edu

Park, Chongwon
University of Minnesota Duluth
1201 Ordean Court, Duluth, MN 55812, USA
Phone: +1-218-726-7706
Email: cpark2@d.umn.edu

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