Resultatives in Korean Revisited: Complementation versus Adjunction

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Abstract

Korean resultatives are divided into two types depending on whether the subject of a resultative secondary predicate is assigned accusative case or nominative case. The former is comparable to selected object resultatives (e.g., *Mary wipe the table clean*), and the latter to unselected object resultatives (e.g., *John screamed himself hoarse*) in English. Korean resultatives have received a great deal of attention in the literature due to different case markings on the subject of a secondary predicate. However, there has been no agreement regarding whether Korean resultatives should be analyzed as small clause complements, similar to English, or adjunct phrases. Some argue that both resultative types are small clause complements (e.g., Kim 1999, Chang and Kim 2001), but some argue that only the selected object resultatives are true small clause type resultatives while the unselected object resultatives are VP adjuncts (e.g., Song 2005, Yeo 2006). A recent proposal by Shim and den Dikken (2007), however, suggests that both types should be analyzed as TP adjuncts. This paper defends the second position, a split analysis for the two types of resultatives: a complementation analysis for selected object resultatives, and an adjunction analysis for unselected object resultatives. Supporting evidence for the split analysis is provided by a few syntactic and semantic facts that lead to the conclusion that the two resultatives must be structurally distinguished from one another in terms of their complementhood/adjunctthood.

1. Introduction

Resultatives in English can be classified into two types depending on whether the subject of a resultative secondary predicate is a selected argument of the main verb (e.g., Simpson 1983, Carrier and Randall 1992, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1991; 2001, Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004, Kratzer 2005). The following examples are representative of the first type, selected object resultatives, in which the subjects of resultative adjectives are also selected arguments of the main verbs.

* Thanks to: Minjoo Kim, Nayoung Kwon, Misun Park, and Eunkyung Sung for sharing their judgements for Korean data reported in this paper. Special thanks to Peter Svenonius for illuminating discussions and suggestions on the current topic.

© 2008 Minjeong Son. *Tromsø Working Papers on Language & Linguistics: Nordlyd 35*, special issue on Complex Predication, ed. Peter Svenonius and Inna Tolskaya, pp. 89–113. CASTL, Tromsø. http://www.ub.uit.no/baser/nordlyd/

(1) Selected object resultatives
   a. Mary wiped the table clean.
   b. John pounded the metal flat.
   c. John painted the wall red.

The other type involves an argument in the object position, which is predicated of a secondary predicate but is unselected by the main verb, hence unselected object resultatives. The following examples are representative of the second type.

(2) Unselected object resultatives (with unergative main verbs)
   a. John screamed himself *(hoarse).
   b. Mary ran her shoes *(threadbare).
   c. John cried his handkerchief *(wet).

In the examples above, the subjects of resultative adjectives are not part of the argument structure of the main verbs, as indicated by the obligatory presence of resultative adjectives to license their subjects in the object position.

There are various analyses of resultatives in English, but a now widely accepted view is that a resultative phrase (e.g., *her shoes threadbare*) is a clause by itself without Tense, i.e., a tenseless small clause, and is selected by the main verb (e.g., Hoekstra 1988).[1] This analysis also assumes that the subject of a resultative predicate is structurally governed by the main predicate (i.e., assigned accusative case), in a fashion similar to canonical ECM constructions (e.g., *Mary considers John smart*).

1.1. Resultatives in Korean

Korean also has two kinds of resultatives, similar to English, but with a different case assigning mechanism for unselected object resultatives. In selected object resultatives, the subject of a resultative secondary predicate is assigned accusative case, similar to English. Examples of this type are illustrated below.[2]

(3) Selected object resultatives
   a. Yenghi-ka sikthak-ul kkaykkusha-key takk-ass-ta.
      Yenghi-NOM *table*-ACC *clean*-KEY *wipe*-PAST-DC
      'Yenghi wiped the table clean'

[1] See Shim and den Dikken (2007) for a comprehensive summary of the previous analyses of English resultatives and references therein.

[2] Abbreviations used in this paper are: NOM: Nominative case, ACC: Accusative case, GEN: Genitive case, TOP: Topic marker, PL: Plural, PRES: Present tense, PAST: Past tense, HON: Honorific marker, ADNOM: Adnominalizer, COMP: Complementizer, COP: Copular, NEG: Negative marker, DC: Declarative marker, LINK: Linker

b. Chelswu-ka kumsok-ul napcakha-key twutulki-ess-ta.
Chelswu-NOM *metal*-ACC *flat*-KEY *pound*-PAST-DC
'Chelswu pounded the metal flat'
c. Inho-ka pyek-ul ppalkah-key chilha-ess-ta.
Inho-NOM *wall*-ACC *red*-KEY *paint*-PAST-DC
'Inho painted the wall red'

However, in unselected object resultatives, the subject of a resultative secondary predicate is assigned nominative case, unlike English, as illustrated in (4).

(4) Unselected object resultatives
a. Chelswu-ka mok-i swi-key solichi-ess-ta.
Chelswu-NOM *throat*-NOM *get.hoarse*-KEY *scream*-PAST-DC
'Chelswu screamed himself hoarse'
b. Inho-ka sinpal-i talh-key ttwi-ess-ta.
Inho-NOM *shoes*-NOM *wear.out*-KEY *run*-PAST-DC
'Inho ran his shoes threadbare'
c. Yenghi-ka sonswuken-i cec-key wul-ess-ta.
Yenghi-NOM *handkerchief*-NOM *get.wet*-KEY *cry*-PAST-DC
'Yenghi cried her handkerchief wet'

1.2. Previous analyses

There have been three different lines of approaches to the two types of resultatives in Korean: an 'across-the-board' small clause analysis, a split analysis, and an across-the-board adjunction analysis. The across-the-board small clause analysis assumes that Korean is similar to English in that both types of resultatives are small clause complements although an explanation for the nominative case on the subject of a resultative predicate in (4) varies among researchers (e.g., Kim 1999, Kim and Maling 1997, Wechsler and Noh 2001, Chang and Kim 2001, Chang 2006).[3]

Some, on the other hand, argue (e.g., Song 2005, Yeo 2006) that only selected object resultatives are true small clause type resultatives, while unselected object resultatives are modifiers of VP, a split anlaysis. These works recognize that resultative predicates in the selected object resultatives are all stative, comparable to English adjectives, while those in the unselected object resultatives are eventive or verbal.

A recent work by Shim and den Dikken (2007), however, proposes that both types of resultatives are adjunct phrases with Tense projection (i.e., TP adjuncts) and Korean does not have small clause resultatives of the English type. They further argue that all TP adjuncts have *pro* governed by either the matrix object or subject; in selected object resultatives, resul-

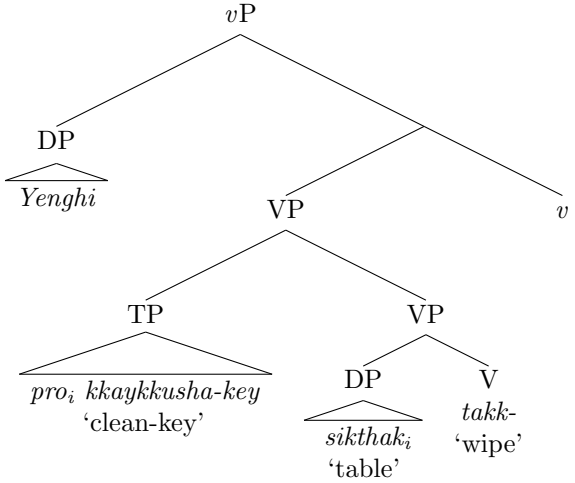
[3]While Kim and Maling (1997) assume that nominative case in (4) is assigned by the complementizer *-key*, Chang and Kim (2001) argue that it is assigned by default.

tative phrases are adjoined to a root VP with *pro* controlled by the matrix object, as schematized roughly in (5b).[4]

(5) Object-controlled (selected object resultatives)

a. Yenghi-ka sikthak-ul kkaykkusha-key takk-ass-ta.
Yenghi-NOM *table*-ACC *clean*-KEY *wipe*-PAST-DC
'Yenghi wiped the table clean'

b.



In unselected object resultatives, resultative phrases are adjoined to a *v*P with *pro* controlled by the matrix subject, as illustrated in (6b).[5]

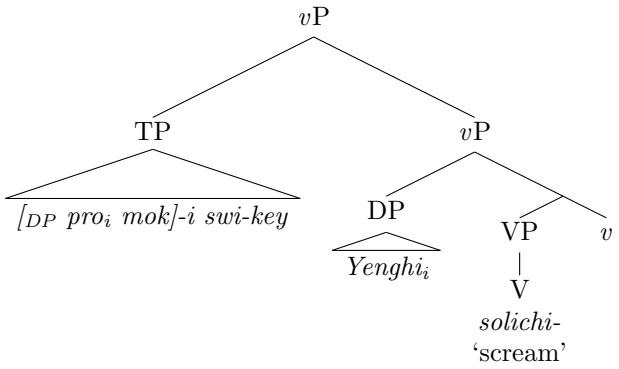
(6) Subject-controlled (unselected object resultatives)

a. Chelswu-ka mok-i swi-key solichi-ess-ta.
Chelswu-NOM *throat*-NOM *get.hoarse*-KEY *scream*-PAST-DC
'Chelswu screamed himself hoarse'

[4]Shim and den Dikken (2007) do not explain explicitly how the right word order is derived. They presumably adopt the idea that the object moves to some case licensing position outside VP in order to be located before the secondary predicate at PF. For the same reason, the matrix subject in unselected object resultatives represented in (6b) moves to the specifier of T to get nominative case. I also assume that all verbs move to T and then to C in order to pick up necessary inflectional materials.

[5]What subject-controlled resultatives means in their analysis is that the *pro* postulated in the adjunct TP is a possessor of the subject of a secondary predicate and is controlled by the matrix subject. This is to capture a possessor-possessee relation between the matrix and the secondary subject in unselected object resultatives in Korean, which is different from canonical subject-controlled resultatives in languages such as Chinese. The possessor-possessee relation is indicated by *pro* and the subject of a secondary predicate forming a DP constituent in (6b).

b.



Shim and den Dikken (2007) argue that the nominative case on the secondary subject of unselected object resultatives is due to the Tense available in the resultative phrase. They further argue that variation in resultatives resides in the possibility of allowing a local T in secondary predicates that can license them within the confines of the adjoined TP. Korean makes a local T available to license secondary predicates and allows resultatives with verbal bases. English doesn't make a local T available to license secondary predicates, thus allowing resultatives only with bare adjectives.

There are a couple of problems that arise from the 'across-the-board' small clause or adjunction analysis. The first problem has to do with a range of possible interpretations with two types of resultatives; while selected object resultatives allow only a resultative interpretation, unselected object resultatives allow a wider range of interpretations (e.g., degree, result, purpose) and their embedded phrases can be replaced by alternative adjunct phrases that have similar meanings, as also noted in the literature (e.g., Kim 1999, Lee and Lee 2003). Another problem is that the two types of resultatives show different syntactic patterns in terms of temporal adverbial modification that detect telicity and honorification on secondary predicates. In what follows, I revisit resultatives in Korean based on these observations and argue that the two types of resultatives identified in the literature must be distinguished from one another in terms of their syntactic status. The current paper, therefore, defends the split analysis proposed, for example, by Song (2005) and Yeo (2006), by providing novel and empirical evidence for the differences between selected object and unselected object resultatives.

2. Korean Resultatives Revisited

As has been noted in the previous literature, selected object resultatives require their resultative predicates to be stative, while unselected object resultatives seem to all involve eventive or verbal predicates. Thus, I call the selected object resultatives 'stative resultatives' and the unselected object

resultatives 'eventive resultatives'.[6]

I argue that the stative resultative must be analyzed as being embedded inside VP while the eventive resultative is merged outside VP with the possibility of having different adjunction sites depending on its meaning among result, degree, and purpose. Supporting evidence for the different syntactic status between the two types of resultatives comes from their effect on the Aktionsart of VP and the possibility of hosting a subject honorific marker on secondary predicates.

2.1. Stative versus Eventive Resultatives

Examples of stative resultatives, previously called selected object resultatives, are repeated below.

(7) a. Chelswu-ka chayksang-ul/*i kkaykkusha-key takk-ass-ta.
Chelswu-NOM *desk*-ACC/NOM *clean*-KEY *wipe*-PAST-DC
'Chelswu wiped the table clean'
b. Inho-ka kumsok-ul/*i napcakha-key twutulki-ess-ta.
Inho-NOM *metal*-ACC/NOM *flat*-KEY *pound*-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the metal flat.'

As seen above, the resultative secondary predicates are stative and their subjects are marked with accusative case.

I also categorize resultatives with unaccusative main verbs in (8) as members of the stative resultatives, given that their secondary predicates should also be stative and are predicated of internal arguments, not external arguments.

(8) Unaccusatives
a. Yenmos-i tantanha-key el-ess-ta.
pond-NOM *solid*-KEY *freeze*-PAST-DC
'The pond froze solid'
b. Kamca-ka kem-key tha-ass-ta.
potato-NOM *black*-KEY *burn*-PAST-DC
'The potato burned black'

[6]The change of terminology for the categorization of Korean resultatives is mainly due to the fact that the stativity of secondary predicates allows a more solid distinction between the two kinds of resultatives, while the categorization based on the selectiveness of an argument in the object position does not seem to draw a clear-cut distinction between the two. In the following example, for instance, the subject of a secondary predicate is also a selected argument of the main verb. Nonetheless, the subject is marked with nominative case and the secondary predicate is eventive.

(i) Yenghi-ka chayksang-i kkaykushay-ci-key olaystongan takk-ass-ta.
Yenghi-NOM *desk*-NOM *clean-become*-KEY *for.long.time wipe*-PAST-DC
'Yenghi wiped the desk for a long time so that it would become clean.'

The requirement that secondary predicates be stative in stative resultatives is shown by the ungrammaticality of sentences with the aspectual light verb *-ci-* meaning 'become.' One of the functions of the morpheme *-ci-* is to derive eventive predicates from stative predicates (see also (12)).

(9) Stativity

a. Inho-ka pyek-ul ppalkah-(*ci)-key chilha-yss-ta.
Inho-NOM *wall*-ACC *red-become*-KEY *paint*-PAST-DC
'Inho painted the wall red'

b. Yenmos-i tantanha-(*ci)-key el-ess-ta.
pond-NOM *solid-become*-KEY *freeze*-PAST-DC
'The pond froze solid'

Unlike stative resultatives, eventive resultatives, previously known as unselected object resultatives, require their subjects to be nominative-marked, as seen below.

(10) a. Chelswu-ka mok-i/*ul swi-key
Chelswu-NOM *throat*-NOM/ACC *get.hoarse*-KEY
solichi-ess-ta.
scream-PAST-DC
'Chelswu screamed so much that he got hoarse'

b. Inho-ka sinpal-i/*ul talh-key ttwi-ess-ta.
Inho-NOM *shoes*-NOM/ACC *wear.out*-KEY *run*-PAST-DC
'Inho ran so much that his shoes wore out'

The resultative predicates in the above examples are eventive, unlike English counterparts. The eventiveness of the secondary predicates in (10) can be shown by a few diagnostics that distinguish stative predicates from eventive ones (e.g., the compatibility with the aspectual light verb *-ci-*, of the progressive marker *-ko iss-* 'be -ing', and of the perfective marker *-e/a iss-*).[7] As previously mentioned, the aspectual light verb *-ci-* can be attached to all stative predicates in Korean to derive eventive predicates, while inherently eventive predicates cannot combine with the light verb. The following examples illustrate that the resultative predicates in (10) cannot take the aspectual marker *-ci-*, suggesting that they must be inherently eventive, not stative.

(11) a. Mok-i swi-(*e-ci-)ess-ta.
throat-NOM *get.hoarse*-LINK-*become*-PAST-DC
'The throat became hoarse'

b. Sinpal-i talh-(*a-ci-)ess-ta.
shoes-NOM *wear.out*-LINK-*become*-PAST-DC
'The shoes became threadbare'

[7] See Yeo (2006) for discussion of some of these diagnostics.

Canonical stative predicates that appear in stative resultatives are all grammatical with *-ci-*.

(12) a. Chayksang-i kkaykkusha-y-ci-ess-ta.
desk-NOM *clean*-LINK-*become*-PAST-DC
'The desk became clean'
b. Kumsok-i napcakha-y-ci-ess-ta.
metal-NOM *flat*-LINK-*become*-PAST-DC
'The metal became flat'

A similar contrast is observed with the aspectual marker *-e/a iss-*, which expresses perfectivity or a continuation of a result state (e.g., Son 2006). The aspectual marker *-e/a iss-* combines only with eventive predicates, not statives, as seen below.

(13) Ungrammatical with stative predicates
a. *Chayksang-i kkaykkusha-e iss-ta.
desk-NOM *clean*-LINK *be*-DC
'The desk has become clean'
b. *Kumsok-i napcakha-e iss-ta.
metal-NOM *flat*-LINK *be*-DC
'The metal has become flat'

(14) Grammatical with eventive predicates
a. Koyangi-ka cwuk-e iss-ta.
cat-NOM *die*-LINK *be*-DC
'The cat has died (and is still in the state of being dead)'
b. Khep-i kkay-e-ci-e iss-ta.
cup-NOM *broken*-LINK-*become*-LINK *be*-DC
'The cup has broken (and is still in the state of being broken)'

The distribution of *-e/a iss-* further indicates that resultative predicates appearing in eventive resultatives are truely eventive, given that they are compatible with this marker.

(15) a. Yenghwa-sok-uy acwumeni-tul-un imi
movie-inside-GEN *married.woman*-PL-TOP *already*
mok-i swi-e iss-ta.
throat-NOM *get.hoarse*-LINK *be*-DC
'As for the married women in the movie, they have already got hoarse' (Source: http://larnet.jinbo.net/maybbs/)
b. Swumanh-un inma-uy thonghayng-ulo pawi
numerous-ADNOM *human.horse*-GEN *transit-due.to* *rock*
phyomyen-i talh-a iss-ta.
surface-NOM *wear.out*-LINK *be*-BE
'Due to frequent passage of horses, the surface of the rock has worn out' (Source: http://www.epochtimes.co.kr/news)

As mentioned previously, eventive resultatives allow a wider range of interpretations than stative resultatives. The three possible readings with eventive resultatives are degree, result, and purpose, as illustrated in (16), (17), and (18), respectively.[8]

(16) Result

a. Inho-ka sinpal-i talh-key ttwi-ess-ta.
Inho-NOM *shoes*-NOM *wear.out*-KEY *run*-PAST-DC
'Inho ran his shoes threadbare'

b. Chelswu-ka mok-i swi-key solichi-ess-ta.
Chelswu-NOM *throat*-NOM *get.hoarse*-KEY *scream*-PAST-DC
'Chelwsu screamed himself hoarse'

(17) Degree

a. Inho-ka mwul-ul pay-ka theci-key
Inho-NOM *water*-ACC *stomach*-NOM *explode*-KEY
masi-ess-ta.
drink-PAST-DC
'Inho drank water too much /to the degree that his stomach could explode'

b. Yenghi-ka Chelswu-wa phi-ka theci-key
Yenghi-NOM *Chelswu-with blood*-NOM *explode*-KEY
ssawu-ess-ta.
wrangle-PAST-DC
'Yenghi wrangled with Chelswu to such an extreme degree that their blood could explode'

(18) Purpose

a. Chelswu-nun Yenghi-ka nemeci-key himkkes
Chelswu-TOP *Yenghi*-NOM *fall*-KEY *with.force*
mil-ess-ta.
push-PAST-DC
'Chelswu pushed Yenghi with force so that she would fall down'

b. Inho-nun pyeng-i kkayci-key himkkes tenci-ess-ta.
Inho-TOP *bottle*-NOM *break*-KEY *with.force throw*-PAST-DC
'Inho threw the bottle with force so that it would break'

With the resultative reading in (16), there is an entailment that the subjects of the secondary predicates come to be in the possession of the properties described by their predicates, Inho's shoes being threadbare and Chelswu being hoarse as a result of each event described by the main verb. However, with the degree and purposive interpretations, there is no such

[8] *key*-phrases here can potentially have all three readings, i.e., they can be ambiguous among degree, result and purpose. However, some of the readings are preferred or dispreferred due to contexts or pragmatics. Here, I intend to illustrate the most salient reading of the *key*-phrase in each set of examples.

entailment. In (17), the secondary predicate phrases only describe the extent to which the actions were done. In the purposive sentences, it was only the subject's intention to make Yenghi fall or to make the bottle break, but the sentences do not entail that the resultative events were actually brought about, as indicated by the translations with modals in the purpose clauses.[9]

There are other apparent adjunct phrases that express degree (e.g., V-*l cengtolo* 'to the degree that..'), result and purpose (e.g., *-tolok* 'so that') in Korean. As illustrated below, the secondary predicate phrases in the above examples can all alternate with these phrases.

(19) *-tolok*-phrase expresses result or purpose[10]

a. Chelswu-ka mok-i swi-tolok solichi-ess-ta.
Chelswu-NOM *throat*-NOM *get.hoarse-tolok scream*-PAST-DC
'Chelswu screamed so much that he got hoarse' (Result)

b. Chelswu-nun Yenghi-ka nemeci-tolok himkkes
Chelswu-TOP *Yenghi*-NOM *fall-so.that with.force*
mil-ess-ta.
push-PAST-DC
'Chelswu pushed Yenghi with force so that she would fall down.' (Purpose)

(20) *-l cengtolo* 'to the degree that.'

a. Chelswu-ka mok-i swi-l cengto-lo
Chelswu-NOM *throat*-NOM *get.hoarse*-ADNOM *degree-with/to*
solichi-ess-ta.
scream-PAST-DC
'Chelswu screamed to the degree that he got hoarse'

b. Inho-ka sinpal-i talh-l cengto-lo
Inho-NOM *shoes*-NOM *wear.out*-ADNOM *degree-with/to*
ttwi-ess-ta.
run-PAST-DC
'Inho ran to the degree that his shoes wore out'

Notice, however, that stative resultatives cannot alternate with apparent adjunct clauses.

(21) a. *Chelswu-ka chayksang-ul kkaykkusha-tolok takk-ass-ta.
Chelswu-NOM *desk*-ACC *clean-so.that wipe*-PAST-DC
'Chelswu wiped the desk so that it is (now) clean'

[9]Sentences can often be ambiguous between a resultative and a purposive reading, and speakers seem to make a prosodic difference between the two. Also, the addition of a manner adverbial (e.g., *himkkes* 'with force') between a secondary predicate and the main verb seems to give a strong preference for the latter meaning. I leave these issues aside.

[10]All examples with *-tolok* are potentially ambiguous between result and purpose, but one of the readings is often more salient or preferred due to pragmatics.

b. *Inho-ka chelphan-ul napcakha-tolok twutulki-ess-ta.
Inho-NOM *iron.plate*-ACC *flat-so.that* *pound*-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the iron plate so that it is (now) flat'

(22) a. *Chelswu-ka chayksang-ul kkaykkusha-l cengto-lo
Chelswu-NOM *desk*-ACC *clean*-ADNOM *degree-with/to*
takk-ass-ta.
wipe-PAST-DC
'Chelswu wiped the table to the degree that it is clean'

b. *Inho-ka chelphan-ul napcakha-l cengto-lo
Inho-NOM *iron.plate*-ACC *flat*-ADNOM *degree-with/to*
twutulki-ess-ta.
pound-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the iron plate to the degree that it is flat'

The ungrammaticality of the above sentences is due to the fact that both adjunct phrases expressed by *-tolok* and V-*l cengtolo* require eventive predicates in their complement clauses. Notice that when stative resultatives are turned into eventive by the support of the light verb *-ci-*, the sentences become grammatical, as seen below.

(23) a. Chelswu-nun chayksang-i kkaykkushay-ci-tolok yelsimhi
Chelswu-TOP *desk*-NOM *clean-become-so.that* *in.earnest*
takk-ass-ta.
wipe-PAST-DC
'Chelswu wiped the desk in earnest so that it became/would become clean'

b. Inho-nun chelphan-i napcakhay-ci-l cengto-lo
Inho-TOP *iron.plate*-NOM *flat-become*-ADNOM *degree-with/to*
yelsimhi twutulki-ess-ta.
in.earnest *pound*-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the iron plate in earnest to the extent that it became flat'

In the examples above, the stative predicates in (21) and (22) become eventive by the addition of the morpheme *-ci-* and their subjects receive nominative case, instead of accusative.[11] Thus, we can attribute the ungrammaticality of (21) and (22) to the stativity of the predicates in the complement clauses of the two adjunct expressions.

We have seen thus far that stative resultatives and eventive resultatives have distinct properties in terms of the range of readings they allow and the possibility of being replaced by apparent adjunct clauses. The following section discusses further syntactic differences between the two resultatives, which lead to the conclusion that the former type is a complement and the

[11]See the discussion of example (35) on the relation between the aspectual light verb *-ci-* and nominative case.

latter type is an adjunct.

2.2. Further Syntactic Differences

In this section, I discuss two factors that distinguish stative resultatives from eventive resultatives in their syntactic behavior. The first factor concerns the possibility of adding the subject honorific marker *-si* to a secondary predicate, the test that Shim and den Dikken (2007) employ to identify the presence of *pro* in a secondary predicate phrase. Others also use this test to identify the size of a secondary predicate phrase; if a secondary predicate does not allow the subject honorific marker, it is assumed to be the smallest possible clause, i.e., a tenseless small clause, since the honorific marker is known to occupy the lowest position in the verbal inflectional domain (e.g., Hong 2002). The second factor is concerned with temporal adverbial modification that is often used to detect telicity. I show that stative resultatives show patterns significantly different from eventive ones in terms of their effect on the Aktionsart of VP and the possibility of hosting a honorific marker on a resultative predicate.

2.2.1. Honorification

Hong (2002) and Chang (2006), among others, argue that Korean has small clause type ECM constructions, as illustrated below.[12]

(24) ECM, subject-to-object raising constructions

a. Chelswu-nun ku il-ul cwungyoha-key sayngkakha-n-ta.
Chelswu-TOP *the job*-ACC *important*-KEY *think*-PRES-DC
'Chelswu considers the job important'

b. John-un Mary-lul witayha-key sayngkakha-n-ta.
John-TOP *Mary*-ACC *great*-KEY *think*-PRES-DC
'John considers Mary great' (Hong 2002)

Korean also has a full clause alternative of the small clause ECM construction where the subject of a secondary predicate can be marked with nominative case and the secondary predicate takes a complementizer.[13]

(25) a. Chelswu-nun ku il-i cwungyoha-ta-ko
Chelswu-TOP *the job*-NOM *important*-DC-COMP
sayngkakha-n-ta.
think-PRES-DC
'Chelswu thinks that the job is important'

[12] See Hong (2002) for arguments that Korean ECM constructions necessarily involve subject to object raising based, for example, on negative polarity items.

[13] The subject of a secondary predicate in the alternative CP counterpart can also take accusative case. The NOM-ACC alternation has been analyzed as an exceptional case marking across CP. See Kim (2002) for further discussion and references therein.

b. John-un Mary-ka witayha-ta-ko sayngkakha-n-ta.
John-TOP *Mary*-NOM *great*-DC-COMP *think*-PRES-DC
'John thinks that Mary is great' (Hong 2002)

Notice that small clause ECM constructions do not allow their embedded predicates to take the subject honorific marker *-si*, while their CP counterparts allow subject honorification on the embedded predicates.

(26) Subject honorification on embedded predicates impossible[14]
a. Yenghi-ka emeni-lul hyullyungha-(*si)-key
Yenghi-NOM *mother*-ACC *magnificent*-HON-KEY
sayngkakha-n-ta.
think-PRES-DC
'Yenghi considers her mother magnificent'
b. John-un apeci-lul witayha-(*si)-key sayngkakha-n-ta.
John-TOP *father*-ACC *great*-HON-KEY *think*-PRES-DC
'John considers his father great' (Hong 2002)

(27) Subject honorification possible with a CP complement
a. Yenghi-nun emeni-ka hyullyungha-si-ta-ko nul
Yenghi-TOP *mother*-NOM *magnificent*-HON-DC-COMP *always*
sayngkakha-n-ta.
think-PRES-DC
'Yenghi always thinks that her mother is magnificent'
b. John-un apeci-ka witayha-si-ta-ko nul
John-TOP *father*-NOM *great*-HON-DC-COMP *always*
sayngkakha-n-ta.
think-PRES-DC
'John always thinks that his father is great'

Crucially, stative resultatives show patterns similar to small clause ECM constructions in (26), while eventive resultatives behave like the CP counterparts in (27).

(28) a. Emeni-ka melikhalak-lul nolah-(*si)-key
mother-NOM *hair*-ACC *yellow*-HON-KEY
yemsaykha-si-ess-ta.
dye-HON-PAST-DC
'My mother dyed her hair yellow'
b. Yenghi-ka emeni(-uy) sonthop-ul kkaykkusha-(*si)-key
Yenghi-NOM *mother*-GEN *nail*-ACC *clean*-HON-KEY
tatum-e-tuli-ess-ta.
polish-LINK-*give*-PAST-DC
'Yenghi polished her mothe's nail clean'

[14]Japanese ECM constructions behave in a similar way (p.c. Satoshi Tomioka).

(29) a. Halmeni-kkeyse sonkalak-i celi-si-key
grandmother-HON.NOM *finger*-NOM *ache*-HON-KEY
ttukaycil-ul ha-si-ess-ta.
knitting-ACC *do*-HON-PAST-DC
'My grandmother knit so much that her fingers ached'

b. Apeci-kkeyse mok-i swi-si-key
father-HON.NOM *throat*-NOM *gethoarse*-HON-KEY
koham-ul chi-si-ess-ta.
scream-ACC *hit*-HON-PAST-DC
'My father screamed so much that he got hoarse'

As seen above, stative resultatives do not allow the honorific marker on their resultative predicates, while eventive resultatives allow it. This distinction indicates that the former type must be analyzed as a tenseless small clause, similar to canonical small clause ECM constructions, while the latter type must be bigger than a small clause. This observation is contrary to what has been claimed by Shim and den Dikken (2007) who argue that there is no ECM-like resultative in Korean, and all resultative phrases must contain Tense and *pro*.

2.2.2. Aspectuality and Temporal Adverbial Modification

Temporal adverbial modification with *in*-phrases and *for*-phrases have often been used to detect the aspectual properties or Aktionsart of VP in English. For instance, the verb *run* in English is atelic, and thus it is compatible only with the atelic *for*-phrase, but not with the telic *in*-phrase.

(30) John ran for 5 minutes/*in 5 minutes. (atelic)

Notice, however, that the addition of a resultative phrase turns the atelic sentence into being telic by delineating the event of running, as indicated by the compatibility with the telic *in*-phrase, but not with the *for*-phrase.

(31) John ran the shoes threadbare in 5 minutes/*for 5 minutes. (telic)

It has often been argued (e.g., Folli 2001, Folli and Harley 2002) that the effect of resultative phrases on the Aktionsart of VP is, among other things, an indication of their complementhood or argumenthood, as opposed to other types of secondary predicates that are VP modifiers (e.g., depictives).

Crucial to the point at hand is that stative resultative phrases have an effect on the Aktionsart of VP, while eventive resultative phrases do not have the same effect.

The verb 'pound' in Korean behaves like an atelic predicate, given that the verb alone is compatible with the *for*-phrase, but not with the *in*-phrase, as seen below.

(32) a. Inho-ka o-pwun-tongan chelphan-ul twutulki-ess-ta.
Inho-NOM *five-minute-for iron.plate*-ACC *pound*-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the iron plate for five minutes'
b. Inho-ka o-pwun-maney chelphan-ul *(ta)
Inho-NOM *five-minute-in iron.plate*-ACC *all*
twutulki-ess-ta.
pound-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the iron plate (completely) in five minutes'

As seen in (32b), speakers prefer to add the quantifier *ta* meaning 'completely or all' to make the sentence natural. Without *ta*, the sentence only has the reading that it took five minutes to start pounding the iron plate, but cannot restrict the duration of the event to five minutes.

When a resultative phrase is added, however, the sentence is compatible with the *in*-phrase, but not with the *for*-phrase, similar to (31).

(33) a. Inho-ka o-pwun-maney chelphan-ul napcakha-key
Inho-NOM *five-minute-in iron.plate*-ACC *flat*-KEY
twutulki-ess-ta.
pound-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the iron plate flat in five minutes'
b. ??Inho-ka o-pwun-tongan chelphan-ul napcakha-key
Inho-NOM *five-minute-for iron.plate*-ACC *flat*-KEY
twutulki-ess-ta.
pound-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the iron plate flat for five minutes' (excluding an iterative reading)

Eventive resultative phrases, however, do not show the same telicity effect. The verb 'run' in Korean is also atelic, as seen by the compatibility with the *for*-phrase only. The addition of a resultative phrase, however, does not affect the Aktionsart of the VP, given that the sentence is still compatible with the *for*-phrase, but not with the *in*-phrase.

(34) a. Inho-ka o-pwun-tongan/*o-pwun-maney ttwi-ess-ta.
Inho-NOM *five-minute-for/ five-minute-in run*-PAST-DC
'Inho ran for/*in five minutes' (excluding the reading that measures a time interval to the beginning of the running event from prior to it.)
b. ??Inho-ka o-pwun-maney sinpal-i talh-key
Inho-NOM *five-minute-in shoes*-NOM *wear.out*-KEY
ttwi-ess-ta.
run-PAST-DC
'Inho ran his shoes threadbare in five minutes' (excluding a lower scope reading)

c. Inho-ka o-pwun-tongan sinpal-i talh-key
Inho-NOM *five-minute-for shoes*-NOM *wear.out*-KEY
ttwi-ess-ta.
run-PAST-DC
'Inho ran his shoes threadbare for five minutes'

We have seen thus far that stative resultatives show patterns similar to English resultatives in having an effect on the telicity of VP, while eventive resultatives do not have the same effect. The distinction between the two resultatives in terms of the telicity effect can lead one to conclude that stative resultatives are in a way similar to English resultatives, and thus they can be analyzed as small clause complements. Eventive resultatives are, on the other hand, merged outside VP as modifiers.[15] A similar conclusion was drawn from the distribution of honorification in secondary predication. We have seen that stative resultatives are similar to canonical small clause ECM constructions in disallowing the subject honorific marker *-si* on their secondary predicates. Eventive resultatives were shown to be bigger than small clauses, given that they allow subject honorification in the lower clauses.

In this paper, I am being agnostic as to how much functional structure is present in eventive resultatives. Presumably, they are as big as TPs, as Shim and den Dikken (2007) propose for subject-controlled resultatives (eventive resultatives under the current analysis), in order to allow the subject of secondary predicates to be assigned nominative case. This analysis, however, is based on 1) the assumption that nominative case is assigned by T in Korean, as often posited for other languages, and 2) the assumption that there is a dependency relation between Tense and Aspect, given that the possibility of marking the subject of a secondary predicate with nominative case often correlates with the presence of the aspectual light verb *-ci-*, if the secondary predicates themselves are not inherently eventive. Consider the following set of examples.

(35) a. Chelswu-ka chelphan-ul/*i napcakha-key
Chelswu-NOM *iron.plate*-ACC/NOM *flat*-KEY
twutulki-ess-ta.
pound-PAST-DC
'Chelswu pounded the iron plate flat'

[15] Object-controlled and subject-controlled resultatives in Mandarin Chinese are reported to show similar differences, although the criteria to determine the differences are based on language-specific constructions. Be that as it may, a recent paper on Mandarin resultatives reaches the similar conclusion that object-controlled and subject-controlled resultatives must be distinguished from one another in that only the former is true resultatives with a causative interpretation, but the latter is of difference species. See Shibagaki (2008) for detailed discussion.

b. Chelswu-ka chelphan-i napcakhay-*(**ci**)-key
Chelswu-NOM *iron.plate*-NOM *flat-become*-KEY
twutulki-ess-ta.
pound-PAST-DC
'Chelswu pounded the iron plate so that it became flat'

As seen in (35), when the resultative secondary predicate is stative, nominative case is not allowed on its subject. In contrast, the presence of the aspectual light verb *-ci-* makes it possible to mark the lower subject with nominative case, which suggests that there is a tight correlation between Aspect and nominative case. If we take Aspect to be a dependent Tense (see Shim and den Dikken 2007), it is reasonable to assume that the presence of the aspectual light verb *-ci-* triggers a projection of Tense in secondary predicate phrases. The presence of a local T in secondary predication then should predict that it is possible to allow temporal adverbial modification in the subordinate clause independent of the matrix clause. This prediction, however, does not seem to be borne out, as seen in (36).

(36) a. *Chelswu-ka nayil mok-i swi-key onul
Chelswu-NOM *tomorrow throat*-NOM *get.hoarse*-KEY *today*
halwucongil nolay-lul pwulu-ess-ta.
all.day *song*-ACC *sing*-PAST-DC
'Chelswu sang a song all day today so that he would get hoarse tomorrow'

b. *Inho-ka nayil sinpal-i talh-key onul
Inho-NOM *tomorrow shoes*-NOM *wear.out*-KEY *today*
halwucongil ttwi-ess-ta.
all.day *run*-PAST-DC
'Inho ran all day today so that the shoes would wear out tomorrow.'

As seen above, with a strong resultative interpretation of eventive resultatives (see (16)), time adverbial modification in both the subordinate and the matrix clause is not acceptable. Notice, however, that with a strong flavor of a purposive reading (in fact, only purposive readings are available in the examples below), time adverbial modification in both the subordinate and the matrix clause is acceptable.

(37) a. Yenghi-nun nayil chima-ka malu-key onul
Yenghi-TOP *tomorrow skirt*-NOM *get.dry*-KEY *today*
mili ssis-e twu-ess-ta.
in.advance wash-LINK *put*-PAST-DC
'Yenghi washed the skirt in advance today so that it would get dry tomorrow'

b. Mary-ka nayil elkwul-i kencohay-ci-ci anh-key
Mary-NOM *tomorrow face*-NOM *dry-become*-NEG NEG-KEY
onul pam-ey swupwun khulim-ul chwungpwunhi
today night-at moisture cream-ACC *enough*
palu-ass-ta.
apply-PAST-DC
'Mary applied enough moisturizer on her face so that it would not get dry tomorrow'

Thus, it is unclear whether all eventive resultative or resultative-like phases should involve a local Tense. Presumably, their sizes may vary depending on their meanings among degree, result and purpose, and nominative case might come from different sources, rather than Tense. It is also possible that eventive resultatives might have different adjunction sites depending on how they are interpreted, although more thorough examination is needed to determine the exact syntactic and semantic properties of this resultative type.

More importantly, however, I have shown that eventive resultatives must be distinguished from stative ones in their syntactic and semantic properties, and that Korean does have resultatives of the small clause or ECM type.

2.3. Potential counterexamples and explanations

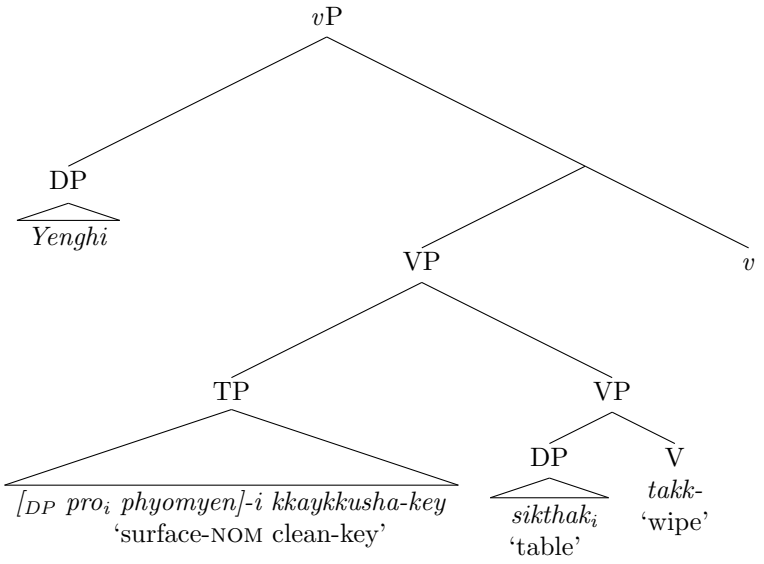
It is generally believed that only eventive resultative predicates allow nominative case on their subjects while stative resultative predicates require their subjects to be marked with accusative case (e.g., Kim 1999, Song 2005, Yeo 2006). Shim and den Dikken (2007), however, show that even stative resultative predicates can optionally take nominative-marked subjects, by providing examples such as those given below.

(38) a. Jim-i (pal-i) kkaykkusha-key mokyok-ul ha-ess-ta.
Jim-NOM *foot*-NOM *clean*-KEY *bath*-ACC *do*-PAST-DC
'Jim took a bath (his feet) clean'

b. Jim-i thakca-lul (phyomyen-i) kkaykkusha-key
Jim-NOM *table*-ACC *surface*-NOM *clean*-KEY
takk-ess-ta.
wipe-PAST-DC
'Jim wiped the table (its surface) clean'

Based on the examples above, they argue that all resultative phrases must involve Tense and *pro*, regardless of whether resultative predicates are stative or eventive. Thus, in Shim and den Dikken's analysis, sentence (38b), for example, would receive the following structure, in which *pro* in the adjunct TP is controlled by the matrix object.

(39)



In (38b), the nominative-marked argument in TP is in a part-whole relation with the matrix object, as indicated in the translation. In (39), this relation is achieved by *pro* forming a DP constituent with the subject of the secondary predicate, similar to the structure of subject-controlled resultatives in their analysis (see the tree diagram in (6b)).

It should be noted, however, that careful examination of the potential counterexamples seen above reveals that all stative secondary predicates with optional nominative-marked subjects can form double nominative constructions, independent of resultative contexts. Consider the following examples.

(40) Thakca-ka phyomyen-i kkaykkusha-ta.
table-NOM *surface*-NOM *clean*-COP
'The table's surface is clean'

When the nominative-marked subject, *phyomyen-i* 'surface-NOM', is present in (38b), the resultative phrase has its source from (40) with double nominative subjects. The following pair of examples is another case in point, which shows that when double nominative constructions appear in resultative constructions, stative resultative predicates seem to allow a nominative-marked subject in their phrases.

(41) a. Chelphan-i phyomyen-i napcakha-ta.
iron.plate-NOM *surface*-NOM *flat*-COP
'The iron plate's surface is flat'

b. Chelswu-ka chelphan-ul phyomyen-i napcakha-key
Chelswu-NOM *iron.plate*-ACC *surface*-NOM *flat*-KEY
twutulki-ess-ta.
pound-PAST-DC
'Chelswu pounded the iron plate (its surface) flat'

There have been numerous approaches to double nominative constructions in Korean (e.g., Maling and Kim 1992, Yoon 1996, Chang 1997, Kim 2000, Moon 2000, Yoon 2004). One of the widely accepted analyses relevant for the current discussion is that the second nominative case is inherent case assigned by the predicate itself, not by T, while the first nominative case is assigned by T in a normal spec-head configuration (e.g., Yoon 1996, Moon 2000). If this analysis is right, the presence of nominative-marked arguments in stative resultatives does not necessarily indicate that there should be a local Tense available in the resultative phrases.

Another puzzle for Sim and den Dikken's analysis regarding the presence of Tense in stative resultatives is that paraphrased examples of (38b) and (41b) with possessive DP constructions do not allow nominative case on the subjects of resultative predicates. As mentioned earlier, there is a part-whole or an inalienable possession relation between the matrix objects and the subjects of the resultative predicates in (38b) and (41b). The part-whole relation is a characteristics inherited from the double nominative constructions that I assume to be the bases of the resultative phrases in these examples. Notice that the base sentences with double nominative subjects in (40) and (41a) can be paraphrased as (42) with genitive constructions.

(42) a. Thakca-uy phyomyen-i kkaykkusha-ta.
table-GEN *surface*-NOM *clean*-COP
'The table's surface is clean'
b. Chelphan-uy phyomyen-i napcakha-ta.
iron.plate-GEN *surface*-NOM *flat*-COP
'The iron plate's surface is flat'

When these paraphrased bases occur in resultative constructions, nominative case on the subjects of resultative phrases is either marginally acceptable or ungrammatical, while accusative case is good.

(43) a. Jim-i thakca-uy phyomyen-ul/??i kkaykkusha-key
Jim-NOM *table*-ACC *surface*-ACC/NOM *clean*-KEY
takk-ess-ta.
wipe-PAST-DC
'Jim wiped the table's surface clean'

b. Chelswu-ka chelphan-uy phyomyen-ul/*i
Chelswu-NOM *iron.plate*-GEN *surface*-ACC/NOM
napcakha-key twutulki-ess-ta.
flat-KEY *pound*-PAST-DC
'Chelswu pounded the iron plate's surface flat'

The ungrammaticality (or degradation of the grammaticality) with the nominative case in the examples above is unexpected under Shim and den Dikken (2007)'s analysis; if the second nominative case in (38b) and (41b) is assigned by T locally available in the resultative phrases, the nominative case should still be available for the subjects of the secondary predicates in (43), provided that *pro*, the possessor, in the earlier examples (e.g., (38b)) is now overtly realized in the adjunct clauses.

Provided that the analysis of double nominative constructions available in the literature is correct, I argue that the presence of nominative-marked arguments in stative resultatives is due to construction-specific properties and does not necessarily indicate that there is a local T in resultative phrases.

It is also worth mentioning another potential counterexample to the current analysis and how it can be tackled. One of the arguments for the presence of Tense in stative resultatives provided by Shim and den Dikken (2007) is drawn from the fact that stative resultative predicates can host a sentential negation, *-ci anh-*, as illustrated below.[16]

(44) Yenghi-ka chayksang-ul kkaykkuha-ci anh-key takk-ass-ta.
Yenghi-NOM *desk*-ACC *clean*-NEG NEG-KEY *wipe*-PAST-DC
'Yenghi wiped the table not clean'

They argue that the fact that the sentential negation can appear in the resultative phrase is an indication of having a local Tense available in the secondary predication. However, this example with negation is importantly different from canonical stative resultatives with positive counterparts when it comes to the possibility of delineating the event described by the main verb. As previously observed, the positive counterpart has an effect on the Aktionsart of the VP by providing a terminal point to the event. Thus, the stative resultatives are all compatible with the telic *in*-phrase. Example (33a) is repeated here as (45).

[16]See Shim and den Dikken (2007) for more discussion of this example and further observations.

(45) Inho-ka o-pwun-maney chelphan-ul napcakha-key
Inho-NOM *five-minute-in* *iron.plate*-ACC *flat*-KEY
twutulki-ess-ta.
pound-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the iron plate flat in five minutes'

As seen below, it is possible to add the same sentential negative marker on the resultative predicate in the above example (although some speakers find this example contradictory with a resultative interpretation).

(46) Inho-ka chelphan-ul napcakha-ci anh-key twutulki-ess-ta.
Inho-NOM *iron.plate*-ACC *flat*-NEG NEG-KEY *pound*-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the iron plate not flat'

Notice, however, that example (46) with negation is not construed as having a terminal point since it is not compatible with the telic *in*-phrase, unlike its positive counterpart.

(47) *Inho-ka o-pwun-maney chelphan-ul napcakha-ci anh-key
Inho-NOM *five-minute-in* *iron.plate*-ACC *flat*-NEG NEG-KEY
twutulki-ess-ta.
pound-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the iron plate not flat in five minutes'

The same contrast is observed with the stative predicate *kkaykkusha-* 'clean' in the example provided by Shim and den Dikken (2007).

(48) a. Yenghi-ka i-pwun-maney chayksang-ul kkaykkusha-key
Yenghi-NOM *two-minute-in* *desk*-ACC *clean*-KEY
takk-ass-ta.
wipe-PAST-DC
'Yenghi wiped the table clean in two minutes'

b. *Yenghi-ka i-pwun-maney chayksang-ul kkaykkusha-ci
Yenghi-NOM *two-minute-in* *desk*-ACC *clean*-NEG
anh-key takk-ass-ta.
NEG-KEY *wipe*-PAST-DC
'Yenghi wiped the table not clean in two minutes'

The contrast shown between canonical stative resultatives (with positive predicates) and their negative counterparts suggests that the latter is presumably not a true resultative due to the presence of the negative marker. The negative marker may coerce the resultative into having different interpretations (e.g., purpose) or into being used as an adverbial phrase, as one of the many functions of the morpheme *-key* is to derive a (manner) adverb.[17]

[17]Alternatively, one could argue that stative resultatives may involve a functional structure that is big enough to host the negative marker in question although it still lacks

Abstracting away from the precise ramifications of the negative marker in resultatives, what is important for the issue at hand is that stative resultatives should not be treated same as those with the negative form. Thus, examples with negation also remain unproblematic to the current proposal.

3. Conclusion

I have argued in this paper that Korean resultatives should be analyzed either as small clause complements or as adjunct phrases depending on whether secondary predicates are stative or eventive. Supporting evidence was provided by honorification on secondary predicates and temporal adverbial modification that identifies whether resultative secondary predicates have an effect on the Aktionsart of VP. Based on these two factors, I argued that stative resultatives should be analyzed as small clause complements due to properties 1) similar to canonical small clause ECM constructions in Korean in terms of honorification, and 2) similar to English resultatives in terms of the effect on the aspectual properties of VP. Eventive resultatives, on the other hand, were shown to be adjunct phrases allowing a wider range of interpretations than stative resultatives do.

Having shown that Korean does have resultatives of the small clause complement type, similar to English, this paper contradicts the claim by Shim and den Dikken (2007), according to whom Korean differs from English in disallowing small clause type resultatives. Rather, the paper supports the recent claim by Son and Svenonius (2008) that the syntactico-semantic functional structure of resultatives is universal and cross-linguistic variation in resultatives is due to differences in the inventories of vocabulary items.[18]

Tense. Presumably, the distribution of the negative marker *-ci anh-* is not necessarily confined to TP, unlike the assumption made in Shim and den Dikken (2007). Rather, it may also occur in a clause with less functional structure, e.g., a tenseless small clause. This hypothesis is confirmed by the following example, which shows that a canonical small clause ECM construction can also take the negative form *-ci anh-* in its secondary predicate.

(i) Chelswu-ka ku il-ul cwungyoha-ci anh-key sayngkakha-n-ta.
Chelswu-NOM *the job*-ACC *important*-NEG NEG-KEY *consider*-PRES-DC
'Chelswu considers that job not important'

If we accept the hypothesis that the negative form may also occur in a tenseless small clause, this would explain why the subjects of stative resultative phrases with negation cannot be marked with nominative case despite the presence of the morpheme *-ci*, which Shim and den Dikken (2007) argue is responsible for the presence of Tense.

(ii) *Yenghi-ka chayksang-i kkaykkusha-ci anh-key takk-ass-ta.
Yenghi-NOM *desk*-NOM *clean*-NEG NEG-KEY *wipe*-PAST-DC
'Yenghi wiped the table not clean'

I leave issues regarding resultatives with negation for further investigation until we have a better understanding of the distribution of the negative marker *-ci ahn-*.

[18] See Son and Svenonius (2008) and Son (2008) for further discussion on variations in

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