

'Double Subject' Verbs in Korean

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By 'double subject' verbs in Korean I mean a verb that can take two (surface) subject NP's in a simple sentence, a subject NP being a NP followed by a (surface) subject particle ka.¹ One might immediately

¹Korean is structurally almost the same as Japanese, though not completely. The 'double subject' construction is the same except for a few marginal points in the two languages. Fillmore (1968: 65) mentions briefly 'double subject' construction of Japanese in connection with inalienable possession and cites the following sentence:

- (i) Zoo wa hana ga nagai.
"Elephant wa nose ga long."

Here ga is what I call the subject particle (or 'primary topicalization' particle in Fillmore's terms), whereas wa (nin in Korean) is what I would call the topic particle (or 'secondary topicalization' particle in Fillmore's terms). Since the topic particle can follow various NP's other than subject NP, NP-wa NP-ga construction does not always represent 'double subject' construction. For example, the following sentence cannot be said to be a 'double subject' construction:

- (ii) Hon wa boku ga yomu.
"As for the book, I read it."

This sentence is derived from something like the following sentence by 'topicalizing' or thematizing the object NP hon.

- (iii) Boku ga hon o yomu.
"I read the book."

Even a comitative NP can be 'topicalized' when a proper adverb is inserted and the superficial NPwa NP ga construction is derived:

- (iv) Mary wa John ga issyo ni benkyoosita.
"As for Mary, John studied with her together."

However, Fillmore's above sentence is a 'double subject' construction according to my definition, since we get (v).

- (v) Zoo ga hana ga nagai.

Therefore, nagai is a 'double subject' verb according to my definition, but it is rather a very special case because its being a 'double subject' verb is not due to the inherent properties of the verb nagai itself but due to the nature of the two subject NP's, zoo and hana, as we will see later. That is, zoo and hana are in the relation of 'inalienable possession'.

suspect that one of the subjects in 'double subject' construction is not a subject in the ordinary sense but a surface realization of something else as the form of a subject, i.e. NP followed by ka on the surface. Indeed, there is a slight difference in status as 'subject' between the two subjects in 'double subject' construction as we see in the following examples, but it is hard to say that one of them is something other than 'subject'.

- (1) na ka ka ka musepta.
 I SP dog SP afraid (SP= Subject Particle)
 "I am afraid of a dog."

Strictly speaking, (1) means rather, though not exactly, "It is I that am afraid of a dog," or "I, not any other person, am afraid of a dog." In other words, in NP-ka NP-ka structure always the first subject is the so-called 'exclusive' subject whereas the second subject is the so-called 'descriptive' subject.² The first subject is 'exclusive' in the sense

²Kuroda (1965) introduced the terms, 'exclusive' subject and 'descriptive' subject.

that it is exclusively singled out from among many possible candidates for the prediction of the following verb. Thus, the question word subject in an interrogative sentence and the corresponding subject in the responding sentence are always 'exclusive' subjects. The second subject in the 'double subject' constructions is 'descriptive' in the sense that it is simply or neutrally described or predicated by the following verb. Therefore, in a sense we might say that it is the second subject, rather than the first subject, that is 'unmarked' as a subject and thus closer to the concept of 'subject' in English. However, it has been regarded as 'object' rather than 'subject', as we will see later. And in order to get the Korean sentence that is most close in meaning to the English sentence, "I am afraid of a dog," we have to 'topicalize' the first subject as in (2).

- (2) na nan ka ka musepta.
 I TP dog SP afraid (TP= Topic Particle)

Thus, the subject of the English sentence "I am afraid of dog(s)" is closest in function to the topicalized subject of (2), though strictly speaking, (2) implies "As for me, I am afraid of a dog." Here we see

that the concept of 'subject' is very elusive, and seems to be quite different depending on languages. And we see that it is hard to apply the concept of 'subject' of English directly into Korean, though we use the term 'subject' in both languages. Similar situations hold for the concept of 'object', though I am not going into the details here.

Kuno (1969) suggests that the second subject in the 'double subject' construction is really an 'object', and proposes another usage ga (ka in Korean) i.e. 'objective' ga, in addition to Kuroda's 'exclusive' ga and 'descriptive' ga. He adds that 'objective' ga is always 'descriptive' ga. The confusing point here is that here he has conveniently elevated the concept of 'object' from the traditional sheer surface level to a slightly higher level of abstraction. In other words, now according to him 'object' is realized on the surface with either the object particle o (lil in Korean) or the subject particle ga. And yet he does not give a consistent definition of his concept of 'object'; and he is obvious that we cannot expect any consistent conclusions, using inconsistent and vague terms.

Since the concepts of the surface categories, e.g. 'subject' etc., are elusive and confusing, we had better turn to systematically abstract categories and see what are the deeper level generalizations though the surface structures are only confusing. In this paper, I will attempt to account for the problematic 'double subject' construction in terms of 'case grammar'. First of all, using the case categories of 'case grammar' we can classify the 'double subject' constructions into the following four groups according to the case frames of the verbs.

- | | | | | |
|----------|----|--------------|----------|----------------------|
| Group 1: | a. | [___(E)(I)]: | musepta | 'be afraid of'; etc. |
| | b. | [___((E)I)]: | kwiyepta | 'be lovable'; etc. |
| Group 2: | a. | [___(E)(L)]: | aphita | 'be painful'; etc. |
| | b. | [___((E)L)]: | silypta | 'feel cold'; etc. |
| Group 3: | a. | [___(E)(O)]: | pappita | 'be busy'; etc. |
| | b. | [___(/)O]: | swipta | 'be easy'; etc. |
| Group 4: | a. | [___(O(G))]: | itta | 'exist'; etc. |

The verbs of Group 1 are what we might call 'psychological' verbs. The case frame for Group 1a represents the following four possible surface sentences:³

- (3) a. na ka kae ka musepta
I SP dog SP afraid
"I am afraid of a dog."
- b. na ka musepta
I SP afraid
"I am afraid."
- c. kae ka musepta
dog SP afraid
"A dog is fearful."
- d. musepta
"(I) am afraid."

³As explained above, (3a) as it stands means rather "It is I that am afraid of a dog." And a rather (though not quite) neutral sentence without such focus on the first subject is the sentence (2), which is the one with its first subject topicalized. And we can replace the subject particle of the second subject by the topic particle and get the following sentence.

- (i) na ka kə nən musepta
 I SP dog TP afraid
 "I am afraid of a dog (but not of others)."

As the English gloss indicates, in the above sentence kə 'dog' is not topicalized or thematized but contrasted with other animals or things, since in order to be the 'topic' in a Korean sentence, an NP should be the first NP in the sentence in addition to being followed by a topic particle. Thus, Kuno (1969) calls the topic particle in (2) and that in the above sentence, 'thematic' and 'contrastive' respectively. In the following sentence, kə is topicalized and the topic particle is 'thematic'.

- (ii) kə nən na ka musepta
 dog TP I SP afraid
 "As for the dog, I am afraid of it."

However, here in order to get the meaning of the English gloss, we have to give an intonational break after kə nən; otherwise it would mean "A dog is afraid of me." And here kə should be definite ('the dog') in order to be the topic of the sentence. We can replace the subject particles of both subjects and get the following sentence.

- (iii) na nən kə nən musepta
 "As for me, I am afraid of a dog (but not of others)."

As the English gloss indicates, the topic particle of the first subject is 'thematic' and that of the second subject is 'contrastive', since there can be only one topic or theme per sentence in Korean.

The subject particles in (3b) and (3c) are also 'exclusive', and the more neutral sentences would be ones with the 'thematic' nən.

I will disregard all these complications concerning ka and nən, since they are mostly irrelevant to our discussion in this paper.

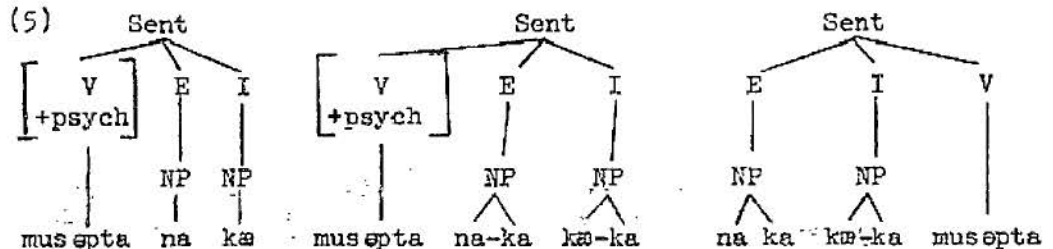
(3a) is a 'double subject' sentence. (3b) and (3c) lack one of the subjects each, but they are perfectly grammatical and natural sentences in Korean. (3b) expresses simply the subject's or speaker's feeling of fear without mentioning the source or cause of the feeling of fear. Maybe the speaker does not know the exact cause of his feeling of fear, and cannot mention it. In (3c), the subject na 'I' is understood, since in a simple sentence the 'emotive' verbs like musepta 'be afraid' take

only the first person singular pronoun as Experiencer (ultimately as the first subject in the 'double subject construction'). It is quite common or sometimes preferred to omit the first person singular subject in colloquial Korean. Thus, (3c) is a quite natural sentence. (3d) is, I should say, a kind of elliptical sentence, but not in the sense of English elliptical sentences. Such a subjectless sentence as (3d) is very common or rather natural in colloquial Korean, especially when the subject is the first person singular or the speaker.

The word order in Korean sentences is rather free except that the verb is always sentence-final. However, when more than one constituent within a (simple) sentence is followed by the same particle as in (3a), then more or less fixed word order emerges. Thus, the sentence (4) with normal intonation means "The dog is afraid of me."

- (4) *kə ka na ka musəpta*
dog SP I SP afraid

This surface 'fixed' word order corresponds to the underlying order shown in the case frame. This is true for all 'double subject' constructions except Group 4, as we will see later. Thus, for Group 1 we need only verb postposing rule and Particle Insertion rule as we see in the following:



Occurring with a 'psychological' verb, both E and I are assigned the subject particle⁴ and the Verb Postposing is a very general rule.

⁴It might prove to be preferable to assign a subject particle to either E or I by the general Subject Particle Insertion rule, which would be necessary on independent grounds, and then assign another subject particle to the remaining NP by another special Particle Insertion rule for 'double subject' construction.

All the 'psychological' verbs that can occur with E and I are all 'double subject' verbs. The verb *talmta* 'resemble' is not a 'double subject' verb, since the E never shows up on the surface structure as a subject. The verb *kiəknake hata* 'remind, cause to remember' really leads to 'double subject' construction but it is not a single verb but a compound of two verbs, *kiəknata* 'remember' and *hata* 'do, cause'.

The case frame for Group 1b represents the following three possible sentences (6a, c, d):

- (6) a. na ka mary ka kwiyēpta
 I SP Mary SP lovable
 "I think Mary (to be) lovable."
 "Mary is lovable to me."
- b. *na ka kwiyēpta
- c. Mary ka kwiyēpta
 Mary SP lovable
 "Mary is lovable."
- d. kwiyēpta
 lovable
 "(Somebody) is lovable (to me)."

The only difference between Group 1a and Group 1b is that, for the emotive verbs of Group 1b, (6b) type sentences are impossible. (6b) would mean rather "I am lovable," which is a (6c) type sentence, the subject being I rather than E.

The verbs of Group 2 are what we might call 'sense' verbs. Like the 'psychological' verbs (Group 1 verbs), all the 'sense' verbs except aphāta 'be painful'⁵ allow only the first person singular pronoun or the

⁵It seems that the reason why the sense verb aphāta 'be painful or sick' can be used with subject other than the first person singular pronoun is that the verb is not restricted to expression of personal and subjective feeling or sense, especially when it is used to mean 'to be sick'.

speaker as Experiencer, when used in a simple sentence.⁶

⁶Both the 'psychological' verbs and the 'sense' verbs belong to what we might call 'emotive' verbs, which are to express personal emotion or feeling. Since there is no way to know the personal emotion or feeling of someone else, the second or third person subjects cannot be used with these verbs, unless we are reporting someone else's emotion or feeling, in which case we need separate grammatical devices or processes.

The difference between the two groups of verbs is that in the Group 1 the first subject (E) comes to have certain feeling or emotion because of the second subject (I) whereas in the Group 2 the second subject (L) simply specifies the first subject's (E) body part where he feels certain sense. Thus, in Group 2 the two subjects are in the relation of 'inalienable possession'.

Many of the verbs in Group 4 also occur only with two subjects that are in the relation of 'inalienable possession'. However, the case frames are different from the two groups, Group 2 and Group 4. Thus,

the relation of 'inalienable possession' is not consistently represented in the above case frames of the 'double subject' verbs. The case frame for Group 4 more properly represent the relation of 'inalienable possession' than the case frame for Group 2. However, since the relation of 'inalienable possession' is not originally a relation between two NP's viewed in terms of a whole proposition but a relation between two NP's viewed only in terms of the two NP's themselves, some other higher level relation may be imposed on the 'local' relation of 'inalienable possession', which seems to be the case of Group 2.

The case frame for Group 2a represents the following four possible sentences:

- (7) a. na ka mēli ka aphīta
I SP head SP painful
"I have a headache."
- b. na ka aphīta
I SP painful
"I feel painful."
"I am sick."
- c. mēli ka aphīta
head SP painful
"(I) have a headache."
- d. aphīta
painful
"(I or somebody) is painful or sick."

The case frame for Group 2b represents the following three possible sentences (8a, c and d):

- (8) a. na ka son ka⁷ silyēpta
I hand feel cold
"I feel (my) hand cold."
- b. *na ka silyēpta
- c. son ka silyēpta
hand feel cold
"(I) feel (my) hand cold."
- d. silyēpta
feel cold
"(I) feel (some body part) cold."

⁷The subject particle ka is realized as i after a consonant on the surface, and the topic particle nān is realized as ān after a consonant.

(8b) is very awkward, since we have another verb chupta⁸ for the

⁸The verb chupta is a 'sense' verb (hence a 'emotive' verb) but it is not a 'double subject' verb, since it is a one-term verb. Similar is the verb təpta 'feel (the whole body) hot.'

meaning of 'to feel the whole body cold'. Instead of (8b), we should say (9):

- (9) na ka chupta
 I (feel) cold
 "I am cold."

The verbs of Group 3 are hard to uniquely characterize. However, most of them are somehow related to 'capacity' or 'competence'. Some verbs of Group 3 are 'emotive' verbs.

The case frame for Group 3a represents the following four possible sentences:

- (10) a. John ka saəp ka pappāta
 John SP business SP busy
 "John is busy with business."
 b. John ka pappāta
 John SP busy
 "John is busy."
 c. saəp ka pappāta
 business busy
 "The business is busy." or "(Someone) is busy with business."
 d. pappāta
 busy
 "(I or somebody) is busy (with something)."

The verb pappāta is not an 'emotive' verb; hence the first subject is John.

The case frame for Group 3b represents the following three possible sentences (11a, c, d):

- (11) a. na ka i munce ka swipta
 I SP this problem SP easy
 "This problem is easy to me."
 b. ?na ka swipta
 c. i munce ka swipta
 this problem SP easy
 "This problem is easy."

- (11) d. swipta
 easy
 "(Something) is easy."

(11b) with normal intonation would mean "I am easy," which is (11c) type sentence, the subject being O instead of E, though it could be interpreted as "It is to me that something is easy." in a very special context. The verb swipta 'be easy' is an 'emotive' verb and the first subject (E) should be na 'I' in a simple sentence.

As indicated earlier, for the 'double subject' structures of Group 1, 2, and 3, the surface basic or 'fixed' order of the two subjects corresponds to the order represented in the case frames, and we need only the Verb Postposing process as far as the surface word order is concerned. For the Subject Particle Insertion, we have to expand the rule so that it applies to the structures descriptions (12) and (13), as well as (14).

- (12) [[^V+sense] E LJ]⁹
 (13) [[^V+competence] E OJ],
 (14) [[^V+psych] E IJ]

⁹As discussed earlier, since any two NP's in the relation of 'inalienable possession', including 'double subject' structures of Group 2, can become a 'double subject' with a proper verb, we may try to derive all the 'double subject' constructions of Group 2 from [V O G] (Condition: O and G are in the relation of 'inalienable possession'.), instead of (i).

- (i) [[^V+sense] E LJ].

Then we are deriving 'double subject' construction of Group 2 from the same underlying structure as the 'inalienable double subject' construction of Group 4, thus being consistent in representing the relation of 'inalienable possession' in the underlying case frames. Then, however, we have to deny the relations between the 'double subject' and the verb in Group 2, which would be rather contrary to the principles of the case grammar. I think we would better be inconsistent in representing the relation of 'inalienable possession' in underlying case frames.

Group 4 actually consists of two different subgroups of verbs. One of the subgroups consists of the verbs of 'existence': issta 'exist' and əpta 'not exist'. The other subgroup consists of any verbs which can occur with 'inalienable double subject'. (Cf. footnote 9). In other words, the latter subgroup of Group 4 are hard to be called 'double subject' verbs because 'double subject' is not due to any inherent properties of the verbs. They just happen to predicate 'inalienable double subject'.

The possible sentences with verbs of 'existence' (the first subgroup) of Group 4 are as follows:

- (15) a. na ka ton ka issta
I SP money SP exist
"I have money."
- b. *na ka issta
- c. ton ka issta
money SP exist
"(Somebody) has money."
- d. issta
exist
"(Something) exists." or "(Somebody) has (something)."

(15b) with normal intonation would mean "I exist" which is (15c) type sentence, the subject being O instead of G. However, if the subject is topicalized (15b) could mean "As for me, I have" in a very special context.

The first subject (G) of the 'double subject' with a verb of existence of Group 4 can be paraphrased as a dative phrase and (15a) can be paraphrased as (16):

- (16) na eke ton ka issta
I to money SP exist
"I have money."
"Money exists to me."

(16) is rather closer in meaning to the English sentence "I have money," since (15a) rather implies "It is I that have money." Therefore, it would be reasonable to derive (15a) from (16) by replacing eke 'to' the by subject particle ka, which is not recommended in the cases of Group 1, 2, and 3 since there are no 'ready' paraphrases in those cases.

The possible sentences in a case of 'inalienable double subject' of Group 4 are as follows:

- (17) a. Mary ka kho ka tach=lopta
Mary SP nose SP colorful
"Mary 's nose is colorful."
"It is Mary whose nose is colorful."
- b. *Mary ka tach=lopta
- c. Kho ka tach=lopta
nose SP colorful
"(Somebody's) nose is colorful."
- d. tach=lopta
"(Something) is colorful."

We can replace the verb *tach lopta* by a great number of verbs in (17a). Clearly the 'double subject' construction is not due to the nature of the cooccurring verbs but to the relation of the two NP's themselves, i.e. 'inalienable possession'. The relation of 'inalienable possession' is found not only in body parts, but also in kinship terms, 'relational' nouns, e.g. 'top', 'side', etc. and any things closely associated with each other or the relation of 'part and whole' of anything, as we see in the following sentences.

- (18) Ohio *təhak* ka *tosəkwan* ks *hullyunhata*.
Ohio university SP library SP excellent
"Ohio university's library is excellent."
- (19) Mary ka *chima* ka *ocalpta*
Mary SP skirt SP short
"Mary's skirt is short."
- (20) i *camera* ka *lens* ka *miceita*.
this camera SP lens SP US-made
"This camera's lens is U.S.-made."

Inserting a proper adverb, Korean speakers see the relation of 'inalienable possession' even between a man and a bag that he carries:

- (21) John ka *kapan* ka *hangan* *mukəpta*.
John SP bag SP always heavy
"John's bag is always heavy."

Further, we may extent the notion of 'inalienable possession' and say:

- (22) i *tosi* ka *sənke* *kyəl kwa* ka *acik* an *tilə* *watta*.
this city SP election result SP yet not in came
"This city's election results have not come in yet."

Here we see that the use of 'double subject' construction in Korean is more or less open-ended, especially in the case of 'inalienable double subject construction.' However, there is clearly a limit; we cannot say the following for "Mary's book is big."

- (23) *Mary ka *chək* ka *khāta*
Mary SP book SP big

We can readily paraphrase the 'inalienable double subject' construction by a possession construction, and the following sentence (24) with a possessive construction is more neutral a statement and closer to the English gloss "Mary's nose is colorful." than (17a):

- (24) Mary *ɬy* *kho* ka *tachəlopta*
Mary 's nose SP colorful
"Mary's nose is colorful."

However, we cannot always derive the 'inalienable double subject' structure like (17a) from the structure like (24); we can do so only

when the possessive construction implies the relation of 'inalienable possession', i.e. when the possessive construction is derived from the underlying frame [O G]. Thus, there is a global derivational constraint if we derive the 'double subject' construction through the possessive construction. An alternative would be to derive the 'double subject' structure directly from the case frame (25) and then derive the possessive construction from it.

(25) [[_{-exist} V] O G]

For Group 4, we need an additional reordering rule of preposing G to derive the surface word order from the underlying case frame.

Reviewing the four Groups of 'double subject' constructions in Korean, we can note the following points:

1. The 'double subject' verbs are all 'stative', never allowing an Agent.

2. The first subject of the 'double subject' in its surface basic order is always either E or G, which are D (=Dative) in the earlier model of case grammar.

3. All 'inalienable possessive' constructions are paraphrasable into 'double subject construction,' when the 'inalienable' possessive phrase is in the subject position in the sentence.

4. In the 'double subject' construction, NP ka NP ka, the first ka and the second ka are always 'exclusive' and 'descriptive' respectively. Thus, for common ordinary neutral statements, the first ka is replaced by 'thematic' n±n. There are, we most frequently use NP n±n NP ka constructions for 'double subject' constructions in ordinary speech.

5. There is some difference between Groups 1, 2, and 3 on the one hand, and Group 4 on the other. The former chooses E for the first subject whereas the latter choose G for the first subject. The former are somehow related with 'mental' processes of the first subject and the latter are not. There is also a difference in distribution as we see in the following:

Group 1: (E) (I), ((E)I)
 Group 2: (E) (L), ((E)L)
 Group 3: (E) (O), ((E)O)
 Group 4: ----- (O(G))

The following is more or less exhaustive (except the cases of 'inalienable double subject') list of the 'double subject' verbs in Korean.

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| Group 1. a. [__(E)(I)] | |
| musəpta | 'be afraid (of)' |
| cilkəpta | 'be pleased (with)' |
| pukkiləpta | 'be ashamed (of)' |
| ciluhata | 'be bored (with)' |
| kilipta | 'long for, miss' |
| pulepta | 'be envious (of)' |
| cəmitta | 'be interested (in)' |

| | | |
|----------|----------------|----------------------------|
| | thamnata | 'be covetous (of)' |
| | sāiphāta | 'be sad (about)' |
| | tulyepta | 'be dread-ful (of)' |
| Group 1. | b. [___((E)I)] | |
| | kwiyepta | 'be lovable' |
| | kayepta | 'be pitiable' |
| | cinglepta | 'be disgusting' |
| | cohta | 'be fond of' |
| | silhta | 'dislike' |
| | ippita | 'be good or pretty, like' |
| | mipta | 'be bad, dislike' |
| | komapta | 'be thankful' |
| Group 2. | a. [___(E)(I)] | |
| | aphāta | 'be sick (painful)' |
| | ttellinta | 'feel trembling' |
| Group 2. | b. [___((E)I)] | |
| | silyepta | 'feel cold' |
| | ssusinta | 'feel painful' |
| | oalita | 'feel slightly numb' |
| | kalyepta | 'feel itching' |
| Group 3. | a. [___(E)(O)] | |
| | pappita | 'be busy' |
| Group 3. | b. [___((E_O)] | |
| | swipta | 'be easy' |
| | elyepta | 'be difficult' |
| | pointa | 'can be seen' |
| | tillinta | 'can be heard' |
| | mukopta | 'be heavy' |
| | kapyepta | 'be light' |
| | kanānhata | 'be possible' |
| | tonta | 'be possible, can be done' |
| | philyohata | 'be necessary, need' |
| Group 4. | [___(O(G))] | |
| | ittha | 'exist' |
| | opta | 'not exist' |
| | manhta | 'be many, much' |
| | c@kta | 'be few, small' |

'Inalienable double subject'; any stative verb that fits the case frame.

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