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Copulas in Korean and Japanese, -i and -da: Grammatical Categorization and Comparison on the Basis of Morphosyntactic and Syntactic Analyses

Soyoung Kim
Syracuse University

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Abstract:

The behavior of the copula varies by language, and it is often considered as an arbitrary element that is language-specific. While Korean and Japanese copular constructions share many characteristics, the differences between the two languages confirms the language-specific characteristic of the copula. Through examinations and anlayses of the morphosyntactic behaviors of the copulas in Korean and Japanese such as suffixation of tense morphemes, mood morphemes, and morphological derivation/contraction, the differences and similarities between Korean and Japanese copulas are highlighted, thereby contributing to the definition and the language-specific features and parametrization of the copulas in the two languages. This thesis claims that both Korean and Japanese copulas exclusively take nominal complements only, which connects to explicate the assignment of the nominative case in Korean copular constructions. This paper also argues that a mismatch in case-marking between the affirmative and negative constructions in Korean is a result of the phonotactics of the Korean language.

Copulas in Korean and Japanese, *-i* and *-da*:
Grammatical Categorization and Comparison
on the Basis of Morphosyntactic and Syntactic Analyses

by

Soyoung Kim

B.A., Cornell University, 2012

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List of abbreviations

1	first person		GER	gerund
2	second person		HON	honorific
3	third person		LOC	locative case marker
ADJ	adjective		MAS	masculine gender
ACC	accusative case		NEG	negation
ADJ	adjective		NMZ	nominalizer
ADV	adverb		NOM	nominative case
ATTR	attributive		POL	polite register
C	complementizer		POST	postposition
CAP	capability (modal case)		PRS	present tense
CONJ	conjunction		PST	past tense
COP	copula		Q	question marker
CL	classifier		REL	relativizer
DECL	declarative mood		RP	reported past
DESID	desiderative mood		SG	singular number
DET	determiner		TOP	topic marker
FAM	familiar register			
GEN	genitive case			

1. Introduction[1]

The copula is often viewed as an arbitrary concept or label of a semantically vacuous element that links a subject and a predicate. Some languages are more strict in terms of requiring copulas in linking the subject and the predicate, whereas other languages allow dropping of copulas, so that the surface representation of their copular construction contains no copulas. Syntactic or grammatical categories of copulas also vary by language. In Indo-European languages such as English and Italian, copulatives or copular verbs are often required in linking a sentential subject and a predicate complement, when the predicate of a sentence is not a lexical verb. Copulas can also behave like other elements such as pronouns or affixes. As such, the general consensus and discussion of copulas among scholars has been that copulas have functional and grammatical categories and characteristics unique to each language (Mikkelsen 2005, Moro 1997, Pustet 2003).

For instance, the English copula *be* behaves like a verb and takes a predicate NP or AdjP as its complement:

1) John is   a   teacher

    John COP.3SG   DET   student

Similar constructions are found in Italian, in which the copula takes a verb position and a complement NP or AdjP:

2) Gianni è   uno   scienziato

    Gianni COP.3SG   DET.MAS.SG scientist

    'Gianni is a scientist.' (Moro 1997: 5)

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[1] All examples provided in this thesis use the Hepburn romanization system for Japanese and Yale romanization system for Korean, for consistent and clear demonstrations.

In Modern Mandarin, the copula *shì* is also placed at the verb position and takes a predicate NP as a complement:

3) Tā   shì   lǎoshī

   3SG   COP   teacher

   'He/she is a teacher.' (Pustet 2003: 3)

What distinguishes the Chinese copula from English or Italian copulas, despite the fact that the construction involving it is almost identical to the corresponding construction in English or Italian, is that the Chinese copula can usually take only NPs as its complement. That is to say, the Chinese copula *shì* normally cannot take complement AdjPs, and adverbs are generally required in copular constructions with AdjPs:

4) Tā   hěn   gāo

   3SG   very   tall

   'He/she is very tall.' (Pustet 2003: 3)

5) *Tā   shì/∅   gāo

   3SG   COP/∅   tall

   Intended meaning: 'He/she is tall.'

Examples provided above indeed illustrate that the copulas across the languages have different grammatical characteristics — copulas can take phrases of a range of syntactic categories as their complements or only take phrases of limited syntactic categories.

Copular constructions in the Korean language also display a number of unique characteristics. Let us first examine simple, general copular constructions in Korean. The morpheme *-i*, which would be considered in this thesis as the copula in Korean, can take a

predicate NP, but not a predicate AdjP. In order to form a sentence with a predicate AdjP, *-i* has to drop:

6) John-un　　kyosa-i-∅-ta

　　John-TOP　teacher-i-PRS-DECL

　　'John is a teacher.'

7) John-un　　kwiyep-∅-ta

　　John-TOP　cute-PRS-DECL

　　'John is cute.'

8) *John-un　　kwiyep-i-∅-ta

　　John-TOP　cute-i-PRS-DECL

　　Intended meaning: 'John is cute.'

Korean stative verbs take a null morpheme in representing the present tense, supported by the fact that an overt morpheme *-ess* is attached for the past tense. A detailed discussion and demonstration of this is provided in section 4. Unlike the languages demonstrated thus far, Korean has an SOV, head-final syntactic structure. The predicate NP is located immediately before *-i,* a bound morpheme that seems to be equivalent to what we is called "copula." Contrary to most Indo-European languages, it is not so surprising to observe an affixation of a copular element to the predicate NP in Korean, as Korean is an agglutinative language. On the other hand, *-i* does not take complement AdjPs — such constructions are deemed ungrammatical, similar to the Chinese copular constructions.

Japanese, on the other hand, is also an agglutinative, head-final language that clearly

shares many syntactic and morphological structures and features with Korean, independently

from the unknown or controversial genetic relationship between the two languages:

9) John-wa   kyōshi-da

   John-TOP   teacher-COP.PRS

   'John is a teacher.'

This is an almost identical construction to Korean: same word order, similar affixation, and the

existence of the topic marker. What makes *-da* distinguishable from the Korean *-i* seems to be the

lack of an overt present tense morpheme, and both "copula" and "present tense" are encoded in

-da. Along with the discussion of tense morphemes in the Korean copular constructions, this will

also be discussed in section 4. While the Japanese copula *-da* can take AdjP complements, not all

types of adjectives or AdjPs can co-occur with *-da*:

10) John-wa   waka-i(*-da)

    John-TOP   young-ADJ.PRS(*-COP)

    'John is young'

11) John-wa   kenkō-da

    John-TOP   health-COP.PRS

    'John is healthy'

While the predicate complements of the above examples appear to be adjective phrases,

inclusion or affixation of the copula *-da* is ungrammatical in example (10). On the contrary, the

construction with *-da* in example (11) is undoubtedly grammatical and acceptable. The crucial

difference between the two examples originates from the fact that the Japanese language has at

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least two types (or classes) of adjectives. Nishiyama (1999) identifies the former type of adjectives as "canonical adjectives" for they require an additional derivation process for nominalization and the latter as "adjectival nouns" as they can both behave as adjectives and nouns without an additional suffixation. The default part of speech of the latter type is actually noun, which comes to behave as adjectives through a zero-derivation when the copula *-da* is attached. Nishiyama (1999) thus argues that the Japanese adjectives, similar to verbs, are inflecting adjectives which conjugate without an overt copula — that is to say, similar to the Korean copula, the Japanese copula *-da* cannot take pure adjectives as its complement.

Similar structures are also found in other languages that share the relevant typological similarities with Korean and Japanese, including but not limited to agglutinative morphology, SOV word order, and head-final property. One of such languages is Turkish:

12) (Ben)   satıcı-y-ım

   (1SG)   seller-COP-1SG

    'I am a seller' (Kornfilt 1997: 77)

Besides the fact that the Turkish copula requires a subject-verb agreement inflection and the absence of an overt case marker on the predicate nominal, the general copular structure seems to be almost identical to that of Korean or Japanese. Moreover, similar to the Korean copula, the present tense morpheme is realized as a null morpheme, while other tense morphemes are overt.

The general structural patterns of copular constructions thus seem to be largely dependent upon the word orders. Needless to say, typological patterns or similarities emerging due to geographical proximity are extremely natural and self-evident to the point at which there seems to be nothing noteworthy or thrilling about the copular constructions in Korean. On the contrary,

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the utmost peculiarity or uniqueness of the Korean copular constructions comes from negation. The following copular negations in Japanese and Turkish are provided for a clearer comparison:

13) John-wa   sensei-jana-i

     John-TOP   teacher-NEG.COP-PRS

     'John is not a teacher.'

14) (Ben)   satıcı   değil-im

     1SG   seller   NEG-1SG

     'I am not a seller.'

Copular negation in Japanese and Turkish, at least based on the above examples, seems to be rather predictable, as the negation precedes the tense hence the NegP is dominated by TP (Laka, 1991) — a typical structure of head-final languages. Also predictable, given the assumption that NegP is immediately dominated by TP, is the fact that no intervening elements are found between the copula (if there is any) and the negation. Let us now examine the copular negation in Korean:

15) John-un   kyosa-**ka**   an-i-∅-ta

     John-TOP   teacher-**NOM**   neg-i-PRS-DECL

     'John is not a teacher.'

Similar to the Japanese example, the negation also precedes the present tense. In addition, the general structure is strikingly similar to that of Turkish. While the Turkish -*y* and the Korean -*i* respectively are both attached to the predicate NPs in affirmative constructions, the very same predicate NPs now stand alone without suffixes and the negated copulas form independent

words. However, example (15) also highlights a number of differences too glaring to be overlooked.

While the copular negation in Japanese (and Turkish)[2] does not seem to require an overt case marker to its predicate NP, the similar construction in Korean apparently assigns a nominative case marker to its predicate NP. In German, for example, predicate nouns are in the nominative, but the case marking is persistent regardless of the grammatical polarity of the construction. Therefore, this phenomenon — that is to say, the predicate nominals being overtly in the nominative in the negative constructions but rather bare and case-neutral in the affirmative — is particularly interesting or peculiar, considering the fact that it is quite unusual for a predicate NP in a negative construction only to receive a nominative Case cross-linguistically.

Because of the appearance of the nominative marker in its negation construction and other phenomena such as homophony and inflection, which will be discussed later in this thesis, there is not a firmly established consensus among scholars on viewing *-i* as a copula. Similarly, quite a few scholars are skeptical about the identification of the Japanese *-da* as a copula, mostly from the observation that it cannot take predicative AdjPs and the claim that *-da* hardly serves as a linking element (Tsutsui 2007). Indeed, this ongoing controversy of the grammatical categorization of the Japanese *-da* and the Korean *-i* as well as the existence of the overt nominative marker in negation in the Korean copular constructions have not yet been fully explained.

2. Literature Review

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[2] According to Kornfilt (1997) and a direct conversation with her, it is rather complex to maintain this claim for Turkish, given that the Turkish nominative morpheme is phonologically null. However, non-specific nouns and noun phrases in Turkish are bare with respect to case in general, thus the argument can be further adapted to claim that the predicate nominals are also without case markers.

Unlike English copulas or copulas in other well-studied languages such as Romance languages, identification or categorization of -*i* and -*da* seems to be highly controversial. Such disagreements among scholars range from grammatical categorization to functional roles to the validity of viewing -*da* and -*i* as copulas.

2.1. Theoretical Background and Assumption: What is a Copula?

A thorough discussion of the concept and notion of copula is necessary in identifying the copular element in Korean or any languages. As discussed in the previous subsection, a copula is a linguistic element that links the subject and the predicate. More specifically, it is an element that co-occurs with certain complements of the predicate phrases in certain languages and functions as a predicate nucleus. Mikkelsen (2005) defines a copular sentence as a minor sentence type in which the contentful predicate is not a verb, but some other category such as AdjP, NP, or PP. A copula does not add any semantic content, and it cannot be used as a predicate on its own (Pustet, 2003).

Higgins (1973) more specifically examines the types of relationships or links between the subjects and the predicate complements in copular sentences and pseudoclefts. He distinguishes four types of copular clauses: Predicational, Specificational, Equative, and Identificational. This taxonomy, although not explicitly stated, is based on functions of copular clauses, rather than meanings. As the name suggests, predicational clause is the most general and predicate-like. Its subject phrase is referential, which "behaves to all intents and purposes like a name" (Higgins 1973: 220). In specificational clauses, the subject phrase defines a domain, and the specificational predicate identifies a particular member of that domain. A copular clause is considered equative when the copula links the subject phrase and the predicate phrase when

these are indeed equal and interchangeable. Finally, the identificational clauses "are typically used for teaching the names of people or of things" (Higgins 1973: 237)[3].

Aside from the discussion of equative copular clauses of which the subject and object NPs are essentially "equal" in terms of semantics and/or pragmatics, thus interchangeable without changing the reading of the sentence, Higgins makes clear distinctions between the other three categories. In specificational pseudoclefts, the focal (object/complement) item cannot be moved or deleted, the copula must be tensed, and sentential adverbials and straight negation are not allowed. Predicational pseudoclefts, however, are not subject to these restrictions. Identificational pseudoclefts also do not seem to abide by these restrictions, as they serve as means of identification of the subject of the clause.

While she actively adapts and applies Higgin's work (1973), Mikkelsen (2005) proposes a reduction of the copular categories suggested by Higgins. According to her analysis, identificational clauses with a pronominal subject (e.g. That is Joe Smith.), are in fact specificational as the subject defines some sort of a domain that the postcopular item can take (e.g. "that" is a list of someone/thing that I am pointing at.) and the postcopular item identifies a

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[3] Higgins (1979: 204–293) provides examples of the four types of copular clauses he identifies as below:

1) Predicational
a. The hat is big.
b. What I bought for Harvey is big.

2) Specificational
a. The director of Anatomy of a Murder is Otto Preminger.
b. Who I met was Otto Preminger.

3) Equative
a. Sylvia Obernauer is HER.
b. Cicero is Tully.

4) Identificational
a. That (woman) is Sylvia.
b. That (stuff) is DDT.

particular member of the domain. On the other hand, identificational clauses with a demonstrative subject (e.g. That man is Joe Smith.) are equative. As such, Mikkelsen's method of categorization or taxonomy of the copulas is to examine alignments between syntax and semantics with additional constraints based on the information and reading of the clause.

In line with her way of categorization, Mikkelsen (2005) extensively uses semantics and logic to give an alternative relevant notion of referentiality. According to her work, the notion "referential" is identified with type <e> (entity), and non-referential with type <s{<e,t>}>, where s stands for situation and t stands for truth value. Although she argues that this notion of referentiality is not suitable or appropriate for English NPs, Mikkelsen claims that this semantic analysis "fits naturally within a syntactic analysis of specificational clauses in which they involve movement of a predicative NP across the copula" (Mikkelsen 2005: 1810).

From the viewpoint of the structural analysis and theta role assignment, Moro (1997) claims that copular sentences, especially predicational and specificational ones, must be able to meet at least two minimal yet contrasting requirements:

1. It must capture the fundamental intuition that the pair of associated sentences are not distinct from the point of view of theta role assignment.

2. It must be able to explain why the post verbal noun phrase fails to behave like an object in one sentence in contrast to the usual pattern displayed by the post-verbal noun phrase in the other sentence with the reversed word order (Moro 1997: 30).

Consider the following examples also given by Moro:

16) [TP [DP Una foto del muro] fu [DP la causa della rivolta]]

      'A picture of the wall was the cause of the riot.'

17) [TP [DP La causa della rivolta] fu [DP una foto del muro]]

'The cause of the riot was a picture of the wall.'

In this pair of example sentences, Moro argues that it is hardly the case that "a picture of the wall" in (17) is the predicate DP, but that it is rather a spec-TP. Such an argument is based upon the fact that, despite the difference in the linear order, its core meaning is not deviant from that of (16). As the lexical items in both sentences are identical, Moro argues that this phenomenon — that is, preservation of the meaning regardless of the structural difference at the surface level, cannot possibly be due to the copula itself or to the DPs involved. The only possibility left is that the assymmetries between these elements must be traced back to the differences between the structures.

In conclusion, there seems to be a broad consensus on the functions and roles in the structures in which they occur, namely that they provide a single semantic link between the pre-verbal and post-verbal items. While there are slight disagreements as to how many types there are for such linkages, this thesis actively adapts the terminology and assumptions defined in this section. Discussions on syntactic structures and labeling of the NPs, however, may be significantly deviant from this section (i.e. there will be no "post-copular" or "post-verbal" elements), as the syntactic structures of the Korean and Japanese languages are quite distinctive from English and Italian.

2.2. Previous Work on the Identification and Categorization of *-i*

As pointed out previously, judgements on the grammatical category of *-i* as well as its categorization as a copula among scholars remain highly controversial. Song (2007) points out that the general consensus among Korean linguists on the grammatical function of *-i* and the

sequence *an-i*, which, descriptively, appears to be the negative counterpart of the affirmative copula *-i* but has been otherwise viewed as a monomorphemic *ani* by some scholars (Kim 2019, Song 2007), has been that *-i* is a predicative case marker and *ani* is an adjective. It is in fact the stance that the National Institute of Korean Language (NIKL) and the department of Education in South Korea take, as *-i* is defined as a predicative case marker and *ani-ta* is defined as an adjective in the dictionary published by the NIKL and in the textbooks published by the department of Education.

However, it is not clear at all what a predicative "Case" hence a predicative case marker is. Furthermore, the true "general consensus" among scholars seems to be that *-i* is some kind of a predicate. Some scholars view *-i* as a lexical item that identifies and specifies a noun (Choi 2017, Chung & Kim 2002, Park 2014), while there are few scholars that propose that *-i* is a dependent/bound adjective (Song, 2007). Some scholars consider *-i* as a "linking verb" (Choi 2017, Park & Li 2014), some other scholars simply see it as ditransitive predicate/verb, and a handful of scholars argue that *-i* is a simple predicate, whose categorization is structurally determined thus varies by construction in which it appears.

Park (2014) regards *-i* in *-i-ta* as a copular verb. His work particularly focuses on sluicing and fragments, in which the copulas become optional in certain environments. His view of the functions of copulas is that the copula denotes the equative relation between the subject and the complement, and describes the characteristic property of the subject. He also argues that the complement of the copula *-i* has to be a DP/NP that matches the subject of the clause in terms of syntactic category.

Chung and Kim (2002) also believes *-i* to be a copula. Instead of considering *-i* as a copular verb, they propose a morphosyntactic analysis of the copula mostly in specificational clauses to examine its grammatical category. According to their findings, the Korean copula *-i* is a word-like clitic that shows some genuine clitic-like properties and some word-like properties. Therefore, *-i* cannot be considered as a fully independent verb, but as a subtype of compacting-constructions found in languages like German and Warlpiri.

Choi (2017) also agrees that *-i* is a copula. He then categorizes copular clauses in the Korean language using different terminology: Referential, Metonymy, and Characteristic. What he refers to as "referential" seems to be equivalent to equative and/or identificational. Similarly, "characteristic" can be interpreted/translated as "predicational." As the name suggests, metonymy is simply another way of describing specificational clauses. He further argues that all of these types are basically equative clauses, while it is the semantic linkage/relationship found in the structure that determines the type of the copular sentence.

Park and Li (2014) compare copulas found in Korean, Japanese, and Chinese, based on the assumption that *-i* is indeed a copula. Similar to Park (2014), Park and Li (2014) show that the Korean copula becomes optional in some sluicing constructions and fragments. They also argue that the sluicing in Korean is characterized by the optionality of the copula, the optionality of the subject pronoun that replaces the first subject cleft clues, and the optionality of the dropping of accusative case markers.

On the other hand, there also are many scholars including Song (2007) who view *-i* as an adjective, based on the morphosyntactic similarities that canonical adjectives and *-i* share. Most

of the similarities heavily rely upon inflectional suffixes that both adjectives and *-i* can take but most content verbs cannot.

There are a handful of scholars who identify copulas in Korean other than *-i*. Frellesvig (2001) not only acknowledges *-i* as a copula but also focuses on the diachrony of copular items and considers *-ulo* as another copula in the Korean language, arguing that *-i* is derived from *-ilo*, which is a variant and an archaic form of *-ulo*. However, as this thesis focuses on the functional use, identification, and grammatical categorization of *-i* in Modern Korean, the history or the diachrony of the copulas will not be discussed[4].

Although the scholars who view *-i* as a copula do not completely agree on its properties or functional roles, the general consensus thus far seems to be that *-i* is a copular item. On the contrary, there are also scholars who refuse the existence of copular items in Korean (Choi 1993, Kim 2019, Wu 2006). Choi (1993) strongly asserts that *-i* in *-i-ta* is a nominative Case marker and not a copula, and acknowledges that his claim amounts to saying that there is no copula in Korean. While the nominative case *-i* can only be attached to consonant-ending nouns and its allomorph *-ka* should be used for vowel ending nouns, the allomorph *-ka* only occurs when the NOM-assigned noun does not constitute an X^0 complex. In other words, despite the morphophonological rule of nominative case marker *-i* and *-ka*, *-i* should only be used when the

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[4] The modern usage of *-ulo*, however, is restricted to VP conjunctions:

       John-un   haksayng-ulo Seoul-ey   iss-ta
       John-TOP student-ULO Seoul-POST exist-DECL
       'John is a student and is in Seoul.'

And it cannot be the stem to which tense and mood suffixes can attach:

       *John-un   haksayng-ulo-∅-ta
        John-TOP   student-ULO-PRS-DECL
        Intended: 'John is a student.'

noun constitutes an X^0, while the normal allomorphy is again allowed if the noun fails to constitute X^0. Furthermore, he argues that the negation construction, which does assign a nominative marker to the complement NP and makes NEG-*i-ta* into an independent word, is rooted in the morphological difference between noun and negation. In light of this, Kim (2019) also argues that -*i* is a nominative Case marker, due to the fact that 1) it is homophonous to the nominative Case marker -*i*, 2) it can only be affixed to NPs, and 3) overt nominative Case markers are found in negation constructions.

The notion of copula itself is thus heavily dependent on semantics and the relation between the subject NP and the predicate complement. On the other hand, grammatical categorization can be performed and structures of copular constructions can be assigned according to a series of morphosyntactic and syntactic analyses and tests. Based on these assumptions, languages can have phonologically null copulas, but they cannot lack copulas altogether, unless there are no constructions at all that link the subjects and the predicates. As shown previously, the Korean language indeed demonstrates that is has constructions that obviously link the subjects and the predicates. Therefore, it is rather too radical or even incorrect to posit that the Korean language lacks copulas, unless one can argue and prove that the "predicate complements" also can function as predicates by themselves. Let us revisit example (2) for a clearer discussion, re-labeled as example (18) below:

18) John-un   kyosa-i-ta

John-TOP teacher-i-DECL

'John is a teacher.'

This example should then be regarded as a copular construction, as "teacher" is a member of the domain "John" — the relation between the subject NP "John" and the predicate NP "teacher" is specificational (Higgins, 1973, Mikkelsen, 2005). Given this observation, the Korean language does consist of copular constructions and, a copula (or a copular item), whether phonologically overt or covert, should then exist as well. Adapting the claims by some scholars who are inclined to disprove the existence of the copula or the validity of *-i* as a copular item (Choi 1993, Kim 2019, Wu 2006), it could surely be argued that the Korean copular construction consists of a phonologically null copula and that *-i* is a supplementary element that is somehow required or licensed by the rest of the elements in the construction but cannot be labeled as a copula. On the other hand, given that all elements of this example but *-i* have already been identified, it is not inappropriate to extrapolate the previous discussion of copulas to the identification of *-i* and labeling it as an overt copula. In the following sections, these two potential analyses will be taken into account in an attempt to identify the grammatical categorization and functions of *-i* as a copula.

2.3. Previous Work on the Identification and Categorization of *-da*

While discussion on the Korean copula is quite limited to *-i* along with its functions and validity as a copula, there are various elements in the Japanese language that have been identified or attempted to be identified as copulas. Such elements include, but are not limited to *-no, -na, -to, -ni, -da,* and *-de ar.* (Daniels 1973, Frellesvig 2001, Kaneyasu 2015, Mills 1977, Nishiyama 1999, Nishiyama 2003, Tsutsui 2006). *-de* and *-de ar* are often regarded as a formal counterpart of *-da* (Nishiyama 1999, Tsutsui 2006), the discussion of the Japanese copulas hence the scope of this thesis will be limited to the discussion of *-da* and *-de ar*.

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Similar to the Korean *-i,* analyses and claims on the grammatical categorization of *-da* are quite contentious. While many scholars have conducted their analyses on the Japanese copulas and the copular structures based on the conventional assumption that *-da* and *-de ar* are the elements equivalent to copulas (Kaneyasu 2015, Mills 2977, Nishiyama 1999, Nishiyama 2003, Park & Li 2014), other scholars have pointed out that the identification of the Japanese copulas is heavily dependent upon word-by-word translation of Japanese into Indo-European languages which commonly have overt copulas, thus the conventional view of *-da* and *-de ar* as copulas is misled by the western-centered notion of the copular constructions (Daniels 1973, Tsutsui 2006).

In his analyses of predicative adjectives in Japanese, Nishiyama argues that *-de ar* is a product of a semantically contentful (meaning predicative, essential for non-verbal predication) copula *-de* and a semantically vacuous or dummy copula *ar* that only appears due to syntactic or morphological requirements (1999: 188). In response to the phenomenon that the Japanese adjectives do not take *-de ar* or *-da,* which is one of the main evidence that the scholars use to argue that *-de ar* and *-da* are not copulas, he presents a thorough distribution of inflectional suffixes that attach to adjectives and verbs in an attempt to claim that the Japanese adjectives, similar to verbs, are inflecting adjectives which conjugate like predicates, without an overt copula.

Mills (1977) also recognizes *-da* as a copula, but the analysis is quite deviant from that of Nishiyama (1999). According to Mills, *-da* is a copula marker, which is a bound morpheme/form that can only take an NP complement with no intervening case particle. He also limits the functions of the Japanese copulas by stating that the Japanese copula is a marker of an equative relationship and a base morpheme that some suffixes can be attached to. Furthermore, contrary to

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Nishiyama (1999)'s claim, Mills argues that *-da* is merely a grammatical element with no semantic value.

The claim made by Mills (1977) that *-da* is an equative marker (which then translates as a copula) has faced multiple challenges by scholars including Daniels (1973) and Tsutsui (2006), who have provided empirical evidence that the function of *-da* is not limited to an equative marker, hence the distribution of it expands to other constructions than the simple A equals B. This has led these scholars to conclude that modern Japanese does not have a copula, and that the notion of copula or copulative itself is highly western-centered and not a suitable concept for languages like Japanese.

In his observation, Daniels (1973) argues that the "A is B" construction can be best translated as "A wa B da," but the reverse-translation will not always be true. For instance, a person who translates a Japanese sentence *watasi-wa unagi-da* into English may face a challenge as the sentence can have two translations: "I am an eel" and "I am the one who ordered an eel." As such, *-da* cannot always serve as a linking or equative item (Daniels 1973: 268). Although the functions of copulas and the types of copular constructions are never limited to equative and mere linking (Nishiyama, 2003: 179), Daniels' overall stance on *-da* is further supported by the optionality of *-da* and its formal counterpart *-de ar* in female speech, which leads him to the conclusion that *-da* is an attributive or mood/politeness marker. Moreover, on the assumption that *-desu* is a polite counterpart of *-da* and that *-desu* is merely a polite level suffix/marker, functions of *-da* should most naturally be analyzed as an informal suffix. Additionally, the fact that neither *-da* nor *-de ar* is acceptable in constructions involving canonical adjectives (c.f. example (10)) is also presented to argue against the convention that *-da* and *-de ar* are copulas.

This proposition has been strongly supported in Tsutsui (2006)'s work, in which he provides detailed syntactic analyses on the adjectival constructions, the alternation between *-da* and its polite counterparts, and the "A is B" constructions in an attempt to provide empirical as well as theoretical evidence of the claim that the primary function of *-da* is that of marking a tenseless predicate as non-past or past, making the surface form of the tenseless sentence or clause complete. Regarding the adjectival constructions, Tsutsui (2006) claims that the fact that *-da* is optional and can be replaced with the adjectival suffix *-i* for certain adjectives — what Nishiyama labels as a "hybrid class" produced by augmentation process (1999: 212) — leads to the conclusion that *-da* itself does not bear the meaning 'be.' This phenomenon will also be discussed in detail in the following sections. In addition, the motivation for the deletion of *-da* seems to be the occurrence of other polite markers such as *-desu* and *-deshō* in the constructions, and such a deletion does not result in the loss of "linkage" between the subject and the object (Tsutsui 2006: 78). Therefore, he argues that *-da* and its variants are necessary only when the tense or politeness level must be indicated explicitly, and as such, they can be omitted when a situation allows abbreviated surface forms, without losing the intended meaning (p. 83).

On the other hand, many scholars in fact take the conventional assumption that views *-da* and *-de ar* as copulas as the fundamental ground of their research and analyses. Park and Li (2014)'s work mentioned in the previous subsection is clearly one of them. In their comparative analysis of cleft and in-situ focus constructions in Korean, Japanese, and Chinese, Park and Li argue that one of the characteristics of the sluicing in Japanese is the optionality of the copula:

(19) a. Cleft

[Naoya-ga t_i tabeta no]-wa   ringo-o   mit-tu$_i$ da

Naoya-NOM t_i ate   C-TOP   apple-ACC   3-CL   COP

'It was three apples that Naoya ate'

b. In-situ focus

[Naoya-ga   RINGO-O   MIT-TU   Tabeta no] (da)

Naoya-NOM   apple-ACC   3-CL   ate   C (COP)

'(it is that) Naoya ate three apples.'   (Park & Li 2014: 446)

And constructions like (19b) — that is, dropping of the copula — are not acceptable in Korean. Although the discussion of sluicing in Japanese and/or Korean is out of the scope of this thesis, what is noteworthy is that example (19b) is the exact construction that Daniels (1973) and Tsutsui (2006) have used in demonstrating why *-da* cannot serve or be identified as a copula; the nominalized phrase is a complement of the VP and the sentence lacks a subject that is presumably linked to the predicate nominal, hence there is no linking or equative relationship in the construction. Park and Li (2014), however, have provided an alternative analysis by treating this type of constructions as in-situ focus constructions. Detailed discussion on this matter will be provided in section 4.2.

Kaneyasu (2015) has also conducted her quantitative analyses on discourse-specific functions of the Japanese copulas based on the ground that *-da* and *-de aru* are copulas. Contrary to other works mentioned in this section, Kaneyasu treats a null copula as an independent type of copula from the semantic/pragmatic point of view. All of the data have been collected from articles, opinion columns, and editorials in Japanese newspapers, for which a quantitative analyses on the frequency and distribution the Japanese copulas have been performed. Contrary to Daniels's claim (1973), Kaneyasu has discovered that *-da* is the most prominent copula found in news articles, editorials, and columns that most frequently connotes conclusiveness, identification, and hearsay, and that very little to no explicit attributive functions are present in

constructions with -da. On the other hand, -de aru is most frequently used in the constructions expressing affective stance and emphatic evaluation, thus is more attributive. More importantly, Kaneyasu has argued that the zero/null copulas are mostly present in sentences that contain numerical information and/or absolute facts (219). Her analysis of the null copula, on one hand, can be used against the claim that -da serves as a linking element as the linkage within the copular construction is still preserved without it. On the other hand, the fact that -da and -de aru are required in certain constructions argue against Tsutsui's claim (2006) that the intended meaning is well preserved without an explicit copula.

As demonstrated in this section, no single work seems to agree with any of the others. This ultimately implicates the complex nature of copulas and copular constructions as well as the complexity of -da and -i. Therefore, it is nearly impossible for this thesis or anyone to make irrefutable judgments or conclusions about the validity of the Japanese -da and Korean -i as copulas. However, analyzing -da as something other than a copula, a marker for a tenseless predicate as Tsutsui claims (2006) for instance, brings ambiguity or uncertainty to the analysis of the predicate NP. Is it the case that the predicate NP in Japanese can function as a copula-like unit by itself, or is it the case that a non-finite clause involving -da has a phonologically null verb that takes the predicate NP as its complement? Either way, the presence of -da has to entail some kind of a feature such as [+copula].

Although there is no absolute consensus on the properties or functional roles of these copulas, Choi (2017), Chung and Kim (2002), Frellesvig (2001), Kaneyasu (2015), Nishiyama (1999), Nishiyama (2003), Mills (1977), Park (2014), and Park and Li (2014) at least agree that -da and/or -i are copulas. Taking these arguments into account, this thesis attempts to identify -i

and *-da* as copulas and investigate their functions and properties through morphosyntactic and syntactic comparison on the basis of empirical evidence.

3. Research Questions and Hypotheses

The Korean *-i* and the Japanese *-da* strikingly resemble each other in terms of their equivocal nature as lexical or linguistic elements, their syntactic and morphosyntactic features and characteristics. On the other hand, however, *-i* and *-da* also display unique characteristics that are quite deviant from each other. In an attempt to delve deeper into the nature of *-i* and *-da*, a thorough comparison of their morphosyntactic and syntactic structures with a specific focus on the Case assignment in negative constructions as well as discussion of the grammatical categorization of *-i* and *-da* are necessary. As such, this thesis centers around the three main research questions, detailed below.

3.1. Validity of *-i* and *-da* as copulas

Can *-i* and *-da* be recognized and categorized as copulas in verbless constructions, which would be translated as copular constructions in languages such as English, in the two languages? This thesis aims to claim that -i and -da are indeed copulas through the morphosyntactic analyses of the constructions involving them. Furthermore, the comparative analyses of the two elements will confirm or support the claim that they are copulas.

3.2. Parametric and structural similarities and differences between *-i* and *-da*, with specific focus on negation

It is often considered, at least in some Indo-European languages, that the copulas can also appear in predicate AdjPs in addition to NP/DPs. However, it is apparent that both the Korean and the Japanese copulas do not seem to be able to take most AdjPs as their complements. In an

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attempt to posit that such a phenomenon is a result of a parametric difference, constructions with the predicate NPs, AdjPs, and PPs will be discussed and examined to highlight the similarities and differences between the two languages. Discussion of the structural similarities and differences will follow in order to set the theoretical and empirical ground for the discussion of the case assignment to the predicate nominals in Korean and Japanese, as well as the mismatch in case marking between affirmative and negative constructions in Korean.

3.3. Case assignment to predicate nominals: Case Theory and Distributed Morphology

As the two research questions above will establish what cases are assigned to the predicate nominals in both languages, the last question will focus on the discussion of the motivation and justification as to how the nominative case (or no case at all) is assigned to the predicate nominals unlike other languages that typically assign an accusative case to the predicate complements, such as English by adapting concepts of the Case Theory and Distributed Morphology. In addition, the discussion of case assignment will reveal that the nominative case is assigned to the predicate nominals in the copular constructions with both grammatical polarities in Korean, and the mismatch of the affirmative and negative constructions in terms of case assignment is a product of phonological constraints and phonotactic rules of Korean.

4. Validity of -*i* and -*da* as Copulas

In order for thorough analyses and comparisons on copular constructions in Korean and Japanese to be presented, establishing a solid stance on the categorization and identification of the copulas is necessary. This section thus attempts to provide overall sketches of the Korean and Japanese copular constructions, thereby supporting the claim that -*i* and -*da* are copular items (Choi 2017, Chung & Kim 2002, Frellesvig 2001, Park 2014, Park & Li 2014 Kaneyasu 2015,

Mills 2977, Nishiyama 1999, Nishiyama 2003). In the brief overview of the history of the

analyses of copulas provided by Moro (1997), there have been three traditional approaches that

have viewed copulas as: 1) the sign of tense, 2) the sign of affirmation, and 3) the sign of

identification. Although these views are "historical" and many revisions and applications have

been made to them thus far, Moro (1997: 248-250) states that there hasn't been a complete

rejection to these approaches. It has been briefly discussed thus far that the Korean and Japanese

copular constructions clearly show the sign of identification, hence affirmation. This is because

the view of the copula as a sign of identification can subsume the view of the copula as a sign of

affirmation to an extent, as identification can be viewed as an action of affirmation of a linkage

between two entities. What has remained rather unclear and controversial, however, is the tense.

In this section, closer observations and analyses of the Korean *-i* and the Japanese *-da* will be

provided in an attempt to examine if the two elements can be subject to the three approaches

described by Moro (1997) and to confirm that they can be deemed as copulas.

4.1. Discussion of *-i*

This subsection aims to examine syntactic and morphosyntactic structures and

phenomena of *-i*, including possible affixes that *-i* can take such as tense and affirmation,

semantic meanings that are produced by *-i*, and a thorough comparison between *-i* and the

homophonous nominative marker *-i* and its allomorph *-ka.*

4.1.1 Comparison between *-i,* verbs, and adjectives: the sign of tense

Perhaps the utmost source of the dispute in viewing *-i* as a copula is its morphosyntactic

and syntactic distribution which contrasts with those of other predicates. Unlike English or

Italian adjectives, Korean adjectives show verb-like behaviors — that is, they do not require

copulas or additional predicative elements and can be inflected with affixes such as tense and

mood. For instance, verbs and adjectives, as well as *-i*, can freely be inflected with the same past

tense and future tense affixes. However, Korean adjectives also differ from content verbs as to

which types of affixes they can take. The most obvious difference between adjectives and verbs

can be easily observed in the present tense construction:

20) ku-nun   colli-∅-ta

he-TOP   sleepy-PRS-DECL

'He is sleepy.'

21) ku-nun   pigon-ha-∅-ta

he-TOP   fatigue-do-PRS-DECL

'He is tired/fatigued.'

22) ku-ka   talli-n-ta

he-NOM   run-PRS-DECL

'He runs'

Examples (20) and (21) are both adjectival clauses. Similar to Japanese adjectives that

Nishiyama (1997) defines, Korean adjectives are also categorized into two subtypes: canonical

adjectives (example (20)) and adjectival nouns (example (21)). Adjectival nouns can behave as

adjectives only when a derivational morpheme *-ha* (lit. 'do'), which can also be used as an

independent verb, shown in the examples (26c-d) later, is suffixed. This means that, instead of

requiring an adjective marker or a separate derivational morpheme, the means of deriving nouns

into adjectives in Korean is by attaching a light verb. Therefore, the fact that do-insertion or

support is necessary in the derivational process preliminary supports the idea that the adjectives behave as verbs to some degree.

The difference between the adjectives and verbs, however, is clearly highlighted by the present tense morpheme. While Korean adjectives take a phonologically null present tense morpheme, Korean verbs usually take a phonologically overt tense morpheme /-n/. Certain verbal constructions with the null tense morpheme is acceptable (c.f. example (26a, 26c, 26d)), but adjectival clauses with /-n/ are deemed ungrammatical:

23) *ku-nun   colli-n-ta

   he-TOP   sleepy-PRS-DECL

   Intended meaning: 'He is sleepy.'

Copular constructions also behave like those of adjectives and take the null present tense morpheme.

24) ku-ka   haksayng-i-∅-ta

   he-NOM   student-i-PRS-DECL

25) *ku-ka   haksayng-i-n-ta

   he-NOM   student-i-PRS-DECL

It is sometimes argued that the null present tense morpheme and /-n/ are in complementary distribution and that it is ungrammatical for the null present tense morpheme to appear with content verbs (Kim 2019). However, if the semantic meaning of such a construction is highly nuanced with a strong focus on the state or status of the agent — that is, if the sentence bears a stative relationship between the subject and the predicate, the use of the zero tense morpheme is not at all ungrammatical:

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26) a. Ori,   nal-∅-ta

    duck,   fly-PRS-DECL

    '(A) duck (hereby) flies.'

  b. Ori,   na-n-ta

    duck,   fly-PRS-DECL

    '(A) duck flies/is flying.'

  c. Beronika, cuk-ki-ro   kyelsim-ha-∅-ta

    Veronika, die-GER-COMP   decision-do-PRS-DECL

    'Veronika (hereby) decides to die.'

  d. Beronika, cuk-ki-ro   kyelsim-ul   ha-∅-ta

    Veronika, die-GER-COMP   decision-ACC   do-PRS-DECL

    'Veronika (hereby) decides to die'

Example (26a) most clearly shows that a content/action verb can also take a null present tense morpheme, and its meaning is focused on the status of the subject, as opposed to example (26b) that focuses on the description of the action of the subject. Similarly, example (26c) also focuses on the current status of the subject, Veronica, that she makes (or has made) a decision to die, rather than her action of deciding. Example (26d) is provided in order to prevent any confusion between the ha(do)-insertion of the adjectival clauses and noun-incorporation, as well as to demonstrate that (-)ha can also serve as an independent verb. In connection with this, if a predicate has a semantic representation of a state of the agent or the topic of a discourse, and does not require a particular tense, then perhaps this "phonologically null" present tense morpheme could potentially be a stative/continuous morpheme that denotes a lexical aspect.

With this being said, it could also be argued that adjectives and copulas (or -*i*), when representing

a current status or state, should not require the present tense /-n/ that is associated with the

description of the current action.

Another morphosyntactic test can be applied by using the suffix -*Vci*, which functions as

a derivational morpheme that bears a passive-like meaning, such as "to become."

27) Tom-i   pigon-hay-ci-n-ta

     Tom-NOM fatigue-do-become-PRS-DECL

     'Tom becomes tired/fatigued.'

The morpheme -*ha* becoming -*hay* is a product of the irregular conjugation of /-ha/ when a

vowel-initial morpheme is attached. As illustrated above, suffixation of -*Vci* initiated the

derivation of the adjective "tired," derived from the noun "fatigue" by the ha-insertion, into a

verb "becomes tired." As such, the present tense marker /-n/ is now allowed. For the canonical

adjectives that do not require ha(do)-insertion, the constructions also require the affixation of

-*Vci* and the present tense morpheme -*n*:

28) Tom-i   colli-eci-n-ta

     Tom-NOM sleepy-become-PRS-DECL

     'Tom becomes sleepy.'

-*Vci* has two allomorphs, -*aci* and -*eci,* and is suffixed to the stem in accordance with vowel

harmony — -*aci* is suffixed when the stem has a low final vowel (with the exception of *ha*),

whereas -*eci* is suffixed to the stem that has a high or mid final vowel. On the other hand, content

verbs do not normally allow -*Vci,* with a few exceptions:

29) *Ku-ka   talli-eci-n-ta

he-NOM   run-become-PRS-DECL

Intended meaning: 'It is possible to get him run.'

30) Cha-ka   kulle-ka-ci-n-ta

Car-NOM   roll-go-become-PRS-DECL

'It is possible to get the car go/roll (lit. Car becomes rolling and going)'

The initial vowel that is subject to the alternation in -*Vci* is dropped in example (30) and the

morpheme is realized as -*ci*, as the general phonotactics of Korean is that it tends to avoid

identical vowels in a consecutive order. This tendency will repeatedly appear in later examples,

and appropriate discussions will be provided.

The fundamental difference between the above examples is that the former consists of a

verb that requires an active agent and the latter consists of a patient or an inactive/passive agent.

While "he" in example (29) is undoubtedly an agent, "car" in example (30) is not strictly an

agent, as there is an external agent that causes or makes the car go — the thematic role of "car"

should rather be the patient. A construction has to have an agent, at least in Korean, in order for

the attachment of -Vci to be acceptable. On the other hand, no agent thematic roles are typically

assigned in copular constructions, yet the constructions with -*Vci* are still possible in those with

predicate adjectives. And the Korean -*i*, which has been considered as an adjective instead of a

copula by some scholars including Song (2007), does not allow suffixation of -*Vci*:

31) *Ku-ka   haksayng-i-e-ci-n-ta

    he-NOM   student-i-e-become-PRS-DECL

32) John-uy   chwimi-nun talli-ki-i-∅-ta

    John-GEN hobby-TOP run-GER-i-PRS-DECL

'John's hobby is running.'

33) *John-uy   chwimi-nun talli-ki-i-e-ci-n-ta

   John-GEN hobby-TOP   run-GER-i-e-become-PRS-DECL

Rather, "NP1 becomes NP2" constructions in Korean require a separate root verb, hence the overall structures are significantly different from those that involve suffixation of a derivational morpheme -*Vci*:

34) Tom-i   haksayng-i   toy-ess-ta

   Tom-NOM   student-NOM[5] become-PST-DECL

   'Tom became a student' (Kim, 2019: 69)

Aside from the fact that the word 'become' in other languages is often viewed as a copula, this example confirms that -*i* is semantically not contentful. The comparison also suggests that -*i* behaves differently from both adjectives and lexical verbs, and that -*i* is a different linguistic element.

However, there is still an element that is homophonous with -*i* in example (33): a nominative marker. This very phenomenon is also observed in copular negation, as illustrated in example (16). As such, Wu (2006) and Kim (2019) regard this phenomenon as evidence that -*i* is an element that is deviant from any verbs and adjectives: a nominative marker. Comparison and contrast between the nominative marker -*i* and the copular -*i* will be discussed in the following subsection.

4.1.2 -*i* is a bound base morpheme; are nominative markers bound base morphemes, too?

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[5] The gloss of -*i* as a nominative marker is a direct quotation from Kim (2019). This thesis, however, disagrees with the identification of the predicative -*i* as a nominative marker, and will address this in the text and in the next subsection.

The confirmation of -*i* being different from verbs as well as adjectives may lead to the conclusion that -*i* functions as a copula, but it may also be interpreted as support for a possible claim that -*i* is a nominative marker, as it is also an element different from other predicates. Let us reiterate one of the fundamental assumptions of this thesis, that all sentences need predicates. This assumption automatically argues against the claim that there is no copula in the Korean language and that -*i* is in fact a nominative Case marker (Choi, 1997, Kim, 2019, Wu, 2006), unless Korean noun phrases can also behave as predicates without any additional derivation or addition of another element, or unless there is a phonological null copula. Therefore, a thorough comparison between the properties of -*i* as a clear-cut nominative marker and the properties of -*i* when it shows up in constructions that have a predicate nominal is necessary in order to examine 1) if they indeed demonstrate identical functions and behaviors in a construction and 2) if the noun phrases in Korean are really capable of behaving as predicates themselves.

Again, if the -*i* that attaches to NP2 in "NP1 is NP2" constructions is a nominative Case marker, there seems to be no overt predicate:

35) Tom-i   haksayng-**i**-∅-ta

    Tom-NOM student-**i**-PRS-DECL

    'Tom is a student.'

In the previous subsection it was demonstrated that -*i* can take on inflectional suffixes such as tense (e.g. present and past) and mood (e.g. declarative, interrogative, conditional, etc.). While it is a bound morpheme that has to be attached to the predicate complements, -*i* is also a base morpheme itself to which a variety of suffixes can attach. The nominative marker -*i*, however, does not seem to function as a base morpheme. A simple test can be conducted using a

conjunction *-ko*, a morpheme that means 'and' that typically attaches to predicates: EXPLICIT EXPLANATION THAT -KO CANNOT FOLLOW OTHER CASE MARKERS, EXAMPLE WITH GENUINE ADJECTIVE PREDICATES WITH NO DO SUPPORT

36) ku-nun   haksayng-i-∅-ko   han ai-uy   appa-i-∅-ta

    he-TOP   student-i-PRS-CONJ one child-GEN dad-i-PRS-DECL

    'He is a student and (he is) a father of one child.'

37) *Tom-i-ko   John-i   haksayng-i-∅-ta

     Tom-NOM-CONJ   John-NOM   student-i-PRS-DECL

     Intended meaning: 'Tom and John are students.'

38) ku-ka   colli-∅-ko   pigon-ha-∅-ta

    he-NOM sleepy-PRS-CONJ fatigue-do-∅-DECL

    'He is sleepy and tired.'

39) ku-nun   ket-∅-ko   talli-n-ta

    he-TOP walk-PRS-CONJ run-PRS-DECL

    'He walks and runs.'

While the use of *-ko* is grammatical in the examples (36), (38), and (39), similar constructions with the nominative marker, illustrated in example (37), are ungrammatical. In fact, a different conjunction *-kwa* is required for noun conjunctions:

40) Tom-kwa   John-i   haksayng-**i**-∅-ta

    Tom-CONJ   John-NOM student-**i**-PRS-DECL

    'Tom and John are students.'

Therefore, although homophonous, the nominative marker *-i* shows a significant difference in morphosyntactic behavior and distribution from the copular *-i*.

Moreover, the claim that the *-i* in the predicate NP is indeed a nominative marker amounts to positing that the predicate NP can 1) behave as a predicate itself inherently or 2) undergo a zero-derivation process such as an attachment of a phonologically null predicate, as suffixes such as *-ess* (past) or *-ta* (declaration) are usually assumed to have verbal features, and need to have a valid root verb to which it can attach. In addition to the fact that the nominative markers themselves are mere markers for overt case, hence incapable of licensing or bearing tense or mood, this subsection has demonstrated that the nominative marker *-i* is not a base morpheme to which *-ko*, a conjunction for predicates only, can attach. Therefore, the hypothesis that the Korean NPs may be capable of behaving as predicates by themselves is immediately rejected.

It is still possible to posit that there is, in fact, a phonologically null element that functions as a predicate. However, if there is indeed a phonologically null predicate, the necessity of the do-insertion in adjectival nouns becomes vague:

41) Tom-i   pigon-hay-ess-ta

   Tom-NOM   fatigue-do-PAST-DECL

   'Tom was tired.'

42) Tom-uy   muncey-nun   pigon-**i**-ess-ta

   Tom-GEN problem-TOP   fatigue-**i**-PAST-DECL

   'Tom's problem was fatigue.'

The default part of speech of the adjectival nouns are indeed nouns in the sense that they are treated as nouns without the *ha*-insertion, illustrated in example (42) (Additional illustrations will be provided in section 5, which covers the discussion of possible complements of the copula *-i*). If the insertion of *-i* only fulfills the purpose of maintaining the part of speech of these nouns (Kim 2019), supplemented by a phonologically null predicate, it should also be predicted that constructions like example (42) can be produced without an insertion of additional elements such as *-i* or *-ha*, as the default, lexical part of speech of *pigon,* 'fatigue,' should always be interpreted as a noun. However, such constructions without *-i* or *-ha* are unequivocally ungrammatical.

Labeling the *-i* as a copula rather than a nominative marker, however, may still be perplexing, based on the fact that the many other languages require copulas to co-occur with predicate adjectives. In light of this, this thesis has also attempted to provide evidence that Korean adjectives have verbal features while nominals do not, and therefore the attachment of the copula *-i* to predicate adjectives is not acceptable. In addition to Japanese that also distinguishes predicate adjectives and predicate nominals, it has been shown in the introduction that Chinese, despite its typological differences with Korean and/or Japanese, also makes a similar distinction between predicate nominals and predicate adjectives. Such a distinction in Chinese is made by requiring a copular verb *shì* for predicate nominals but adverbs of degree for predicate adjectives. While this thesis does not attempt to provide any generalizations or proposals of the Chinese copular constructions, separate treatments between predicate adjectives and predicate nominals do not seem to be confined to the copular constructions in Korean.

4.2. Discussion of *-da* and *-de ar*

Similar to the Korean *-i*, the interpretation of the Japanese *-da* and *-de ar* as copulas have also been deemed controversial. While the general consensus seems to be that *-da* and *-de ar* are copulas as it is one of the popular assumptions that much research is based on, there are multiple scholars that actively questions the categorization of *-da* and *-de ar* as copulas. As *-da* is largely considered as an informal, contracted form of *-de ar* (Nishiyama 1999), this thesis aims to examine both forms interchangeably.

4.2.1. Distribution of *-da* and *-de ar*: the sign of tense

As discussed previously, *-da* is viewed as an impolite counterpart of *-desu* by Daniels (1973), which implicates that *-da* and *-de ar* should not express any tense semantics. On the other hand, Tsutsui analyzes *-da* and *-de ar* as morphemes or markers that are obligatory when both tense and the level of politeness must be expressed explicitly (2006: 83) — thereby suggesting that *-da* and *-de ar* do have the exponent of tense. What behavior of *-da* and *-de ar* has caused a disagreement between the two scholars, who both regard *-da* and *-de ar* as non-copular items? The next set of examples are provided to demonstrate how the present tense is marked and/or expressed in lexical verbs[6]:

43) jugyō-ga   owar-u

    class-NOM   end-PRS

    'the class ends.'

44) Isshōkenmei-ni   tor-i-sugar-u

    life.risking-POST   take-CONJ-cling-PRS

    '(I) hold onto (it) as hard as I can.'

---

[6] Verbal conjugation rules in Japanese are strictly based on phonological constraints and phonotactics of the language. As such, verbs are chosen so that they are at least near-minimal pairs with *-de ar-u*.

45) ringo-ga   ar-u

   apple-NOM   exist-PRS

   'there is an apple (lit. An apple exists).'

It becomes quite apparent that a suffix *-u* attaches to the root verb in marking present tense.

Contrary to what Daniels (1973) believes, *-de ar* seems to be the product of the same suffixation

process:

46) kare-wa   kyōshi-de ar-u

   he-TOP   teacher-de ar-PRS

   'he is a teacher.'

One might still argue that the word-final /u/ in *-de ar-u* is a coincidence rather than the present

tense marker on the grounds that *-da* and *-de ar* are merely mood markers, and such an argument

also seems to be plausible when analyzing the present tense constructions — Japanese does seem

to have a phonologically null present tense marker that is associated with canonical adjectives,

and if one also argues that there is a phonologically null copula or a similar element to which

other verbal suffixes can attach, then it is possible that *-de ar* or *-da* be interpreted as one of the

verbal suffixes such as mood markers. If this is true, however, the construction below, which

should be interpreted as a polite counterpart of the *-de ar* construction, should be unpredictable:

47) kare-wa kyōshi-de ar-i-mas-u

   he-TOP teacher-de ar-CONJ-POL-PRS

   'he is a teacher.'

If *-de ar* is a mere impoliteness marker, why does it still appear in a sentence that bears polite

mood and is suffixed by another politeness marker, even different from *-desu*? Not only does this

example show that *-de ar* does not serve as an impoliteness marker, it also demonstrates that *-de ar* serves as a base morpheme for all necessary verbal suffixes to attach, presumably functioning as a predicate that links the subject noun and the predicate noun.

Therefore, it seems that identifying and treating *-de ar* as an element which expresses tense is empirically and theoretically better supported than marking it as an impoliteness marker. This can be further confirmed by past tense conjugations[7]:

48) jugyō-ga   owat-ta

class-NOM   end-PST

'the class ended.'

49) Isshōkenmei-ni   tor-i-sugat-ta

life.risking-POST take-CONJ-cling-PST

'(I) held onto (it) as hard as I could.'

50) ringo-ga   at-ta

apple-NOM   exist-PST

'there was an apple (lit. An apple existed).'

51) kare-wa kyōshi-de at-ta

he-TOP teacher-de ar-PST

'he was a teacher.'

While the observations and analyses provided in the subsection thus far support the general consensus that *-de ar* is a predicate-like element that appears in copular constructions, the identification of *-da* as a predicate-like element has not yet been discussed in this thesis,

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[7] All of these verbs including *-de aru* undergo a phonological derivation that triggers the morpheme-final [r] to become [t] upon attachment of the past tense morpheme /-ta/.

except the fact that it is considered as a casual, informal counterpart of -*de ar*. Daniels (1973) proposes that -*da* is rather the impolite, informal counterpart of -*desu*, based on the following juxtaposition:

52) a. kare-wa kyōshi-da

b.*kare-wa kyōshi-da-i-mas-u

c. kare-wa kyōshi-desu

If -*da* is an informal version of -*de aru*, one might immediately predict that the polite counterpart of its construction should resemble example (52b). However, such a construction is ungrammatical, and the speakers may resort to alternating the construction using -*desu*. Moreover, in the constructions with -*da*, we do not see the present tense morpheme /-u/ that has been repeatedly appearing in other sentences.

However, this tendency is rather inconsistent and quite the opposite in constructions involving predicate adjectives:

53) a. kare-wa waka-i

   he-TOP young-ADJ.PRS

   'he is young.'

b.*kare-wa waka-i-de ar-u

   he-TOP young-ADJ.PRS-de ar-PRS

   'Intended meaning: he is young.'

c. *kare-wa waka-i-da

   he-TOP young-ADJ.PRS-da

   'Intended meaning: he is young.'

Both *-de ar* and *-da* cannot attach to the canonical adjective 'young,' which seems to undergo a separate suffixation process for present tense marking from that of verbs. Not only can the impolite mood be marked by neither *-de ar* nor *-da*, the impolite mood is already indicated in example (53a), perhaps by default of a phonologically null marker. Furthermore, the adjective itself can carry a present tense marker, and that attaching *-de ar* results in double present tense marker, marking the construction ungrammatical. This comparison thus nullifies Tsutsui's claim (2006) that *-de ar* is obligatory for marking impolite mood and present tense.

On the other hand, the behavior of *-desu* are clearly deviant from those of *-de ar* or *-da*. First of all, as illustrated below, *-desu* does not necessarily receive the tense markers when there are better candidates to which the tense marker can attach to, contrary to *-de ar*:

54) a. kare-wa waka-i-desu

   he-TOP young-ADJ.PRS-POL

   'he is young.'

   b. kare-wa waka-katta-desu

   he-TOP young-ADJ.PST-POL

   'he was young.'

For instance, past tense marker does attach to *-desu* in NP1=NP2 constructions, where there are no overt predicates/copulas present:

55) a. kare-wa kyōshi-des-u   'he is a teacher.'

   b. kare wa kyōshi-desh-ita 'he was a teacher.'

Secondly, unlike both *-de aru* and *-da*, *-desu* can attach to adjectives. Thus, one can argue that *-desu* is not a variant of *-da* or *-de aru* in terms of its distribution and morphosyntactic behaviors.

Rather, its impolite counterpart is a phonologically null element. Although Daniels (1973) has been very cautious about the potential misconception or mislabelling of a linguistic element of a non-English language that may arise in translation work, he also has been misled to an extent by juxtaposing the English translation of *-da* and *-desu*.

Nevertheless, the fact that no element that resembles a present tense marker in *-da* is traceable or identifiable, and that how *-da* undergoes a past tense conjugation has not yet been explicated.

56) a. kare-wa kyōshi-de ar-u   'he is a teacher.'

    b. kare-wa kyōshi-da   'he is a teacher.'

All examples of *-de ar* provided thus far clearly suggest that the word is some sort of a contraction of *-de* and *aru,* which supports Nishiyama (1999)'s claims that *-de ar* is a product of the semantically contentful, or predicative, *-de* and the functional, semantically vacuous *ar*. Yet the two elements must co-occur in order to constitute a grammatically acceptable constructions.

It is not uncommon to observe a cliticization when two separate morphemes, one contentful and one functional, co-occur, cross-linguistically (Kornfilt 1996). And if one can posit that *-da* is a product of a cliticization or a contraction between *-de* and *-aru*, the problems and issues addressed by scholars such as Daniels (1973) and Tsutsui (2006) as well as by this thesis seem to be resolved without much conflict. The contraction seems to be more visible in past tense constructions:

57) a. kare-wa kyōshi-de at-ta   'he was a teacher.'

    b. kare-wa kyōshi-dat-ta   'he was a teacher.'

If *-da* is a contraction of *-de* and *ar* and the underlying contracted form is /*-dar*/, it can

account for the appearance of the morpheme final [t] in (57b) — that is, the morpheme-final [r]

is assimilated to the following [t] of the past tense suffix. Similarly, the fact that Japanese

typically allows a nasal coda only, can explain that disappearance of [r] in the present tense form.

Therefore, *-da* seems to be a contracted form of *-de ar* that has been lexicalized, and thus inherits

the distribution and morphosyntactic behaviors of *-de aru*, such as the sign of tense.

4.2.2. The sign of affirmation and identification

Another criticism of viewing *-da* and *-de aru* as copulas in the previous literature is that

they do not seem to function as linking elements (Daniels 1973:265), thus they do not act as

signs of affirmation and identification. Constructions involving the nominalizer *-no* have been

used to support his claim:

58) watashi-wa   ik-u

    1.SG-TOP   go-PRS

    'I go (or am going).'

59) watashi-wa   ik-u-no-da

    1.SG-TOP   go-PRS-NMZ-COP

    '(It is the case that) I go (or am going).'

Daniels in his paper argues that there is no subject to which the copula *-da* links its

complement in constructions like example (59). However, it is also the case that the example

(59) bears a slightly different meaning from the example (58), although it merely consists of a

nominalized form of the example (58). If *-da* only functions as an impoliteness marker, as

Daniels suggests, how and why is the nominalizer suffixed to the fully-functioning predicate

'go,' and where does the different meaning come from? Moreover, does the absence of an overt subject automatically entail that the construction lacks a subject? Languages that have null subjects are not at all uncommon, and Japanese is clearly one of them:

60) ima-kara   gakkō-ni   ik-u

    now-from school-POST   go-PRS

    '(I) am going to school now.'

It is never the case that example (60) above, which apparently lacks a subject, is incomplete. Moreover, it can also be read with a different pronoun, such as 'he,' 'you,' or 'we,' depending on the context.

61) neko-da

    cat-COP

    'it is a cat'

62) koko-da

    here-COP

    '(the place that I've been looking for) is here'

Therefore, it is not the case that the example (61) and (62) simply mean 'cat,' or 'here,' respectively. Rather, for each construction like this, there is a covert subject/pronoun to which *-da* links its complement, thereby carrying out the function of identification of the (covert) subject as well as affirmation of the linkage.

In line with the constructions involving *-no*, Tsutsui (2006) also looks at noun modification constructions that require *-no* in questioning the function of *-da* as a copula.

63) bengoshi-no/*da   yoshida-san

lawyer-no/*da   yoshida-HON[8]

'Mr. Yoshida, who is a lawyer' (Tsutsui 2006: 60)

64) bengoshi-dat-ta   yoshida-san

laywer-da-PST   yoshida-HON[8]

'Mr. Yoshida, who was a lawyer' (Tsutsui 2006: 60)

As the above examples illustrate, noun modification in Japanese is done through

relativization. However, while *-dat-ta*, the past form of *-da*, is acceptable in such constructions,

-da by itself is deemed ungrammatical, and the constructions require a novel element *-no* for the

present tense. Tsutsui (2006) then argues that, if *-da* is indeed a copula, the absence of it in

various sentences such as example (63) cannot be accounted for (p. 74).

Example (59) has treated *-no* as a nominalizer. It is, however, a bit strange to treat the *-no*

in example (63) as a nominalizer, unless one can prove that *bengoshi* 'lawyer' itself is a predicate

rather than a noun/NP. Furthermore, a nominalized constituent cannot serve as a modifier of

another noun unless it forms a compound noun. Is *-no*, then, a relativizer or complementizer?

65) a. [*pro*$_i$-ga bengoshi-de aru] Yoshida-san$_i$ 'Mr. Yoshida, who is a lawyer.'

b. [*pro*$_i$-ga bengoshi-de at-ta] Yoshida-san$_i$ 'Mr. Yoshida, who was a lawyer.'

c. *[*pro*$_i$-ga bengoshi-de aru]-no Yoshida-san$_i$

d. *[*pro*$_i$-ga bengoshi-de at-ta]-no Yoshida-san$_i$

e. *[*pro*$_i$-ga bengoshi-datta]-no Yoshida san$_i$

As the above examples illustrate, *-de ar* can be used with no violation of grammaticality.

Tsutsui (2006) and Daniels (1973) argue that it is possible for *-de ar* to be used in these

constructions because it is the formal form of *-da*, and this formality level cannot be indicated by

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[8] Tsutsui has provided the example sentence and the translation only — the appropriate glossing is
provided in accordance with the analyses presented in the thesis.

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default as the default formality level that these types of constructions bear is an informal one. Therefore, *-de ar* must be present in the construction to explicitly mark the level of formality, whereas the presence of *-da* would mean a redundant indicator. Their analyses, however, fail to account for example (64), in which *-dat-ta* is acceptable. Is *-da*, then, unacceptable only in the present construction that is informal by default?

In addition, example (65) shows that relative clauses in Japanese in general do not require an overt relativizer, even when the clause consists of the past form of *-da* (example 65e). The fact that *-no* only appears in the nominal relativization in present tense seems quite peculiar. The above examples also suggest that, given the fact that no overt relativizers or additional markers are required in relative clauses, the underlying structure of the ill-formed example (63) should look similar to the construction below, although deemed ungrammatical at the PF:

66) *[pro$_i$-ga bengoshi-da] Yoshida-san$_i$

Tsutsui (2006) points out that *-da* must be absent from the outset in an embedded sentence in order for the construction to be grammatical at the PF. However, this does not justify the appearance of *-no* in any way. Why, for example, is the construction unable to take a null element, as *-no* is unacceptable in the same constructions in past tense? Tsutsui explains the motivation for the appearance of *-no* as an attempt to prevent misparsing of the construction as a compound noun. However, he also points out that the Japanese language already has an element that most generally performs the same function:

67) a. kenkō   'health'

   b. kenkō-**na** hito   'a healthy person.'

In response to this, Tsutsui (2006) claims that *-no* is selected instead of *-na* due to a phonological reason, which he does not specify (p. 74). However, the actual analysis of the selection of *-no*

and *-na* can be conducted based on their morphosyntactic distributions. One must note that the nouns that take *-no* and those that take *-na* belong to different classes — the former, depicted in the example (63), is a pure noun with no adjectival features[9], and the latter (example 67) is a so-called adjectival noun that can function as both nouns and adjectives. The selection of *-no* over *-na*, thus, is a result of the morphosyntax of the Japanese language and categories that they select. The selection of *-no* over *-da* (or the avoidance of *-da*), on the other hand, can be explained by the concept of contraction and perhaps phonology, based on the claim that *-da* is the contracted form of *-de ar,* which has been proposed throughout the thesis. It is obvious that *-da* does not resemble any other predicates that typically take the present (or non-past) marker *-u* (the discussion of predicate adjectives is purposefully omitted and will be provided later), which may result in the avoidance of *-da* in constructing relative clauses in the form of hypercorrection and the selection of *-no* in the form of repair. This can also explain why *-dat-ta* is acceptable in the very same constructions despite that fact that it is merely a past form of *-da*, as the form now seems to bear the past tense marker *-ta*.

As Tsutsui (2006: 63) points out, positing a *-da* deletion rule to account for this paradox is an ad hoc mechanical treatment, especially because *-no* does not seem to exist in the initial, deep structure (cf. example (66)). That is to say, it is not the case that *-da* is deleted in constructing noun modification structures; it is rather an alternation between *-da* and *-no* in the form of repair or hypercorrection. Therefore, *-da* still functions as a predicative element that signals the affirmation and identification in noun modification and/or relativization in the deep

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[9] Example (63) may also be constructed with *-na,* but such a construction bears a slightly different meaning:

bengoshi-na hito
lawyer-ADJ person
'A person who is lawyer-like.'

structure. This approach, at least with respect to the spirit of this proposal, is adapted in an attempt to identify *-da* and *-de ar* as copulas.

Identical to the Korean language, the question of *-da* and *-de ar* being linking elements arises from the observation of adjectival predicates — no overt linking elements such as *-da* and *-de ar* are required in many adjectives, thereby weakening the proposition that *-da* or *-de ar* are copulas. Conveniently enough, a similar approach that has been used for Korean adjectival constructions in the previous section can also be applied to Japanese, as the classification of the Korean adjectives and the Japanese adjectives as well as their behaviors are quite similar to each other. The claim that *-da* does not function as a copula is largely based upon the observation below:

68) a. "Hybrid" (Nishiyama 1999) adjective that can take either *-i* or *-da*.

atataka-i/da

warm-ADJ/da

'(it is) warm.'   (Tsutsui 2006: 64)

b. Canonical adjective

hiro-i/*da

spacious-ADJ/*da

'(it is) spacious.'

c. Adjectival noun

kenkō-*i/da

health-*ADJ/da

'(someone/thing is) healthy.'

Scholars who support the claim that *-da* is not a copula argue, based on the distribution of *-da* and the adjective marker *-i* illustrated above, that if canonical adjectives themselves can bear the meaning 'be' (examples 68a and 68b) without *-da* but nominal adjectives cannot (68c), we have to conclude that adjectives such as those in the example (68a) have two different meanings — one with 'be' and one without 'be' (Tsutsui 2006). However, what has been overlooked in such analyses is that the adjectives, regardless of the types, can properly behave as predicates only when an additional element is attached to the stem. The pure canonical adjectives require *-i*, the nominal adjectives require *-da*, and the hybrid adjectives such as example (68a) require either *-i* or *-da*. In other words, claiming that *-i* is a part of the root adjective is simply inappropriate, and all adjectives are suffixed with an external element in order to bear the meaning 'be' or behave as predicates. Thus, the fact that the hybrid adjectives as those in the example (68a) take either one of the elements cannot be used against the claim that *-da* is a copula, but rather should support the proposal that *-da* in fact share similar functions to that of *-i*, which undoubtedly bear the meaning 'be' as Tsutsui (2006) suggests.

Therefore, stating that *-da* and *-de ar* are not capable of linking adjectives to the subjects is not correct. Rather, *-da* and *-de ar*, whenever they are deemed acceptable in the adjectival predicates, do perform as predicate-like elements that provide a linkage between its complement and the subject. As such, *-da* and *-de ar* also function as signs of affirmation and identification in the constructions involving adjective phrases.

4.3. Conclusion

The element *-i* in Korean seems to have properties that are partially similar to lexical verbs and partially similar to adjectives. Moreover, it has been determined that the *-i* displays morphosyntactic and syntactic behaviors that are drastically different from its homophone *-i*, the

nominative marker. This hints that *-i* should receive a different grammatical category other than lexical verbs, adjectives, or a nominative Case marker. Up to this point, the most feasible category seems to be the "copula" or "copulative." The possibility of the null copula is also greatly supported by the absence of a copular item in predicate adjectives, although it has been argued in this thesis that adjectives are verb-like in both Korean and Japanese. It thus seems that no additional predicate-like elements are required for the adjectives, which implicates that the proposal in favor of the existence of a phonologically null predicate is invalid. It is also noteworthy that the NIKL considers *-i* as a "predicative Case marker" — although not viewed as a "predicate," it is also recognized that the *-i* does demonstrate some properties of predicates. However, as discussed thus far, *-i* that appears in the predicate behaves entirely differently from Case markers; in addition, the fact that Case markers are not typically base morphemes has to be considered as well.

Similarly, in the case of Japanese, some empirical evidence has been provided in this section to support the view of *-da* and *-de ar* as copulas. Given that they share the same distributional properties within the copular constructions, any observed discrepancies can be explained by the lexicalization of *-da*. As *-de ar* and *-da* possess morphosyntactic and syntactic behaviors that are different from the pure politeness marker *-desu* but rather share similar properties with content verbs in terms of the capability of bearing tense and mood markers, as *-de aru* and *-da* appear in the constructions that link the sentential subject, covert or overt, and the predicate nouns and nominal adjectives, *-da* and *-de ar* should be analyzed and treated as a separate category from a mere mood/politeness marker or a content verb. The criticism that these elements do not merely function as equating the two phrases or entities cannot be a valid

argument to support the claim that they are not copulas, as the types and the scope of the copular sentences are never limited to equative and mere linking (Nishiyama 2003: 179). Therefore, like the Korean *-i*, the most feasible grammatical category of *-de ar* and *-da* seems to be the copula.

Although some scholars believe that Korean and Japanese lack a copular item (Choi 1993, Daniels 1973, Kim 2019, Tsutsui 2006), it has to be kept in mind that copula is generally an arbitrary concept or label of a linking or auxiliary lexical item. If a construction represents a certain structural and thematic relation between two entities, it is likely that the construction has to have another linking entity, unless the complement phrase can function as a predicate and bear the equative meaning. As such, the scholars who posit that there are no copulas in Korean and Japanese perhaps meant that there are no copular verbs or copulatives – at least, there has to be a null copula in order for copular constructions to exist, with exception of the canonical adjectives that are verb-like.

Therefore, because *-i* and *-da* undoubtedly link the two NPs within a clause, and because *-i* and *-da* are capable of undergoing verbal inflections such as tense, negation, and mood, I propose that *-i* and *-da* are copulas, which are subject to the morphosyntactic and syntactic constraints and distribution that are slightly different from those of lexical verbs. On the other hand, despite the similar debates that the two elements have had to be subjected to and the basic structural similarities — word order in particular — that they share, there are obvious structural differences in the copular constructions between the two languages, which can potentially be linked to the typology and/or the genetic relationship between the two languages. The second half of this thesis aims to highlight the similarities and differences between the copular constructions in the two languages.

5. Parametric Similarities and Differences: Complements of *-i* and *-da*

It is often considered, at least in most Indo-European languages, that copulas can also appear in predicate AdjPs, PPs, and CPs, in addition to NP/DPs. However, this phonemenon cannot be generalized to all languages across the world. For instance, it has been observed in this thesis that both Korean and Japanese copulas do not seem to be able to take most AdjPs as their complements. Moreover, both languages seem to have existential copulas/verbs that take locative PPs as their complements, while the same constructions with *-i* and/or *-da* are deemed ungrammatical.

69) a. Korean: *-i* vs. the existential copula *iss*

　　John-i　　　hakkyo-ey　　　　　iss-∅-ta/*-i-∅-ta

　　John-NOM　school-POST/LOC　exist-PRS-DECL/*COP-PRS-DECL

　If the intended meaning is 'John is in the school.'

b. Japanese: *-da* vs. existential copula *ir*

　　John-ga　　　gakkō-ni　　　　　ir-u/*-da

　　John-NOM　school-POST/LOC　exist-PRS/*COP.PRS

　If the intended meaning is 'John is in the school.'

Therefore, PPs should not be considered as the complements of *-i* and *-da*, and the discussion of PPs is out of the scope of this section. In addition, while both *-ey* and *-ni* are most generally labeled as postpositions, they in fact serve as locative case suffixes (in the case of Japanese, *-ni* also serves as a dative case suffix). As such, the examples above also support the claim that the predicate nominals do not bear case markers, not only accusative but also locative. While a detailed discussion of locative nouns will be provided later, which phrases, then, can the *-i* and

-da exactly take as complements, and how can we account for the absence of the *-i* and *-da* in certain predicate AdjPs?

5.1. Adjective Phrases

As discussed in the previous sections, both languages have at least two different types of adjectives due to cultural and historical reasons. One type is called canonical or "normal" adjectives, often considered to be native to the language, that purely behave as basic adjectives. The other type is known as nominal adjectives or adjectival nouns, most of which are derived from Sino-Japanese/Sino-Korean lexical items and other non-native or borrowed words.

The "normal," or canonical adjectives in both Japanese and Korean do not seem to take copulas, as discussed thus far. Let us first examine the Japanese canonical adjectives.

70) a. Syracuse daigaku-wa   hiro-i

Syracuse University-TOP   spacious-ADJ.PRS

'Syracuse University is big/spacious'

b.*Syracuse daigaku-wa   hiro-i-da

Syracuse University-TOP   spacious-ADJ.PRS-COP.PRS

c. Syracuse daigaku-wa   hiro-katta-desu

Syracuse University-TOP   spacious-ADJ.PST-HON

'Syracuse University was big/spacious'

As shown above, the Japanese adjectives do not necessarily require a suffix or a marker other than *-i*, an adjective marker. What is noticeable is that the adjective marker *-i* itself bears the present tense, as the construction requires a different adjective marker for the past tense. Furthermore, while *-da* is not an acceptable suffix to attach to the adjective markers, other

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suffixes such as mood and/or politeness markers are acceptable in the constructions. In other words, the canonical adjectives marked by *-i* in the Japanese language behave like any content verbs as well as *-da* in the sense that they can bear tense and mood by themselves. This amounts to saying that the adjective marker *-i* is in complementary distribution with content verbs and *-da*, hence the canonical adjectives in Japanese are predicate-like. On the other hand, the root adjectives in the Korean language are not strictly suffixed with apparent adjectival markers.

71) a. Syracuse dayhak-un   nelb-∅-ta

   Syracuse University-TOP   spacious-PRS-DECL

   'Syracuse University is big/spacious'

b.*Syracuse dayhak-un   nelb-i-∅-ta

   Syracuse University-TOP   spacious-COP-PRS-DECL

c. Syracuse dayhak-un   nelb-ess-ta

   Syracuse University-TOP   spacious-PST-DECL

Instead, they only require other suffixes such as tense markers (e.g. past) and mood markers (e.g. declarative, interrogative, etc.). Thus, similar to the Japanese adjectives, the Korean adjectives are also predicate-like, more so than the Japanese adjectives in the sense that the root adjectives themselves are the stem for inflections. As such, it may not the most plausible analysis to predict the canonical adjectives in Japanese and Korean would take any copulas, for they already function as predicates themselves.

The fact that the Korean adjectives are more verb-like can be better observed in so-called adjectival nouns, which contrast with the Japanese nominal adjectives. The general notion of these types of adjectives is that they can both be treated as adjectives or nouns depending on the

context and the usage in the structure. However, unlike those involving the canonical adjectives, differences are clearly found between the two languages in the constructions involving these adjectives that can also be used as nouns. Let us first examine how these adjectives, conventionally labeled as adjectival nouns in the case of Japanese and nominal adjectives in the case of Korean nominal adjectives, are used as adjectives:

72) a. Japanese adjectival noun *kenkō* ('health')

    John-wa   kenkō-da

    John-TOP   health-COP.PRS

    'John is healthy'

  b. Korean nominal adjective *kenkang* ('health')

    John-un   kenkang-ha-∅-ta

    John-TOP   healthy-do-PRS-DECL

    'John is healthy'

  c. Ill-formed construction of *kenkang* with the copula *-i*

    ?John-un kenkang-i-∅-ta

    John-TOP health-COP-PRS-DECL

    'lit. John is health'

Unlike the canonical adjectives, the Japanese adjectival nouns take the copula *-da*, as it is no longer subject to the adjective/predicate marker *-i*. On the other hand, when functioning as adjectives, the Korean nominal adjectives no longer take the copula *-i*, but rather take the verbal stem *-ha*. As discussed in section 4.1, the light verb *(-)ha,* which can function as an independent verb as well as a verbal component of noun incorporation constructions, also serves as a

derivational morpheme which transforms nouns into adjectives. It is not the case that sentences

like example (72b) can be viewed as instanced of noun incorporation — it is not the case that

example (72b) means 'John health-does,' and it has been pointed out that Korean adjectival

constructions that involve nominal adjectives always require do-insertion. This alternation,

however, is not observed in the case of Japanese adjectival nouns. The distinction between -*i* and

-*ha* as well as the distinction between the Japanese -*da* and the Korean -*i* are further highlighted

in the comparison below.

73) a. Treatment of *kenkō* as a noun

John-no   nozom-u-mono-wa   kenkō-da

John-GEN want-RL-thing-TOP   health-COP

'John wants to be healthy (lit. What John wants is health)'

b. Treatment of *kenkang* as a noun

John-i   bara-nun kes-un   kenkang-i-ta

John-NOM want-RL   thing-TOP   health-COP-DECL

'John wants to be healthy (lit. What John wants is health)'

c. Ill-formed construction of the noun *kenkang* with do-insertion

?John-i   bara-nun kes-un   kenkang-ha-ta

John-NOM want-RL   thing-TOP   health-do.PRS-DECL

'lit. What John wants is healthy.'

As shown above, no structural difference is found in the Japanese copular sentences in

the sense that the same nominal adjective, *kenkō*, even when functioning as a noun, still takes the

copula -*da*. On the other hand, the Korean adjectival noun *kenkang* does not accept the verbal

stem *-ha* when used as a noun. Instead, the copula *-i* is required. This is another noteworthy difference between Japanese and Korean copular sentences and what can be taken as possible complements of the copulas. The Korean copula *-i* apparently does not accept any adjectives as its complements, and a clear structural indication (do-insertion) is made for the lexical items that can be treated as either noun and adjectives — that is, adjectival nouns — in distinguishing them from the basic adjectives. On the other hand, such a distinction is less clear-cut in Japanese copular sentences, and *-da* can freely attach to both AdjPs (of which the head is nominal adjectives) and NPs.

5.2. Noun Phrases

As discussed repeatedly, the most obvious complement of *-i* and *-da* is Noun Phrase, and proving or demonstrating that the Noun Phrases are indeed the complements of the Korean and Japanese copulas would be rather redundant. As such, this subsection briefly covers different semantic representations that the constructions can bear in order to support the claim that the functions of *-i* and *-da*, as well as copulas across the languages, are not restricted to simple linking or equating. In the process, copular constructions involving locative nouns and PPs will also be discussed.

Early literature including Mills (1977) typically argues that the Japanese copulas account for equative relationships only, and such a claim contradicts to the analyses by many other scholars including Daniels (1973) and Tsutsui (2006), which has then been used as a counterargument against the claim that *-da* is a copula. However, based upon the other literature that discusses the functions and semantics of cross-linguistic copular constructions, it is quite obvious that the scope of copular sentences across the languages is never limited to equatives but

is expandable to other functions such as specificational and predicational (Higgins 1973).

Scholars have also claimed that the categorization of copular constructions that Higgins (1973)

and Mikkelsen (2005) have suggested is deemed applicable in Korean (Choi 2017) and Japanese

(Nishiyama 2003). Any copular constructions that link the subject NPs to their properties (e.g.

Tom is a teacher) are deemed predicational. The examples (6) and (9), relabelled as (74a) and

(74b) below, clearly demonstrate the predicational function of both copulas:

74) a. Korean

John-un   kyosa-i-∅-ta

John-TOP teacher-i-PRS-DECL

'John is a teacher.'

b. Japanese

John-wa   kyōshi-da

John-TOP   teacher-COP.PRS

'John is a teacher.'

The constructions merely denote one of many properties of John, which is 'a teacher.' One may

object the validity of these examples as the topic markers have been used instead of the

nominative markers, and it is true that this example can be reconstructed with the nominative

markers, which results in different connotations — namely specificational and/or identificational.

However, such an observation only confirms that the copular constructions with specificational

function can also have NPs as their predicate complements, and potentially implicate that the

interpretation of such constructions is conditioned or signaled by the existence of the so-called

subject markers. As the discussion of the subject markers pertains to the overall structure of the

constructions, this topic is out of the scope of this section and will be discussed more in detail in the next section.

This brings us to the discussion of locative nouns and/or PPs. Mentioned earlier in the section is that PPs and/or locative nouns are not considered as complements of *-i* and *-da*, as illustrated in the example (69). However, reconstructing the example (65) with copulas seems to be possible at first glance, especially in informal, colloquial speech:

75) a. Korean

     John-un   cikum   hakkyo-i-∅-ta/*hakkyo-ey-i-∅-ta

     John-TOP   now   school-COP-PRS-DECL/*school-POST/LOC-COP-PRS-

DECL

     'John is in the school now (lit. John is the school now).'

   b. Japanese

     John-wa   ima   gakkō-da/*gakkō-ni-da

     John-TOP now   school-COP.PRS/*school-POST-COP.PRS

     'John is in the school now (lit. John is the school now).'

And it is obvious that, in reconstructing the PP examples, locative case suffixes have to be omitted in order for the constructions to be acceptable. As such, the complement phrases are no longer locative nouns but NPs without (overt) case. This seems quite peculiar, given that the meaning of the both sentences is still "John is in the school now," and never "John is the school now."

One might then wonder if the copulas in Japanese and Korean function not only as the equative, linking element but also as the existential copulas, just like English *to be* or French *être*

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or Spanish *estar*. The examples below, with the locative nouns, seem to be in accordance with this point of view:

76) a. Korean

    John-un   yeki-i-∅-ta

    John-TOP   this.place-COP-PRS-DECL

    'John is here (lit. John is this place).'

   b. Japanese

    John-wa   koko-da

    John-TOP this.place-COP.PRS

    'John is here (lit. John is this place).'

However, one must also not neglect the true part of speech or grammatical category of the Korean *yeki* and the Japanese *koko*. Although the conventional English translation of these words is "here," which is obviously not a noun but a locative adverb, they are strictly considered as locative nouns in both Korean and Japanese, hence are glossed as "this.place." Does this mean that these copulas indeed function as existential copulas, and that PPs are never the complements? It is not the case that the two languages lack copular constructions with PP complements, however, as demonstrated in the example (77) below:

77) a. Korean

    John-un   hakkyo-ey-iss-∅-ta

    John-TOP   school-POST-exist-PRS-DECL

    'John is in the school.'

   b. Japanese

John-wa   gakkō-ni ir-u

John-TOP   school-POST exist-PRS

'John is in the school.'

As shown above, PPs require a different type of a copula, namely the existential copula. With the existential copulas already stored in the lexicons of the two languages, it becomes peculiar to assume that -*i* and -*da* also function as existential copulas that do not take PP complements. The example (77) clearly shows that both of them do require locative suffixes in order to denote the physical location of an entity, and this implies that, in order for them to serve as existential copulas, -*i* and -*da* must include postposition-like features so that it can successfully block locative nouns (or nouns with locative case) and allow the construction without the otherwise required structural case markers. In addition to the fact that it is quite inefficient to assign additional functions with quite uncommon features to the linking copula, especially when there is already an existential copula that serves the same function, this implication can be immediately rejected by the fact that -*i* and -*da* can never function alone as existential copulas.

78) a. John-i-ta   '(It is) John.' '?John exists.'

b. John-i iss-ta   'John exists.'

c. John-da   '(It is) John.' '?John exists.'

d. John-ga ir-u   'John exists.'

Therefore, constructions shown in the example (76) are not the products of simple copular constructions but of the phenomenon similar to nominal ellipsis or deletion. In other words, the example (76) should have been represented in the deep structure as something similar to '(As for) John, [the place he is in now] is the school.'

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5.4. Conclusion

Along with the discussion of complement noun phrases of the Korean and Japanese copulas, it has been observed and established that the PPs and AdvPs cannot be taken as the complements in either of the two languages. The apparent difference between the two languages is found in the treatment of AdjPs. While the Korean copula is never allowed to co-occur with any types of adjectives, the Japanese copula does occur with a certain type of adjectives — namely adjectival nouns. It is, however, crucial to point out that such adjectives are not "true" adjectives but rather derived adjectives from nouns via zero-derivation. Therefore, such constructions in Japanese may cause ambiguity and the interpretation requires contextual knowledge.

The fact that the NPs seem to be the true complements of the copulas in both languages suggests that the requirement of the copular complements has to be that they cannot automatically or inherently bear a function — such as predicative, locative, or modification — which the adjective markers (as well as the do-insertion for Korean adjectival nouns) and locative markers (hence structural case markers) can fulfill, thereby blocking or exhausting the place for the *-i* and *-da* to be inserted. In other words, given the assumption that the AdjPs in both languages behave as predicates themselves, there are no predicative elements such as copulas that are required for the constructions involving them. This then explains the divergence between *-na* and *-no* in the Japanese relativization, of which a more detailed discussion will be provided in the next section.

In sum, except for the morphosyntactic derivation and treatment of the adjectival nouns/ nominal adjectives, the two languages are fairly similar in the sense that their copulas only allow the same type of complements: Noun Phrases, which have to be bare, without case marker.

Many agglutinative languages such as Korean and Japanese show a great degree of productivity with respect to morphology, and the noun phrases in Korean and Japanese often require overt case marking. In the next section, the morphological productivity of *-i* and *-da* as well as the acceptable suffixes for their complements will be discussed.

6. Structural Similarities and Differences between *-i* and *-da*

As repeatedly depicted in the previous sections, both the Korean *-i* and *-da* demonstrate a certain degree of productivity similar to other predicates. More specifically, the copulas in both languages can be the base morphemes for the tense and mood suffixes that can only attach to predicates. Whether the Japanese copula takes the honorific and/or polite markers is questionable in the sense that *-desu,* presumably an honorific variant or counterpart of *-da* (Mills 1977, Nishiyama 1999, Tsutsui 2006) has been analyzed as a separate honorific marker, not a variant of *-da*. This phenomenon then has been explained by the fact that *-da* itself is a contracted form of *-de ar*. In addition to the comparison of the apparent typological similarities of the two languages, such as head-final, SOV word order, one can further conduct structural analyses on different types of constructions such as relativization, cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences. Furthermore, case-marking of the predicate nominals should also be examined, especially on the ground that the arguments of copular constructions should only be nouns and that the two languages overtly mark cases. This section aims to examine and highlight the structural similarities and differences of the copular sentences in the two languages.

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6.1. Affirmative

Let us first look at the set of examples below that consists of the specificational sentence, 'The homeroom teacher of that class is Mary,' translated in Korean and Japanese.

79) a. ku   kellaysu-uy   tamim-i   Mary-i-∅-ta

        that class-GEN   homeroom.teacher-NOM   Mary-COP-PRS-DECL

        'The homeroom teacher of that class is Mary'

      b. so-no   kurasu-no tannin-ga   Mary-da

         that-ATTR class-GEN homeroom.teacher-NOM   Mary-COP.PRS

        'The homeroom teacher of that class is Mary'

This type of construction is quite natural and common cross-linguistically. In this set of examples, the subject DP 'the homeroom teacher of that class' clearly specifies the domain in which the predicate NP can exist, as discussed by Higgins (1973) and Mikkelsen (2005). In other words, of all possible domains in which *Mary* can exist, such as female, teacher, and/or friend of someone, the subject NP specifies the predicate NP and the domain it belongs to as *a homeroom teacher of a (particular) class*. More specifically, the sentences above are most likely translated or interpreted as 'It is the homeroom teacher of that class who is Mary.' While there seem to be no peculiarities with this construction, the same constructions with the topic markers *-(n)un* and *-wa* do not bear the same connotation:

80) a. ku   kellaysu-uy   tamim-un   Mary-i-∅-ta

        that class-GEN   homeroom.teacher-TOP   Mary-COP-PRS-DECL

        'The homeroom teacher of that class, (she) is Mary'

      b. so-no   kurasu-no tannin-wa   Mary-da

that-REL class-GEN homeroom.teacher-TOP   Mary-COP.PRS

'The homeroom teacher of that class, (she) is Mary'

As depicted above, the identical constructions without the nominative markers simply identify

The homeroom teacher of that class as *Mary*. The comparison between (79) and (80) then

suggests the nominative markers *-ka* and *-ga* are the elements that denote specificity of the topic

phrase in terms of its referentiality, which further can be interpreted as evidence for the

additional function of these nominative markers — aside from marking the nominative case, they

also denote a certain degree of specificity and/or definiteness. This can be further supported by

the comparison below.

    81) a. Korean
        John-**i**   kyosa-i-∅-ta   'John (is the one who) is a teacher/
        John-**NOM** teacher-COP-PRS-DECL   John is the teacher'

        John-**un**   kyosa-i-∅-ta   'John is a teacher.'
        John-**TOP** teacher-COP-PRS-DECL

      b. Japanese
        John-**ga**   kyōshi-da   'John (is the one who) is a teacher/
        John-**NOM** teacher-COP.PRS   John is the teacher.'

        John-**wa**   kyōshi-da   'John is a teacher.'
        John-**TOP** teacher-COP.PRS

The appearance of the nominative markers also indicate the specificity and/or

definiteness, while the identical constructions with the topic markers do not bear any definite or

specific connotation. It can then be deduced from example (81) that both markers may be used in

the simple equative constructions in which the copula should function as a mere linkage

between the two NPs. In order to confirm this, let us now examine the pseudocleft constructions

associated with ellipsis.

82) a. onul-un/**?i**   ramyen-i-∅-ta

   today-TOP/**?NOM**   ramen-COP-PRS-DECL

   'Today, (what I am having) is ramen (lit. Today is Ramen)'

b. kyō-wa/**?ga**   rāmen-da

   today-TOP/**?NOM**   ramen-COP.PRS

   'Today, (what I am having) is ramen (lit. Today is Ramen)'

The surface structure — that is, 'Today is Ramen' — is not acceptable in many other

languages like English. Moreover, nominative markers cannot be used in order for example (82)

to bear the intended meaning, and such a construction with the nominative marker would yield

the literal meaning, 'Today is Ramen.' This is, however, not unexpected and quite natural

considering the topic marker is often associated with the theme/topic of the construction rather

than the grammatical subject (Halliday 1994, Li & Thompson 1976). In other words, nominative

markers can only be licensed and assigned to the true subjects, by which the NP1 = NP2 equation

hence the equative copular construction is achieved. It is obvious that 'today' is not a true subject

(and the omission of the true subject is allowed on the ground that both languages are null-

subject languages), and that the pure-linking copular constructions can only assign the

nominative markers, although topic markers are more commonly used in identificational clauses

due to the definite connotation that the nominative markers add to the construction. In light of

this, the question of why and how the predicate NPs do not receive any overt case markers

naturally arises. Structurally speaking, tense would only assign the nominative Case to its spec-

DP, and the predicate NPs would not receive the nominative Case. Also, in the case of English or

French, the predicate NPs receive other Cases such as accusative. Having examined copular

constructions in Korean and Japanese, no overt Cases for the predicate NPs are observed, at least in affirmative sentences. Do they carry covert or phonologically null case markers, or are they truly case-neutral? Along with the functions of the nominative markers identified thus far, possible analyses can be made with the discussion of negative constructions, which will be provided in section 6.3.

6.2. Noun Modification and Relativization

Prior to delving into the discussion of the negative constructions and the case marker, this section aims to highlight the distributional and structural difference between the copulas *-i* and *-da* by providing a brief analysis of Noun+Noun modification/relativization constructions.

As discussed repeatedly in this thesis, copular constructions in both languages do not show significant structural differences. However, the NP + copula + NP structures — or noun modification with relative clauses — look different from one another. While the relative clause in Korean still accepts and uses the copula *-i*, the equivalent construction in Japanese does not allow *-da*. Instead, another copular item *-no* has to be used. In addition to the difference in the morphosyntactic behaviors of *-i* and *-da*, there seem to be differences in the environments in which these copulas can occur.

Let us first revisit the noun modification in Japanese, very similar to the example (60):

83) a. kyōshi-de   ar-u   John

      teacher-COP1 COP2-PRS   John

      'John who is a teacher'

    b.*kyōshi-da   John

      teacher-COP   John

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'Intended: John who is a teacher'

c. kyōshi-no/*na John

teacher-**no**   John

'John who is a teacher'

d. kenkō-na/*no   John

health-**na(ADJ)**   John

'John who is healthy/healthy John'

It has been discussed in section 4 that relative clauses in Japanese do not require an overt

relativizer. In addition, section 4 has also pointed out the fact that -*da* cannot be a component of a

relative clause (illustrated in example (83b)), whereas its formal counterpart -*de ar* can (example

(83a)), which even brings additional complexity to the analysis of the Japanese relative clauses

as the particle -*na* typically attaches to the adjectival nouns (example (83c-d)).

Given the generalization that has been established throughout this thesis, -*da* is a

lexicalized item whose function and distribution are blended and interchangeable with other

particles such as -*desu.* As addressed in section 4.2.2., the fact that -*da* does not resemble any

other predicates that typically take the present (or non-past) tense marker -*u* results in the

avoidance of -*da* in constructing relative clauses in the form of hypercorrection and the selection

of -*no* in the form of repair. Clauses in general require predicates. However, -*da* has failed to be

interpreted as a predicate at the surface level due to the absence of the present tense marker -*u* as

a result of a contraction, followed by its lexicalization into an element partially similar to the

politeness marker -*desu.* Therefore, while -*da* semantically serves the copular function, its

derivation structurally blocks itself from becoming a component of relative clauses. On the

ground that particles such as *-na* and *-no* are not predicates, example (83c) and (83d) are no longer NPs with relative clauses but with adjunct modifiers. As discussed in section 4.2.2., the difference between *-na* and *-no* comes from the grammatical category of their heads — adjectival modifiers vs. nominal modifiers.

On the other hand, Korean *-i* does not show any irregularity and/or alternation, and the noun modification can only be achieved by relativization:

84) a. kyosa-i-∅-n   John

     teacher-COP-PRS-REL   John

     'John who is a teacher'

b. kenkang-ha-∅-n   John

     health-do-PRS-REL   John

     'John who is healthy'

Unlike *-da*, *-i* is not a lexicalized or reanalyzed item. Moreover, what has been claimed about *-i* throughout this thesis is that it certainly has verbal features and should be considered as predicative. Unlike the Japanese nominal adjectives, the Korean adjectival nouns require do-insertion as AdjPs headed by canonical adjectives are also regarded as predicates. As such, the copula *-i* can appear in relative clauses with no violations of grammaticality.

Therefore, one can reconfirm the claim made in section 4 that *-da* is a contracted copular element that is lexicalized and has lost some of its verbal properties (i.e. ability to take the overt present tense suffix -u and inability to appear in relative clauses), whereas *-i* is strictly a predicate that only takes nominal complements to which relativizers can attach.

6.3. Negation

As addressed repeatedly throughout the thesis, a discussion of the Korean *-i* cannot be completed without analyzing negative constructions. Because of the appearance of the overt nominative case marker in the predicate nominals and a mismatch found between gapping of an affirmative construction and that of a negative construction, not only are the negative copular constructions used as evidence for the claim that *-i* is not a copula as well as the questioning of the grammatical category of the negation, *an-i-ta,* but they are also seen as one of the major characteristics of the Korean language that differentiates it from Japanese. In this subsection, therefore, comparison between the negative copular constructions in Korean and Japanese is provided.

6.3.1. Copular Negation in Korean

The negation of *-i* also shows different behaviors from those of other predicates such as lexical verbs and adjectives. The Korean language generally allows two types of negation: preverbal negation and postverbal negation, which can be observed in both adjectives and content verbs:

85) a. ku-nun **an**   talli-n-ta

   he-TOP **NEG**   run-PRS-DECL

  'He doesn't run/isn't running.' (preverbal negation)

  b. ku-nun   talli-ci   **ani**-ha-n-ta

   he-TOP   run-CONJ   **NEG**-do-PRS-DECL

  'He doesn't run/isn't running.' (postverbal negation)

  c. ku-nun   **an**   pigon-ha-∅-ta

he-TOP **NEG** fatigue-do-PRS-DECL

'He is not tired.' (preverbal negation)

d. ku-nun pigon-ha-ci **ani**-ha-∅-ta

he-TOP fatigue-do-CONJ **NEG**-do-PRS-DECL

'He is not tired' (postverbal negation)

Note that the postverbal negation requires a do-insertion. Moreover, an alternation between *an* and *ani* is observed. On the other hand, copular negation in Korean only allows one type of negation:

86) a.*ku-nun **an** haksayng-i-∅-ta   'Intended: He is not a student.'

b. ku-nun haksayng-**i an-i**-∅-ta   'He is not a student.'

Not only does it no longer allow preverbal negation, it also no longer requires the conjunction *-ci*. This again confirms that *-i* is indeed an element that is not fully identical to content verbs or adjectives. What is more perplexing is the fact that another element that is identical to the copula *-i* appears, resulting in a construction with one being attached to the complement NP and the other to the negator *an(i)*. If it is the case that the underlying form of the negator is *an* and *-i* that attaches to it is a copula, then the negator seems to intervene between the copula and its complement, which is a clear violation of X-bar theory. Furthermore, such an analysis may cause further confusion on the identification of the "second" *-i* that attaches to the complement NP. In contrast, should the breakdown of *an-i-∅-ta* be altered with *ani-∅-ta* (Kim 2019) on the basis that the Korean negator can alternate between *an* and *ani,* as illustrated in the example (85), the analysis of copular negation becomes extraordinarily straightforward, with no elements being left

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unidentified. Unfortunately, the latter analysis with *ani-∅-ta*, despite its clarity at first glance, seems to have a couple of problems.

Many inflectional processes in the Korean language are conditioned by their phonological environments. The conditions are most generally summarized as a tendency to avoid long vowels as well as vowel sequences upon suffixation (Shin et al. 2012, Sohn 1994). As such, many suffixes have allophones or undergo additional phonological alternations depending on the final syllable structure of the root/base morphemes — that is, whether it is an open syllable or a closed syllable. Example (87) demonstrates how the previous examples (6) and (35) deviate from one another when the politeness suffix *-(e)yo* is attached:

87) a. Open Syllable

    John-i   kyosa-**yeyo**

    John-NOM   teacher-**COP.PRS.POL**

    'John is the teacher.'

b. Closed Syllable

    Tom-i   haksayng-**i**-∅-eyo.

    Tom-NOM   student-**COP**-PRS-POL

    'Tom is the student.'

When the copula takes the complement NP that ends with a vowel and the suffix *-eyo*, it undergoes a cliticization-like process, due to the fact that Korean tends to avoid vowel hiatus. As a result, the copula *-i* becomes a glide [j], transliterated as *-y*. Furthermore, morphological reduction of the alternated copula [j] takes place and the morpheme boundary between the copula and its suffix becomes obscure. One might thus predict that *-eyo* would undergo the same

phonological alternation in negative constructions, if the base morpheme of the negator is *ani*

instead of *an* as suggested by some scholars (Kim 2019, Song 2007) as well as NIKL. According

to NIKL, however, the grammatical and accepted orthography thus the utterance of negator+*eyo*

is as follows:

> 88) a. Tom-i haksayng-i **an-i-e-∅-yo**   'Tom is not the student.'
>
>   b.*Tom-i haksayng-i **ani-yeyo**   'Intended: Tom is not the student.'

Scholars who view the copula -*i* as a nominative marker often view the negative predicate *an-i-ta*

as a predicate adjective that merely indicates negation (Choi 1997, Kim 2019, Song 2007). In

connection with this view, their analyses of the nominative markers that appear in the predicate

nominals in negation are that they are the remnants of -*i* in the affirmative constructions.[10] This

approach can easily account for the mystery of the insertion or appearance of the nominative

markers only in the negative constructions. Therefore, Choi (1997), Kim (2019), and Song

(2007) view the ungrammaticality of example (88b) as an idiosyncratic exception, and claim that

the underlying form of the negator should still be *ani*. However, if one gives up the grammatical

categorization of *an/ani* as an adjective and parse the NegP in the same way as (88a), the

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[10] Choi (1993), Kim (2019), Song (2007), as well as NIKL specifically argue that the part of speech of *ani*
is adjective, thereby being able to take the verbal suffixes such as tense and mood markers. Moreover,
with *ani* being an adjective that does not require a copula, the -*i* should not be found in the first place.
Adjectives ending with vowels, however, are also subject to the similar phonological derivation. For
example, the sentence *Tom-i colli-∅-ta,* which translates as 'Tom is sleepy,' contains a predicative
adjective that ends with a vowel. However, a mere suffixation of -*eyo* is deemed ungrammatical:

*Tom-i colli-eyo
  Tom-i collyeyo

And *anieyo,* even as an adjective*,* should have been derived as *anyeyo*, according to the above derivation.
Therefore, analyzing *ani* as an adjective still leads to another idiosyncrasy or exception, with no viable
explanation as to why such an exception only pertains to the negator.

analysis successfully omits the idiosyncrasy, leaving the second *-i* that attaches to the negator as a possible candidate for the copula.

Secondly, the element that attaches to the predicate NP, which is undoubtedly homonymous to the copula *-i,* seems to alternate according to the same phonological rule mentioned above. All of the Korean examples that have been provided throughout the thesis have not illustrated alternations like those in examples (87-88)[11], and the alternation of this particular *-i* seems to be identical to that of other *-i,* the nominative case marker.

89) a. Open Syllable

John-**i**   kyosa-**ka**   an-i-∅-ta

John-**NOM**   teacher-**ka**   NEG-COP-PRS-DECL

'John is not the teacher.'

b. Closed Syllable

Sara-**ka**   haksayng-**i** an-i-∅-ta

Sara-**NOM**   student-**i**   NEG-COP-PRS-DECL

'Sara is not the student.'

Unlike the phonological alternation of the *-i* that attaches to the negator discussed in the examples (87-88), the alternation of the *-i* that attaches to the predicate nominal is identical to the alternation between the nominative markers *-i* and *-ka* — that is, *-i* attaches to the consonant-ending NPs and *-ka* attaches to the vowel-ending NPs. More specifically, while the type of alternation of the element that attaches to predicate nominals is a clear-cut allomorphy, that of

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[11] An optional omission of the copula *-i* can be found in the constructions that consist of vowel-ending NPs and verbal-ending suffixes such as *-ta*, which will be discussed in the next section. Nevertheless, such an omission does not share any similarities with this particular alternation.

the element that attaches to the negator, the copula, in other words, is a phonological alternation. Therefore, with the true underlying form of the negator being identified as *an*, it can be concluded that the suffix that attaches to the predicate nominal is a nominative marker, whereas the *-i* that takes the negator and other verbal suffixes is the copula. This analysis is also in line with the cross-linguistic distribution of the negators and verbal suffixes (that they are local to the predicative elements) and that of the nominative case markers, which typically attach to NPs. The fact that affirmative copular constructions in Korean does not contain nominative markers in complement NPs, however, seems to contradict to the analyses above. This mismatch in case-marking of predicate nominals will be discussed throughout the rest of the thesis.

The claim that *-i* that attaches to predicate nominals is a nominative marker, rather than a copula or some other unknown element, can easily be supported by other empirical evidence. For example, other particles such as topic markers can attach should the necessity arise:

90) a. John-i   kyosa-**nun**   an-i-∅-ta

    John-NOM   teacher-**TOP**   NEG-COP-PRS-DECL

    'John (can be something/one else such as a student, but he) is not the teacher.'

  b. John-i   kyosa-**to**   an-i-∅-ta

    John-NOM   teacher-**also**   NEG-COP-PRS-DECL

    'John is also not the teacher

     (e.g. John is not the student, and he is not the teacher as well).'

  c. John-i   kyosa-**cocha**   an-i-∅-ta

    John-NOM   teacher-**even**   NEG-COP-PRS-DECL

    'John is not even the teacher.'

d.*John-i kyosa-**lul** an-i-∅-ta

 John-NOM teacher-**ACC** NEG-COP-PRS-DECL

'Intended: John is not the teacher.'

The above particles in (90a-c) can also attach to the clausal subjects depending on what meaning the speakers intend. On the other hand, it is quite difficult to think that they can replace a copula, of which the functions are distinct from those of topic markers and particles. What is also noteworthy is that the accusative case marker is not one of the possible elements that can be assigned to the predicate nominals. This is indeed in contrast to other languages such as English and many other Indo-European languages, in which the predicate nominals are assumed to receive accusative case.

It may appear at first glance that, in constructions similar to the examples (90a-c), other particles are capable of "replacing" the nominative case marker in Korean. Although these particles themselves are not case markers and do not assign case to the predicate nominals, it should be noted that it is not the case that the nominative case disappears in such constructions. If the construction requires an additional layer of meaning such as inclusivity (90b), constrastivity (90a), or emphasis (90c), the nominative markers that have no such additional features are more likely to lose the competition in order for the constructions to bear the intended meaning. However, this process can hardly be considered as a "replacing" as assuming that the predicate nominals only receive the nominative case when there are no additional layers of meaning is inconsistent with the over case-marking property of Korean. Rather, it is far more plausible to claim that the nominative case should still be assigned to all predicate nominals and

the nominative case is assigned and present at the D-structure or syntactic level, just not

phonologically realized at the PF in constructions like (90a-c).

If this assumption holds true, then the lack of overt nominative case markers in the

affirmative constructions can also be explained and the uniformity of the copular constructions in

Korean can be restored — the predicate nominals in the Korean copular constructions, whether

in affirmative or negative, receive nominative Case at the syntactic level, and the appearance of

the nominative marker is conditioned by the (morpho)phonology. A detailed discussion and

demonstration of this will also be provided later in the thesis.

Analyzing the suffix *-i/-ka* in the complement NPs as the nominative marker and

concluding that the predicate nominals are assigned nominative Case thus seem to be capable of

labeling and identifying each element in the constructions with no conflicts or inconsistency, but

the appearance of the overt nominative markers in the complement NPs of the negated copula

raises further confusion or uncertainty. Why, and how, is nominative Case, which would cross-

linguistically be assigned to the clausal subjects through the licensing by tense, overtly marked in

the complement NPs? Moreover, how can the negator intervene between the copula and its

predicate nominal?

6.3.2 Copular Negation in Japanese

While the predicate nominals are assigned nominative Case markers in Korean, no overt

case markers are observed in Japanese copular constructions. Moreover, it is impossible to see

the trace of *-da* from *-janai,* the the negative counterpart of *-da.* On the other hand, negation of

the Korean *-i* seems relatively more apparent, as both the negator *an* and the copula *-i* are

explicitly found in *an-i-ta*. However, its formal counterpart clearly shows a trace of a copula:

91) a. John-wa   kyōshi-ja-na-i

   John-TOP   teacher-CONJ/COP-NEG-PRS

   'John is not a teacher.'

   b. John-wa   kyōshi-**de**-wa   na-i

   John-TOP   teacher-**COP**-TOP   NEG-PRS

   'John is not a teacher.'

According to example (91b), *-de,* the semantically contentful copula persists from the affirmative

sentence, and *aru* undergoes the negation. Interestingly, the topic marker has to attach to *-de*, and

other particles may replace the topic marker, depending on whether the construction bears an

additional meaning. However, such constructions cannot be made with the *-janai*, the actual

negative counterpart of *-da*:

92) a. John-wa   kyōshi-de-mo   na-i

   John-TOP   teacher-COP-also   NEG-PRS

   'John is not (a student, and he is not) a teacher also.'

   b. John-wa   kyōshi-de-sura   na-i

   John-TOP   teacher-COP-even   NEG-PRS

   'John is not even a teacher.'

   c.*John-wa   kyōshi-ja-sura   na-i

   John-TOP   teacher-CONJ/COP-even   NEG-PRS

   'Intended: John is not even a teacher.'

As such, it seems that *-ja* cannot be separated from the negator *na-i*, and the construction

involving it has to resort to its formal counterpart *-de-wa nai* should it bear an additional

meaning. This then suggests that *-ja* by itself is a fusional form of *-de* and the topic marker *-wa*, which is again lexicalized as a single linguistic element, identical to what *-da* has undergone. On the other hand, neither the accusative marker *-wo* nor the nominative marker *-ga* can be assigned to the predicate nominals:

93) a.*John-wa   kyōshi-de-wo   na-i

     John-TOP   teacher-COP-ACC NEG-PRS

     'Intended: John is not a teacher.'

    b.*John-wa   kyōshi-de-ga   na-i

     John-TOP   teacher-COP-NOM NEG-PRS

     'Intended: John is not a teacher.'

Although the copular negation in Japanese is similar to that in Korean in the sense that the additional particles can attach to the predicate nominals, its linear order and the prohibition of the case marker suggest otherwise. First of all, there are no intervening elements between the copula (whether it is the formal *-de* or the informal *-ja*) and its complement, thereby preserving the rule of X-bar theory, in the aspect that the head of a projection and the complement of the head have to be sisters. Secondly, the fact that the nominative case marker is prohibited from attaching to the predicate nominals in negative constructions is at least consistent with the case-assignment of the predicate nominals in affirmative constructions. Lastly, in line with the second remark, Japanese predicate nominals do not take either nominative or accusative case markers thus are case-neutral, contrary to the Korean predicate nominals which are overtly nominative in negative constructions.

6.3.3. Gapping

Another difference between the copular negation in Korean and Japanese can be found in gapping/deleting in coordinate clauses. In many languages like English, two-way gapping is possible:

94) John is a student, but Mary isn't.

95) John is not a student, but Mary is.

However, gapping/deleting in Korean and Japanese seems to be more constrained, and not all gapping constructions are acceptable. For example, constructions identical to example (95) are unacceptable in Korean, whereas example (94) can be constructed with no issues:

96) a. John-un   haksayng-i-ko   Mary-nun   an-i-∅-ta.

     John-TOP student-COP-CONJ   Mary-TOP NEG-COP-PRS-DECL

     'John is a student, but Mary isn't.' (lit. John is a student, and Mary isn't.)

    b.*John-un   haksayng-i   an-i-ko   Mary-nun i-ta.

     John-TOP teacher-NOM NEG-COP-CONJ Mary-TOP COP-DECL

     'John is not a student, but Mary is.' (lit. John isn't a student, and Mary is)[12]

This phenomenon has been widely used by some scholars as empirical evidence that *anita* is simply a negative operator that invalidates the specificational or identificational relationship between the subject NP and the predicate NP instead of a negative counterpart of *-i*, and that it thereby undergoes a separate syntactic and morphosyntactic derivation (Kim 2019, Song 2007). However, it has been confirmed in this thesis that *an* is merely a negator rather than an adjective by previous illustrations and analyses of the negation in the Korean language. For

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[12] While these types of constructions are only grammatical with the conjunction *but* in English, Korean allows both *and* and *but*.

instance, examples (85a-d) have shown that 1) *an* is more of a negator than an adjective as it merely negates the content verbs, 2) *an* is a free morpheme that is capable of standing alone in the preverbal negation, and 3) in the post-verbal negation, *an* is capable of behaving as a base morpheme to which other verbal suffixes such as tense and mood markers can attach. This observation has also been applied to copular negation, in which *an* becomes a base morpheme to which the bound morpheme -*i* is attached.

As such, the asymmetry or contrast between (96a) and (96b) does not originate from the difference with respect to the grammatical category of the copular -*i* and the negation *an-i-ta* or the general syntactic structures of Korean, but originates from the bound property of -*i*. In other words, (91b) is deemed ungrammatical due to the fact that -*i* is not a free morpheme and requires an overt complement.

On the other hand, gapping is not generally allowed in Japanese copular constructions, unlike Korean.

97) a.*John-wa   gakusei-da-ga   Mary-wa   -ja-na-i[13]

    John-TOP   student-COP.PRS-CONJ Mary-TOP COP-NEG-PRS

    'Intended: John is a student, but Mary isn't.'

   b.*John-wa   gakusei-de   ar-u-ga   Mary-wa   -de-wa-na-i[14]

    John-TOP   student-COP COP-PRS-CONJ Mary-TOP COP-NEG-PRS

    'Intended: John is a student, but Mary isn't.'

   c.*John-wa   gakusei-ja-na-i-ga   Mary-wa   -da

---

[13] This sentence can be seen as marginal or acceptable in a very informal, highly contextualized discourse.

[14] Unlike -*ja-na-i* in (92a), -*de-wa na-i* is not considered marginal or acceptable even in an informal, contextualized discourse.

John-TOP   student-COP-NEG-PRS-CONJ   Mary-TOP   COP.PRS

'Intended: John is not a student, but Mary is.'

d. John-wa   gakusei-da-ga   Mary-wa   gakusei-ja-na-i

John-TOP   student-COP.PRS-CONJ   Mary-TOP   student-COP-NEG-PRS

'John is a student, but Mary isn't a student.'

This difference, however, does not come from the general structural or syntactic differences between the two languages. The difference rather comes from the fact that the Japanese negator, which may work as a free morpheme, does not precede the copula. Both *-da* and *-de ar* are bound morphemes just like the Korean *-i*, and the deletion or absence of the predicate nominal is not possible.

6.3.4. Case Assigned to the Predicate Nominals

It has been established throughout the thesis that the key differences between the copular constructions in Japanese and Korean pertain to negation. One difference is the linear position of the negator, and the other is the predicate nominals with overt nominative case markers appearing in negative copular constructions in Korean, whereas the predicate nominals in Japanese seem to be case-neutral. Because the Korean language allows both pre-verbal and post-verbal negation, the issue of the difference in the linear position of the negator pertains to the basic parametric difference between the two languages, which is outside of the scope of this thesis. However, the assignment of the nominative case to the Korean predicate nominal still remains as a mystery, considering the morphosyntactic similarities that it shares with Japanese, which does not seem to assign a single case to the predicate nominals, at least in the copular constructions. This subsection aims to observe and discuss the nominative case that is assigned

to non-subject NPs in both Korean and Japanese in an attempt to explicate the nominative case-marking on the Korean predicate nominals.

As briefly mentioned, double nominative constructions are not unique to copular constructions in Korean, and the nominative case/marker can appear in a complement NP of a non-copular verb. The set of examples below illustrates the replacement of the accusative marker by the nominative marker.

98) a. Nay-ka   sakwa-lul   mek-nun-ta

  I-NOM   apple-ACC   eat-PRS-DECL

  'I eat/am eating apples.'

  b. Nay-ka   sakwa-ka/lul   mek-ko-sip-∅-ta

  I-NOM   apple-NOM/ACC   eat-CONJ-DESID-PRS-DECL

  'I want to eat apples.'

The NP *sakwa-ka* in (93b) is clearly a complement of *(want to) eat*, yet a nominative Case can be assigned in place of an accusative Case, unlike other languages such as English. This phenomenon is also not unique to Korean, and Japanese allows the same constructions.

99) a. Tarō-ga   eigo-wo   hanas-u

  Tarō-NOM English-ACC speak-PRS

  'Taro speaks English.'

  b. Tarō-ga   eigo-ga/wo   hanas-e-ru

  Tarō-NOM English-NOM/ACC speak-CAP-PRS

  'Taro can speak English' or 'It is Taro who can speak English.' (Tateishi, 2006: 61)

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Unfortunately, there is not an established consensus as to the reasoning of Case assignment of the double nominative constructions. Tateishi (2006) interprets the double nominative constructions as consisting of one clausal subject (that is, the spec-TP/IP) and a derived subject, originally of genitive origin, that undergoes subjectivization. He further argues that the nominative case is assigned to the spec IP as usual, and other structural or thematic relations of the remaining noun phrases can be assigned additional nominatives. While this may explain the nominative case on the predicate nominals in Korean by viewing them as derived subjects of genitive origin (perhaps a quality or characteristics that the sentential subject "possesses"), neither example seems to fit in his analysis. First of all, it is unclear if the complements *apples* in (98) and *English* in (99) are of genitive origin, as they both receive the accusative case in (98a) and (99b). Moreover, both the structural and thematic relations of these NPs hardly suggest that they are derived subjects:

(98b) Nay$_i$-ka.　　[[t$_i$ sakwa-ka　　mek-ko]$_{VP}$ -sip-∅-ta].

　　　　1SG-NOM　　　apple-NOM　eat-CONJ　-DESID-PRS-DECL

　　　　'I want to eat apples'

(99b) Tarō$_i$-ga　　[[t$_i$ eigo-ga　　　hanas]$_{VP}$ -e-ru].

　　　　Taro-NOM　　English-NOM　speak　-CAP-PRS

Unlike English in which the "want to V" phrase would be structured with an embedded clause within the main VP 'want' and the "can V" phrase with *can* being positioned at the head of the TP, such constructions in Korean and Japanese should be structured as a head/main verb in VP with suffixes positioned in the layers of vP. In both (98b) and (99b), the subjects or the spec-VPs are clearly not 'apples (*sakwa*)' or 'English (*eigo*),' and they should be considered as those of

accusative origin at best, according to the fact that the accusative case can be assigned interchangeably and the fact that only the accusative case can be assigned in (98a) and (99a).

On the other hand, Ura (2003) proposes that case feature checking should operate under language-specific parametrization; whether a language can assign nominative case to multiple DPs in a single clause. Similarly, Takezawa and Whitman (1998) also argue that the double nominative construction is licensed by INFL that is capable of assigning nominative case to one or more noun phrases, unlike English.

If the spec-IP is structurally assigned a nominative case, and the remaining noun phrases are assigned a nominative case by other relations (Tateishi, 2006), the appearance of the nominative marker in what seem to be the direct objects in examples (98) and (99) may be explained either by the semantics of the predicates "want to V" and "can V" or the fulfillment of the features that these predicates require. Moreover, such an assumption can also support the claim that it is not impossible or peculiar for the predicate nominals in the constructions to not or optionally receive the accusative case, given the fact that accusative case typically marks a direct object or a patient of a transitive predicate. The predicate nominals are more or less part of the predicates themselves rather than patients, and if the strict usage of the accusative case and its marker in Korean and Japanese is to mark the pure patient that receives a certain action unlike the accusative case in English, there is no justification or motivation as to why the predicate nominals must receive the accusative case, but this cannot of course entail the nominative case assignment to the predicate nominals. Section 7 thus aims to discuss case-marking and case-assignment in the framework of Distributed Morphology.
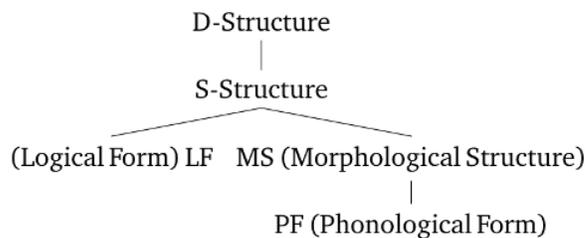
7. Discussion of Case

The similarities and differences between the Japanese and Korean copular constructions have been illustrated throughout the thesis, along with an introductory discussion of the case assigned to the predicate nominals. It has been observed and established that the nominative case can be assigned to noun phrases that seem to be direct objects or other arguments other than sentential subjects in Korean and Japanese, which is very different from languages like English. However, although it has been argued that such case assignments do not violate the conventional assumptions and hypotheses in syntax and morphology, their motivations are still equivocal and the scholars have proposed several different explanations. This section aims to conclude the analyses and comparison of the copular constructions of Korean and Japanese by delving into this rather unestablished area of the case assignment of the predicate nominals as well as the discrepancy found in the affirmative and negative constructions in Korean copular sentences.

7.1. Case Competition and Distributed Morphology

In the conventional framework in syntax and derivational morphology, there are two different types of case: a syntactic case that is overtly licensed by the overall syntax and a morphological case that is inherently included in the DP/NP or is an overt manifestation of syntactic case. As such, it can be viewed that the morphological/lexical cases are licensed and determined at the D-Structure, and the necessary movements and arrangements comprise or generate the S-Structure, which then diverges to PF and LF depending on the necessity of the covert movements. Similarly, the subject of a non-finite embedded clause would undergo ECM/ SOR and receive accusative Case/case, at a stage of the syntactic derivation which is not DS.In the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993), an additional stage of such

derivations and movements is included between the S-Structure and PF, labeled as

Morphological Structure or MS:

```
                    D-Structure
                         |
                    S-Structure
                   /            \
       (Logical Form) LF   MS (Morphological Structure)
                                  |
                        PF (Phonological Form)
```

<div align="right">(Halle & Marantz 1993: 114)</div>

And the syntactic/structural case morphemes are considered to be added at the MS level in

accordance with language-specific requirements about what constitutes a morphologically well-

formed word (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994). This implies that the constructions generated at the

D-Structures and S-Structures are not fully determined, and some elements (labeled as

Vocabulary Items in the framework of DM) are "underspecified." In other words, the

phonological expressions for the Vocabulary items do not necessarily have to be fully specified

for the syntactic positions/nodes where they can be inserted. As such, it is possible for one

syntactic node to have multiple candidates, and the most specified candidate wins the

competition over the position.

The Underspecification specifically focuses on explaining how the appropriate words or

morphemes are inserted into the terminal nodes by means of competition. This, however, may

prevent the whole model from making the correct predictions – certainly there are instances in

which less specific or unmarked items appear in the sentences, and such sentences should

directly contradict to the idea of Underspecification. In order to remedy this, Distributed

Morphology adapts the concept of Impoverishment proposed in Bonet (1991), termed as "retreat

to the General Case" by Halle & Marantz (1994), which "changes the outcome of the

competition" (Halle & Marantz 1994: 278) and the structure retreats to the insertion of the less

specified item. In sum, Marantz (2000) proposes the disjunctive hierarchy of the cases as below (p. 24):

1. Lexically governed case

2. "Dependent" case (accusative and ergative)

3. Unmarked case (environment-sensitive)

4. Default case

In order to observe how the case competition operates, let us first consider an example in English:

100) Are you the one who is studying morphology?

Me? No, **I** am not (the one).

While the nominative case is inevitable for the first person pronoun in "No, I am not" as it is assigned by the tense in the structure, the first person pronoun before this sentence is realized as accusative. There is no overt syntactic structures shown in the sentence/question "Me?", and it is hard to recover the deleted (or covert) structures at the PF which are otherwise present at LF. That is to say, there is not an element such as tense, at least not locally, that would assign a case — nominative or accusative — and it cannot be claimed that the accusative case in "Me" is syntactically or lexically governed. There is, indeed, "a clean separation of licensing and morphological case realization" (Marantz 2000:19).

While the environment-specific, unmarked case in English seems to be accusative as shown in example (100), there does not seem to be an unmarked case in Korean:

101) ney-ka   hyengtayron-ul   kongbwu-ha-n-un   saram-i-∅-ni?

    2.SG-NOM morphology-ACC study-do-PRS-REL   person-COP-PRS-Q

    'Are you the person who studies morphology?'

na?[15]   na-nun/nay-ka   an-i-∅-ya

1.SG   1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM   NEG-COP-PRS-DECL.(casual.impolite)

'Me? I am not the one'

lit. Caseless-first-person-singular-pronoun? (It is) not me.

Korean is often classified as an agglutinative language, and each case has its own phonologically

overt marker, and the lack of a case marker at the PF entails that the first person pronoun *na* in

"Me?" can be regarded as case-neutral. Following Marantz' disjunctive hierarchy, it can thus be

argued that the "null" or "neutral" case is the default case in the Korean language — or that the

Korean language does not have an unmarked case. A similar argument can be made to the case in

Japanese:

102) anata-ga   keitairon-wo   benkyō-su-ru-∅   hito-des-u-ka?

2.SG-NOM   morphology-ACC study-do-PRS-REL   person-POL-PRS-Q

'Are you the person who studies morphology?'

watasi?   watasi-de-wa   ar-i-mas-en.

1.SG   1.SG-COP-TOP   COP-CONJ-POL-NEG

'Me? I am not the one.'

lit. Caseless-first-person-singular-pronoun? (It is) not me.

Example (102), which is a construction without an overt nominative case constructed,

corresponds in the relevant details to example (101) in Korean. In Japanese, too, case marker is

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[15] It is ungrammatical for this *na?* to bear the topic marker *-nun*. The nominative marker *-ka* can attach, but the reading of such a construction is nuanced by the additional implication that the entity *na* (I) is surprised that this question has been asked to him/her, perhaps because it is known that there is a different person who studies morphology.

not generally required for the "Me?" sentence, and it can be concluded that the Japanese language does not require a specific unmarked case.

Moving forward to the predicate nominals, while the nominative case of the subject position is licensed by the syntactic head of the clause, the nominative case of the predicate nominal is not. Furthermore, in terms of the syntax, predicate nominals in copular constructions do not receive theta-roles. Therefore, it is not the case that the dependent case such as accusative can be assigned to the predicate nominals. In the case of Japanese, it can be claimed that the case assignment to the predicate nominals resorts to the unmarked, caseless construction. On the other hand, the assumption that the unmarked case of Korean is also case-neutral from the above analysis raises the possibility that the nominative case is a result of winning the competition over the unmarked case and resorting to the environment-specific case, which then is nominative.

In other words, three out of four possible identifications of the nominative case in the predicate nominals have been eliminated thus far — lexically governed case is immediately rejected from the syntactic structure, the dependent case is also implausible as it pertains to the cases that are dependent on the predicates, such as accusative and ergative, and we have just established that the unmarked case in Korean is not nominative. By the process of elimination, it can be posited that the nominative case is an environment-specific case in Korean. What has been illustrated repeatedly throughout this thesis in regard to the Korean predicate nominals is that they receive nominative case consist of one very specific construction — copular construction — and the so-called double nominative construction that involves compound verbs. Therefore, although the scope of the "environment" is left with details to explore and confirm, the appearance of the nominative marker on the predicate nominals and its motivation can at least be systematically categorized and explained by Distributive Morphology.

7.2. Nominative Case Marking in Korean and Japanese Revisited

According to the framework of DM and the idea of case competition, the nominative case on the predicate nominals seems to be categorized as an environment-specific case that has won the case competition, for which the lexically-governed case and the dependent case are structurally not suitable cases and therefore out of the competition. In Japanese, the environment of the nominative case marking on the predicate nominals can be crudely defined as double nominative constructions, whereas such environment in Korean seems to be both the copular constructions and the double nominatives.

As stated previously in the subsection 6.3.4, the double nominative constructions in both languages are not strictly double nominative as the same constructions with the accusative case are also possible. This is striking in the sense that, according to the case hierarchy proposed by Marantz (2000), the accusative case marker should win against nominative marker by virtue of being the dependent case. Does this entail that these case markers being interchangeable is obscuring and refuting not only the "disjunctive" hierarchy of case but also the conventional classification and definition of the nominative and accusative case? It has already been observed that the double nominatives are made possible when they involve compound or derived verbs such as "want to V" and "can V," and are never allowed or cooccur with simple dynamic verbs. In light of this, Higashiya (2003) proposes that the replacing or switching of the accusative marker -*wo* with the nominative marker -*ga* is observed when the main predicate represents or denotes the ability, wish, and/or necessity (hence modality) of the subject of the sentence which take place before the main action represented by the root verb is initiated. In other words, the assignment of -*ga* to the complement noun phrases is made possible only when the main verbs

are stative verbs. Higashiya further points out that the strong preference of *-ga* over *-wo* is observed with inherently stative verbs, whereas such preference is much weaker with the stative verbs that are derived from the straightforward dynamic verbs (2003: 78). This explanation, however, does not seem to explain the case-neutral predicate nominals in the copular constructions at first glance, as copulas are typically considered as stative verbs. However, one must also take into account that the copulas are closer to intransitive than transitive, given the fact the complement phrases of the copulas are considered as a part of the predicate, and the copular constructions would typically assign one theta role. Therefore, the environment in which the Japanese nominative case is assigned to complement noun phrases would participate and win the competition can be further narrowed down and described as something similar to [+stative, +transitive]. As the copular constructions do not match this environment, the case assignment retreats to the default case.

An identical approach can be taken for the case of Korean, on the grounds that the alternation between the nominative and accusative markers requires stative verbs as well. On the other hand, the nominative case marker in Korean also appears in the predicate nominals in the copular constructions, at least in negative constructions, thus its environment or the features should be measured differently from those of Japanese. Including the copular constructions to the environment can easily be done by removing the [+transitive] feature, but it seems that the double nominative constructions in Korean can bring different interpretations depending on which case marker is used. Earlier in the thesis it has been proposed that the overt nominative case marker brings an additional property to the construction, namely definiteness or focus. While the analysis has primarily focused on the nominative marker attached to the subject

nominals, it seems that it can be expanded and adapted to the discussion of nominative marker on the predicate nominals.

103) a. *pro* sakwa-**ka** mek-ko-sip-∅-ta

    pro apple-**NOM** eat-CONJ-DESID-PRS-DECL

    'I want to eat **apples**; it is apples that I want to eat**.'**

  b. *pro* sakwa-**lul** mek-ko-sip-ta

    pro apple-**ACC** eat-CONJ-DESID-PRS-DEC

    'I want to eat apples.'

Therefore, the environment in which the nominative case would be assigned as the unmarked case in Korean should not be described as a broader one such as [+stative]. Rather, it can be characterized as the focus on the complement noun phrases in double nominative constructions, and the NP1=NP2 relationship in the copular construction. In other words, the environment for the nominative markers in predicate nominals can be described as the semantic focus and weight of the complement nominals, which can be represented as [+stative, +focus].

While the features and environments for the environment-specific nominative markers in Japanese and Korean seem to work in general, the entire discussion of the environment for the Korean nominative marker brings us back to the question as to why the nominative marker is not present in the affirmative constructions. As the NP1=NP2 relation should be the most prominent and intuitive in the affirmative construction, and as the features that have been defined above clearly include all copular constructions, it should be predicted that the nominative markers should appear in affirmative sentences. If one were to claim that it is really the case that the nominative marker is only allowed in the copular negation and the so-called double nominative

constructions, the feature set that has been proposed above is no longer valid and has to be split into two environments; one being [+stative, +transitive] and another being [+stative, -transitive, -affirmative]. This seems to be counterintuitive to the general effort in the field of linguistics to establish efficient yet near-universal sets of rules that can account for the linguistic phenomena with as fewer exceptions as possible. In section 6.3.1, it has been argued that the nominative case should still be present in the affirmative constructions and that it is just not phonologically realized at the PF. Therefore, the nominative marker *-ka* is still assigned to the predicate nominals before the PF (at the MS in DM), which disappears in accordance with the phonological rules of Korean.

7.3. (Dis)appearance of the Nominative Marker in Korean

Let us reiterate that the mismatch in the existence of the nominative markers in Korean copular constructions is not a product of an addition or assignment of the nominative marker in the negation, but rather a phonological deletion of the nominative marker in the affirmative which happens after the insertion of the case at the MS level. In an attempt to elucidate this matter, this subsection revisits and examines the behavior of *-ka*, the allomorph of the nominative marker *-i* that attaches to the NPs/DPs that end with vowels, which has also been used to prove that the element *-i* that appears in the copular construction, which happens to be homonymous to the nominative marker *-i*, is not a nominative marker but a copula:

104) a.*Sara-i kyosa-ka-∅-ta

   Sara-NOM teacher-NOM-PRS-DECL

   Intended meaning: 'Sara is the teacher.'

  b.*Sara-i   kyosa-i-∅-ta

Sara-NOM   teacher-COP-PRS-DECL

Intended meaning: 'Sara is the teacher.'

c.*Sara-ka   kyosa-ka-∅-ta

Sara-NOM   teacher-NOM-PRS-DECL

Intended meaning: 'Sara is the teacher.'

d. Sara-ka   kyosa-i-∅-ta.

Sara-NOM   teacher-COP-PRS-DECL

'Sara is the teacher.'

If the *-i* of the predicate NP is a nominative marker, it is unclear as to how one can explain the

fact that the supposed nominative marker, only in this particular (copular) construction, ignores

the allomorphy of *-i* and *-ka*.

Scholars who believe the copula *-i* to be a nominative marker point out that many records

and old manuscripts suggest that *-ka* was adapted/introduced into the Korean language in the late

15th century (Song 2007) and assert that the nominative markers on the predicate nominals do

not need to be subject to the allomorphy as *-ka* was introduced much later in the history (Kim

2019). Indeed, it is highly likely that the general structure of the copular sentences had been

established long before the adoption of the *-ka*, and the discussion of allomorphy fails to account

for the "irregularity" in the affirmative sentences. Regardless of the validity of such claims, the

fact that *-ka* was introduced to the language in a relatively late period of time is important

evidence that the underlying/base form of the nominative marker is *-i*.

Another noteworthy behavior that can account for this issue is the optional deletion of

the copula associated with NPs with stem-final open syllables:

105) Sara-ka   kyosa-∅-∅-ta.

Sara-NOM   teacher-COP-PRS-DECL

'Sara is the teacher.'

A similar phenomenon — that is, the alternation of the copula *-i* with the glide [j] (*-y*) between a vowel and a politeness marker — has been discussed in section 6. In other words, it has been illustrated that the copula *-i* is subject to a morphological reduction when it attaches to vowel-ending nominals in an attempt to avoid a vowel sequence/hiatus, and the example (105) also follows the pattern, by an omission of the copula. On the other hand, all negative constructions with no overt nominative markers assigned to the predicate nominals are a result of an addition or substitution with other functional particles such as a topic marker based on the semantics of the constructions. In any empirical evidence has the nominative marker been considered to be undergoing an alternation or a deletion sometimes. Therefore, constructions like the example (105) cannot be explicated or predicted by the hypothesis that *-i* is a nominative marker.

On the other hand, it has also been pointed out in the thesis that the modern Korean language no longer allows vowel hiatus, which many languages do not tolerate in general (Kornfilt 1996). Moreover, cliticization of copulas, similar to what has been provided in section 6, are quite common — at least more common than the dropping of nominative markers — cross-linguistically. For instance, lenition of copulas is also observed in Turkish:

106) a. hastá-y-mış-ım

sick-COP-RP-1SG

b. hastá-y-mış-sın

sick-COP-RP-2SG

c. hastá i-miş-im

       sick   COP-RP-1SG

    d. hastá i-miş-sin

       sick   COP-RP-1SG (Kornfilt, 1996: 99-100)

According to this example, -*y* and *i* are best analyzed as copulas. The cliticization of the copula in Turkish occurs in the form of lenition; as the primary stress of the construction precedes the copula — that is, the word-final stress in the AdjP, the copula -*y* is a weak, unstressed element that is phonologically conditioned. In contrast to the strong copula *i,* the clitic -*y* is no longer a free morpheme, either.

　　　One might question the validity and the reasoning of the complete deletion of the Korean -*i* on the ground that the morphological reduction of -*i* to the weaker, dependent -y (or glide /j/) already exists. The intolerance to vowel hiatus and sequences can easily be remedied by replacing the vowel -*i* with a glide, but the constructions with the declarative maker -*ta* further requires a deletion of -*i*. This is, however, can easily be explained by another phonotactic rule of the Korean language — that is, a tendency to avoid consonant clusters. Therefore, the alternation of -*i* between [i] and [j] should be subject to a further alternation — deletion, in this case — as the intermediate structure would yield /NP-j-ta/ and violate the Korean phonotactic rules by having a consonant cluster of /j-t/.

　　　Like the Turkish examples, the deletion of -*i* in Korean is completely optional within the same structure and the same meaning. Consider the comparison of the examples (99b) and (100), relabeled below:

    107) a. Sara-ka   kyosa-i-∅-ta.

Sara-NOM teacher-COP-PRS-DECL

'Sara is a teacher.'

b. Sara-ka kyosa-∅-∅-ta.

Sara-NOM teacher-COP-PRS-DECL

'Sara is the teacher.'

While the former example does not have a different phonological or intonational contour than that of the latter, it is often used in formal and written registers, emphasizing the copular relationship between the NPs. On the other hand, example (107b) is more commonly used in colloquial speech and casual writings. As both constructions are well-formed and grammatical, the "process takes place in PR rather than in the syntactic component" (Kornfilt 1996: 112).

The relevance of this vowel deletion phenomena of the Korean copula to the discussion of the existence of the nominative marker lies on establishing and demonstrating the phonotactics of the Korean language, which plays a significant role in a deletion of lexical items at the PF.

The morphosyntactic discussion on the Korean copular constructions has suggested that the nominative case marker should appear in the affirmative constructions in order for the discussions and analyses provided throughout the entire thesis to remain coherent. As such, the nominative marker exists in the structure, both in affirmative and negative, and the deletion process at the PR is initiated in the affirmative constructions due the phonotactics of Korean. The allomorph *-ka* cannot replace its underlying morpheme *-i*, should the order of the phonological derivation forces the deletion of the nominative marker to happen first. The base nominative marker *-i*, however, is realized in the negative construction, because the construction no longer

contains a vowel cluster as the negator *an* intervenes between the nominative marker and the

copula:

108) a. Affirmative

kyosa-i-i-∅-ta   '*pro* is a teacher.'
teacher-NOM-COP-PRS-DECL

↓

kyosa-∅-i-∅-ta   Deletion of the NOM to avoid a vowel hiatus
                                                  Allomorphy is blocked

↓

kyosa-∅-∅-∅-ta   Optional deletion of the copula *-i*

b. Negative

kyosa-i   an-i-∅-ta   '*pro* is not a teacher.'
teacher-NOM NEG-COP-PRS-DECL

↓

kyosa-i an-i-∅-ta   Deletion of the NOM is blocked

↓

kyosa-ka   an-i-∅-ta   Alternation of *-i* to *-ka* due to allomorphy

Therefore, Kim (2019)'s proposition that the *-i* should be analyzed as a nominative

marker is partially correct — there are both the nominative marker *-i* and the copula *-i* within the

same construction, it is just the case that the nominative marker fails to be realized at the PR and

the element *-i* that is realized is the copula.

In sum, the nominative marker in the Korean copular constructions exists in both

affirmative and negative constructions, and the phonological constraints block the phonetic

realization of it in affirmative constructions, resulting in what seems to be the mismatch or inconsistency between the two constructions.

8. Discussions and Limitations

In support of the claim that the Korean *-i* and the Japanese *-da* are indeed copular verbs, this thesis has focused on presenting their morphosyntactic and morphophonological behaviors. The controversy and uncertainty over the grammatical categorization of the Japanese *-da* and its behaviors distinct from those of the obvious copula, *-de ar*, have been explained by the proposition that *-da* is a contracted form of *-de ar,* which then has undergone a lexicalization or reanalysis to a particle-like element. While the proposal made in this thesis accounts for the difference between *-da* and its presumed formal counterpart *-de ar* and validates the grammatical categorization of *-da* in the D-Structure, it has only been justified on the ground that *-da* is phonologically distinct from other verbs of which the roots typically take the present tense morpheme *-u*. Therefore, any strong theoretical and empirical evidence on the phonotactics of Japanese or phonological structures of Japanese verbs has not been made, which could either strengthen or undermine the proposal. The justification of the lexicalization and reanalysis should thus be supplemented by additional evidence such as phonological structures of general verbs and speakers' preferences and perception of the tense morphemes associated with verbs.

The justification of the case assignment on the predicate nominals in Korean and the case-neutral or lacking of case on the Japanese predicate nominals has been made primarily in the framework of Distributed Morphology and a limited discussion of the Case Theory. With the nominative case marker on the predicate nominals being labeled as an "environment-specific" case rather than a structure-dependent case, the thesis has purposefully omitted the discussion of

derivational morphology, as derivational morphology largely relies upon the structural agreement of the constructions. However, thorough demonstration of how the Agree Model and the derivational morphology do not fully account for the nominative case assignment can greatly enhance the completeness of the thesis. Furthermore, the discussion of the case assignment can be supplemented by alternative models and approaches such as cyclic case assignment based on the Dependent Case model and HPSG (Levin 2016).

I must admit that analyses provided throughout the thesis in an attempt to distinguish the nominative marker *-i* from the the copular *-i* can be objected and questioned, especially in regard to the deletion of the nominative marker in the affirmative construction — how do we absolutely justify and posit that it is the nominative marker *-i* that undergoes deletion, when it is homonymous to the copula *-i*? While this thesis has been supported by the ungrammaticality of the constructions when *-ka*, an allomorph of the nominative marker *-i*, replaces the predicate *-i,* the fact that *-ka* has been added to the Korean lexicon in the period of Middle Korean can counter-argue that the generative rules has already been established prior to the introduction of *-ka* which excludes the whole copular construction from the allomorphy. In light of this, it is even possible for scholars to argue that the Korean copula is phonologically null, and the element *-i* that appears in the copular construction is a nominative marker, as Choi (1993) and Kim (2019) propose. The process, indeed, is somewhat vacuous and cannot be observed solely at the PR due to the homonymy. In an attempt to investigate the accurate motivation and deletion of the nominative case marker, diachronic analyses on the vowel reduction as well as the copular constructions in Early and Middle Korean are necessary.

In addition, it is generally believed that the dropping of case markers and particles altogether is one of the common characteristics of child speech, both in Korean and Japanese. While this thesis has attempted to argue that the mismatch in case-marking between affirmative and negative copular constructions in Korean is a result of a deletion of a nominative marker based on the phonotactics of Korean, the first-language acquisition point of view may suggest otherwise. Therefore, the analyses provided in the thesis should be cross-checked by a collection of the copular constructions uttered by children.

This thesis can and should also be expanded and supplemented by other research and analyses such as comprehensive and thorough review of literature on copulas in other languages with SOV word order and agglutinative morphology — Turkic languages, Mongolic languages, and Ainu, for instance. Such an addition will greatly enrich the content and arguments of this thesis and provide clearer typological similarities and differences among Korean, Japanese, and other similar languages that have been genetically identified.

9. Conclusions and Implications

The analyses and claims made in this thesis, supported by empirical evidence, strongly support the validity of *-i* and *-da* as copular verbs and nullifies the claim that the two languages have phonologically null copulas. In light of this, the general copular constructions in Korean and Japanese appear more or less identical to each other, mostly from the viewpoint of syntax, morphosyntax, and a bit of semantics. There are obvious structural differences including but not limited to the existence of the nominative marker, the intervention between the copula and the predicate nominals in Korean, ungrammaticality or unacceptability of the gapping in Japanese, and the phonological alternations of the copulas as well as copular clitics specific to each

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language. However, the latter two differences seem to be originated from the lexical difference, such as the bound properties of the copula and the negator. It has also been shown that both Korean and Japanese copulas strictly take noun phrases (and some nominal adjectives that function as both nouns and adjective in Japanese), thereby claiming that the parametric difference between the copular constructions of the two languages is little to none.

The seemingly minimal parametric difference and structural difference between Korean and Japanese, at least in terms of copular constructions, may also support the continuous effort in identifying the genetic relationship between the two languages as well as classifying and assigning the two languages into bigger language families. It has been briefly mentioned that the copular construction in Turkish demonstrate the similar syntactic structures as well as the similar phonological derivation — if similar patterns are found throughout other typologically similar languages, the classification of Korean and Japanese, which are the languages thought to be isolated, may take a different stance. While the genetic relationship between the languages are primarily dependent upon lexical similarities and reconstruction of cognate words, I believe syntactic or structural similarities between languages can also play a role in categorizing them. Relexification (Campbell & Mixco 2007), for instance, could account for the obvious lexical difference with the structural similarities between Japanese and Korean.

What seems idiosyncratic or out of the pattern does not always imply that it is a syntactic or morphological exception — the double nominative constructions in Japanese and Korean and the disappearance of the nominative marker on the predicate nominals in Korean are the supporting evidence. Such exceptions and confusions can be clarified by viewing that the structures are first abstractly determined at the deeper level, and are filled in with the appropriate

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lexical items thereafter. When the phonology takes place after the insertion of the lexical items, the clear morphosyntactic boundaries between the items that the construction has originally possessed are obscured, making the analyses on the surface structure more convoluted. The fact that the appearance of the nominative marker on the predicate nominals in Korean could not been adequately explained by the conventional syntactic analyses and morphological approaches such as derivational morphology also highlights the importance of the structure and feature-based approaches such as Distributed Morphology in the methodology of linguistic analyses and approaches, at least in regard to the particular topic of this thesis.

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11. Vita

Soyoung Kim was born in 1989 in Seoul, Korea. In 2008, she graduated from Kalani High School in Honolulu. From there she went on to Cornell University where she obtained a B.A. in Economics, Asian Studies, and Linguistics in 2012. She is currently a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistic Studies at Syracuse University and hopes to graduate in August 2020. She is also enrolled in the Ph.D. program in the Department of Linguistics at Indiana University Bloomington.