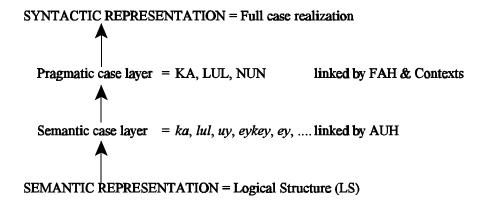
## Chapter 8 Concluding Remarks

In this dissertation I have investigated Korean information structure which is, roughly speaking, the relationship between the structure of sentences (as parts of the grammatical coding system) and discourse contexts in which sentences are used as units of propositional information. The fundamental claim I have made in this dissertation is that, in Korean, information structure is systematically encoded in the sentence structures by morphological coding (topic marker NUN, focus marker KA or LUL) of minimal information units (phrases), specific focus constructions (clefting, or quantifier float), word order (immediately preverbal position for the unmarked narrow-focused element), and so forth.

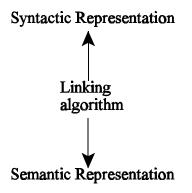
Of particular priority, with respect to the well-known multiple NOM or ACC constructions, I proposed the 'Two Case Layers' hypothesis in figure 1 below in an attempt to explain fully Korean case marking system. The hypothesis, which involves semantic(ally motivated) case and pragmatic(ally motivated) case, applies throughout this dissertation to a number of syntactic constructions under the general assumption that syntactic representations are linked to semantic representations via the two types of case layers:

Figure 1 'Two Case Layers' Hypothesis



In chapter 2, as a preliminary step, I have summarized the basic features of Role & Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). RRG system of 'lexical representation' is introduced involving verb classification (Aktionsart types), logical structure (LS) and semantic roles (thematic relations, macroroles). The basic linking algorithm in RRG is sketched out in chapter 2.3 under the general structure of RRG-based theory of grammar in figure 2.

Figure 2 General structure of RRG-based theory of grammar



Finally, the theory of information structure in RRG is outlined, providing definitions and

justifications of a number of important notions relying heavily on two previous works, Lambrecht (1986, 1987, 1989, 1994) and Van Valin & LaPolla (1997). Apart from it, I have introduced the three focus structure types which most typically occur in actual conversations: predicate, sentence and narrow focus structure.

Chapter 3 dealt exclusively with my proposal 'Two Case Layers' hypothesis. I argued that in order to explain fully the Korean case marking system two independent case layers (semantic and pragmatic case in this order) are needed. Several important claims were made. First, in Korean, the use of the morphological marker NOM and ACC is bi-functional; i.e., on the one hand, the semantic NOM -ka is used for the PSA (subject) and the semantic ACC case -lul for the second macrorole (direct object). On the other hand, the neutral focus marker KA and LUL are used context-sensitively for different types of focus structures. Second, there exists a pattern of case-shifting (or alternation) from semantic(ally motivated syntactic) case to pragmatic(ally motivated syntactic) case because of focus structure. Third, semantic cases are linked to the syntactic representation in terms of the AUH. In contrast, pragmatic cases (NUN, KA or LUL) are linked to the syntactic representation in terms of the FAH (Focality Accessibility Hierarchy) and the discourse context. Fourth, there is 'semantic bleeding' through (or semantic interference with) pragmatics. That is to say, application of semantic 'exclusiveness' of ka to an NP may bleed (deprive) application of pragmatic 'focus' marker KA although the NP is in the AFD. Likewise, application of semantic 'affectedness' of *lul* to an NP may bleed (deprives) application of pragmatic 'focus' LUL although the NP is in the AFD. Finally, I proposed the 'grammatical values of 'nun', 'ka', and 'lul' in table 1 below which shows which grammatical areas they are sensitive to.

case types	sensitive areas		nun	ka (-state)	lul (-state) / ka (+state)
pragmatic(ally	neutral	topic	+	-	-
-motivated		focus	-	+	+
syntactic) case	contrastive focus*		+	+	+
semantic(ally	actorhood		I	+	_
-motivated	otivated undergoerhood		Ι	_	+
syntactic) case	exclusiveness		-	+	+
	affectedness		-	_	+
	accomplishment		_	_	<i>lul</i> (-state)

Table 1: The grammatical values of 'nun', 'ka', and 'lul'

\*The contrastive uses of NUN, KA, and LUL are for narrow focus structures; they are composites of the (non-contrastive) neutral focus plus focal stress.

Throughout the rest of this dissertation, chapter 4 to 7, I have applied the idea that are contained in the 'Two Case Layers' hypothesis to a number of syntactic constructions. As a first approximation, in chapter 4, I investigated the Korean GEN construction in relation to types of focus structure. First, I claimed, a (formerly) GEN-marked NP is eligible for being a 'pragmatic unit' (PU) which is a minimal information unit (phrase) according to Lambrecht (1994: 216), and which can be a focus or topic element within the PFD in a clause. Second, the case-shifting of GEN to NUN/KA/LUL is categorized as a kind of topic-/focalization from semantic case to pragmatic case. Third, the shifted cases such as NUN, KA or LUL are all pragmatic cases which are sensitive to different types of focus structure, for which I provided some empirical evidence. Fourth, the FAH is necessary to account fully for the extent to which certain types of PUs have higher degrees of topicality (or focality on the other end of the hierarchy) than other types of PUs in forming the multiple KA and LUL constructions. Fifth, there are (tenacious) semantic interferences (constraints), e.g. exclusiveness for *-ka* and affectedness or accomplishment for *-lul*, on using neutral focus marker KA or LUL, which are, to some degree, inevitable consequences of the morphological marker NOM and ACC's being bi-functional in nature in Korean: i.e. they are used for both semantic and pragmatic case, and they work in terms of a continuum rather than an absolute dichotomy.

In chapter 5, I have applied the 'Two Case Layers' hypothesis to other kinds of caseshifting or case-stacking examples in simple sentences besides the genitive construction. It is shown that a similar kind of topic-/focalization pattern from semantic case to pragmatic case layer is hold. For instance, semantic dative case can be shifted to (or alternated with) pragmatic cases, NUN, KA, or LUL for the purpose of focus structure marking. This kind of case-shifting is also found between semantic ablative and NUN/KA/LUL; locative and NUN/KA/LUL. In addition, NUN/KA/LUL may occur on a variety of adverbial phrases constructions because of focus structure.

However, there is another group of examples, which does now allow case-shifting, although they allow case-stacking in the same situation. For instance, semantic purposive case does not sanction case-shifting of NUN/KA/LUL. Allative, instrumental NPs and *by*-marked oblique NP in passive sentences are analogous to the purposive in this regard. This is accounted for in terms of two constraints which apply to the use of the pragmatic cases, NUN/KA/LUL. First, there is the 'FAH constraint' which explains why a certain NP resists being marked by topic (NUN) or focus markers (KA or LUL): that is, the NPs higher in their focality (or lower in their topicality) tend not to take KA and LUL, even though they are in

the scope of the AFD. Second, due to the bi-functional nature of the morphological marker NOM and ACC, there exist 'semantic constraints' such as exclusiveness, affectedness and accomplishment which may prevent pragmatic cases from being used, even though they are associated with PUs in a relevant focus or topic domain.

Moreover, 'Case Stacking' as compared to 'case-shifting' is categorized as a composite of semantic case and pragmatic case. Accordingly, it is argued that case-stacking has only purely pragmatic implications (focus or topic) and that the 'semantic constraints' do not hold for case-stacking.

In chapter 6, I dealt exclusively with the HA 'do' construction and the (post-verbal negation) light verb construction -*ci an-h* 'NEG-do' in relation to the above 'Two Case Layers' Hypothesis. At first, with respect to the HA construction, I made the claim that the verb HA of the composite predicate *kongpwu-lul ha* 'study-ACC do' is not semantically empty, just like English verb *make* of the composite predicate *make an offer*, and Japanese verb SURU of the composite predicate *kinsen no juyo suru* 'money GEN offer do' are not. Instead, I contended that the case assignments of these composite predicates are a combination of the 'case linking rules for the clause' based on the transitive verb HA 'do', and those for the NP based on the deverbal nominal *kongpwu* 'study'. As a result, in order to account for the case assignments of the composite predicates we should simultaneously apply both case linking rules, one for the clause, the other for the NP.

Based on these observations, I argued that the double ACC construction, *swuhak-ul kongpwu-lul ha-* 'math-ACC study-ACC do' is case-shifted from its unmarked noun-incorporation or genitive construction for the purpose of focus structure, for which I provided

some empirical evidence to support the claim.

The uses of pragmatic case, NUN/KA or LUL as such, hold for the light verb construction (LVC) *-ci an-h* 'NEG-do', in which the light verb HA has no semantic contribution other than functioning as the sentence-final anchor point in the sentence. The fundamental contentions with respect to KA and LUL attached to the verbal complex *V-ci* 'V-CLM' in the LVCs are: i) they are pragmatic cases assigned to Pragmatic Units (phrase or larger than phrase). ii) The pragmatic case alternation between KA and LUL is due to a difference in verb classifications: i.e., the neutral focus marker KA is used when a verb in context is construed as a state, but the neutral focus marker LUL is used when a verb is construed as either activity or accomplishment. iii) The sentence-final verb HA in the LVCs is semantically-empty; it does not subcategorize for any syntactic argument(s).

In chapter 7, I gave a focus structure-based account of Korean Quantifier-Float (QF) constructions. First, I proved that NP-external QFs such as *haksayngtul-i 3-meyng*, [NXQ], are a special kind of 'focus construction' being used among eight different ways of Q-constructions for marking the Q under is the scope of the AFD. Second, the reference-tracking of the Q is accounted for in terms of the 'FAH': that is, the floating quantifier (QF) which is a focused nominal operator is always, except for the ones that are to the right of the Q, coreferential with the highest-ranking focal N (or the lowest ranking topical N) in the PFD in the sentence. Finally, the case markers on the Q are accounted for by a case copy, but not the "surface case copy" *per se* as in Shibatani (1977), but the 'focus case copy' of its referent nominal that is known in this thesis as pragmatic case, KA and LUL.

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