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Resultative Constructions with Intransitive Verbs in Korean*

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1 Introduction

Resultative constructions refer to clauses in which a secondary predicate expresses the state of an event participant as a result of the event denoted by the main verb (e.g., Simpson 1983; Kim and Maling 1997; Kim 1999; Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2001; Wechsler and Noh 2001; Yeo 2006; Shim and den Dikken 2009; Son 2008; Hong 2011; Ko 2015c). A representative resultative construction with a transitive verb is shown in (1).

- (1) a. Mina painted the floor white.
b. Mina-ka patak-ul hayah-key chilha-ess-ta.
Mina-NOM floor-ACC white-KEY paint-PST-DECL
‘Mina painted the floor white.’

In (1), the secondary predicate (i.e., result predicate) *white* describes the state of the object *floor* as a result of the painting event. In Korean, when result predicates are adjectives, they are marked

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with the morpheme *-key* as in *hayah-key* ‘white-KEY’ in (1b).¹ This study focuses particularly on resultatives with intransitive verbs as shown in (2). Resultatives with intransitive verbs are intriguing in that although intransitive verbs select for one argument, the construction nevertheless seems to contain two nominative nominals.²

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|------------|------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (2) | a. | Mina-ka | mok-i | swi-key | nolayha-ess-ta. | <i>Unergatives</i> |
| | | Mina-NOM | throat-NOM | hoarse-KEY | sing-PST-DECL | |
| | | ‘Mina sang herself hoarse.’ (Lit. ‘Mina sang her throat hoarse.’) | | | | |
| | b. | Mina-ka | elkwul-i | pwulk-key | tha-ss-ta. | <i>Unaccusatives</i> |
| | | Mina-NOM | face-NOM | red-KEY | burn-PST-DECL | |
| | | ‘Mina’s face burned red.’ | | | | |

At first glance, resultatives formed with unergative verbs (henceforth *unergative resultatives*) as in (2a) and those formed with unaccusative verbs (henceforth *unaccusative resultatives*) as in (2b) appear similar in that both include two nominative nominals followed by a *-key* result predicate and the verb.

However, I present novel empirical evidence that unergative and unaccusative resultatives differ in the distribution of result predicates, as shown by their divergent behavior with respect to fronting, right dislocation, and omission. Building on Ko’s (2015c) small clause analysis of transitive resultatives, I argue that both unergative and unaccusative resultatives involve a small clause as the result clause, yet are best analyzed as having distinct internal structures. I attribute the asymmetry to the presence or absence of a null subject in the small clause: unergative resultatives contain an overt subject, whereas unaccusative resultatives contain a null subject, PRO. This study refines the typology of Korean small clauses by providing novel empirical evidence of intransitive resultatives. Also theoretically, it supports cyclic Spell-out and linearization of the small clauses (e.g., den Dikken 2006; Ko 2011, 2014, 2015c).

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. In Section 2 I present the relevant facts concerning the distribution of result predicates. Section 3 develops an analysis of intransitive resultatives and accounts for the data discussed in Section 2. Section 4 concludes the discussion.

2 Data Observation

2.1 Distribution of Result Predicates

In general, as shown in (1) and (2), resultative constructions share the same canonical word order: matrix subject < result subject (i.e., entity that undergoes a change of state) < result predicate < matrix verb, where < indicates linear precedence. Ko (2015c) demonstrates that the distribution of result predicates provides evidence that transitive resultative constructions fall into distinct subtypes. Here, I extend the same investigation to intransitive resultatives and show that a similar distinction is found between unergative and unaccusative resultatives.

¹ When result predicates are formed with nouns, they are marked with the morpheme *-lo*. The present paper focuses on resultatives marked with *-key*. See Ko (2015c) for further discussion of *-lo* resultatives.

² In English, unergative resultatives like (2a) often include a so-called *fake reflexive* (Simpson 1983), a reflexive pronoun that is not subcategorized (i.e., selected for) by the verb but inserted to saturate the result predicate with an entity that undergoes a change of state. Unlike English, Korean does not require reflexive pronouns in unergative resultatives; instead, the result subject (e.g., *mok* ‘throat’) appears as a separate nominative nominal.

Let us first consider the behavior of result predicates in unergative resultatives with respect to fronting, right dislocation, and omission. (3) shows that the result predicate *swi-key* ‘hoarse-KEY’ allows none of these three operations: it can be neither moved nor omitted.

(3) *Unergative resultatives*

- a. **swi-key_i* *Mina-ka* *mok-i* *t_i* *nolayha-ess-ta.* *Fronting*
 hoarse-KEY *Mina-NOM* throat-NOM sing-PST-DECL
 Intended: ‘Mina sang herself hoarse.’
- b. **Mina-ka* *mok-i* *t_i* *nolayha-ess-ta* *swi-key_i.* *Right dislocation*
 Mina-NOM throat-NOM sing-PST-DECL hoarse-KEY
 Intended: ‘Mina sang herself hoarse.’
- c. **Mina-ka* *mok-i* *(*swi-key*) *nolayha-ess-ta.* *Omission*
 Mina-NOM throat-NOM hoarse-KEY sing-PST-DECL
 Intended: ‘Mina sang herself (hoarse).’

In contrast, unaccusative resultatives permit fronting, right dislocation, and omission of the result predicate as shown in (4). Fronting (4a) or right dislocation (4b) of the result predicate *pwulk-key* ‘red-KEY’ is allowed and does not affect the resultative meaning. The result predicate can be optionally omitted as in (4c). This sharply contrasts with unergative resultatives, where none of them are allowed.

(4) *Unaccusative resultatives*

- a. *pwulk-key_i* *Mina-ka* *elkwul-i* *t_i* *tha-ss-ta.* *Fronting*
 red-KEY *Mina-NOM* face-NOM burn-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina’s face burned red.’
- b. *Mina-ka* *elkwul-i* *t_i* *tha-ss-ta* *pwulk-key_i.* *Right dislocation*
 Mina-NOM face-NOM burn-PST-DECL red-KEY
 ‘Mina’s face burned red.’
- c. *Mina-ka* *elkwul-i* (*pwulk-key*) *tha-ss-ta.* *Omission*
 Mina-NOM face-NOM red-KEY burn-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina’s face burned (red).’

The fact that the two intransitive resultatives exhibit distinct patterns with respect to the distribution of result predicates suggests that they have different underlying syntactic structures, despite their surface similarity in canonical word order.

2.2 Distribution of Result Clauses

It should be noted that the above asymmetry disappears when the result predicate and the result subject are displaced or omitted together. In unergative resultatives (5), the result clause (i.e., result subject and result predicate) *mok-i swi-key* ‘throat-NOM hoarse-KEY’ can undergo movement as in (5a) and (5b), in contrast to (3a) and (3b), where the result predicate is displaced alone. Moreover, the entire result clause can be omitted as in (5c), as opposed to (3c).

- (5) *Unergative resultatives*
- a. [mok-i swi-key]_i Mina-ka *t_i* nolayha-ess-ta. *Fronting*
 throat-NOM hoarse-KEY Mina-NOM sing-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina sang herself hoarse.’
- b. Mina-ka *t_i* nolayha-ess-ta [mok-i swi-key]_i. *Right dislocation*
 Mina-NOM sing-PST-DECL throat-NOM hoarse-KEY
 ‘Mina sang herself hoarse.’
- c. Mina-ka (mok-i swi-key) nolayha-ess-ta. *Omission*
 Mina-NOM throat-NOM hoarse-KEY sing-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina sang.’
- (6) *Unaccusative resultatives*
- a. [elkwul-i pwulk-key]_i Mina-ka *t_i* tha-ss-ta. *Fronting*
 face-NOM red-KEY Mina-NOM burn-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina’s face burned red.’
- b. Mina-ka *t_i* tha-ss-ta [elkwul-i pwulk-key]_i. *Right dislocation*
 Mina-NOM burn-PST-DECL face-NOM red-KEY
 ‘Mina’s face burned red.’
- c. Mina-ka (elkwul-i pwulk-key) tha-ss-ta. *Omission*
 Mina-NOM face-NOM red-KEY burn-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina got tanned.’ (Lit. ‘Mina burned.’)

Similarly, in unaccusative resultatives (6), the entire result clause can be fronted, right dislocated, and omitted. In addition to the asymmetry in the distribution of result predicates between unergative and unaccusative resultatives, the sharp contrast between the distribution of result clauses and result predicates also calls for an explanation. As I argue in the following section, the distinct patterns observed above follow naturally from the structural difference between the two intransitive resultatives.

3 Analysis

3.1 Proposal

First, building on Ko (2015c), I claim that both unergative and unaccusative resultatives involve a small clause as the result clause. However, I argue that the two construction types differ with respect to the presence or absence of a small clause subject. Specifically, unergative resultatives contain an overt result subject, whereas the result subject of unaccusative resultatives is realized as a null subject PRO. I also claim that *-key* result clauses in intransitive resultatives are adjuncts (e.g., Shim and den Dikken 2009; Park 2010; Ko 2011; Hong 2011; Ko 2015c, contra Kim and Maling 1997; Wechsler and Noh 2001).

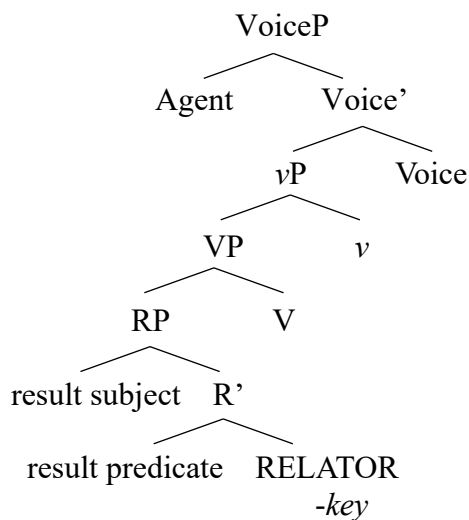
Intransitive resultatives are analyzed as containing a small clause RP headed by a Relator (Ko 2015c, following den Dikken 2006). As shown in (7), the Relator head encodes the relation between its specifier and complement.

- (7) $[[\text{RELATOR}]] = \lambda\pi.\lambda x.[\text{INTO}(\pi, x)]$
 The property denoted by its complement π comes to hold of its specifier x
 (Ko 2015c, modified from Adger and Ramchand 2003)

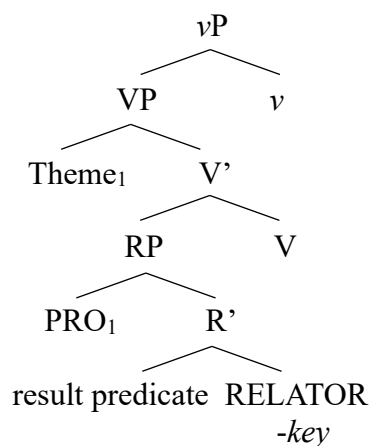
According to the semantics of the Relator head in (7), the small clause represents a propositional meaning such that the property denoted by the *-key* marked result predicate comes to hold of the result subject. Following Ko (2015c), I assume that the Relator head is lexicalized as either *-key* or *-lo* in Korean, depending on the category of the result predicate. When it merges with an adjective, it is phonologically realized as *-key*. When it merges with a noun, it is realized as *-lo*.

Given this, the syntactic structures of unergative and unaccusative resultatives are proposed as in (8) and (9), respectively.

(8) *Unergative resultatives*



(9) *Unaccusative resultatives*



I claim that the result clause RP is merged via adjunction to VP in both constructions. The crucial difference between unergative and unaccusative resultatives resides in the presence or absence of the subject of the RP. In the case of unergative resultatives (8), RP includes an overt result subject. The agent argument of the unergative verb is introduced in Spec, VoiceP (Kratzer 1996). For example in (10a), repeated from (2a), the agent *Mina* is generated in Spec, VoiceP, and the result subject *mok* ‘throat’ is generated in Spec, RP.

- (10) a. Mina-ka mok-i swi-key nolayha-ess-ta. *Unergatives*
 Mina-NOM throat-NOM hoarse-KEY sing-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina sang herself hoarse.’ (Lit. ‘Mina sang her throat hoarse.’)

- b. Mina-ka elkwul-i pwulk-key tha-ss-ta. *Unaccusatives*
 Mina-NOM face-NOM red-KEY burn-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina’s face burned red.’

In contrast, in unaccusative resultatives (10b), repeated from (2b), the subject of the RP is null as shown in (9). I assume that this null subject is a PRO, which is licensed and coindexed by the internal argument. The existence of two nominative nominals in unaccusative resultatives then requires an explanation. I claim that the two nominative nominals are instances of double nominative constructions, where they hold a possessor-possessee (or part-whole) relationship (e.g., Choe 1986; Ura 1996; Yoon 2009, 2015). To illustrate, see a simplified derivation of (10b) in (11). Under the possessor-raising approach (e.g., Choe 1986; Ura 1996), for example, the two nominative nominals together constitute a theme, where the first nominal, the possessor, is base-generated in Spec, DP bearing genitive Case (e.g., *Mina*), while the second one, the possessee, is base-generated as the head noun of that DP (e.g., *face*). This is illustrated in (11a). The possessor (e.g., *Mina*) then undergoes raising and gets nominative Case as shown in (11b).³

- (11) a. [VP [DP Mina-uy [D' elkwul-i]]₁ [V' [RP PRO₁ pwulk-key] tha-ss-ta]]
 Mina-GEN face-NOM red-KEY burn-PST-DECL
- b. [XP Mina_j-ka [VP [DP *t_j* [D' elkwul-i]]₁ [V' [RP PRO₁ pwulk-key] tha-ss-ta]]]
 Mina-NOM face-NOM red-KEY burn-PST-DECL

In other words, the second nominative nominal has a distinct syntactic status in the two constructions. In unergative resultatives, it forms a result clause with the *-key* phrase; in unaccusative resultatives, it instead constitutes a theme together with the first nominative nominal, and this theme licenses the null subject PRO in the RP. In the following, I show how the proposed analysis can account for the asymmetry between unergative and unaccusative resultatives discussed above, in conjunction with independently motivated syntactic explanations.

3.2 Data Explanation

First, let's see how the asymmetry regarding the fronting of result predicates, shown in (12), can be explained. Following Ko (2015c), I assume that an RP as a whole undergoes cyclic Spell-out and linearization (e.g., Ko 2011, 2014, 2015a, 2015b) and that established linearization must be preserved. Thus, the ordering between the result subject and the result predicate is fixed as soon as the RP undergoes Spell-out. (cf. den Dikken (2006), who claims that the complement of RP is a Spell-out domain).

³ There exist various approaches to double nominative constructions in Korean, including (i) a possessor-raising approach (e.g., Choe 1986; Ura 1996), under which the first nominative nominal originates DP-internally and subsequently undergoes raising, and (ii) a base-generation approach (e.g., Yoon 2009, 2015), under which the two nominative nominals are directly base-generated as independent subjects (i.e., Major Subject and Grammatical Subject). I simply adopt the possessor-raising approach here for expository purposes in illustrating the derivation in (11); nothing in the discussion that follows hinges on this choice, and other approaches such as the base-generation approach are equally compatible with the analysis proposed here.

(12) *Fronting*

- a. **swi-key*_i Mina-ka [_{RP} *mok-i* *t_i*] nolayha-ess-ta. *Unergative* (= 3a)
 hoarse-KEY Mina-NOM throat-NOM sing-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina sang herself hoarse.’
- b. [_{RP} PRO *pwulk-key*]_i Mina-ka elkwul-i *t_i* tha-ss-ta. *Unaccusative* (= 4a)
 red-KEY Mina-NOM face-NOM burn-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina’s face burned red.’

The asymmetry in (12) is derived from the different internal structures of RPs. In the case of unergative resultatives as in (12a), linearization between *mok-i* ‘throat-NOM’ and *swi-key* ‘hoarse-KEY’ is established as *mok-i* ‘throat-NOM’ < *swi-key* ‘hoarse-KEY’ upon the Spell-out of RP. Assuming that RP undergoes cyclic linearization and that the established linearization should be preserved, (12a) is thus ruled out because it contradicts the established linear ordering; *swi-key* ‘hoarse-KEY’ precedes *mok-i* ‘throat-NOM’. As a proper ordering cannot be established at PF, the derivation fails and is not pronounced (Ko 2015c). The possibility that the result predicate *swi-key* ‘hoarse-KEY’ undergoes movement to Spec, RP and thus preceding the result subject *mok-i* ‘throat-NOM’ before the Spell-out is also ruled out by the anti-locality constraint (e.g., Abels 2003; Bošković 2005), which prohibits the movement of complement into the specifier of its own head. This movement is considered too local. On the other hand, the unaccusative resultative in (12b) can be analyzed as an instance of fronting the entire RP [_{RP} PRO red-KEY], where no ordering violation is at issue.

Now let’s look at the right dislocation of result predicates, shown in (13). Similar to the fronting, right dislocating the result predicate is allowed only in unaccusative resultatives (13b).

(13) *Right dislocation*

- a. *Mina-ka [_{RP} *mok-i* *t_i*] nolayha-ess-ta *swi-key*_i. *Unergative* (= 3b)
 Mina-NOM throat-NOM sing-PST-DECL hoarse-KEY
 ‘Mina sang herself hoarse.’
- b. Mina-ka elkwul-i *t_i* tha-ss-ta [_{RP} PRO *pwulk-key*]_i. *Unaccusative* (= 4b)
 Mina-NOM face-NOM burn-PST-DECL red-KEY
 ‘Mina’s face burned red.’

In right dislocation construction of unergative resultatives as in (13a), no linearization violation occurs, as the ordering *mok-i* ‘throat-NOM’ < *swi-key* ‘hoarse-KEY’, fixed within the RP domain, is preserved. Rather, the ungrammaticality of (13a) follows from a restriction on the syntactic categories that can undergo right dislocation. Ko (2015a) argues that closed type category, *e* or *t*, can be right-dislocated via movement in a monoclausal in Korean. For example, an apparent right dislocation of the result predicate in the unaccusative resultative (13b) is in fact an instance of an entire RP right dislocation. Since RP [_{RP} PRO red-KEY] is of a closed type *t*, it may undergo movement to the right of the verb within *vP*, and later land at the right periphery of the CP. By

contrast, (13a) is ruled out under the same assumption, since the result predicate *swi-key* ‘hoarse-KEY’ is of type $\langle e, t \rangle$ and therefore not closed.⁴

Now, I turn to the contrast regarding the omission of result predicates, shown in (14).

- (14) *Omission*
- a. *Mina-ka [RP mok-i *(swi-key)] nolayha-ess-ta. *Unergative* (= 3c)
 Mina-NOM throat-NOM hoarse-KEY sing-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina sang herself (hoarse).’
- b. Mina-ka elkwul-i ([RP PRO pwulk-key]) tha-ss-ta. *Unaccusative* (= 4c)
 Mina-NOM face-NOM red-KEY burn-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina’s face burned (red).’

In unergative resultatives as in (14a), the result subject (e.g., *mok-i* ‘throat-NOM’) is not selected for by the verb (e.g., *nolayha-* ‘sing’). Its presence depends on the result predicate for its thematic licensing. That is, the result predicate must be semantically present in order to assign a theta-role to the result subject (Ko 2015c). Consequently, a possible way to omit the result predicate is to phonologically elide it, i.e., predicate ellipsis at PF; however, it has been claimed in the literature that predicate ellipsis is not allowed in Korean, probably because predicates do not form constituents in syntax (e.g., Chung 2007, 2011). As shown in (15), a result predicate cannot be elided even when an appropriate antecedent clause is provided. Ellipsis of the result predicate *swi-key* ‘hoarse-KEY’ results in ungrammaticality.

- (15) Tami-ka mok-i swi-key nolayha-ess-ko, Mina-to mok-i
 Tami-NOM throat-NOM hoarse-KEY sing-PST-and Mina-also throat-NOM
- *(swi-key) nolayha-ess-ta.
 hoarse-KEY sing-PST-DECL
 Intended: ‘Tami sang himself hoarse, and Mina also sang herself hoarse.’

The omission of result predicates in unaccusative resultatives as in (14b), on the other hand, receives a straightforward explanation. Since RP is an adjunct, it can be construed as a case where the RP [RP PRO red-KEY] is simply not merged in the first place.

Lastly, it remains to be explained why no asymmetry is found when what appears to be a result clause—the second nominative nominal and *-key* phrase—undergoes movement or omission. Unergative resultative cases in (16) are readily accounted for. (16a) and (16b) are instances where the entire result clause RP undergoes fronting and right dislocation respectively. Since the entire RP is fronted as a unit, no linearization violation arises in (16a). It can also undergo right dislocation, as the RP is of the closed type *t*. Finally, since the RP is an adjunct, its realization is optional. This is what (16c) illustrates.

⁴ Various approaches to Korean right dislocation have been proposed in the literature. See Ko (2022) for an overview of right dislocation in Korean.

(16) *Unergative resultatives*

- a. mok-i swi-key Mina-ka nolayha-ess-ta. *Fronting*
 throat-NOM hoarse-KEY Mina-NOM sing-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina sang herself hoarse.’
- b. Mina-ka nolayha-ess-ta mok-i swi-key. *Right dislocation*
 Mina-NOM sing-PST-DECL throat-NOM hoarse-KEY
 ‘Mina sang herself hoarse.’
- c. Mina-ka (mok-i swi-key) nolayha-ess-ta. *Omission*
 Mina-NOM throat-NOM hoarse-KEY sing-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina sang.’

Turning to the unaccusative resultative cases in (17), I argue that (17a) can be derived via multiple scrambling of the RP [_{RP} PRO red-KEY] and the remnant of theme DP [_{DP} *t* face-NOM], where *t* represents the trace of the possessor that has undergone raising (e.g., *Mina*).⁵ (17b) likewise can be derived via multiple right dislocation of the RP and the remnant of theme DP. (17c) is a case where *Mina* appears as a theme rather than *Mina*’s face, and no result clause adjunct is realized.

(17) *Unaccusative resultatives*

- a. elkwul-i pwulk-key Mina-ka tha-ss-ta. *Fronting*
 face-NOM red-KEY Mina-NOM burn-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina’s face burned red.’
- b. Mina-ka tha-ss-ta elkwul-i pwulk-key. *Right dislocation*
 Mina-NOM burn-PST-DECL face-NOM red-KEY
 ‘Mina’s face burned red.’
- c. Mina-ka (elkwul-i pwulk-key) tha-ss-ta. *Omission*
 Mina-NOM face-NOM red-KEY burn-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina got tanned.’ (Lit. ‘Mina burned.’)

Under the current proposal, the two nominative nominals in unergative and unaccusative resultatives differ in their syntactic status. In unergative resultatives, the first nominative nominal is an agent, while the second corresponds to an overt result subject, with no specific semantic relation required between the two. In unaccusative resultatives, by contrast, the two nominative nominals instantiate a double nominative construction, under which they constitute a single theme, standing in a possessor-possessee relationship with each other (e.g., Choe 1986; Ura 1996). This point is further evidenced by the examples in (18) below:

- (18) a. Mina-ka Tami-ka kekcengsulep-key nolayha-ess-ta. *Unergative*
 Mina-NOM Tami-NOM worried-KEY sing-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina sang so that Tami became worried.’

⁵ See (11b) for the syntactic representation of possessor-raising.

- b. ??Mina-ka Tami-ka kekcengsulep-key tha-ss-ta *Unaccusative*
 Mina-NOM Tami-NOM worried-KEY burn-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina got tanned so that Tami became worried.’

Imagine a situation where Tami is Mina’s partner, and Tami became worried as a result of Mina’s actions. Suppose, for instance, that Mina sang as if she were screaming. Under this scenario, (18a) remains fully acceptable. Now suppose instead that Mina got so badly tanned. Under this situation, (18b) is infelicitous. This is because being a partner, while a socially close relationship, does not count as the possessor-possessee relation that double nominative constructions require, regardless of how plausible the real-world affectedness is. Moreover, the null subject of the result clause in unaccusative resultatives cannot refer to any salient discourse referent other than the theme, supporting the claim that the null subject is realized as PRO rather than *pro*.⁶ This is shown in (19).

- (19) [Context: Mina’s father, the speaker, felt worried seeing Mina come home with a deep tan.]
 ??Mina-ka [*pro*_i kekcengsulep-key] tha-ss-ta
 Mina-NOM worried-KEY burn-PST-DECL
 Intended: ‘Mina got tanned so that I became worried.’

Before concluding, one further prediction of the analysis is worth noting. Under the current proposal, result clauses (i.e., *-key* clauses) are merged via adjunction, which predicts that they can be iterated as long as pragmatics allows. This is shown by the unergative resultative in (20) and the unaccusative resultative in (21), each of which contains two result clauses describing distinct result states brought about by the verbal event.⁷

- (20) Mina-ka mok-i swi-key ip-i malu-key nolayha-ess-ta.
 Mina-NOM throat-NOM hoarse-KEY mouth-NOM dry-KEY sing-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina sang herself hoarse and her mouth dry.’
- (21) Kang-i pyomyen-i twukkep-key tantanha-key el-ess-ta.
 river-NOM surface-NOM thick-KEY solid-KEY freeze-PST-DECL
 ‘The surface of the river froze thick and solid.’

⁶ Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2001) also note that non-subcategorized intransitive resultatives are only compatible with unergative verbs, not unaccusative verbs. This is consistent with the current proposal, which attributes the contrast to the presence of an overt result subject in unergative resultatives versus a null subject PRO in unaccusative resultatives.

⁷ There exists one remaining issue to be addressed: Case assignment. In Korean intransitive resultatives, the second nominal should bear nominative Case, not accusative Case. For example in (i), the result subject *mok* ‘throat’ bears nominative Case *mok-i* ‘throat-NOM’ rather than accusative Case **mok-ul* ‘throat-ACC’.

- (i) Mina-ka mok-i/*-ul swi-key nolayha-ess-ta.
 Mina-NOM throat-NOM/-ACC hoarse-KEY sing-PST-DECL
 ‘Mina sang herself hoarse.’

Various accounts have been proposed for Case assignment in Korean resultatives, including a default nominative Case strategy (e.g., Jang and Kim 2001), a Tense node licensing nominative Case within a *-key* clause (e.g., Shim and den Dikken 2009), and an adverbial clause analysis of *-key* phrases more generally (e.g., Hong 2011). I tentatively suggest that the Dependent Case model (e.g., Marantz 1991; Baker 2015; Levin 2017), in conjunction with the current assumption that RP is a phase and Spell-out domain, can offer a unified account of the case assignment pattern. I leave this for future research.

4 Conclusion

This paper investigates resultative constructions with intransitive verbs in Korean. I argue that both unergative and unaccusative resultatives involve result clauses that take the form of small clauses merged via adjunction, extending Ko's (2015c) small clause analysis of transitive resultatives. However, the two construction types differ in the presence or absence of a null subject: unergative resultatives contain an overt result subject, while unaccusative resultatives include a null result subject PRO. On empirical grounds, this study refines the typology of Korean resultatives by providing novel evidence concerning the distribution of result predicates in intransitive resultatives. On the theoretical side, the proposed analysis lends further support to cyclic Spell-out and the linearization of small clauses.

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