A Role and Reference Grammar Account of Unaccusativity: Split Intransitivity

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Yang, Byong-seon. 1996. **A Role and Reference Grammar Account of Unaccusativity: Split Intransitivity.** *Linguistics* 4, 77-93. Since Perlmutter (1978) proposed the Unaccusative Hypothesis, one of the current issues is the question of whether the unaccusativity should have its foundation in syntax or in semantics (cf. Grimshaw 1978, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, B. S. Yang to appear, among others). In Role and Reference Grammar, Van Valin (1987, 90) argues that two semantic parameters, inherent lexical aspect (Aktionsart) and agentivity, underlie split intransitivity (i.e. unergative/unaccusative distinction) crosslinguistically. In this paper, I study Korean unaccusativity in semantic terms of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), a structural-functionalist theory of grammar. With the theory of verb classification proposed by B. S. Yang (1994), I proposed that the inherent lexical aspect, activity, underlies Korean unaccusativity, as in Italian and Georgian, whereas in Japanese (cf. Kishimoto 1996) and Acehnese (cf. Van Valin 1987, 90) the contrast turns crucially on agentiveness. This paper supports the theory of RRG that two semantic parameters, inherent lexical aspect (Aktionsart) and agentivity, underlie split intransitivity crosslinguistically and languages vary with respect to which parameter governs the split. (Jeonju University)

1. Introduction

Since Perlmutter (1978) proposed the Unaccusative Hypothesis, one of the current issues is the question of whether the unaccusativity should have its foundation in syntax or in semantics (cf. Grimshaw 1978, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, B. S. Yang to appear, among others). The former position has been supported by Rosen (1984), and adapted into GB-theory by Burzio (1981, 86) on Italian, among others. By contrast, this syntactic approach has been rejected in Role and Reference Grammar by Van Valin (1987, 90) and Kishimoto (1996) on Japanese, among others. Van Valin (1987, 90) argues that two semantic parameters, inherent lexical aspect (Aktionsart) and agentivity, underlie

split intransitivity (i.e. unergative /unaccusative distinction) crosslinguistically. Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995), however, argues that unaccusativity is syntactically represented, but semantically determined[1].

The main purpose of this paper is to examine data from Korean unaccusativity[2] in semantic terms of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), a structural-functionalist theory of grammar, developed and presented most thoroughly in Foley and Van Valin (1984), Van Valin (1993), and B. S. Yang(1994) and to propose that the unaccusativity can be explained in terms of lexical aspect, activity, rather than agentivity in Korean. This paper will support the RRG's idea that the unaccusativity can be explained in terms of inherent lexical aspect (Aktionsart) including the lexical-semantic notions such as ACTOR and UNDERGOER and agentivity, rather than the syntactic notions such as subject and direct object.

To do this, Section 2 will review the Unaccusative Hypothesis in various theories and the current issues on unaccusativity. Section 3 will review basic ideas of RRG concerning verb classification and unaccusativity. Section 4 will examine Korean unaccusative patterns, and Section 5 will handle Korean split intransitivity in terms of semantic basis and will propose that the inherent lexical aspect (i.e. activity) underlies Korean unaccusativity in RRG framework. Section 6 will summarize this study and conclude.

2. The Unaccusative Hypothesis and the Issues

Perlmutter(1978) proposes the Unaccusative Hypothesis, "which proposes that the class of intransitive verbs is not homogeneous, but consists of two subclasses, each associated with a distinct syntactic configuration" (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995:2): unergative verbs[3],

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[1]Refer to B. S. Yang (to appear) to see the current issues on unaccusativity in detail and the references on it.

[2]Few studies have investigated Korean unaccusativity. S. Cho (1995) and B. S. Yang(1991) study unaccusativity in purely syntactic approach. Y. J. Kim (1990) proposes agentivity for semantic basis of Korean unaccusativity.

[3]Since the terms "Unaccusative/Unergative" were used originally by Perlmutter

which denote willful, volitional actions and involuntary bodily processes, and unaccusative verbs, which denote non-volitional actions or states. The Unaccusative Hypothesis proposed by Perlmutter (1978) originally assumes that the distinction between the two classes of intransitives (i.e. split intransitivity in RRG term) is fully semantically determined, although the distinction is syntactically represented. With the semantic facets to the distinction between the verbs selected by unaccusative diagnostics cross-linguistically, Perlmutter & Postal (1984) propose the Universal Alignment Hypothesis (UAH), which suggests that the syntactic expression of argument is always determinable on the basis of the meaning of the verb, a view concerned with the correlation between initial grammatical relations and semantic roles.

Since Perlmutter (1978), there has been much discussion about the relationship between the lexical semantics and the syntax of unaccusativity. The issue is reflected in the existence of unaccusative mismatches. Subsequent studies, especially Rosen (1984), however, argue that there are no consistent universal semantic criteria that capture the semantic basis for unaccusativity which Perlmutter (1978) proposes. From the cross-linguistic unaccusative mismatches, Rosen (1984) argues that initial Grammatical Relations are not predictable from meaning and we need the initial level of grammatical relations which is independent of any semantic or thematic level'.

In spite of certain irregularities that Rosen (1984) points out within and across languages, the systematic correlations between semantic and grammatical representations observed in split intransitives have been supported by some other linguists in Role and Reference Grammar by Van Valin(1987, 90) and Kishimoto(1996) on Japanese. Meanwhile, Levin & Rappaport Hovav(1995), takes the position that unaccusativity is syntactically represented, but semantically determined. These studies try to find out the regularities between the semantics and the syntax of

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(1978), "Unergative/Unaccusative" will be used in this paper even though the term is used differently by various theories. For a review of these terms and issues in different theories, refer to B. S. Yang (to appear).

'Rosen's argument that the classification of intransitive verbs as unaccusative or unergative cannot be completely determined semantically has led to the development of the syntactic approach, which has been adapted into GB-theory by Burzio(1981, 86) on Italian.

two intransitives, rather than abandoning the fundamental spirit of the UAH proposed by Perlmutter & Postal (1984). Among them, on the basis of the Georgian, Italian, and Acehnese data, Van Valin (1978, 90) argues that UH can be better explained, not in syntactic terms, but in semantic terms within and across languages and suggests that two semantic parameters, inherent lexical aspect and agentivity, underlie split intransitivity cross-linguistically in Role and Reference Grammar.

3. Role and Reference Grammar (RRG)[5]

RRG's assumptions regarding grammatical relations are different from other theories on three points: (i) RRG does not consider the grammatical relations to be basic, as RelG and LFG do, nor does it derive them from structural configurations, as GB does; (ii) RRG recognizes only one syntactic function (i.e. subject; pivot in RRG terminology), rather than the standard three; there is nothing in RRG corresponding to notions like direct object (2) and indirect object (3); (iii) RRG assumes semantic roles to be universal, rather than grammatical relations (Van Valin 1993: 50). Also RRG differs from other theories of syntax in that it posits only one level of syntactic representation and no syntactic rules akin to the traditional transformations, Move a of GB, or the relation-changing rules of RelG. The posited syntactic level corresponds to the actual structural form of the utterance, and it is linked directly to a semantic representation. Unlike LFG, which does not posit any kind of abstract syntactic underlying form and Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar [GPSG] which is also a unilevel theory, RRG has its own linking algorithm for syntactic and semantic representation and does not assume X-bar syntax and constituent-structure rules (cf. Van Valin 1993: 2-3).

Compared with other contemporary syntactic theories, RRG employs a richer system of lexical representations. Thus, RRG shows that the assignment of thematic relations to a verb is independently motivated in

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[5]This section will mention the principles of RRG relevant to this paper. To see more thorough principles of RRG, refer to Foley and Van Valin (1984), Van Valin (1993), and B. S. Yang (1994).

terms of its logical structure, which is derived from the verb classification system. RRG starts from the Vendler (1967) classification of verbs into *states, achievements, accomplishments* and *activities*, and utilizes a modified version of the representational scheme proposed in Dowty (1979) to capture these distinctions[6]. The syntactic and semantic tests for verb classification insure that there is no arbitrariness in the class assignment in RRG. Adopting RRG's general idea, B. S. Yang (1994) proposes the Syntactic and Semantic Tests for Korean verb classification as follows:

(1) Korean Verb Classification in RRG

Criterion	State	Achieve	Acco	Activi.
1. Occurs with progressive form -(u)ncwungi-ta	NO	D:YES/ P: NO	YES	YES
2.The present tense -(nu)n- entails action in progress/ change of state (process verbs only)	NO	YES	YES	YES
3. Occurs with adverbs like *paklyekisskey/himchakey /hwaltongcekulo / hwalpalhi* 'vigorously', *swutasulepkey* 'actively', etc.	NO	NO	YES	YES
4. Occurs with *hansikan-tongan* 'for an hour'	YES	D:YES/ P:NO	YES	YES
5. Occurs with *hansikan-maney* 'in an hour' and implies that an event finished in the hour	NO	D:YES/ P: NO	YES	NO
6. Selection of perfective form -e-iss- (intransitives only)	NO	YES	YES	NO
7. 'for an hour' entails 'at all times in the hour'	YES	D:NO/ P: d.n.a	NO	YES
8. Progressive form entails x has Øed	d.n.a.	D:NO/ P:d.n.a.	NO	YES
9. has inherent causative semantics: a. occur with causative morpheme -i or -key-hata b. locative adverbial nominals with goal interpretation and duration/frequency adverbial nominals can get accusative case.	NO	NO	YES	NO

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[6]To see the syntactic and semantic tests for English verb classification, refer to Van Valin (1993).

Following Dowty's (1979) lexical decomposition system in which states are basic and the other classes are derived from them, RRG adopts the following decomposition representations which are termed Logical Structures [LS] and which treat both activities and states as primitives.

(2) Verb Classes and Their Logical Structures
   <u>Verb Class</u>   <u>Logical Structure</u>
   STATE   **predicate'** (x) or (x,y)
   ACHIEVEMENT   BECOME **predicate'** (x) or (x,y)
   ACTIVITY($\pm$Agentive) (DO(x)) **do'** (x, [predicate' (x) or (x,y)])
   ACCOMPLISHMENT φ CAUSE ψ, where φ is normally an
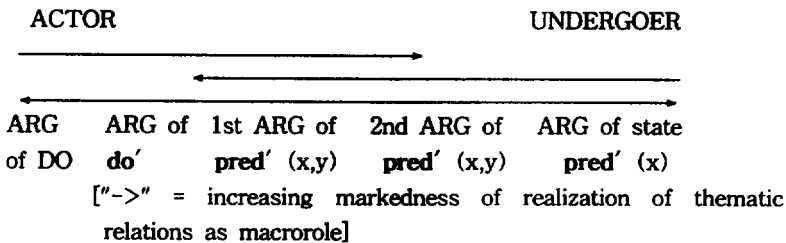   activity predicate and ψ an achievement predicate.

In (2), states are primitive, achievements are represented as states plus a BECOME operator, accomplishments have a complex structure of an activity predicate linked to an achievement predicate by an operator CAUSE. With activity verbs, agency is indicated by an abstract operator DO only when it is a necessary part of the meaning of the verb in RRG. Thus, the LS of activities is represented as (DO (x)) **do** ' (x, [**predicate'** (x) or (x,y)]). In this representation, the DO can stand for [+Agentive] of activities and the **do** represents the activities.

RRG uses the semantic roles, roughly equivalent to 'thematic relations', 'θ-roles', or 'semantic roles'. However, RRG's approach is different from other theories in that it posits two tiers of semantic roles: one is thematic relations, which are also used in LFG and other theories, and the other is macroroles, which is a concept specific to RRG. In RRG, thematic relations are derived from the verb's LS. The assignment of thematic relations to verbs are defined in terms of the argument positions in the decomposed LS. Thus, it is not arbitrary. Role labels like 'agent', and 'patient' are mnemonics for the argument positions in LS (cf. Van Valin 1993:39).

Macroroles, the second type of semantic role, play a crucial role in RRG. Macroroles act as the primary interface between the LS and syntactic representations. There are two macroroles, ACTOR and UNDERGOER, corresponding to the two primary arguments in prototypical transitive constructions. RRG claims that grammatical

relations such as 'subject, 'object, etc. are not universal, and it uses macroroles instead. The prototypical actor, which is a subject in an active clause and a peripheral PP in a passive clause, is an agent. The prototypical undergoer, which is a direct object in an active clause and a subject in a passive clause, is a patient. Macroroles are not equivalent to grammatical relations. That is, actor is not equivalent to syntactic subject and undergoer is not equivalent to syntactic direct object[7]. In the default case, the most agent-like argument is the actor and the most patient-like is the undergoer (Van Valin 1993:43-46). The relationship between thematic relations and macroroles can be captured in the following Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy.

(3) Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy

ACTOR				UNDERGOER
ARG of DO	ARG of do′	1st ARG of pred′ (x,y)	2nd ARG of pred′ (x,y)	ARG of state pred′ (x)

["->" = increasing markedness of realization of thematic relations as macrorole]

The number of macroroles that a verb takes is most predictable from its LS together with the Default Macrorole Assignment Principles (cf. Van Valin 1993); there are only three possibilities: 0, 1, 2. With intransitive verbs like *lie*, which has two arguments, there is one macrorole, an undergoer. Similarly, with motion accomplishment verbs like *run*, there is also only one macrorole, an actor. Verbs like *seem*

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[7]The difference between macroroles and grammatical relations can be illustrated in (i), borrowed from Van Valin (1993:49).

(i) a. The bagel [SUBJ, UNDERGOER] was eaten by Fred [ACTOR].
   b. Fred [SUBJ, ACTOR] ate lox [D.O].
   c. The teacher [SUBJ, UNDERGOER] got sick.

In (ia), a passive sentence, the undergoer *bagel* is subject and the actor *Fred* is an oblique. In (ib), an active sentence with an activity verb *eat*, direct object *lox* is not undergoer, but argument. In (ic), an unaccusative sentence, the subject *teacher* is undergoer.

have no macrorole. In these verbs the number of macroroles is not predictable. It has to be specified in the lexical entry of the verb with a feature like [±MR], which overrides the default macrorole assignment principles. With this feature, the lexical representation for the exceptional verbs can be expressed: lie' (x,y)[+MR]; do' (x, [run' (x)]); seem' (x,y)[-MR]. Thus, in RRG, transitive verbs have two macroroles, intransitive verbs have one macrorole with the feature [+MR], and atransitive verbs have no macrorole with [-MR] in the lexical representation.

4.Syntactic Diagnostics for Korean Unaccusativity

Contrary to semantic approaches to the unaccusativity, the syntactic approaches take unaccusativity to be a unified phenomenon: the syntactic properties attributed to unaccusative verbs by the Unaccusative Hypothesis is the selection of a direct internal – but no external – argument, and the inability to assign structural (i.e. semantic) accusative case[8]. Y. J. Kim (1990) suggests that the diagnostic for Korean unaccusativity is the morphological case-marking pattern of dyadic (not monadic) verbs that take two arguments. Contrary to transitives that take nominative and accusative cases for the arguments, dyadic unaccusative intransitives take oblique/locative/nominative and nominative case. These three unaccusative patterns illustrated by her are 'bare-form psych-verb constructions', 'existential-process verb constructions', and 'involuntary bodily process constructions'[9]. (cf. (4))

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[8]According to Burzio's (1986) generalization, verbs assign accusative case if and only if they have an external argument. K. S. Park (1995) distinguishes the cases into semantic and pragmatic case in RRG: the semantic case is directly derived from semantic roles (i.e. macroroles) and the pragmatic case is determined by the pragmatic context. In this sense, the unaccusativity cannot assign semantic accusative case, but it can assign pragmatic case. In Korean, unaccusative verbs can assign pragmatic (not semantic) accusative case to non-argument such as duration/frequency adverbs as in (i).

(i) Chelswu-ka ipkakshihem-eyse twu-pen-(lul) tteleci-ess-ta
     -NOM enterance.exam-LOC two-times-ACC fail-PST-DEC
       "Chulsoo failed the entrance exam two times."
[9]In B.S. Yang (1991), I propose five diagnostics for Korean unaccusativity in

"The causative alternation has been claimed to an unaccusative diagnostic (Burzio 1986, C. Rosen 1981, among others) precisely because this sharing of a semantic role can be explained if the verb in the intransitive variant is unaccusative, so that its subject is a D-structure object." (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995:79-80)[10] This type of unaccusativity referred as 'ergative-type unaccusative' (K1 type with non-agentive subjects) by S. Cho (1995) must have a transitive (causative) counterpart with no causative morpheme. Based on the adverbial tests and the causative alternation without causative morpheme, S. Cho (1995:174-175) adds stative unaccusative (non-dyadic unaccusative: *fall, die*-type), and ergative-type unaccusative (K1 type with non-agentive subjects) to the three patterns of dyadic stative unaccusative mentioned by Y. J. Kim (1990).

From these studies, we can summarize the unaccusative patterns classified with syntactic diagnostics as follows:

(4) Dyadic unaccusative:
    a. Bare-form psych verb construction
    Swunhi-eykey/ka kay-ka   mwusewe-ss-ta
        -DAT/-NOM dog-NOM fear-PST-DEC
        "?Soonhi feared the dog."
    b. Existential Verbs
    Swunhi-ekey/ -ka   ton-i   iss-ta
        -DAT/-NOM money-NOM be.DEC

Relational Grammar. Among them, Possessor Ascension constructions and Oblique Inversion Constructions are unaccusative constructions.

[10]Their English causative alternations (ibid.:79-80) are illustrated as follows:

(i) Unaccusative:
    a. Pat broke the window./ The window broke.
    b. Antonia opened the door./ The door opened.
    c. Tracy sank the ship./ The ship sank.
(ii) Unergative:
    a. The children played./*The teacher played the children.
        (cf. The teacher made the children play.)
    b. The actor spoke./*The director spoke the actor.
        (cf. The director made the actor speak.)
    c. The crowd laughed./*The comedian laughed the
      crowd. (cf. The comedian made the crowd laugh.)

"Soonhi has money."

c. Involuntary bodily process (Y. J. Kim's (1990) (39a))

Inho-ka   ttam/phi/nwunmul-i   hulu/na-n-ta

-NOM sweat/blood/tear-NOM flow/occur-PRES-DEC

"Inho is sweating/bleeding/weeping."

d. Possessor Ascension Construction

Chelswu-uy/-ka   cwumek-i khu-ta

GEN/-NOM   fist-NOM big-DEC

" Chulsoo's fists are big."

e. Oblique InversionConstruction/Process (change of state)
Verb

I chencang-eyse/-i   mwul-i   tteleci-n-ta

this ceiling-SOURCE/-NOMwater-NOM fall-PRES-DEC

"Water drips from this ceiling." (C. Youn 1989:168)

(5) non-dyadic unaccusative (S. Cho 1995)

a. kaykwuli-ka cwuk-ess-ta

frog-NOM   die-PAST-DEC

"Frog died."

b. Stella-ka   nemeci-ess-ta.

-NOM fall-PAST-DEC

"Stella fell."

(6) Causative alternation (S. Cho 1995)

a. cong-i   cal wulli-n-ta

bell-NOM well ring-PRES-DEC

"The bell rings well."

(cf. Swunhi-ka cong-ul wulli-n-ta.)

-NOM bell-ACC ring

"Soonhi rings a bell."

b. nwunmwul-i swipkey kuchi-n-ta

crying-NOM easily stop-PRES-DEC

"The crying stops easily."

(cf. Swunhi-ka nwunmwul-ul kuchi-n-ta.)

-NOM crying-ACC stop-PRES-DEC

"Soonhi stops crying."

5. Semantic Parameters of Korean Unaccusativity

Van Valin (1987, 1990) analyzes Italian, Georgian, and Acehnese intransitives in RRG, and has identified that inherent lexical aspect (Aktionsart) and agentiveness as the primary semantic parameters governing split intransitivity crosslinguistically, and languages vary with respect to which parameter governs the split. He shows that in Italian and Georgian, the relevant contrast between unergative and unaccusative verbs is activity vs. non-activity (i.e. states, achievement, and accomplishment), while the inherent lexical aspect of verbs plays no direct role in Tsova-Tush and Acehnese; rather the distinction is grounded entirely in the agentiveness or volitionality of the intransitive subject. Kishimoto (1996) analyzes Japanese deverbal nominal construction with an aspectual affix *kake* 'be about to, do halfway' in RRG and demonstrates that in Japanese the unergative-unaccusative distinction depends on the parameter of volitionality (i.e. agentivity). In this section, I attempt to determine the semantic parameters of the unaccusativity in Korean, examining the unaccusative constructions mentioned above. I will demonstrate what semantic parameters decide the unergative-unaccusative distinction in Korean: inherent lexical aspect (Aktionsart) or agentiveness ?

Y. J. Kim(1990) proposes that Korean unaccusativity is determined by agentivity in Argument Structure framework: [+agentive] verb is unergative and [-agentive] is unaccusative, assuming that the case-marking of Korean bare-from psych verb is a diagnostic for unaccusative verbs. With the stativity and agentivity tests and case-marking patterns, Y. J. Kim (1990) classifies psych-verb constructions[11] and existential-possessive process predicates into two semantic features: [±stative] and [±agentive] and proposes the following scheme:

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[11]In Korean psych verb constructions, there are two kinds of forms: *e-ha* form and bare-from psych verb constructions. *e-ha* form psych verbs are transitive and bare-from psych verbs are intransitive. Much literature (C. Youn 1989, Y. J. Kim 1990, among others) analyzes the bare-from psych verb construction as unaccusative.

(7) Stativity and Agentivity Features of Verbs and their
     Case-marking Pattern

	[+Agentive]	[-Agentive]
[+Stative]		bare-form psych verb [-ACC]
[-Stative]	transitive V-*e ha* form psych verb [+ACC]	existential-possessive process verb [-ACC]

She proposes that unaccusativity is characterized by agentivity rather
than stativity in Korean in that [+stative] bare-from psych-verbs and
[-stative] existential-possessive/process verbs, both of which do not
assign accusative case to their complement NPs, are unaccusative and
that these two verb classes share one common feature [-agentive].

However, there are two problems with Y. J. Kim's (1990) analysis.
First, somewhere (B.S. Yang 1994: § 2.2.) I analyze that bare-form
psych-verbs are states and *e-ha* form psych-verbs are activities
according to the syntactic and semantic tests for Korean Verb
Classification (1). With these different aspectual verb classes, I represent
the LS of the two types of psych verb constructions as follows:

(8) a. Activity Psych-verb Constructions

       Nay-ka   kay-lul   mwusewe-ha-n-ta

   I-NOM   dog-ACC   be.afraid-do-PRES-DEC

       LS: (**do'** (I, [**be-afraid'** (I, the dog)]))

       I = effector+experiencer, the dog = theme

  b. Stative Psych-verb Constructions

       Na-eykey/ka   kay-ka   mwusep-ta

   I-DAT/NOM dog-NOM   be.afraid-DEC

       "I am afraid of the dog."

       LS: **be-afraid'** (I, the dog) [+MR]

       I =experiencer, the dog =theme

According to RRG's verb classification, the inherent lexical aspect
(Aktionsart) of bare-form psych-verbs are states and *e-ha* form
psych-verbs are activities. Thus, these two types of psych-verbs can
be distinct with inherent lexical aspect: states vs. activities. Notice that
the LS of activity psych-verbs consists of (**do'** (x, [LS of stative

psych-verbs]) and that the morphological structure of activity psych-verbs consists of the stative psych-verb + *hata* 'do.' In RRG, as I mentioned in section 2, agentivity is indicated by an abstract operator DO only when it is a· necessary part of the meaning of the verb. However, there is no [+agentive] operator DO in the LS of activity psych-verb construction as in (8a). That is, *e-ha* form psych-verbs are not [+agentive], but [-agentive] activity, contrary to Y. J. Kim (1990). This is supported by the fact that the thematic role of the nominative case NP is effector, not agent, even tough its macrorole is ACTOR (cf. B. S. Yang 1994)

Another problem with Y. J. Kim's (1990) analysis of activity psych-verb construction is agentivity tests that she adopts. It is universally known that progressive formation is a test for stativity and that imperative/ propositive formation is the most prevalent test for agentivity; only [+agentive] verbs may be complement predicates of control verbs such as *endeavor/try*, and only [+agentive] verbs may be embedded under verbs like *force, demand,* and *persuade.* With this generally accepted idea, she adopts progressive formation *-ko iss-* for stativity and adopts the imperative *-ela,* the propositive *-ca,* the control verbs such as *nolyekhata* 'endeavor', and the embeddness under verbs like *tanpwuhata* 'ask, demand, and persuade' for agentivity. However, I doubt these agentivity tests can apply to Korean in that the non-dyadic [-agentive] unaccusatives, whose inherent aspect is achievement derived from states and which is analyzed as unaccusative by Y. J. Kim (1990) and S. Cho (1995), can pass these agentivity tests as in (9)-(10).

(9) a. (Chelswu-ya) (naka) cwuk-ela (Imperative)
　　　　　-VOC go.out die-IMP
　　　　　"(Go and out) Die, Chulsoo."
　　b. (Chelwu-ya) (hamkkey) cwuk-ca (Propositive)
　　　　　-VOC (together) die-PROP
　　　　　"Let's die together, Chulsoo."
　　　c. Chelswu-ka cwuk-lyeko nolyekhay-ss-ta
　　　　　-NOM die-COMP endeavor-PST-DEC
　　　　　"Chulsoo tried to die."
　　d. Swunhi-ka Chelswu-eykey cwuk-ulako kangyohay-ss-ta

    -NOM   -DAT   die-COMP force-PST-DEC

    "Soonhi forced Chulsoo to die."

(10) a. (Stella-ya) (ppalli) nemece-la. (Imperative)

    -VOC (quickly) fall-PAST-IMP

    "Fall (quickly), Stella"

  b. (Stella-ya) (hamkkey) nemeci-ca. (Propositive)

    -VOC (together) fall-PROP

    "Let's fall together, Stella."

  c. (Stella-ka) nemeci-lyeko nolyekhay-ss-ta

   -NOM fall-COMP endeavor-PST-DEC

   "Stella tried to fall."

  d. Swunhi-ka (Stella-eykey) nemeci-lako kangyohay-ss-ta

   -NOM   -DAT fall-COMP force-PST-ta

   "Soonhi forced Stella to fall."

From these facts, the stativity and agentivity features of verbs and their case-marking pattern (7) proposed by Y. J. Kim (1990) can be revised according to its inherent lexical semantics as follows:

(11) Verb Classification of Two Types of Psych-verbs and Process-verbs

	Activity	Non-Activity (i.e. state, achievement, and accomplishment)
[+Stative]		bare-form psych verb [-ACC]
[-Stative]	transitive V -e ha form psych verb [+ACC]	existential-possessive process verb [-ACC]

Then we can propose that the distinction of unergative/ unaccusative verbs can be decided by the inherent lexical semantics 'activity' rather than 'agentiveness'.

 Now let's examine whether this proposal can apply to the other unaccusative constructions mentioned in section 3. According to the verb classification tests (1), their lexical aspects can be summarized as follows:

(12) Verb Classification of Unaccusative Verbs

Unaccusative Pattern	Verb Class
a. Bare-form psych verb construction	States
b. Existential Verbs	States/Achievement
c. Involuntary bodily process	Achievement
d. Possessor Ascension Construction	States
e. Oblique Inversion Construction/ Possessive Verbs and Process Verb	Achievement
f. Non-dyadic Unaccusative	States/Achievement
g. Causative Alternation	States/Accomplishment

As shown in (12), the lexical aspects of unaccusative verbs are non-activities: states, achievements and accomplishments. Thus, we can suggest that unergative verbs are categorized as activity verbs, while unaccusative verbs are categorized as stative, achievement, and accomplishment verbs in Korean, as Italian and Georgian intransitives do (cf. Van Valin 1987, 90). This suggests that the inherent lexical aspect of verbs rather than agentiveness plays an important role in Korean. Also, this can be supported by the fact that the contrast between 'run in the park' (i.e. activity) and 'run to the park' (i.e. accomplishment) is relevant for the coding of intransitives subjects in Korean (cf. B.S. Yang 1994, K. S. Park 1995). That is, the coding of the augment depends upon the interpretation of the verb as activity or accomplishment in Korean and the inherent lexical aspect of verbs rather than agentiveness plays an important role in Korean. In this point, Korean is in contrast with Japanese (cf. Kishimoto 1996) and Acehnese (cf. Van Valin 1987. 90) whose parameter to govern the split intransitivity is agentiveness.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I studied Korean unaccusativity in semantic terms of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), a structural-functionalist theory of grammar and proposed that the unaccusativity can be explained in terms of lexical aspect, activity, rather than agentivity in Korean.

In section 1, I reviewed the Unaccusative Hypothesis in various

theories and the current issues on the unaccusativity. In section 2, I reviewed basic ideas of RRG concerning verb classification and the unaccusativity. Section 3 examined Korean unaccusative patterns and section 4 handled Korean split intransitivity in terms of semantic basis in RRG framework. With the theory of verb classification proposed by B. S. Yang (1994), I proposed that the inherent lexical aspect, activity, underlies Korean unaccusativity, as in Italian and Georgian, whereas in Japanese (cf. Kishimoto 1996)   and Acehnese (cf. Van Valin 1987, 90) the contrast turns crucially on agentiveness. This paper supports the theory of RRG that two semantic parameters, inherent lexical aspect (Aktionsart) and agentivity, underlie split intransitivity crosslinguistically and languages vary with respect to which parameter governs the split.

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