Contrastive Verb Constructions in Korean

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1.   Introduction

This paper addresses the correct analysis of Korean examples like those in (1).[*]
An event is presented against a contrastive or negative implication, through either
a copy of the verbal lexeme, or the use of the supporting verb *ha-ta*:[1]

(1) a.   John-i   sakwa-lul [mek-ki-nun mek-ess-ciman],
          John-NOM apple-ACC eat-KI-CT   eat-PAST-but,
          amwu-eykey-to kwen-ha-ci   anh-ass-ta
          anyone-to-even recommend-do-COMP NEG-PAST-DECL
          'John ate the apples, but he didn't recommend them to anyone.'

   b.   John-i   sakwa-lul [mek-ki-nun hay-ss-ciman], amwu-eykey-to
          John-NOM apple-ACC eat-KI-CT   do-PAST-but, anyone-to-even
          kwen-ha-ci   anh-ass-ta
          recommend-do-COMP NEG-PAST-DECL
          'John ate the apples, but he didn't recommend them to anyone.'

Given the broad interpretational similarities of the two examples, namely that both
assert that John ate apples, but pragmatically implicate some negative connotation
to the fact of his having eaten apples (see the examples in (2) below), previous
studies have assumed that these examples illustrate constructions that are maxi-
mally related: they are derived from a common underlying structure, and differ
only in whether the final verb is a copy of the first verb, which we refer to as the
'content verb', or whether the inflectional affixes of the clause are supported by
the dummy verb *ha-ta*. This broad description applies to the transformational ap-
proaches of Kang (1988), Nishiyama and Cho (1998), Choi (2003), Kim (2002)

[1]The bracketed part of each example indicates the morphosyntactic domain of the repetition or
contrast, but is not necessarily meant to represent syntactic constituency. We gloss *-nun* as 'CT' for
'Contrastive Topic', which is part of the analysis developed below.

and Jo (2003), which have assumed a common syntactic source: basically, either providing a copy of the verb to support inflectional features or inserting *ha-* for the same purpose. Any kind of content verb (agentive or non-agentive, eventive or stative) is possible in either pattern in (1).

Following the constructional analysis in Cho and Kim (2002), our goal in this paper is to consider just how similar the examples in (1) are, to argue that there are in fact two separate constructions, each represented by one example. (1)a illustrates what we call the 'Echo Contrastive Construction' (hereafter 'ECC'), which is a rather special type of structure in Korean syntax. (1)b illustrates what we call the '*Ha* Contrastive Construction' (hereafter 'HCC'), which is one instantiation of a very common structure in Korean syntax, the V-V complex predicate. In section 2, we lay out the relevant data of the two constructions, showing that they share a common pragmatic effect but differ in several morphological and syntactic properties, and are in fact different construction types. For example, the ECC allows an adverb to intervene between the content verb and the copy, while an adverb cannot appear between the content verb and *ha-ta* in the HCC, as seen in the contrast between (19)a and (20) below.

For the basic contrastive constructions, once the differences due to the different syntaxes are factored out, it cannot be denied that the two constructions mean the same thing. How is this possible, if they have different morphological and syntactic properties? We address this question in section 3, arguing that the notion of 'construction' as it has been developed in Construction Grammar and in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) provides the right kind of framework in which to answer the question. In this kind of approach, a given example is viewed as being a form which satisfies various kinds of abstract constructional constraints which the language imposes. So while a pair of examples may differ in certain aspects, due to individual (constructional) properties that they have, they may also be identical in other aspects, in virtue of being equally subject to other constructional constraints.

2. Properties of the Echo Contrastive and *ha* Contrastive Constructions

In this section we discuss pragmatic, morphological and syntactic aspects of the two main constructions at issue.

2.1. Pragmatics

To begin, we will present examples which show more clearly how these constructions are used in Korean. The examples in (2) are from Ihm et al. (1988).

(2) a.   cil-i   [coh-ki-nun ha-ciman] nemu pissa-nteyo
           quality-NOM good-KI-CT do-but   too   expensive-POLITE
           'The quality is good but it's too expensive.'

b. [mek-ki-nun mek-keyss-ciman] sohwa-ka   toilci
    eat-KI-CT   eat-FUTURE-but   digestion-NOM become.whether
    molu-keyss-eyo
    not.know-FUTURE-POLITE

    'I will eat it but I don't know if I can digest it.'

We use the term 'contrastive' for the kind of negative pragmatic implicature that comes from the ECC or HCC, which is clarified in context in the second part of the examples above. In general, this pragmatic effect is related to an expectation or consequence of the entire clause, and not just the bracketed part whose structure and component parts are our main interest here. Consider (2)a: it is not 'good' which is contrasted with some other predicate of the quality of the item in question, but, rather, the entire proposition 'the quality is good' forms the basis of the negative implicature. The speaker is saying that although the quality is good, there is a contrasting or competing fact (in this case, the item being too expensive).

There are other related constructions which must be considered in order for a clear picture of the core contrastive constructions to emerge, as we now explain. While the usages above are very natural (and are presented in standard reference works as clear examples of the intended meaning), the suffixes *-ciman* and *-nuntey* which close off the bracketed parts introduce a factor which we must control for: these suffixes themselves set up a contrastive meaning, which actually confounds our own purpose, namely to find out which constructions are contrastive in and of themselves. Above, we mentioned that there are other constructions which look like contrastive constructions, but which are not. For instance, (3), also from Ihm et al. (1988), appears to be a contrastive construction.

(3) hankwuk-ey o-ki-nun   16-nyen-cen-ey   o-ass-ciman,
     Korea-to   come-KI-CT 16-years-before-LOC come-PAST-but,
     hankwuk.mal-un acik-to   cal   mol-upnita
     Korean-FOC   still-FOC well not.know-POLITE
     'It's 16 years since he came to Korea but he still doesn't know Korean well.'

An adverbial like '16 years' appears between the verbs, but this is actually a related construction which we call the 'Echo Internal Focus Construction':

(3)′ hankwuk-ey o-ki-nun   16-nyen-cen-ey   o-ass-a.yo
      Korea-to   come-KI-CT 16-years-before-LOC come-PAST-LEVEL
      'It's 16 years since he came to Korea.'

The natural interpretation of this example is to put focus on '16 years', hence our term 'Echo Internal Focus'. There is no contrastive interpretation or negative implicature, and the example has more in common with a pseudo-cleft. Due to space limitations we do not discuss this third construction further here, but we need to control for it (e.g., in (19)b below).

To recreate a true ECC, we must alter the position of the adverbial:

(4)   hankwuk-ey 16-nyen-cen-ey   [o-ki-nun   o-ass-a.yo]
       Korea-to   16-years-before-LOC come-KI-CT come-PAST-LEVEL
       'It's 16 years since he came to Korea, but … .'

Even without any other suffixes, this example has the clear contrastive topic interpretation of the ECC. For now, it is sufficient to avoid intervening adverbs like those in (3), to ensure that the construction is itself the source of contrast.

2.2. Morphology

Both the ECC and the HCC involve suffixing the content verb with *-ki*, followed by a focus-related particle, which falls in the delimiter set of Korean particles (see Yang (1972), Cho and Sells (1995)). While the canonical particle in the ECC is *-nun* (contrastive topic), other delimiters such as *-to* ('even') or *-man* ('only') are possible, if marked. However, other particles with similar meanings like *-cocha* ('even') are not possible, as seen in (5):

(5)   John-i   sakwa-lul [mek-ki-nun/?-to/?-man/*-cocha mek-ess-ta]
       John-NOM apple-ACC eat-KI-CT/?-even/?-only/*-even eat-PAST-DECL

In the HCC, any of the particles in (5) is grammatical:

(6)   John-i   sakwa-lul [mek-ki-nun/-to/-man/-cocha hay-ss-ta]
       John-NOM apple-ACC eat-KI-CT/-even/-only/-even eat-PAST-DECL

However, this observation might be a little misleading, for only the version with *-(n)un* necessarily has the relevant CT interpretation. For instance, (7) means "All that John did to the china was touch it (but not, e.g., clean it)", while the extra negative implicature characteristic of the HCC requires an accent on *-man*.

(7)   John-i   ku tocaki-lul [manci-ki-man hay-ss-ta]
       John-NOM the china-ACC touch-KI-only do-PAST-DECL

Even the accusative marker *-(l)ul* can be on content verb, but only in the HCC:

(8) a.   *John-i sakwa-lul [mek-ki-lul mek-ess-ta]

     b.   John-i sakwa-lul [mek-ki-lul hay-ss-ta]

In terms of allowing different types of particles, the HCC appears one of the large class of V^0-V^0 complex predicates in Korean, in which the head verb *ha-ta* takes the preceding content verb as its complement, bringing some additional semantic or pragmatic meaning component. The ECC is formed rather differently, but we have not been able to determine yet whether it is the syntactic differences that are responsible for the contrast in suffix possibilities in (5) and (6).

When the content verb is passive, the passive must be present on the head verb in the ECC, but must be absent from *ha-ta* in the HCC:

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(9) a. Lion-eykey Rabbit-i   [mek-hi-ki-nun mek-hi-ess-ta]
        Lion-by   Rabbit-NOM eat-PASS-KI-CT eat-PASS-PAST-DECL
        'Rabbit was eaten by Lion, but … '

    b. *Lion-eykey Rabbit-i   [mek-hi-ki-nun mek-ess-ta]
        Lion-by   Rabbit-NOM eat-PASS-KI-CT eat-PAST-DECL

(10) a. *Lion-eykey Rabbit-i   [mek-hi-ki-nun hay   cy-ess-ta]
        Lion-by   Rabbit-NOM eat-PASS-KI-CT do.COMP PASS-PAST-DECL

    b. Lion-eykey Rabbit-i   [mek-hi-ki-nun hay-ss-ta]
        Lion-by   Rabbit-NOM eat-PASS-KI-CT do-PAST-DECL
        'Rabbit was eaten by Lion, but … '

2.3. Syntax

Differences between the ECC and HCC also emerge when the content part is itself complex, due to its being a complex predicate itself, or due to the presence of adverbial modifiers. For example, in a syntactic complex predicate of the content verb and an auxiliary verb, the content predicate can be repeated, preceding the echoed auxiliary, but this is not possible in the HCC:

(11) John-un Tom-ul [manna   cwu-ki-nun (manna)   cwu-ess-ta]
      John-TOP Tom-ACC meet.COMP give-KI-CT (meet.COMP) give-PAST-DECL
      'John has given the favor of meeting Tom, but … '

(12) John-un Tom-ul [manna   cwu-ki-nun (*manna)   hay-ss-ta]
      John-TOP Tom-ACC meet.COMP give-KI-CT (*meet.COMP) do-PAST-DECL
      'John has given the favor of meeting Tom, but … '

Other examples are similar, but only with the ECC, and only with verb-verb sequences that are true complex predicates (as in (13)a/b), and not when the first verb is a full clausal complement to the second, as with 'persuade' in (14):

(13) a. [mek-ci   anh-ki-nun (mek-ci)   anh-ass-ta]
          eat-COMP NEG-KI-CT (eat-COMP) NEG-PAST-DECL
        '(He) did not eat, but … .'

    b. sakwa-lul [mek-ko   siph-ki-nun (mek-ko)   siph-ess-ta]
        apple-ACC eat-COMP want-KI-CT (eat-COMP) want-PAST-DECL
        '(He) wanted to eat the apple, but … .'

(14) *ttena-la-ko   seltukha-ki-nun ttena-la-ko   seltukhay-ss-ta
      leave-DECL-COMP persuade-KI-CT leave-DECL-COMP persuade-PAST-DECL
      '(He) persuaded (her) to leave, but … .'

Yet more differences between the ECC and HCC emerge with adverbial modifiers. When the short-form negation *an* is combined with the content verb, it must be repeated in the ECC (see No (1988)), but cannot be in the HCC:[2]

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[2]The short-form negation *mos* shows identical behavior.

(15) a.   John-i   Tom-ul   [an manna-ki-nun an   manna-ss-ta]
            John-NOM Tom-ACC NEG meet-KI-CT   NEG meet-PAST-DECL
            'John didn't meet Tom, but … .'

       b.   *John-i   Tom-ul   an [manna-ki-nun manna-ss-ta]
            John-NOM Tom-ACC NEG meet-KI-CT   meet-PAST-DECL

       c.   *John-i   Tom-ul   [manna-ki-nun an   manna-ss-ta]
            John-NOM Tom-ACC meet-KI-CT   NEG meet-PAST-DECL

(16) a.   *John-i   Tom-ul   [an manna-ki-nun an   hay-ss-ta]
            John-NOM Tom-ACC NEG meet-KI-CT   NEG do-PAST-DECL
            'John didn't meet Tom, but … .'

       b.   John-i   Tom-ul   [an manna-ki-nun hay-ss-ta]
            John-NOM Tom-ACC NEG meet-KI-CT   do-PAST-DECL

       c.   *John-i   Tom-ul   [manna-ki-nun an   hay-ss-ta]
            John-NOM Tom-ACC meet-KI-CT   NEG do-PAST-DECL

In (16), only the b example is grammatical. On the complex predicate analysis of the HCC, the facts are expected: short-form negation can never intervene between the two V^0s (see Sells (1991, 1998)). However, negation can appear with the content verb inside the complex predicate. Similarly, negation inside the HCC is also grammatical as in (17):

(17)   John-i   papo-ka ani-ki-nun   ha-ta
           John-NOM fool-NOM NEG.Cop-KI-CT do-DECL
          'John is not a fool, but … .'

Our account builds on the analysis of short-form negation in Sells (1998), which in turn follows Kim (2000) in treating negation as a selected adverbial dependent of the verb that it negates. Under this assumption, the basic identity relation between the content verb and its copy holds of dependents, predicting that only (15)a is grammatical. The ungrammaticality of (15)b/c follows from a generalization about short-form negation, which is that it must be a sister of the verb it negates (a [LEX +] verb in the analysis below), coupled with our rule (see (29)) that requires perfect matching of non-heads within the copying domain (indicated by the brackets in (15)). Examples b/c do not involve perfect copies (unlike a), and if *an* were external to the domain of copying (cf. (19)c below), it would no longer be sister to the verb that it negates. Finally, the fact that (15)a is acceptable indicates that what is copied is a constituent that may be larger than a single verb.

    The ECC does not allow the doubling of any argument, as shown in (18):[3]

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[3]Jo (2003) considers examples such as (18) to be grammatical, in principle. If they are acceptable at all, we are not sure that they have the contrastive interpretation characteristic of the ECC.

(18) ??John-i   [Tom-ul   manna-ki-nun Tom-ul   manna-ss-ta]
      John-NOM Tom-ACC meet-KI-CT   Tom-ACC meet-PAST-DECL

However, a restricted kind of adverbial can be present before the content verb, before the head verb, or before both. If an adverbial is present before each verb, the adverbials must match perfectly, so (19)d is unacceptable.

(19) a. John-i   Tom-ul   [cacwu manna-ki-nun cacwu manna-ss-ta]
         John-NOM Tom-ACC often meet-KI-CT   often meet-PAST-DECL
         'John often met Tom, but … .'

     b. John-i   Tom-ul   [manna-ki-nun cacwu manna-ss-ta]
         John-NOM Tom-ACC meet-KI-CT   often meet-PAST-DECL
         'It was often that John met Tom.'

     c. John-i   Tom-ul   cacwu [manna-ki-nun manna-ss-ta]
         John-NOM Tom-ACC often   meet-KI-CT   meet-PAST-DECL
         'John often met Tom, but … .'

     d. *John-i   Tom-ul   [cacwu manna-ki-nun congcong manna-ss-ta]
         John-NOM Tom-ACC often meet-KI-CT   often meet-PAST-DECL

It must be noted that the acceptable examples in (19)a–c are not mere surface variants. While a and c involve perfect copies of either [Adv V] or just [V] and are ECCs, b is unbalanced in having the Adv apparently only in the copy part. In fact, this example receives an Internal Focus interpretation on the adverb, and is not an ECC.

Needless to say, an adverbial cannot intervene between the two verbs in the HCC; as with short-form negation, the two parts of a complex predicate may not be interrupted in this way:

(20) John-i   Tom-ul   [(cacwu) manna-ki-nun (*cacwu) hay-ss-ta]
      John-NOM Tom-ACC (often) meet-KI-CT   (*often) do-PAST-DECL
      'John often met Tom, but … .'

Finally, another illustration of the 'size' of what is copied in the ECC comes from the VN+*ha-ta* construction: the VN can be part of the copy, and when it is, this must be the ECC:

(21) Chelswu-ka   ku mwulken-ul [phocang hay-ss-ki-nun
      Chelswu-NOM that item-ACC   pack(VN) do-KI-CT
      (phocang)   hay-ss-ta]
      (pack(VN)) do-PAST-DECL
      'Chelswu packed the item, (but …).'

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2.4. Summary and Prospects

In summary, the ECC examples in (21) and (19)a indicate that the domain of copying is larger that a single V, as does (15)a. The greatly reduced acceptability of (18) (or other examples with copied arguments) suggests to us that the domain of copying is smaller than VP. The copying domain involves the syntactic combination of two X^0 elements to give a new X^0 (specifically, a Adv^0 or VN^0 and a V^0 to give a V^0): this is called the 'subphrasal domain' by Sells (1994) (see also Sells (1998)). This gives us the following basic analyses for the the ECC and HCC:

(22) a. ECC: A V^0 followed by a copy V^0, where (each) V^0 may be internally complex, containing other X^0 elements.

b. HCC: A V^0 complement to *ha-*, conforming to the general constraints on all V-V complex predicates.

The precise notion of 'copy' involves a certain kind of morphological identity. If the subject is an individual to be honored, honorification must be present on the head verb in the ECC, but is not necessary on the content verb, as shown in (23)a.

(23) a. sensayngnim-i [o-ki-nun   o-si-ess-ta]
         teacher-NOM   come-KI-CT come-HON-PAST-DECL
         'The teacher came.'

b. *sensayngnim-i [ca-ki-nun   cwumwusi-ess-ta]
         teacher-NOM   sleep-KI-CT sleep(HON)-PAST-DECL
         'The teacher slept.'

In (23)b we have used a verb which has a suppletive honorific form: *ca-* only means 'sleep' for non-honorable individuals, and rather than the expected **ca-si-* form, the honorific stem is *cwumwusi-*. The lack of phonological similarity between the content verb and the head verb seems to be what is responsible for the unacceptability of (23)b. Of course, the phonological similarity only holds for the string from left to right as far as the *-ki* suffix on the content verb and its identical part in the copy verb.

3. Constructional Relatedness in HPSG

The HCC looks like it might be a sort of *do*-support structure, though the various tests in section 2 show that it is not of the form [[VP] *ha*+inflection], which is the structure one would expect parallel to *do*-support in English. Instead it is a complex predicate, and following the ideas of HPSG in the constructional approach in Ginzburg and Sag (2000), this can be defined as follows. In part, it is a type of *head-word-ph(rase)*, the syntactic combination of two words, in which a head selects a complement:

(24)   *head-word-ph*:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{BAR} & 0 \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \boxed{1}\begin{bmatrix} \text{BAR} & 0 \end{bmatrix}, \mathbf{H}\begin{bmatrix} \text{BAR} & 0 \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \langle \ldots, \boxed{1}[(\text{FORM} \ \mu)], \ldots \rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

This lets one X^0 select for another X^0 (including an optional FORM specification μ, e.g., *-ki, -ko*), creating a new X^0, and this general type applies to complex predicates and to heads which combine with restricted adverbs like *cacwu* (for these are selected by the head, as argued by Sells (1998)).

In the constructional approach, constructions are generalized types which express partial information that a surface configuration may inherit from. A complex predicate inherits from the type *head-word-ph*, and from *verb-headed-ph*:

(25)   *verb-headed-ph*:

$$[\quad] \rightarrow \ldots \mathbf{H}\begin{bmatrix} \textit{verb} \\ \text{LEX} & + \\ \text{TENSE} & \textit{value} \\ \text{HON} & \textit{value} \end{bmatrix}$$

This type requires that a lexical head should be specified for values for TENSE and HONorific features, as appropriate for the type *verb*; [LEX +] determines that this is a preterminal node, immediately dominating a lexical item.

Leaving aside this general type that all the verb-headed constructions here will inherit from, the HCC and ECC inherit from other types as follows:

(26) a.   *hcc-ph*: *head-word-ph* ∧ *contrast-head-ph*

    b.   *ecc-ph*: *echo-verb-ph* ∧ *contrast-head-ph*

As we have mentioned above, the ECC is a subtype of Contrastive Topic construction. It is well-known that an initial *-(n)un*-marked phrase in Korean marks a Topic in the simplest sense, while sentence-internal *-(n)un* marks a contrastive phrase of some kind. Following Vallduví and Vilkuna (1998), we assume that any phrase may be specified as Topic and Focus and also may be independently specified as Constrastive (or not). As it is marked with *-(n)un* or some other suitable delimiter, and may also bear a phonological accent, the content verb in a copy construction receives a Contrastive interpretation.[4]

Now, the ECC and HCC both have the property that they do not introduce the event denoted by the (content) verb as new information – they cannot be used to

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[4]The label 'predicate cleft' has been applied to the ECC, for example by Nishiyama and Cho (1998) and Jo (2003). The term comes from Koopman (1984), who describes a construction in Vata which has a copy of the verb in initial position in the clause, followed by a full clause (which is SOV). We do not think that the Korean constructions that we discuss here have the same properties, either in terms of syntax or interpretation (see (31) below).

answer simple VP-asking questions. Rather, the meaning of the (content) verb is either given, presupposed, or inferrable from context – in other words, it is old information. The simplest function that the ECC and HCC have is to affirm to truth of the description, along the lines of "Yes, indeed, it DID happen", and as this information is not new, there is a natural pragmatic implication that if one event DID happen, then another naturally related event DID NOT happen. This is the 'Negative Implicature' that is part of the interpretation of these constructions.

The notion of 'Contrastive Topic' (abbreviated here as: CT) has received a great deal of attention in recent research in semantics (see, for example, Büring (1999), Krifka (1999), Lee (2000), and Oshima (2002), among many others). In particular, Lee (2000) has argued that the kinds of constructions in Korean that we have focussed on here involve CT as part of their interpretation. Taking a lead from Oshima's work, we will say that the meaning of Contrastive Topic on a verb is as summarized informally in (27):

(27)   Contrastive Topic: The proposition is asserted, and that assertion implicates that there is at least one alternative proposition which is either false or whose truth value is not known.

We then define *contrast-head-ph* as follows:

(28)   *contrast-head-ph*:

$$[\quad] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORM} & ki \\ \text{CONTRA(STIVE)} & + \end{bmatrix}, \; \mathbf{H}[\quad]$$

What this constraint specifies is that the non-head daughter of a *contrast-head-ph* has the CONTRASTIVE interpretation just described, and we assume that there must be some morphological marking going along with that specification (e.g., *-(n)un*-marking). Given that the HCC is a type of complex predicate, we need not assume other constraints on the type of *hcc-ph* other than the lexical constraints on the auxiliary verb *ha-*, and the information inherited from *contrast-head-ph*.

For the *ecc-ph*, we need to specify the 'copy construction', as in (29):

(29)   *echo-verb-ph*:

$$[\quad] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{HD-DTR} \begin{bmatrix} \text{STEM} \; \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{(NON-HD-DTR} \; \boxed{2}) \\ \text{BAR} \; 0 \end{bmatrix}, \; \mathbf{H} \begin{bmatrix} verb \\ \text{HD-DTR} \begin{bmatrix} \text{STEM} \; \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{(NON-HD-DTR} \; \boxed{2}) \\ \text{BAR} \; 0 \end{bmatrix}$$

The constructional constraint says that in an *echo-verb-ph*, the two daughters will have identical verb stems. In addition, if there are non-head daughters, then these two will also have identical values. Given such a constructional constraint, we would generate structures such as those in (30), with the information from (28) inherited as well:

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(30) a.

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                          VP
            NP                        V⁰
          Tom-ul        V⁰[CONTRA +]           V⁰
                            │
                        manna-ki-nun        manna-ss-ta
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b.

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                           VP
            NP                          V⁰
          Tom-ul        V⁰[CONTRA +]              V⁰
                      cacwu manna-ki-nun      cacwu manna-ss-ta
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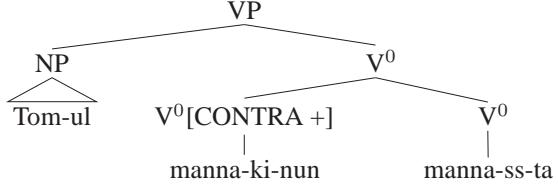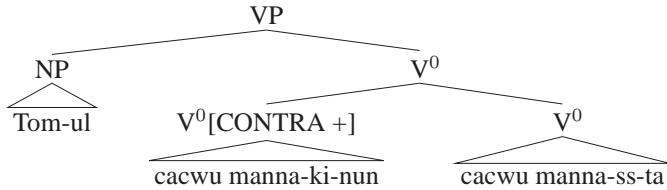
The parts in (29) tagged 1 and 2 share syntactic and semantic values, so the copied parts are interpreted just as *mannassta* and *cacwu mannassta* would be, except for the additional CT interpretation.

4.   Conclusion

In this brief paper, which have just presented the outlines of a base-generated account of the ECC and the HCC. To get a fuller theoretical picture, other related constructions, such as the Echo Internal Focus Construction mentioned above (e.g., (3)′) must be considered, along with examples such as (31):

(31)   mek-ki-nun John-i   sakwa-lul mek-ess-ta
         eat-KI-TOP   John-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-DECL
         'John ate the apple.'

These are like the 'predicate cleft' examples discussed by Koopman (1984), but they do not involve any negative implicature, and do not have an alternative where the final verb is *ha-ta*, rather than a copy. We believe that future research on these constructions must carefully distinguish the use and interpretations of different types of examples, before taking up a theoretical position on which ones are syntactically related, and on how those relations are captured.

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