

**Unpronounced Cases on *Wh*-Phrases in Korean:
Implications for D-linked *Wh*-interpretation and Left-dislocation***

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Subject-object asymmetries on unpronounced case markers are observed in two respects. First, whereas case markers can be unpronounced in complement positions, those in canonical subject positions must be pronounced. Secondly, object *wh*-phrases without case markers can have either D-linked or non-D-linked interpretation, while subject *wh*-phrases without them have only D-linked interpretation. In this paper, based on the assumption that case markers occur in the head position of DP, we propose the following: (i) Bare NPs can occur in the complement position of V since it can be part of a complex predicate, which is not subject to feature checking. (ii) Without the option of complex predicate formation, the nominals which function as arguments must be projected to DP or Φ P. (iii) Nominals without case markers in sentence-initial positions are left-dislocated bare NPs that undergo SubMove (i.e., movement out of DP/ Φ P stranding resumptive *pro* in Φ ; cf. Boeckx & Grohmann 2004). Then, only D-linked reading arises in these constructions parallel to *wh*-resumption or *wh*-clitic doubling constructions found in other languages. We further deal with some implications of our proposals in relation to cross-linguistic typology of dislocation. We demonstrate tripartite distinction of dislocated nominals in C-domain: namely, LD, *num*-marked Topicalization, and Scrambling in Korean.

1. Introduction

Well-known fact: Accusative case marker can be unpronounced when nominals are in complement positions.

- (1) Mary-ka **Sue-(lul)** manna-ss-e.
Mary-Nom Sue-(Acc) meet-Past-Dec
'Mary met Sue.'

Less well-known fact: Nominative case marker in a "canonical" subject position cannot be unpronounced (Hong 1994; 2004; 2005b, Ahn 1996, and Kim 1998a,b, Ahn & Cho 2005a,b; 2006a,b).¹

- (2) John-ul **Mary-*(ka)** po-ass-e.
John-Acc Mary-(Nom) see-Past-Dec
'John, Mary saw.'

¹ Here we emphasize "canonical" subject positions since in non-canonical subject positions Nom can be apparently unpronounced. See section 3 regarding subject in non-canonical positions.

Novel facts (never noticed before): Significant asymmetry is observed with unpronounced case markers on *wh*-phrases (Ahn & Cho 2006a,b).

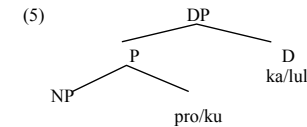
- (3) a. **Nwukwu** Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni?
who Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q
b. **Nwu(kwu)-ka** Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni?²
who-Nom Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q
'Who met Yenghi?'
(4) a. Yenghi-ka **nwukwu** manna-ss-ni?
Yenghi-Nom who meet-Past-Q
b. Yenghi-ka **nwukwu-lul** manna-ss-ni?
Yenghi-Nom who-Acc meet-Past-Q
'Who did Yenghi meet?'

The subject *wh*-phrase *nwukwu* 'who' in (3a) has only D(iscourse)-linked interpretation, whereas the object *wh*-phrase in (4a) can be interpreted either as D-linked or non-D-linked.³

2. Fine Structure of Nominals

2.1 Basic assumptions

Our proposal is based on the following articulated structure of nominal projections in Korean.



We assume that the Φ head hosts *pro* when the Φ head is unpronounced, otherwise it hosts overt pronouns such as *ku* [masculine-singular], *kunye* [feminine-singular]; the D head hosts Case markers or delimiters. Note that the characteristics of case markers and delimiters in Korean share crucial numbers of properties with determiners in other languages (Ahn 1988, Lee 1989, and

² *Nwukwu* reduces to *nwu* when it is marked with nominative case.

³ The well-formedness of (3a) that we judge runs counter to most previous approaches such as Hong (1994, 2004), Kim (1998a,b), and Choi (2005), which consider (4a) ill-formed (Ko (2002) is a notable exception, however). (3a) becomes more acceptable if the *wh*-phrase is modified by D-linked inducing elements, as in (i).

- (i) I cwung-e-yse nwukwu Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni?
this group-among who Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q
'Which person of this group met Yenghi?'

As a result of domain specification like *icwungeyese*, (i) seems to be more natural than (4a). In both (4a) and (i), *wh*-phrases always have D-linked interpretations.

Jeong 1999; but see Im 1987 for an alternative idea and distribution of elements inside nominals).⁴

We further assume that all nominals in non-complement A-positions (i.e. subject positions) must be either DPs or Φ Ps, while nominals in complement (or object) positions can be bare NPs (cf. Baker 2003, Hazout 2004, Kallulli 2005a, Longobardi 1994).⁵

The Φ P structure depicted in (5), hosting NP and Φ , is reminiscent of doubling constituents independently advanced by Kayne (2005) for a unified analysis of clitic doubling and antecedent-pronoun relation.

- (6) a. *cela est-il vrai?*
 that is-it true
 b. [*cela il*] *est vrai* verb movement:
 est_t [cela il] t_i vrai movement of the double: *cela_i est_t [t_i il] t_i vrai*
 (7) a. *John* thinks [*John he*] is smart.
 b. *John*, thinks [*t_i he*] is smart. (←movement of the double)

As shown in (6), clitic and double are merged together underlyingly, and subsequently separated by the movement of the double. Similarly, the pronoun and its antecedent are merged together, as shown in (7a) from the beginning to capture the coreference relation as agreement, and subsequently separated, as shown in (7b). The movement of *John* is motivated for theta theoretic reason since the theta role of the predicate *smart* is assigned to the larger constituent [*John he*], hence subsequently transferred to the head of doubling structure, *he*. Given that the binder and the bindee start off as one constituent and split up in the course of derivation, the antecedent-pronoun relations are naturally captured without positing index convention that is independently barred by Inclusiveness Condition put forward in Chomsky (1995; 2000; 2001).⁶

⁴ In German, for example, the determiner alters its shape according to Case value: e.g. *der*(Nom)/*den*(Acc)/*dem*(Dat)/*des*(Gen) Tag 'the day'.

⁵ There is another possibility that the structure of nominals is more articulated than we suggest.

(i) [_{DP} [_{KP} [_{NP} Φ] K] D]

Crucial in the schema (i) is that the projection that hosts Case is separated from D, the locus of reference, and is buried inside DP (contra Bittner & Hale 1996). Ahn (1997; 1999a), for example, show that the occurrence of D, the locus of reference hinges upon case-licensing of the nominal. Ahn (1997: 56) shows the following sentence as evidence.

(ii) [*John and Mary*], seem to each other *t_i* to be honest

In (ii), the trace of *John and Mary* is bound by *each other*, which violates Binding Principle C, contrary to fact. He suggests that D does not project unless Case on the nominal is licensed. Thus, Caseless *t_i* doesn't project D, and has no referentiality, so it is not subject to Binding Principle C.

However, the phenomenon we discussed in this paper is not sensitive to the distinction between D and K. Hence, we assume the simplified nominal structure, (5), throughout this paper (see Watanabe 2006 for discussion on Case-D relation and more articulated nominal structures in Japanese).

⁶ Inclusiveness Condition basically states (Chomsky 2001:2):

Do not introduce new elements (features) in the course of computation: bar-levels, traces, indices and similar descriptive technology.

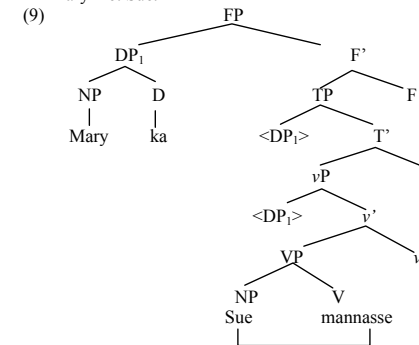
By the same token, we suggest that NP buried inside Φ P in (5) cannot be assigned a theta-role parallel to the double in (6-7). Hence, the NP is forced to move to seek a landing site in order to be properly interpreted. We propose that the Spec-Force is one place where the NP can be interpreted, i.e. assigned a generalized theta-role "aboutness." Thus, movement of the NP out of Φ P (call SubMove) is well-motivated, and we will see some desirable consequences of this proposal in later sections.

2.2 Unpronounced case makers in Korean

Case licensing in Korean: When the Case value is T, the Case value on the nominal is Nominative; when the Case value is *v*, the Case value on the nominal is Accusative. Finite (tensed) T is a nominative Case-valuer (cf. Ahn 1991:206).⁷ We further follow the standard assumption that Nom Case in Korean is valued via movement to Spec-T in conjunction with D-/ Φ -features Agree.

Unpronounced case in the object position and how to derive it:

- (8) *Mary-ka Sue manna-ss-e.*
 Mary-Nom Sue meet-Past-Dec
 'Mary met Sue.'



⁷ Hong (2005a) independently argues that Tense is responsible for Nom Case in Korean, based on the following contrast:

- (i) a. *Mary-ka/*uy John-ul manna-ss-um*
 Mary-Nom/Gen John-Acc meet-Past-Nominalizer
 'Lit. Mary meeting John'
 b. *Mary-uy/*ka John-uy manna-m*
 Mary-Gen/Nom John-Gen meet-Nominalizer
 'Lit. Mary's meeting of John'

Genitive Case cannot be licensed due to the presence of T in (ia). By contrast, if T is absent, nominative Case cannot be licensed, as in (ib).

We propose that bare NP object *Sue* forms a "syntactic" complex predicate with subcategorizing verb *mannasse*. This option is not available if bare NP takes place outside of V domain. Hence, the subjects (and presumably adjuncts, too; see Ahn & Cho 2005a) cannot be a bare NP under our proposal.

The subject DP (or P--we will return to this shortly) moves to Spec-T in order to check off the formal feature on T: presumably D-features and Φ -features. The subject DP undergoes further movement to Spec-Force in topic-prominent languages in which discourse information is established (see Ahn & Cho 2005b for further discussion; cf. Miyagawa 2005).

What if NP undergoes movement to Spec-T, leaving DP in Spec-v?

(10) $[_{TP} [_{NP} \text{Mary}]_i [_{T'} [_{DP} t_i\text{-ka}] [_{v'} \dots \text{Sue mannasse}]]T]]$

Since Case marker is an affix that should be morphologically supported, (10) violates stray affix filter (Lasnik 1981). Thus, the whole DP subject carrying Case marker must move to Spec-T, as in (9).⁸

Non-pronunciation of case markers on the subject nominals:

(11) John-ul Mary-?*(ka) po-ass-e.
John-Acc Mary-(Nom) see-Past-Dec
'John, Mary saw.'

<Candidate I> for derivation of (11): Bare NP-movement to Spec-T

(12) $[_{FP} [_{DP} [_{NP} \text{John}] ul]_j [_{TP} [_{NP} \text{Mary}]_i [_{v'} t_i \dots]]T] F]]$



Given that movement to Spec-T accompanies formal feature checking of Φ /D-features, the bare NP cannot occupy Spec-T. Hence, (11) is ruled out.

<Candidate II> for derivation of (11): Φ P movement to Spec-T

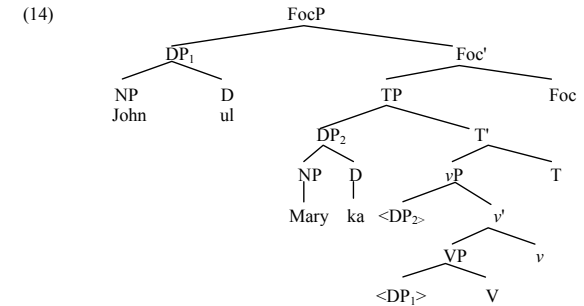
(13) $[_{FP} [_{DP} [_{NP} \text{John}] ul]_j [_{TP} [_{F'} \text{P} [_{NP} \text{Mary}]_i] [_{T'} t_i \dots]]T] F]]$



The theta role from *v* is given to the constituent Φ P, and the head of Φ P, *pro*, inherits it (cf. Kayne 2005). If so, the NP *Mary* in (13) turns out not to get a theta role. Furthermore, movement to Spec-T doesn't save the non-theta-marked NP since Spec-T is not a theta-position.

The only legitimate derivation is, then (14): Unlike Φ P, where a theta-role is absorbed by Φ P head, *pro*, the theta role given to DP can be transferred to NP. Hence, theta problem doesn't arise for the subject NP *Mary-ka* in (14).

⁸ As soon will be clarified, bare NP may not check off the formal feature (D or Φ) features of T, so (10) may be independently ruled out regardless of presence or absence of D-*ka*.



What if a null pronoun subject occurs?

(15) *pro* Mary-lul manna-ss-e.
Mary-Acc meet-Past-Dec
'(He) disliked Mary.'

(16) $[_{TP} [_{\Phi P} \text{pro}]_i [_{v'} t_i [_{v'} t_i \dots \text{Mary-lul mannasse}]]T] F]]$

In (16), *pro* should undergo movement to Spec-T to license formal features on T (here Φ -features). Hence, additional stipulation is not needed to account for the appearance of *pro* in relation to formal feature checking under our analysis (contra EPP analyses in Landau 2005 and Ahn & Cho 2006a,b).

3. Nominals in the Left-Periphery

3.1 Left Dislocated Nominals

Apparent examples of non-pronunciation of Nom case markers:

(17) Mary-(ka) ku chayk ilk-ess-ni?
Mary-Nom the book read-Past-Q
'Did Mary read that book?'

We analyze Case-less *Mary* in (17) as a LDED NP with a null resumptive pronoun in the subject position.

Evidence: Non-pronunciation of case markers in subject positions is not allowed in the embedded contexts (Ahn 1999b:7).

(18) a. Na-nun ecey Mary-?*(ka) coaha-nun yeca-lul manna-ss-ta.
I-Nom yesterday Mary-(Nom) like-Rel woman-Acc meet-Past-Dec
'Yesterday I met the woman who Mary likes.'
b. Na-nun cip-eyse Mary-?*(ka) John-ul ttaylye-se hwakana-ss-ta.
I-Top home-at Mary-Nom John-Acc hit-because angry-Past-Dec
'I got angry because Mary hit John at home.'

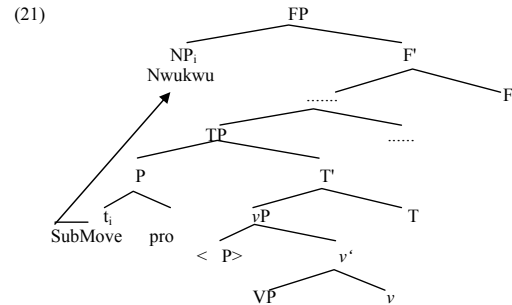
Further evidence: Caseless subject *wh*-phrase *nwukwu* has only D-linked interpretation, whereas this restriction does not hold for Caseless object *wh*.

- (19) a. Nwukwu Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni?
 Who Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q 'Who met Yenghi?'
 b. Yenghi-ka nwukwu manna-ss-ni?
 Yenghi-Nom who meet-Past-Q 'Who did Yenghi meet?'

How to derive D-linked property of LDed nominals? Boeckx (2003; 2004) and Boeckx & Grohmann (2004) put forward that the peculiar property of LD hinges on the special type of movement. Under their analysis, the LDed antecedent undergoes movement from its resumptive pronoun (RP) associate, as in (20).

- (20) NP_i...[TP...[DP RP [<NP>]]...]

Boeckx & Grohmann (2004:11) dubs this kind of movement SubMove (moving a constituent from a larger functional shell). In line with this reasoning, we assume that (19a) has the structures like (21).



Movement of bare NP to Spec-F is triggered by the theta criterion because the NP cannot obtain a theta role in Spec-v.⁹ Note that *pro* and its antecedent are distinct syntactic entities and they form a constituent upon First Merge. The movement of Φ P to Spec-T is triggered by Φ -features on T (Agree). Note further that the LDed NP undergoes SubMove to Spec-Force where it gets theta-role "aboutness," hence it fulfills Full Interpretation. Consequently, the chain <*nwukwu*, *pro*> induces only D-linked reading like many other *wh*-resumption or *wh*-clitic doubling constructions (Boeckx 2003, Boeckx & Grohmann 2004, Grohmann 2005, Hirose 2003, Jaeger 2004, Kallulli 2005b).¹⁰ Given that *wh*-

⁹ We depart from Boeckx & Grohmann (2004) in that this kind of movement is related to theta role assignment and the Φ -feature bearing element is Φ , not D.

¹⁰ *Wh*-phrases in Korean variable-bind not overt resumptive pronouns but *pro* (cf. Montalbetti 1984, Hong 1985, Boeckx 2004). For this reason, resumptive pronoun cannot be overt, as in (i).

phrases can occur in complement positions as bare NPs (and subsequently undergo complex predicate formation), Caseless object *wh*-phrase in (19b) does not necessarily exhibit D-linked interpretation since it is not LDed.

- Object *wh*-phrase with unpronounced Case in dislocated position:
 (22) Nwukwu Yenghi-ka manna-ss-ni?
 Who Yenghi-Nom meet-Past-Q 'Who is such that Yenghi meet (him)?'

Our analysis predicts that the object *wh*-phrase *nwukwu* in (22) is LDed.

- (23) [FP [NP Nwukwu]_i [... [TP Yenghi-ka_j [_{VP} t_j [_i pro]]T]...]]F
 SubMove

As shown in (23), *nwukwu* undergoes SubMove, leaving *pro* in its base-generated position, and the D-linked property of dislocated *wh*-object results.

3.2 Other Nominals in C-domain

We further explore three types of dislocated nominals in C-domain in Korean: namely, LD, *num*-marked Topicalization, and Scrambling. Several diagnostics are applied to confirm tripartite distinction

LD in Korean: Like LD in English (given in translation of an English example), there is an intonational break (#) after the LDed nominal.

- (24) I Kwangswu, # sosel-i te yumyengha-ta.
 Lee Kwangswu novel-Nom more famous-Dec
 'As for Lee Kwangswu, novels are more famous.'

Just like LD in English, LD in Korean is not allowed in the embedded context.

- (25) a. Na-nun ecey Mary-?*(ka) coaha-nun yeca-lul mannassta.
 I-Nom yesterday Mary-(Nom) like-Rel woman-Acc met
 'Yesterday I met the woman who Mary likes.'
 b. Na-nun cip-eyse Mary-?*(ka) John-ul ttaylye-se hwakanassta.
 I-Top home-at Mary-Nom John-Acc hit-because got angry
 'I got angry because Mary hit John at home.'
 (26) a. *I believe that this book, you should read it.
 b. *The man to whom liberty, we could never grant it...
 (Lasnik & Saito 1992:193)

These two properties are not clearly attested in *num*-Topic constructions and Scrambling in Korean. Hence, LD patterns differently from the latter two constructions in Korean.

(i)*Nwukwu ku-ka Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni?
 Who he-Nom Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q
 'Who is such that he met Mary?'

The *nun*-Topic constructions in Korean usually give rise to "contrastive" interpretation even in neutral contexts.

- (27) Chelswu-nun nay-ka onul manna-ss-e.
 Chelswu-Top I-Nom today meet-Past-Dec
 'Chelswu (but not others), I met today.'

LD and Scrambling sharply contrast with *nun*-Topicalization in this respect since they are not usually interpreted as contrastive in neutral contexts.

The *nun*-Topic phrases, further, cannot be stacked: i.e., they are restricted to a unique occurrence per clause. cf. Contrastive LD in German; Grohmann (2000:146).

- (28)??Chelswu-nun ku cha-nun nwu-ka cwu-ess-ni?
 Chelswu-Top the car-Top who-Nom give-Past-Q
 'Who gave Chelswu the car?'

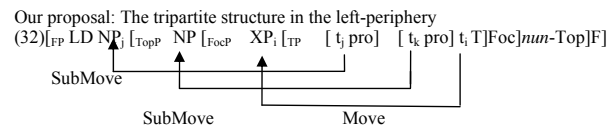
Unlike *nun*-topic, scrambled and LDed nominal can be stacked.

- (29) a. Chelswu-eykey ku cha-ul nwu-ka cwu-ess-ni?
 Chelswu-Dat the car-Acc who-Nom give-Past-Q
 b. Chelswu, ku cha, nwu-ka cwu-ess-ni?
 Chelswu the car who-Nom give-Past-Q
 'Who gave the car to Chelswu?'

Scrambling can occur in embedded contexts, unlike *nun*-Topics and LD in Korean (30), but like Topicalization in English (31).

- (30) a. Na-nun chayk-ul J-ka B-eykey cwu-ess-ta-nun sasil-ul kiekhayssta.
 I-Top book-Acc J-Nom B-Dat give-Past-Dec-Rel fact-Acc remembered
 b. *Na-nun chayk-(un) J-ka B-eykey cwu-ess-ta-nun sasil-ul kiekhayssta.
 I-Top book-Top J-Nom B-Dat give-Past-Dec-Rel fact- Acc remembered
 'I remembered the fact that J gave the book to B.'

- (31) a. I believe that this book_i, you should read t_i.
 b. The man to whom liberty_i, we could never grant t_i.



The LDed nominal undergoes SubMove to the specifier position of topmost functional categories in C-domain, FP, stranding *pro*. The *nun*-marked topic is generated through SubMove of NP, stranding *pro*. Note that *nwukwu-nun* 'who-Top' induces D-linked reading only (parallel to LD in this respect).

- (33) Nwukwu-nun Yenghi-ka manna-ss-ni?
 who-Top Yenghi-Nom meet-Past-Q
 'Who is such that Yenghi met (him)?'

The minimal and essential difference between *nun*-marked and LD nominal seems to be that only the former denotes "contrastive" interpretation unmarkedly (See Jung 2001 and Hong 2005 for further discussion).

The scrambled nominal undergoes Move to the Spec position below the position LDed nominal occupies. Another crucial assumption is that Scrambling is not SubMove but Move (i.e. full phrase movement). In this case, no resumption (i.e. stranding *pro*) is involved. This is supported by the fact that scrambling doesn't necessarily induce D-linked interpretation.

- (34) Nwukwu-lul Yenghi-ka manna-ss-ni?
 Who-Acc Yenghi-Nom meet-Past-Q
 'Who did Yenghi meet?'

The finer-grained typology on varieties of nominals in left-periphery positions gives us explanation to the following ill-formedness.

- (35)*John-ul Mary po-ass-e.
 John-Acc Mary see-Past-Dec
 'John, Mary saw.'

The LDed nominal is located in Spec position of topmost functional projection in C-domain. Hence, the LDed nominal must precede the scrambled nominal. Thus, the possibility of LDed subject is excluded, and the Case on *Mary* must be pronounced in (35). The parallelism between Korean LD and English LD correctly captures the fact that the LDed element must also precede the topicalized nominal in English (see similar contrasts in Italian and German, as discussed in Grohmann 2000:22 and Benica & Poletto 2004:54).

- (36) a. John_k, Mary_i he_k likes t_i.
 b. *Mary_i, John_k, he_k likes t_i

4. Conclusion

We attempt to give a new analysis of distribution of subject-object asymmetries on unpronounced Case markers in Korean. We have first explored the prolific structure of nominal projections in Korean. Then, we postulate at least two functional projections above NP: ΦP and DP. Through the fine structure of nominals, we account for the following novel facts: subject *wh* and dislocated object *wh* without Case markers must have D-linked interpretation. We claim that bare *wh*-phases in derived positions are LDed nominals which undergo SubMove leaving resumptive *pro* that heads Φ-projection. Some implications of our proposal are added concerning tripartite typology of dislocation in Korean, which demands further elaboration.

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***Full paper (still draft, though) will be available upon request!!!**