

# Nominative Case Assignment in Korean: Against the Asymmetrical Case Marking Hypothesis\*

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## 0. Introduction

The position that nominative Case is assigned by AGR is the null hypothesis (cf. Chomsky 1981 p.170). Such a null hypothesis, however, is repudiated by many researchers of Korean-type languages<sup>1</sup> (Kang 1986, Kuroda 1983, Saito 1982 & 1983, Yang 1985), mainly due to their observation that these languages do not show any overt subject-verb agreement. An explicit argument against the null hypothesis is presented by Saito for Japanese (1983). According to Saito (1983), Japanese nominative Case is inherent (i.e. not assigned by any element, e.g. INFL), whereas accusative Case is assigned by the verb to its object. I will call such a hypothesis Asymmetrical Case Marking Hypothesis (ACM for short). And I will examine whether the ACM can hold in Korean, a language to which Japanese is very closely related typologically. My assumption in doing this is that such closely related two languages should share the core grammar like Case assignment. In the first two sections of this paper, I will show that Saito's (1983) arguments for the inherentness of nominative Case (i.e., ACM) are not tenable in Korean. This will suggest that nominative Case may not be assigned inherently in Japanese also. In section 3, I will provide more arguments for the structural nominative Case assignment in Korean. And finally in section 4 I will show how the

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<sup>1</sup> By Korean-type languages I mean Korean and Japanese.

peculiarities Saito (1983) discusses can be accounted for under the assumption that nominative Case is structurally assigned in these languages.

## 1. Arguments for the ACM

The following are Saito's (1983) arguments for the inherentness of nominative Case in Japanese.

### 1.1. The Multiple Subject Construction.

Saito claims that it seems extremely unlikely that even if Japanese has an abstract agreement element, this element, or for that matter, a verb, can assign nominative Case to any number of elements across any number of sentence boundaries, referring to the following kind of multiple subject construction:

- (1) [<sub>S</sub> bunmeikoku-*ga* [<sub>S</sub> dansei-*ga* [<sub>S</sub> heikinzyumyoo-*ga* mizikai ]]]  
civilized country-nom male-nom average life-span-nom short

'It is in the civilized countries that men are such that their average life-span is short.'

Therefore, nominative Case is assigned inherently.

### 1.2. *ga/no* Conversion vs. *o/no* Conversion

Saito (1983 p. 250) observes that in Japanese the nominative Case marker *ga* can be converted to the genitive Case marker *no* in relative clauses or prenominal sentential modifiers (*ga/no* conversion), whereas the accusative Case marker *o* cannot (*\*o/no* conversion) as shown in the following:

- (2) a. John-*ga* kaita hon  
-nom wrote book  
'the book that John wrote'  
b. John-*no* kaita hon
- (3) a. hon-*o* kaita hito  
book-acc wrote person  
'the person that wrote a book'  
b. \*hon-*no* kaita hito

According to Saito (1983 p. 251), (2a) can optionally undergo Bedell's (1972) restructuring rule as illustrated in the following:

- (4) a. [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>S</sub> John-*ga* pro<sub>i</sub> kaita] hon<sub>i</sub>]->  
 b. [<sub>NP</sub> John-*no*] [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>S</sub> pro<sub>i</sub> kaita] hon<sub>i</sub>]]

As a result of restructuring, *John* in (4b) is now in the environment for genitive Case marking, which he assumes to be as follows:

- (5)
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 [+N, -V]^a \\
 \swarrow \quad \searrow \\
 [-V]^{max} \quad [+N, -V]^b
 \end{array}$$

(5) amounts to saying that NPs or PPs which are immediately dominated by a projection of N are assigned genitive Case. Assuming that Bedell's restructuring rule is responsible for *ga/no* conversion, Saito raises a question why (3b) should be ruled out. To be more specific, why is the following restructuring not possible?

- (6) a. [<sub>NP</sub>[<sub>S</sub>...hon-*o* kaita] hito]->  
 b. [<sub>NP</sub>...[<sub>NP</sub> hon-*no*] [<sub>NP</sub> kaita hito]]

Saito argues that this can be explained by the ACM. His explanation is that in (4b), where *ga/no* conversion takes place, *John* gets only genitive Case without causing a Case conflict, since by the ACM there is no element assigning abstract nominative Case. In (6b), however, where *o/no* conversion takes place, *hon* gets genitive Case as well as abstract accusative Case from the verb, thereby causing a Case conflict, assuming that Case assignment by a Case assigner is obligatory. Thus, argues Saito, the Case Filter correctly rules (2b) grammatical and (3b) ungrammatical, under the assumption of the ACM.

### 1.3. Case Marker Drop

Following Kuno (1973b as cited in Saito (1983)), Saito assumes that the nominative Case marker is obligatory for the subject, whereas the accusative Case marker is optional for the object. But sometimes a subject NP can appear without the nominative Case marker as in the following example:

- (7) John kita no?  
 came Q

'Did John come?'

To explain this, Saito adopts Kuno's assumption that the bare NP in sentences like (7) is not the subject but the topic, and that the topic marker *wa* is optional. In other words, (7) should be interpreted as 'John-wa kita no?' instead of 'John-ga kita no?'. And he seems to claim that the possibility of the Case marker drop must be tested where the topic marker is impossible as in the following:

- (8) a. dare-ga kita no? 'Who came?'  
       who-nom came Q  
       b. \*dare-wa kita no?  
           -topic  
       c. \*dare kita no?<sup>2</sup>
- (9) a. nani-o yonderu no? 'What are you reading?'  
       what-acc reading Q  
       b. \*nani-wa yonderu no?  
           -topic  
       c. nani yonderu no?

(8b) and (9b) show that a *wh*-phrase cannot be the topic. Saito claims that the ungrammaticality of (8c) and the grammaticality of (9c) can be explained by the ACM together with the Case Filter in the following way. In (8c), the subject NP *dare* 'who' is without the nominative Case marker, which means that it has no Case under the assumption that nominative Case is not assigned structurally. Thus (8c) is ruled out by the Case Filter. However, (9c) is not ruled out by the Case Filter, though the object NP *nani* 'what' is without the accusative Case marker. According to Saito, this is because *nani* is assigned abstract Case by the verb. Thus the impossibility of the nominative Case marker drop and the possibility of the accusative Case marker drop is explained by the ACM.

#### 1.4. Quantifier Floating

In Japanese a quantifier can float out of an NP, but not across another

<sup>2</sup> Saito (1983 footnote 11) admits that there are dialectal variations with respect to the Case marker drop phenomenon. According to him, western dialects of Japanese allow Case marker drop more freely than Tokyo dialect.

NP argument as shown in the following examples:

- (10) a. sannin-no gakusei-ga sake-o nonde iru.  
           3 person-gen student-nom sake-acc drinking  
           ‘Three students are drinking sake.’  
       b. gakusei-ga sannin sake-o nonde iru.  
       c. \*gakusei-ga sake-o sannin nonde iru.

The following sentence, however, is an apparent counter-example to this generalization, since a floating quantifier is related to the sentence-initial object across the subject NP:

- (11) a. John-ga sanbon-no sake-o motte kita.  
           -nom 3 bottle-gen sake-acc came-with  
           ‘John came with three bottles of sake.’  
       b. sake-o John-ga sanbon motte kita.

According to Saito, this can be explained by trace theory under the assumption that Scrambling is an instance of Move- $\alpha$ , in the following way. Although the quantifier *sanbon* cannot be directly related to the object NP *sake-o*, it can be related to it through the trace in the object position as in the following:

- (12) [<sub>s</sub> sake-o<sub>i</sub> [<sub>s</sub> John-ga t<sub>i</sub> sanbon motte kita]]

Then why is (10c) bad, even though the quantifier *sannin* can be related to the scrambled subject NP *gakusei-ga* through the trace?

- (13) \*[<sub>s</sub> gakusei-ga<sub>i</sub> [<sub>s</sub> sake-o<sub>j</sub> [<sub>s</sub> t<sub>i</sub> sannin t<sub>j</sub> nonde iru]]]

Saito claims that this can be accounted for by the ACM, if it is combined with the following principle:

- (14) Variables must have Case.

According to him, (13) is an ill-formed representation, because the variable t<sub>i</sub> fails to get abstract Case. This amounts to saying that Scrambling of the subject NP is never allowed (Saito 1983 p.254), since the resulting trace will always violate (14).

## 2. Validity of the Arguments for the ACM in Korean

In this section, I will examine whether the arguments Saito presents

in support of the ACM can hold in Korean or not.

## 2.1. The Multiple Subject Construction

Mentioning the possibility of the multiple subject construction in Japanese, Saito claims that it seems extremely unlikely that an element can assign nominative Case to any number of elements across any number of sentence boundaries. This, however, does not justify his hypothesis about the asymmetry between accusative Case and nominative Case, since the multiple object construction is also possible.

- (15) nihonzin-o (motto) se-o hikuku suru keikaku.  
 Japanese-acc (more) height-acc shorten do plot  
 'a plot to make the height of Japanese shorter'

Kuroda (1983 p. 160) judges (15) to be grammatical, though not particularly recommendable.

Such multiple object constructions are more systematically allowed in Korean as shown in the following perfectly acceptable sentences:

- (16) a. Chelswu-ka maykcwu-*lul* seybyeng-*ul* masiessta.  
           -nom beer-acc 3 bottles-acc drank  
           'Chelswu drank three bottles of beer.'  
 b. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-*lul* phal-*ul* capassta.  
           -nom       -acc arm-acc caught  
           'Chelswu caught Yenghi by the arm.'  
 c. Chelswu-ka chayk-*ul* Yenghi-*lul* cwuessta.  
           -nom book -acc       -acc gave  
           'Chelswu gave Yenghi a book.'  
 d. Chelswu-ka cip-*ul* swuli-*lul* haessta.  
           -nom house-acc repair-acc did  
           'Chelswu remodeled the house.'

The possibility of such multiple object constructions suggest that the existence of multiple subject constructions cannot be an argument for the hypothesis that nominative Case is inherently assigned, whereas accusative Case is structurally assigned.

## 2.2. Nom/gen Conversion vs. Acc/gen Conversion

The genitive Case marker is *uy* in Korean. Accordingly *ga/no* conversion and *o/no* conversion in Japanese may be called *ka/uy* conversion (henceforth nom/gen conversion as a cover term for both Korean and Japanese) and *lul/uy* conversion (henceforth acc/gen conversion as a cover term for both languages) respectively in Korean. I will use these terms just for ease of reference. I do not mean to imply that these languages actually have such rules.

Before discussing them, let us first look at the context where the genitive Case marker *uy* appears in Korean. As shown below, *uy* is attached to the specifier of the noun phrases:

- (17) Chelswu-uy cip  
       -gen house  
       ‘Chelswu’s house’
- (18) yamanin-uy loma-uy phakoy  
       barbarian-gen Rome-gen destruction  
       ‘the barbarians’ destruction of Rome’

Now consider the following examples. They show that in Korean nom/gen conversion is possible only when the following element is a noun or a nominalized verbal element.

- (19) a. Chelswu-ka kho-ka khu- $\phi$ -ta.<sup>3</sup>  
       -nom nose-nom big-Pres-Dec  
       ‘Chelswu’s nose is big.’  
       b. Chelswu-*uy* kho-ka khu- $\phi$ -ta.  
       c. \*Chelswu-*uy* kho-*uy* khu- $\phi$ -ta.
- (20) a. Chelswu-ka kho-ka khu-m  
       -nom nose-nom big-NOM  
       ‘the fact that Chelswu’s nose is big’  
       b. Chelswu-*uy* kho-ka khu-m  
       c. Chelswu-*uy* kho-*uy* khu-m

<sup>3</sup> In translating, I will ignore the exhaustive listing reading of the nominative Case marker *ka*. See Kuno (1973) for details of the exhaustive listing reading.

- (21) a. Chelswu-ka kho-ka khu-n kes  
           -nom nose-nom big-REL fact  
           'the fact that Chelswu's nose is big'  
 b. Chelswu-uy kho-ka khu-n kes  
 c. \*Chelswu-uy kho-uy khu-n kes

This makes nom/gen conversion in Korean more restricted than in Japanese as can be seen in (22) and (23):

- (22) a. John-ga hon-o kaita. (Japanese)  
           -nom book-acc wrote  
           'Chelswu wrote a book.'  
 b. John-ga kaita hon  
           -nom wrote book  
           'the book that John wrote'  
 c. John-no kaita hon  
 (23) a. Chelswu-ka chayk-ul ssessta. (Korean)  
           -nom book-acc wrote  
           'Chelswu wrote a book.'  
 b. Chelswu-ka ssu-n chayk  
           -nom write-REL book  
           'the book that Chelswu wrote'  
 c. \*Chelswu-uy ssu-n chayk

So far I have shown that in Korean nom/gen conversion is possible, but with more restrictions than in Japanese.

However, just like in Japanese, acc/gen conversion is not possible in Korean, even if the following transitive verb is nominalized, as can be seen in the following:

- (24) a. Chelswu-ka chayk-ul ssu-m  
           -nom book-acc write-NOM  
           'the fact that Chelswu wrote a book'  
 b. \*Chelswu-ka chayk-uy ssu-m

But (24a) can, though not perfectly naturally, undergo nom/gen conversion.

- (25) ?Chelswu-uy chayk-ul ssu-m  
       (intended reading: 'the fact that Chelswu wrote a book')

At first (24b) and (25) may seem to support Saito's claim about the asymmetry between nominative Case and accusative Case. As is well-known, however, (24a) can have the following word-order by Scrambling (Saito 1985 for Japanese).

- (26) *chayk-ul Chelswu-ka ssu-m*  
 book-acc                    -nom write-NOM

Surprisingly (26) cannot undergo nom/gen conversion even marginally, not to mention acc/gen conversion.

- (27) a. \**chayk-ul Chelswu-uy ssu-m*  
 b. \**chayk-uy Chelswu-ka ssu-m*

Saito assumes the following representation for sentences like (27b), following Bedell's (1972) restructuring rule:

- (28) [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> *chayk-uy*<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>S</sub> *Chelswu-ka t<sub>i</sub> ssu*]-m]]

And he claims that the ungrammaticality of (28) can be explained by the following condition:

- (29) At S-structure, if an operator p A'-binds a variable q, then p and q must agree in Case.

In (28), according to Saito, genitive Case-marked *chayk-uy<sub>i</sub>* A'-binds the accusative Case-marked trace, violating (29); hence the ungrammaticality of (27b). (27a), however, does not violate (29). Abstracting away the details of restructuring, (27a) will have the following representation:

- (30) *chayk-ul<sub>i</sub> Chelswu-uy t<sub>i</sub> ssu-m*

In (30) *chayk-ul<sub>i</sub>* and *t<sub>i</sub>* are both accusative Case-marked, satisfying (29). Thus (29) does not exclude the ungrammatical (27a). And according to the ACM, nom/gen conversion does not cause any Case-theoretic problem. Thus the ungrammaticality of (27a) remains to be unexplained under the ACM.

With the above-mentioned problem in mind, let us examine whether (29) is well-motivated. Saito's main motivation for (29) is to explain the following contrast in Japanese:

- (31) a. *dare-o John-ga nagutta no?*

who-acc      -nom hit Q

'Who did John hit?'

b. \*dare John-ga nagutta no?

Assuming that Scrambling is an S-adjunction operation, (31) a and b will have the following structures, respectively:

(32) a. [<sub>S</sub> dare-o<sub>i</sub> [<sub>S</sub> John-ga t<sub>i</sub> nagutta no]]

b. [<sub>S</sub> dare<sub>i</sub> [<sub>S</sub> John-ga t<sub>i</sub> nagutta no]]

In (32b), according to Saito, the operator *dare*<sub>i</sub> and the variable t<sub>i</sub> do not agree in Case, violating (29); hence the ungrammaticality of (31b).

The first problem with (29) is that it is highly stipulative. Considering that the operator-variable configuration generally plays a role at LF, the reason why (29) should play only at S-structure is not clear. (29) also raises a question of how the accusative Case marker is introduced to the scrambled object *dare*. Saito assumes that traces are assigned abstract accusative Case by the verb in (32) a and b, which amounts to saying that *dare*'s in (32) a and b are not assigned Case by the verb. In (32a), however, *dare* is somehow accusative Case-marked, whereas that in (32b) is not. Then the question is what triggers accusative Case assignment to the scrambled object in (32a), and why the same thing cannot apply in (32b).

In addition, Saito's account basically amounts to the claim that it is not enough for a chain to be assigned one Case but that each member of the chain should be assigned identical Case. This seems to me to be an instance of Case conflict.

Furthermore, Saito's claim that scrambled object should always appear with the overt accusative Case marker, whereas non-scrambled objects need not seem to be empirically wrong. To my judgment about Korean, the possibility of Case marker drop is closely related to the speech level. To put it another way, the more formal the speech level is, the more difficult it is to drop Case markers. Thus in a highly formal speech, it sounds very awkward without a Case marker, even if the object is not scrambled as can be seen in the following:

(33) a. Reagan taythonglyeng-kkeyse hankwuk-ul  
 president-nom(+hon) Korea-acc

pangmunhasiessupnita.

visited (+hon)

- b. \*Reagan taythonglyeng-kkeyse hankwuk- $\phi$   
pangmunhasiessupnita.

In a highly informal speech, however, it sounds perfect, even if the scrambled object is without an overt Case marker.

- (34) a. Chelswu-ka ku yeca- $\phi$  cohahay.

-nom the woman like

'Chelswu likes the woman.'

- b. ku yeca- $\phi$  Chelswu-ka cohahay.

(34) a and b are instances of a very informal speech (e.g. between friends). And as can be seen in (34b), it is perfectly O.K., even if the scrambled object is without an overt Case marker. These suggest that (29) is not well-motivated.

Our discussion so far indicates that the ACM and condition (29) are not sufficient to explain the phenomena related to nom/gen conversion and acc/gen conversion. And we still need to explain the following:

- (35) a. Why is nom/gen conversion possible only in some particular constructions?  
b. Why does acc/gen conversion not occur in the same constructions?  
c. Why is Scrambling impossible in the construction where nom/gen conversion seemingly took place?  
d. Is nom/gen conversion really a transformational rule?

### 2.3. Case Marker Drop

Saito makes a non-trivial claim that the nominative Case marker cannot be deleted, whereas the accusative Case marker can. If this turns out to be right, his hypothesis about the asymmetry between nominative and accusative Cases may be strongly supported. But in fact, subjects can appear without any Case marker in Japanese or in Korean. To resolve this problem which may seriously weaken his hypothesis, Saito crucially adopts Kuno's claim that the bare NP in the subject position is not the subject but the topic. So if we can find an instance where the particle deleted from

the NP in subject position is certainly the nominative Case marker instead of the topic marker, we will have strong evidence against the inherentness of nominative Case assignment in these languages.

On this point, consider the following example, which contains a subject without the nominative Case marker:

- (36) *motwu an oassta.*  
 all not came  
 'None of them came.'

If the topic marker is deleted from the subject in (36), (36) must have the same meaning as the corresponding sentence with the topic marker. But surprisingly if we add the topic marker to the bare NP, the meaning changes strikingly.

- (37) *motwu-nun an onssta.*<sup>4</sup>  
 all-topic not came  
 'Not all of them came,' i.e., 'Only some of them came.'

With the nominative Case marker, however, there is no change in meaning.

- (38) *motwu-ka an oassta.*  
 'None of them came.'

Such a contrast can also be found with a *wh*-phrase as in the following:

- (39) *mwue philyoha-ni?*  
 what necessary-Q  
 'Lit.; What is necessary?'
- (40) a. *mwue-ka philyoha-ni?*  
 'Lit.; What is necessary?'
- b. *mwue-nun philyoha-ni?*  
 'Is there anything you need?'  
 (sarcastically, insinuating that the speaker does not believe so.)

<sup>4</sup> Quantifiers cannot be a topic as discussed by Kuno (1973) for Japanese. Thus *nun* in such a construction is better called the contrastive marker. This, however, does not affect my argument here, since if *wh*-phrases or quantifiers cannot be topics, the particle deleted from those NPs cannot be the topic marker anyway. Then those NPs in subject position should be incorrectly ruled out by the ACM.

These straightforwardly show that the deleted particle from the bare subject NP sometimes cannot be the topic marker. In other words, the nominative Case marker can also be deleted just like the accusative Case marker. This casts serious doubt on Saito's claim about the inherentness of nominative Case assignment.

#### 2.4. Quantifier Floating and the Non-Movability of Subjects

Quantifier Floating (QF) is also found in Korean. The following are examples:

- (41) a. Chelswu-ka *seybyeng*-uy maykcwu-lul masiessta.  
           -nom 3 bottles-gen beer-acc drank  
           'Chelswu drank three bottles of beer.'  
       b. Chelswu-ka maykcwu-lul *seybyeng* masiessta.  
           (QF of *seybyeng* 'three bottles')
- (42) a. *seymyeng*-uy haksayng-i maykcwu-lul masiko issta.  
           3 persons-gen student-nom beer-acc drinking be  
           'Three students are drinking beer.'  
       b. haksayng-i *seymyeng* maykcwu-lul masiko issta.  
           (QF of *seymyeng* 'three persons')

(41b) can have the word-order given in (43), but (42b) cannot have the word-order given in (44):

- (43) maykcwu-lul Chelswu-ka *seybyeng* masiessta.  
       beer-acc                   -nom 3 bottles drank
- (44) \*haksayng-i maykcwu-lul *seymyeng* masiko issta.  
       student-nom beer-acc       3 persons drinking be

According to Saito, (43) and (44) have the following representations:

- (45) [<sub>S</sub> maykcwu-lul<sub>i</sub> [<sub>S</sub> Chelswu-ka t<sub>i</sub> *seybyeng* masiessta]]  
 (46) \*[[<sub>S</sub> haksayng-i<sub>i</sub> [<sub>S</sub> maykcwu-lul<sub>j</sub> [<sub>S</sub> t<sub>i</sub> *seymyeng* t<sub>j</sub> masiko issta]]]]

Saito explains the well-formedness of (45) and the ill-formedness of (46) by the following condition:

- (47) Variables must have Case.

According to Saito, in (46) t<sub>i</sub> fails to get Case due to the inherentness

of nominative Case, whereas in (45)  $t_i$  receives abstract Case from the verb: hence the grammaticality of (43) and the ungrammaticality of (44).

But his explanation, which predicts that no movement from subject position is allowed, encounters difficulties with Wh-Movement in Korean.

- (48) *nwukwu-ka Yenghi-lul salangha-ni?*  
 who-nom                    -acc love-Q  
 'Who loves Yenghi?'

It is generally assumed that even in the languages that do not show overt Wh-Movement at S-structure, wh-phrases undergo Wh-Raising at LF to create an operator-binding-variable configuration due to their operator-like property (Huang 1982, Lasnik and Saito 1984, Nishigauchi 1986). Assuming that Wh-Raising in Korean is an instance of S-adjunction, (48) has the following LF representation:<sup>5</sup>

- (49) [<sub>S</sub> *nwukwu-ka*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>S</sub>  $t_i$  *Yenghi-lul salangha-ni*]]

In (49) the resulting trace  $t_i$  requires Case by (47). But according to the ACM, abstract Case is not assigned to the subject trace. Thus the ACM incorrectly predicts that (49) is an ill-formed representation. To solve this problem, Saito, in fact, suggests that (50), instead of (49), is the right LF representation, where the stranded Case marker assigns Case to the trace (Lasnik and Saito 1984 p. 250 fn. 24):

- (50) [<sub>S'</sub> [<sub>S</sub> *nwukwu*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>S</sub>  $t_i$ -ka *Yenghi-lul salangha-ni*]]]

First of all, the representation given in (50) looks very odd to me. And such an account faces a problem due to the following examples, where the wh-words do not have an overt Case marker:

- (51) a. *mwue philyoha-ni?*  
           what necessary Q  
           'Lit.; What is necessary?'  
       b. *nwukwu oass-ni*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> But the movement-to-COMP hypothesis (adopted by Lasnik and Saito 1984 for Japanese) does not make any difference the matter under discussion.

<sup>6</sup> (51b) is more natural when *nwukwu* is interpreted as an indefinite pronoun *somebody*. Thus the whole sentence has the meaning of "Did somebody come?" or "Is there anybody who came?". This is due to the accident that in Korean inter-

who came Q  
 'who came? or Did somebody come?'

In (51) a and b there is no Case marker which can be stranded to assign Case to the wh-trace. Given the assumption of Wh-Raising and condition (47), the grammaticality of (51) a and b cannot be explained without assuming that subject positions are assigned nominative Case structurally.

In this section I have shown that none of Saito's arguments for the inherentness of nominative Case hold in Korean. Most importantly the alleged impossibility of nominative Case marker drop and the alleged non-movability of subjects turned out to be wrong. Assuming condition (47) as Saito does, the possibility of LF movement from subject position cannot be explained without assuming that subject positions are assigned nominative Case structurally.

### 3. More on Structural Nominative Case Assignment in Korean

#### 3.1. Topic-Bound Subject Position

Consider the following sentence where the topic binds subject position:

(52) Chelswu-nun<sub>i</sub> e<sub>i</sub> oassta.  
       -topic  came  
       'As for Chelswu, he came.'

It is not my concern to determine whether the topic sentence is base-generated or transformationally derived. Thus whether the empty category in subject position is a trace or a base-generated empty category does not concern me in this paper. I will simply note that the empty category bound by a topic is a variable, according to Huang (1984). If variables must have Case as Saito assumes (cf. condition (47)), e<sub>i</sub> in (52) must be assigned Case. This leads us to conclude that a variable in subject position, and as a consequence subject position is assigned abstract Case in Korean, contra the ACM.

Now let us consider the following sentence:

---

rogative pronouns have the same lexical form as the indefinite pronouns. This, however, does not make any difference with regard to our current discussion. Even if it is interpreted as *somebody*, it still needs to undergo QR at LF, creating a variable which requires Case, since *somebody* is also a quantifier.

(53) Who<sub>i</sub> does John believe sincerely t<sub>i</sub> to be the best man?

The trace t<sub>i</sub> in (53) is a variable bound by the wh-operator *who*<sub>i</sub>. But the variable cannot be assigned Case by the verb *believe*, since the adverb *sincerely* intervenes between the verb and the variable violating the strict adjacency condition for accusative Case assignment in English. The following sentence illustrates that an NP cannot be assigned Case in such an environment:

(54) \*John believes sincerely Bill to be the best man.  
(cf. John believes Bill to be the best man.)

Thus condition (47) incorrectly rules (53) ungrammatical. To resolve this problem, Epstein (1987) proposes the following to replace (47):

(55) A variable must be governed by a Case-assigner.

Even though the variable is not assigned Case in (53), it is governed by the verb satisfying (55). Thus condition (55) correctly rules the sentences like (53) grammatical. And so we can say that condition (55) is more accurate than condition (47). Given that, we are forced to say that the variable in subject position in (52) should also be governed by a Case-assigner. This suggests that subject position is governed by a Case-assigner in Korean. Considering that adjacency condition on Case assignment does not hold in Korean (cf. Han 1987), this amounts to saying that nominative Case is assigned by a Case-assigner under government in this language.

### 3.2. Case Resistance in Subject Position

Consider the following example which shows that Korean does not allow non-nominalized clausal complements to appear in subject position:

(56) \*[<sub>s</sub> Chelswu-ka casal-ul ha-ess-ta]-ka  
-nom suicide-acc do-Past-Dec-nom  
motwu-lul nollakey ha-ess-ta.  
all-acc surprised do-Past-Dec  
'\*Chelswu killed himself surprised everyone.'

The same phenomenon in English is attributed to Case resistance by

Stowell (1981 p.146).

(57) The Case Resistance Principle:

Case may not be assigned to a category bearing a Case-assigning feature.

The following examples, which show that a clause cannot also occur as the object of a Case-assigning preposition or verb, further suggest that CRP holds in this language:

- (58) a. \*wuli-nun [<sub>S</sub> Chelswu-ka casal-ul ha-ess-ta]-ey  
 we-topic -nom suicide-acc do-Past-Dec-to  
 tayhayse iyakiha-ess-ta.  
 about talk-Past-Dec  
 'We talked about Chelswu killed himself.'
- b. \*wuli-nun [<sub>S</sub> Chelswu-ka casal-ul ha-ess-ta]-lul  
 we-topic -nom suicide-acc do-Past-Dec-acc  
 al-ass-ta.  
 know-Past-Dec  
 'We learned Chelswu killed himself.'

Thus to the extent that Stowell's CRP is plausible, (56) provides evidence that S in Korean is a category with a Case-assigning feature (according to Stowell, this indicates that the head of S is a Case-assigner) and that subject position in this language is assigned Case. Assuming that INFL is the head of S in Korean (cf. Chapter 2 of Han (1987)), we can conclude that subject position is assigned Case by INFL under government in Korean.

### 3.3. Nominative Subjects in Tenseless Clauses

Kuroda (1983) observes that in Japanese even the subject of a tenseless clause is assigned Case.

- (59) Taroo-ga titioya-ga keikan-de ari nagara taima-o  
 -nom father-nom policeman be though marijuana-acc  
 utte iru.  
 sell  
 'Taroo sells marijuana, even though his father is a policeman.'

According to him, the embedded *nagara* 'though' complement does not have Tense but subject *titioya* 'father' is marked with nominative.



As can be seen above, Korean attaches *si* to the verb stem to represent the honorific feature of the subject. This morpheme is strictly for the subject, and (63b) is at best highly awkward.

- (63) a. *nay tongsayng-i Kim kyoswunim-ul cohaha-n-ta.*  
 my younger brother-nom professor-acc like-Prog-Dec  
 'My younger brother likes Professor Kim.'  
 b. \**nay tongsayng-i Kim kyoswunim-ul coha-si-n-ta.*

Thus we may say that *si* attached to the verb in Korean enables us to recover the [+honorific] feature of the subjects. I will consider this as an example of agreement between the subject and the verb, and consequently evidence of AGR in Korean.<sup>7</sup>

If Subject-Honorification is an instance of agreement between the subject and the verb mediated by AGR, or an instance of SPEC-head agreement between the head INFL (containing AGR) and its specifier, it involves the same operation as nominative Case assignment. Then we expect that Subject-Honorification should also be possible in tenseless clauses, where nominative Case assignment is possible. This is borne out as can be seen in the following:<sup>8</sup>

- (64) *Chelswu-nun [<sub>S</sub> apenim-i ku il-ul kkutnay-si-tolok] towatulyessta.*  
 -topic father-nom the job-acc finish-hon-to helped.

(cf. 60)

(64) illustrates that nominative Case assignment and Subject-Honorification, which I suppose to be triggered by AGR, are both possible in a tenseless

<sup>7</sup> Choe (1986) argues that the plural morpheme *tul* in Korean is also a defective realization of AGR.

<sup>8</sup> The following example illustrates that the same is true of Japanese, given Kuroda's (1983) claim that the embedded *nagara* does not have Tense:

*omae-wa [<sub>IP</sub> rippana otoosama-ga irassyari-nagara]*  
 you-topic marvelous father-nom be although  
*itumo warui koto bakari site iru nodesne*  
 always bad things only do progressive ending

'Although you have a marvelous father, you always do bad things only.'

*Irassyar* is a suppletive honorific form of *ar*. The constraint that *nagara* imposes on the possible preceding verbs and the control effect made it difficult to construct a relevant example in the standard *o-ni nat* form. The given example is due to Toshi Ogihara (personal communication).

clause. Thus I will conclude that AGR instead of +Tense is responsible for nominative Case assignment in Korean. This further supports the proposal in (61).

#### 4. Reemerging Problems

In the preceding discussion I concluded that nominative Case is assigned by INFL(AGR) under government in Korean, contrary to the ACM. This makes us to reconsider the phenomena Saito (1983) tries to explain with the ACM. They are the phenomena related to nom/gen conversion (cf. sections 1.2 & 2.2) and Quantifier Floating (sections 1.4 & 2.4). Saito's other arguments for the ACM based on the multiple subject construction (cf. sections 1.1 & 2.1) and the possibility of Case marker drop (sections 1.3 & 2.3) turned out to be untenable, since no asymmetry between nominative and accusative is exhibited in those respects. But we still need to understand how Case is assigned in a multiple subject construction. Thus I will discuss the following things in this section:

- (65) a. Case assignment in the multiple subject construction
- b. Questions raised in section 2.2 with respect to nom/gen conversion and acc/gen conversion
- c. Some subject-object asymmetry with respect to Quantifier Floating

##### 4.1. Multiple Subject Construction

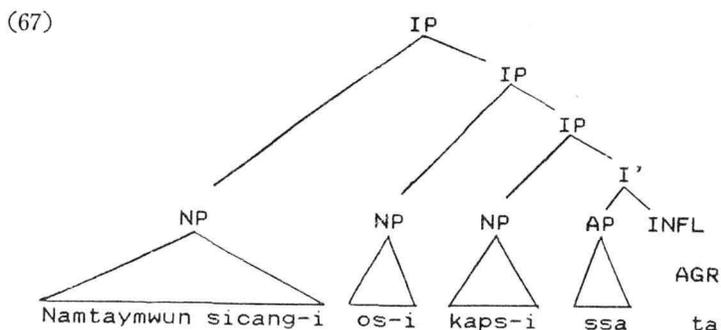
The following is an example of a multiple subject construction in Korean:

(66) Namtaymwun sicang-i os-i kaps-i ssa- $\phi$ -ta.

market-nom clothes-nom price-nom cheap-Pres-Dec

‘It is Namtaymwun Market where the price of clothes is cheap.’

If nominative Case is assigned by AGR under government, how can every subject in the above example be assigned nominative Case? This reduces to the question how every subject in (66) can be governed by AGR, given the proposal in (61). To examine this, let us first examine the structure of (66). It is generally assumed that (66) has an S-adjoined (or IP-adjoined) structure as in the following (Kuno (1973), Saito (1985) among others for Japanese):



The basic question is whether AGR can govern each of the nominative NPs. Equivalently, the question is whether such intervening segments of IPs are transparent to government. On this question, I would like to introduce the following definition of government, from Chomsky (1981 p. 165):

- (68) ( $\alpha$  governs  $\gamma$  iff  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  occur in a configuration of the form)  
 $[\beta \cdots \gamma \cdots \alpha \cdots \gamma \cdots]$ , where
- (i)  $\alpha = X^0$
  - (ii) where  $\phi$  is a maximal projection, if  $\phi$  dominates  $\gamma$  then  $\phi$  dominates  $\alpha$ .
  - (iii)  $\alpha$  c-commands  $\gamma$

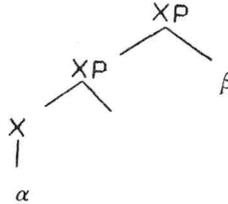
The notion 'c-command' is defined as in (69):

- (69)  $\alpha$  c-commands  $\beta$  if and only if
- (i)  $\alpha$  does not contain  $\beta$
  - (ii) Suppose that  $\gamma_1, \dots, \gamma_n$  is the maximal sequence such that
    - (a)  $\gamma_n = \gamma$
    - (b)  $\gamma_i = \alpha^j$
    - (c)  $\alpha_i$  immediately dominates  $\gamma_{i+1}$
 Then if  $\delta$  dominates  $\alpha$ , then either
    - (I)  $\alpha$  dominates  $\delta$ , or
    - (II)  $\delta = \gamma_i$  and  $\beta_1$  dominates  $\beta$

What (69) basically means is that a head can c-command any phrase dominated by its projection (Saito 1984 p. 404). Thus in the following

configuration,  $\alpha$  c-commands and consequently governs  $\beta$  by (68), since there is no intervening maximal projection:

(70)



(e.g., Italian postverbal subject construction)

Such a definition of c-command and government is based on the not unreasonable assumption that the lower XP in (70) does not count as a maximal projection. Given such an assumption,  $\beta$  should also govern  $\alpha$ , since  $\beta$  c-commands  $\alpha$  and there is no intervening maximal projection between the two. This result is consistent with the idea that government requires mutual c-command (May 1985 p. 66, Aoun & Sportiche 1983 p. 228, where c-command is defined in terms of the first maximal projection instead of in terms of the first branching node as in Reinhart (1976)).

The structure in (70) is exactly what we have in (67) where  $\alpha$  corresponds to AGR and  $\beta$  to additional subjects, respectively. This means that the adjoined IPs in (67) do not prevent AGR from c-commanding and consequently governing the additional subjects. Thus even if IP (=S) is assumed to be a maximal projection, (68) and (69) allows all the multiple subjects to be governed by AGR. What this means is that we need absolutely no additional assumption or stipulation to make the multiple subject construction an instance of Case assignment under government, as long as we adopt the notion of c-command and government in Chomsky(1981).<sup>9</sup>

Here, however, arises the following question, as Peter Sells pointed out to me (personal communication): What does it mean for AGR to assign more than one nominative Case? This does not seem to be like the usual notion of 'assignment.' With respect to this question, I will assume that

<sup>9</sup> Such a government relation is not possible in Chomsky's (1986b) system. See Han (1987b) for a discussion and a proposal.



#### 4.2. Nom/gen Conversion vs. Acc/gen Conversion

In section 2.2 I raised the following questions:

- (35) a. Why is nom/gen conversion possible only in some particular constructions?  
 b. Why does acc/gen conversion not occur in the same constructions?  
 c. Why is Scrambling impossible in the construction where nom/gen conversion seemingly took place?

can be governed by V, thereby being assigned accusative Case. Multiple object constructions may be classified into the following groups:

I) Quantifier Floating:

- i) Chelswu-ka maykcwu-lul seybyeng-ul masiessta.  
 -nom beer-acc 3 bottles-acc drank  
 'Chelswu drank three bottles of beer.'

I suggested elsewhere (Han 1989) that the floating quantifiers are dependent on the antecedent for Case in Korean. This is due to the anaphoric property of floating quantifiers. Thus the accusative Case marker on *seybyeng* in i) is the manifestation of such anaphoric property of *seybyeng*.

II) Inalienable possession relationship:

- ii) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul phal-ul capassta.  
 -nom -acc arm-acc caught  
 'Chelswu caught Yenghi by the arm.'

I think that the possessor *Yenghi* in ii) is Chomsky-adjoined to VP and thus governed by V, thereby being assigned accusative Case.

III) P-Incorporation:

- iii) Chelswu-ka chayk-ul Yenghi-lul cwuessta.  
 -nom book-acc -acc gave  
 'Chelswu gave Yenghi a book.'

According to Choe (1987), iii) is derived from the following sentence:

- iii)' Chelswu-ka chayk-ul Yenghi-eykey cwuessta.  
 to

She argues that *eykey* in iii)' can optionally incorporate into the V, in which case accusative Case is assigned to the Goal NP *Yenghi*, deriving iii).

IV) Light Verb *ha*.

- iv) Chelswu-ka cip-ul swuli-lul ha-essta.  
 -nom house-acc repair-acc do-Past  
 'Chelswu remodeled the house.'

In Han (1988) I suggested that iv) is derived from the following sentence:

- iv)' Chelswu-ka cip-ul swuliha-essta.

In iv) *cip* is the object of the complex verb *swuli+ha*. And iv) is derived when the light verb *ha* (in the sense of Grimshaw & Mester 1988) is raised to INFL leaving the nominal stem *swuli* behind. See Han (1988) for details.

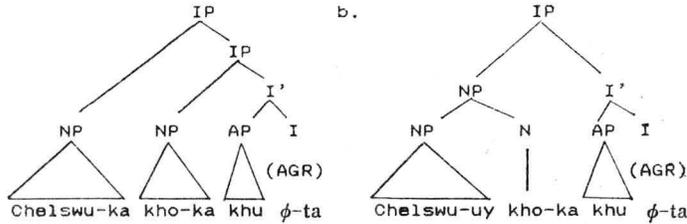
d. Is nom/gen conversion really a transformational rule?

The possibility of nom/gen conversion seems to be due to the possibility of different structures, where the originally nominative Case-marked NP can be governed by N.<sup>11</sup> Consider the following:

- (73) a. Chelswu-ka kho-ka khu- $\phi$ -ta.  
 -nom nose-nom big-Pres-Dec  
 'Chelswu's nose is big.'  
 b. Chelswu-uy kho-ka khu- $\phi$ -ta.  
 -gen nose-nom big-Pres-Dec  
 'Chelswu's nose is big.'

(73) a and b can be explained by the following two different structures.

(74) a.



In (74a) both NPs (*Chelswu* and *kho*) are governed by AGR and as a result, both NPs are assigned nominative Case. In (74b), *Chelswu* is not governed by AGR owing to the intervening maximal category NP. However, it is governed by the following N *kho*. And as a result, it is assigned genitive Case. *Chelswu-uy kho* as a whole is governed by AGR and is nominative Case-marked. This suggests that (74) a and b are not transformationally related. Instead, they simply have different structures.

Now consider the following instance of nom/gen conversion:

- (75) a. Chelswu-ka kho-ka khu-m  
 -nom nose-nom big-NOM  
 'the fact that Chelswu's nose is big'

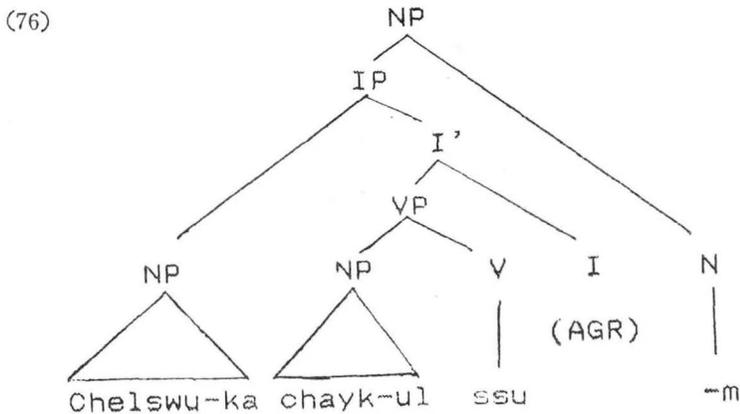
<sup>11</sup> For the purpose of this paper, I will assume the following condition for genitive Case assignment:

NP is genitive if governed by N.

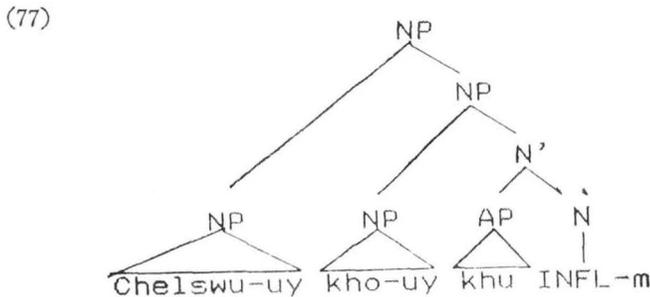
b. *Chelswu-uy kho-uy khu-m*

In (75) a and b, the verbal element is attached with the nominalizer. The different Case array, I think, is due to the ambiguity in the scope of the nominalizer. In other words, the nominalizer may nominalize the adjacent constituent or just the adjacent element.

This idea explains the possibility of (75) a and b in the following way. If the nominalizer “-*m*” nominalizes the adjacent constituent, which is the whole sentence, the structure will be the following:



In (76) both NPs are governed by AGR<sup>12</sup>, and are assigned nominative Case, deriving (75a). And if the nominalizer “-*m*” nominalizes just the adjacent element, the structure will be as follows:



In (77) both NPs are governed by N, thereby assigned genitive Case,

<sup>12</sup> In Chomsky's (1986b) system, NPs *Chelswu* and *kho* in (76) can also be governed by N due to the defective property of IP. Such an undesirable effect is

deriving (75b).<sup>13,14,15</sup>

ruled out by the minimality condition (Chomsky 1986b pp.42ff), which states that the complement of a head cannot be governed by a more remote head.

<sup>13</sup> The same linear order can be obtained by attaching the nominalizer to the sentence in (74b). In this paper, I will be concerned only with the cases where *Chelswu* is an external argument as in (74a).

<sup>14</sup> This approach explains why it is bad, if only the second NP in the double subject construction is genitive Case-marked as in the following:

- i) \*Chelswu-ka kho-uy khu-m  
       -nom nose-gen big-NOM

According to my analysis, the structure where NPs can be assigned Case as in i) is simply not possible. Japanese is peculiar in this regard in that it shows the following variation:

- ii) \*John-*ga* eigo-*no* yoku yomeru koto  
       -nom English-gen well can read fact  
       'the fact John can read English well'
- iii) zoo-*ga* hana-*no* nagai koto  
       elephant-nom nose-gen long fact  
       'the fact that the elephant has a long trunk.'

I do not have any interesting explanation for this.

<sup>15</sup> Japanese is less strict in allowing structural ambiguity due to the nominal element as shown below:

- i) John-*no* kaita hon  
       -gen wrote book  
       'the book that John wrote'
- ii) John-*no* eigo-*no* yoku yomeru koto (cf. footnote 14 ii))  
       'the fact that John can read English well'
- cf. ?\* Chelswu-uy kho-uy khu-n kes (Korean)  
       -gen nose-gen big-REL fact  
       'the fact that Chelswu's nose is big'

I presume that in Japanese, any nominal head in relative clauses or prenominal sentential modifiers can have scope over just the adjacent element, i.e. INFL, as well as the adjacent constituent, i.e. the whole sentence, thereby allowing nom/gen conversion more freely than in Korean. Such a possibility seems to have existed in Korean also in the past. The following is from Choy (1935/1984 p.222) originally written in 1920's.

- iii) na-nun ku-uy iss-nun tey-lul molunta.  
       I-top he-gen be-REL place-acc not know  
       'I do not know where he is.'

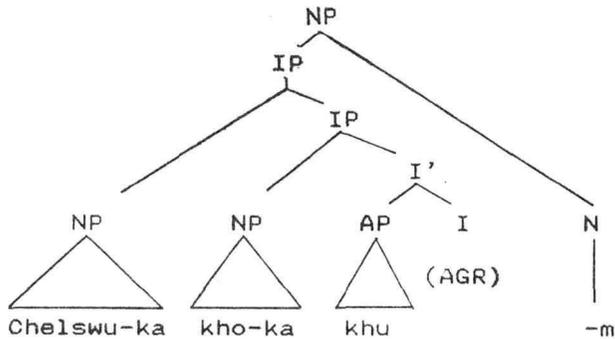
iii) seems to be a piece of evidence showing that in the past Korean and Japanese were pretty similar with respect to the matter in question. I speculate that Korean is in the process (probably at the final stage) of a historical change in the direction of restricting the possibility of ambiguity (due to the nominal head) only to morphologically dependent nominalizers. *Tey* 'a place' in iii) is a so-called 'imperfect noun' in traditional grammarians' terms. Such words cannot function

Then why is acc/gen conversion is impossible even when the transitive verb is attached with the nominalizer as shown in the following?

- (78) a. Chelswu-*ka* chayk-*ul* ssu-*m*  
           -nom book-acc write-NOM  
           'the fact that Chelswu wrote a book.'  
       b. ?Chelswu-*uy* chayk-*ul* ssu-*m*  
       c. ?\*Chelswu-*uy* chayk-*uy* ssu-*m*  
       d. \*Chelswu-*ka* chayk-*uy* ssu-*m*

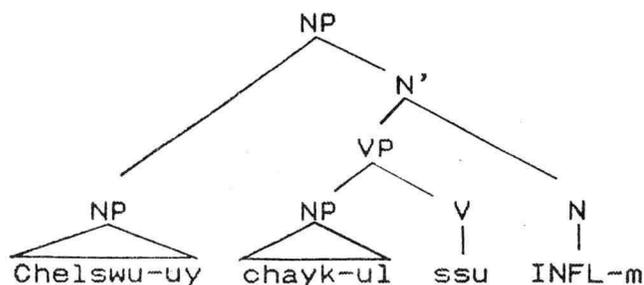
As I mentioned earlier, the nominalizer may cause an ambiguity with respect to its nominalizing scope. To put it another way, the nominalizer may nominalize the adjacent constituent or just the adjacent element. If the nominalizer nominalizes the adjacent constituent, the structure will be (79a), whereas if it nominalizes just the adjacent element, i.e. INFL, the structure will be (79b):

(79) a.



as a subject or an object by themselves without a preceding modifier. They are orthographically separate words, however. So it seems to me that the 1920's was the intermediate stage of such a historical change. These days, however, people, particularly the younger generation, seem to feel at least awkward with sentences like iii). Natural cases of nom/gen conversion are found only with a morphologically dependent nominalizer like "-m", which is not an orthographically separate word. Hence in time, Korean people may consider sentences like iii) to be totally ungrammatical.

b.



My analysis does not allow the structure where NPs can be assigned Case as in (78) c or d, where acc/gen conversion takes place. This is simply because the verb is not adjacent to the nominalizer due to the intervening INFL node, as a consequence of which the object can never satisfy the condition for genitive Case assignment.<sup>16</sup>

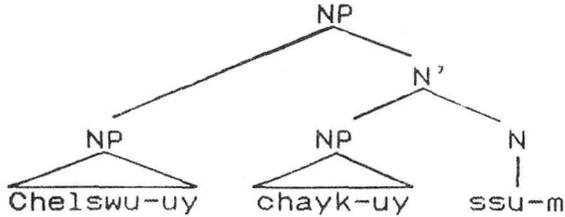
Such an explanation for the impossibility of acc/gen conversion is not available under the assumption that there is no syntactic INFL node in Korean. If the rightmost syntactic node in a Korean S is V or A, the structure when the nominalizer nominalizes just the adjacent element will be the following:

<sup>16</sup> One empirical difference between Saito's analysis and mine arises with respect to VP-internal PPs which can appear with the genitive Case marker but are not dependent for Case on V, as suggested to me by Irene Heim (personal communication). Saito's analysis predicts that such PPs can also be genitive Case-marked by restructuring, since it does not cause a Case conflict. My analysis, on the other hand, predicts the contrary, since in my analysis VP-internal elements can never be governed by the nominal head due to the intervening VP node. It is extremely difficult to formulate an example containing a PP which is uncontroversially VP-internal. However, it seems to me that the following examples suggest that my analysis is on the right track:

- i) Chelswu-uy L.A.-ey-uy tochak  
       -gen       -to-gen arrival  
       'Chelswu's arrival in L.A.'
- ii) (?) Chelswu-uy L.A.-ey tochakha-m  
        -gen       -to arrive-NOM
- iii) \*Chelswu-uy L.A.-ey-uy tochakha-m

As shown in i), the PP can be attached with the genitive Case marker, when the head of the whole phrase is a noun. But as shown in iii), the same thing is not possible, when the head is a nominalized verb.

(80)



Such an analysis cannot explain the ungrammaticality of (78c) nor the grammaticality of (78b). Thus to the extent that the assumption makes sense that the nominalizer may have scope over the adjacent constituent or just the adjacent element, the possibility of nom/gen conversion and the impossibility of acc/gen conversion provides an argument for the existence of the INFL node in Korean, contrary to Kang's (1986) claim (cf. Whitman (1984) for Japanese).

Now consider the following sentences, which show that Scrambling is not possible in the construction where nom/gen conversion seemingly took place:

(81) a. Chelswu-*ka* chayk-*ul* ssu-mb. chayk-*ul* Chelswu-*ka* ssu-m(82) a. ?Chelswu-*uy* chayk-*ul* ssu-mb. \*chayk-*ul* Chelswu-*uy* ssu-m

This can be explained by the following principle concerning adjunction (Chomsky 1986b p.6), if we assume that Scrambling involves adjunction as suggested by Saito (1985):

(83) Adjunction is possible only to a maximal projection (hence X'') that is a nonargument.<sup>17</sup>

Now let us see how (83) can explain the variation in (81) and (82). (81a) and (82a) have the structure as in (79a) and (79b), respectively. In (79a) the NP *chayk* can adjoin to the IP, deriving (81b), since IP is a nonargument. However, in (79b) this kind of Scrambling is not possible without violating (83), because there is no nonargument node available for adjunc-

<sup>17</sup> This explanation is not compatible with Saito's analysis, since he assumes that the restructuring which is responsible for nom/gen conversion takes place after Scrambling.

tion; hence the impossibility of (82b). This in turn suggests that Korean (and Japanese also) has a basic word order which is SOV. And the OSV order is derived by Scrambling as discussed in Saito (1985) for Japanese, contrary to Chomsky's (1981 p. 128) phrase structure rule of Japanese, i.e.,  $X' \rightarrow W^* X$

### 4.3. Quantifier Floating

In this section let us consider why there occurs some subject-object asymmetry with respect to Quantifier Floating (henceforth QF) in Korean and in Japanese. I will repeat the relevant data I discussed in section 2.4 below:

- (84) a. Chelswu-ka *seybyeng*-uy maykcwu-lul masiessta.  
           -nom 3 bottles-gen beer-acc drank  
           'Chelswu drank three bottles of beer.'
- b. Chelswu-ka maykcwu-lul *seybyeng* masiessta.  
           (QF of *seybyeng* 'three bottles')
- c. maykcwu-lul Chelswu-ka *seybyeng* masiessta.  
           (Scrambling of the object *maykcwu-lul*)
- (85) a. *semyeng*-uy haksayng-i maykcwu-lul masiko issta.  
           3 person-gen student-nom beer-acc drinking be  
           'Three students are drinking beer.'
- b. haksayng-i *semyeng* maykcwu-lul masiko issta.  
           (QF of *semyeng* 'three persons')
- c. \*haksayng-i maykcwu-lul *semyeng* masiko issta.  
           (QF of *semyeng* across the object NP)

Thus the question can be reduced to why the sentence (85c) is ungrammatical. With respect to this question, I suggested elsewhere (Han 1989) that the floating quantifiers in Korean (and also in Japanese) are anaphors and that they actually move rightward leaving a trace behind. As a consequence, the floating quantifier constructions in these languages are subject to both the Binding Condition A and the ECP. Now let us consider how this can explain the above data. The QF in (84b) and (85b) is very local and thus both of the floating quantifiers can satisfy the Binding Condition A and also the ECP. (84c) is derived by the Scrambling

of the object from (84b). Such Scrambling of an object is free in Korean. (85c), however, has the following structure after QF:

(86) [<sub>IP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> haksayng-i [<sub>VP</sub> maykcwu-lul seymyeng<sub>i</sub> masiko] issta]

In (86) the VP-internal *seymyeng* cannot m-command and as a consequence cannot govern into subject position, violating the ECP. Thus the ungrammaticality of (85c) can be attributed to the violation of the ECP.

### 5. Summary

In this paper I have shown that none of Saito's arguments for the inherentness of nominative Case assignment hold in Korean. And I have provided evidence that nominative Case should be assigned structurally in Korean.

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## ABSTRACT

### Nominative Case Assignment in Korean: Against the Asymmetrical Case Marking Hypothesis

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In this paper I first show that none of Saito's (1983) arguments for the inherentness of nominative Case assignment hold in Korean. And then I provide evidence that nominative Case should be assigned structurally in Korean. Finally I try to answer some emerging questions.

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