

Subject Raising in Exceptional Case Marking Constructions : Evidence from Korean

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In the complement clause of the Korean bridge verbs like *mitta* 'believe' the embedded subject can have either Nominative or Accusative Case as exemplified in (1). (1b) has been referred to as an ECM Construction, since the embedded subject bears Accusative Case. In this study, based on the minimalist program (Chomsky 1993), I will argue that the embedded subject of Korean ECM constructions raises to SPEC of the matrix AGRoP as in English ECM Constructions (Chomsky 1993) with evidence from binding phenomena and a clause-mate requirement for an NPI and a negative morpheme in Korean.

When the embedded subject of ECM Constructions bears Accusative Case as in (1b) it cannot be coindexed with the matrix subject, whereas it can when it bears Nominative Case as shown in (1a). In (1a) the embedded subject pronoun is free in the embedded clause, which is a governing category, and is allowed to be coindexed with the matrix subject. However, in (1b) the embedded subject pronoun is not allowed to be coindexed with the matrix subject, even though it is free in the embedded clause identical to that of (1a) except that the embedded subject has a different Case marker. Why can't the embedded subject with Accusative Case be coindexed with the matrix subject while the embedded subject with Nominative Case can be? Another question arises in Korean sentences involving a Negative Polarity Items (NPI). *amwuto* 'anybody' and a negator *ani* 'not' must occur in the same clause as in (2). However, in (3a) that requirement does not apply. Why is that so? The above two questions can be answered if the embedded subject of the ECM constructions raises to the matrix clause at LF. If the embedded subject pronoun in (1b) raises to the matrix clause, it will be bound by its coindexed antecedent, resulting in a violation of the Binding Principle (B), thus explaining why the embedded subject pronoun with Accusative Case cannot be coindexed with the matrix subject in (1b). In (3a) the clause-mate requirement for *amwuto* 'anybody' and *ani* 'not' can be met at LF and the grammaticality of the sentence can be explained, if we consider (3a) an ECM Construction, where the embedded subject *amuwto* has abstract Accusative Case and raises to SPEC of the matrix AGRoP to have its Accusative Case licensed by the matrix verb at LF. In (3b) the embedded subject *amwuto* is assumed to have abstract Nominative Case. Therefore it stays in the embedded subject position to have its Nominative Case checked by the embedded Tense, which has a Nominative Case feature.

Based on this evidence I argue that the embedded subject of the Korean ECM Constructions raises to SPEC of the matrix AGRoP for Accusative Case checking, as in English ECM Constructions. However, there is a problem with the raising of the embedded subject of the Korean ECM Constructions. Since it occurs in a position where Nominative Case can be assigned by the embedded Tense, the raising of the embedded subject to SPEC of the matrix AGRoP involves a violation of the Chain Condition (Chomsky 1986) which requires that a chain have one and only one Case position, banning movement of an NP from a Case position to another Case position. To avoid this problem, I suggest, following Watanabe (1993), that SPEC of AGRP is a Case position only if there is a higher functional head bearing a feature which can check off the [F] feature arising on AGR in the process of Case checking and that the Korean bridge verbs like *mitta*, 'believe' have a CP-deletion property. Since Korean complementizers are realized as verbal suffixes, COMP is lowered to Tense position (Hong 1985). After COMP lowering CP-deletion can apply. After CP-deletion there will be no C in the embedded clauses of (1b) and (3a). Then, SPEC of the embedded AGRsP in the ECM constructions can no longer be a Case position under Watanabe's definition of a Case position. Thus the embedded subject with Accusative Case in the ECM Constructions can move to SPEC of the matrix AGRoP without a violation of the Chain Condition. This study shows that the raising of the embedded subject of the ECM Constructions to SPEC of the matrix AGRoP is necessary not only to account for Accusative Case marking of the ECMed subject in a uniform SPEC-head relation like Nominative Case marking but also to account for binding phenomena and the clause-mate requirement for an NPI and a negative morpheme in

the Korean ECM Constructions. It is also shown that the binding phenomena in the Korean ECM Constructions can be accounted for at LF, not at S-Structure, supporting Chomsky's (1993) argument that LF is a level where the Binding Theory applies.

Data

- (1) a. John₁-i [ku_{1/2}-ka ttogttoghay-ss-ta-ko] mit-nun-ta.
 -Nom he-Nom smart-Past-Decl-Comp believe-Pres-Decl
 'John₁ believes that he_{1/2} was smart.'
 b. John₁-i [ku*_{1/2}-ul ttogttoghay-ss-ta-ko] mit-nun-ta.
 -Nom he-Acc smart-Past-Decl-Comp believe-Pres-Decl
 'John₁ believes that he₂ was smart.'
- (2) a.*John-i [amwuto ttogttoghay-ss-ta-ko] cuwcanghaci ani ha-n-ta.
 -Nom anybody smart-Past-Decl-Comp claim not do-Pres-Decl
 'John claims that nobody was smart.'
 b. John-i [amwuto ttogttoghaci ani hay-ss-ta-ko] cuwcangha-n-ta.
 -Nom anybody smart not do-Past-Decl-Comp claim-Pres-Decl
 'John claims that nobody was smart.'
- (3) a. John-i [amwuto ttogttoghay-ss-ta-ko] mitci ani ha-n-ta.
 -Nom anybody smart-Past-Decl-Comp believe not do-Pres-Decl
 'John believes that nobody was smart.'
 b. John-i [amwuto ttogttoghaci ani hay-ss-ta-ko] mit-nun-ta.
 -Nom anybody smart not do-Past-Decl-Comp believe-Pres-Decl
 'John believes that nobody was smart.'

References

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