

Non-Case-Marked *Wh*-Phrases and Left-Dislocation

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Abstract

Absence of Case markers on nominals in Korean show subject-object asymmetries: (i) Case markers can be absent in complement positions unlike those in canonical subject positions. (ii) Unlike object *wh*-phrases without Case markers, subject *wh*-phrases without them have only D-linked interpretation. In this paper, we propose: (i) Bare NPs can occur in the complement position of V since it can be a part of a syntactic complex predicate. (ii) Bare *wh*-phrases in derived positions are left dislocated nominals that undergo SubMove leaving unpronounced resumptive *pro*. Hence, only D-linked reading arises in these constructions parallel to *wh*-resumption or *wh*-clitic doubling constructions found in other languages. Some implications of our proposal correlate with the new typology of dislocation in Korean: namely, HTLD vs. CLLD in connection to presence/absence of resumption. Our analysis further sheds light on semantic-pragmatic nature of non-Case-marked NPs in Korean, which previous discourse studies have attempted to capture.

Introduction

This paper aims to explore subject-object asymmetries related to non-occurrence of Case markers in Korean and capture close relation between absence of Case markers on *wh*-phrases and interpretation.¹ It is widely observed that an Acc Case marker can be absent when nominals are in complement positions (Ahn 1988).

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

In (1), *Sue* and *Sue-lul* can freely occur as a complement of the verb.² A similar

¹ Some terminological remarks: We will use the term "non-Case-marked" throughout this paper. This term is different from Case deletion, Case drop, and Case ellipsis the previous literature has used. The latter refer to the case where a Case marker actually undergoes ellipsis. On the other hand, by using the former, we just refer to the phenomenon simply as non-occurrence of Case and don't assume that a Case marker undergoes deletion.

² It is not crystal clear whether the presence/absence of an Accusative marker has any bearing on semantic or pragmatic contributions. Ahn (1988) indicates some specificity effects on the overt Accusative marker (see further evidence in Kim 1993 and Lee & Cho 2003), while Jun (2005) claims that the overt Accusative Case is an instance of a focus marker (see also Ko 2000, Ko 2002; 2004 for some semantic/pragmatic import of the overt Cases in Korean). In this paper, space limitations force us to abstract away from the formal semantic/pragmatic details of pronouncing effects of Case markers in Korean. But see the last section of this paper for some related discussion.

fact is pointed out for Japanese by Kuno (1972; 1973), Saito (1985) and others.

However, there is a relatively less well-known fact that absence of nominative Case marker is more restricted than that of accusative. Nominative Case marker in a "canonical" subject position, i.e. Spec-T, cannot be absent (Hong 1994; 2004, Ahn 1996; 1999, Y-h Kim 1998a,b, and Ahn & Cho 2005a,b).³

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

It is plausible to assume that the subject *Mary-ka* in (2) is "frozen" in the subject position, Spec-T, due to the scrambled object *John-ul*. Thus, (2) sharply contrasts with (1) in that Nominative Case must be marked unlike Accusative.

Japanese seems to pattern with Korean. Kuno (1972; 1973) claims that nominative Case *ga* in Japanese cannot be deleted. And he further argues, cited in (Saito 1985:207), that the bare NP *John* in (3) functions not as a subject but as a topic and that the missing particle is not Nominative *ga* but a topic marker *wa*.⁴

- (3) John kita-no?
John came-Q 'Did John come?'

³ Here we emphasize "canonical" Spec-T subject positions since in non-canonical subject positions such as in sentence initial left-periphery positions such as Spec-C, Nominative Case can be apparently absent, as seen in the following:

- (i) Mary-(ka) wa-ss-ni?
Mary-(Nom) come-Past-Q
'Did Mary come?'

The status of bare subjects in non-canonical positions will be discussed in details in section 1.

⁴ Kuno (1973) notes, cited in Masunaga (1988), the difference between *ga*-marked vs. *wa*-marked subject in the following:

- (i) a. Taro-ga Osaka-ni itta
b. Taro-wa Osaka-ni itta
'Taro went to Osaka.'

Kuno observes that (ia) means 'It is Taro who went to Osaka' and *ga* yields an "exhaustive listing" reading, which is absent in (ib). *Wa* provides that Taro is the topic without the implication of an exhaustive listing reading (cited in Masunaga 1988: 145). Kuno further indicates that the bare subject in the following sentence has the same meaning as (ib):

- (ii) Taro Osaka-ni itta
'Taro went to Osaka.'

Thus, he concludes that the bare subject *Taro* in (ii) is derived by the deletion of *wa*. A similar observation is given in Kuno (1972: 283) with different examples.

Evidence of this analysis seems to be provided by the fact that in Japanese a bare *wh*-phrase shows distribution parallel to a *wh*-phrase with a topic marker *wa* as shown in (4).⁵

- (4) a. Dare-ga kita no?
 Who-Nom came Q
 b. *Dare-wa kita no?
 who-Top came Q
 c. *Dare kita no?
 Who came Q
 ‘Who came?’ (Saito 1985: 208)

Several questions come up at this point. First, it’s not clear why *wh*-topics are (semantically) ill-formed (see Wu 1999 for *wh*-topics in Chinese; see also Grohmann 2006 for cross-linguistic distribution of *wh*-topics).⁶ Secondly, if *wh*-topics are not rare, then it’s unclear whether the source of ill-formedness of (4c) correlates with (4b). Further, it’s far less clear why only topic marker *wa* can be deleted, but not nominative Case marker *ga* in Japanese: In fact, syntactic marker *ga* is predicted to be more susceptible to deletion than semantic/discourse marker *wa* in the light of the recoverability of deletion if *wa* has more semantic/pragmatic content than *ga*.⁷

⁵ According to our Japanese informants (Shin-ichi Tanigawa and Masaya Yoshida, p.c.), if we set up the context with alternative sets as in the focus construction, even the one without D-linking as in (4b) sounds better.

(i) Dare-wa kite, dare-wa konakayya no?
 Who-Top come-GER who-Top didn’t-come Q
 ‘Who came, and who didn’t?’ Miyagawa (1987:186)

As shown in (i), *wh-wa* can occur in questions that severely restrict the set of referents. On the other hand, either D-linking or focus interpretation does not make a *wh*-phrase in (4c) better for most speakers that we consulted. There is, however, one Japanese speaker who we consulted gets similar contrasts that we get for Korean examples. That is, this speaker accepts (4c) with D-linked reading. We are not sure at this stage whether the status of (4c) may be subject to dialectal variation in Japanese. In fact, the judgments of the Korean counterpart of (4c) also give rise to some speaker variation, although most Korean informants that we consulted accepted it, contrary to Japanese.

⁶ Kuno (1973), cited in Masunaga (1988: 145), points out that *wh*-phrases cannot be construed as topics since *wh*-phrases are not compatible with the semantic properties of topics; namely, being generic or anaphoric. It is not clear why topics are necessarily interpreted either as generic or anaphoric. In fact, topicality is generally defined as specificity, definiteness, D-linking, and/or aboutness, and some of these features are not semantically incompatible with *wh*-phrases. See Ahn & Cho (2006a), Grohmann (2006), Jaeger (2003; 2004), and Rizzi (2006) for further discussion.

⁷ Kuno (1972: 3) notes that *ga* is not a simple subject marker, but one that indicates that the subject conveys new information. That’s why *ga* cannot be deleted. *Wa*, in contrast, indicates that the subject conveys old information. But this does not entail that *wa* itself can be deleted because

Regarding the absence of Case markers, Korean exhibits interesting novel paradigms that might be lacking in Japanese: that is, bare *wh*-phrases are possible in sentence-initial positions, as in (5a). As noted by Ahn & Cho (2006a,b), (5a) is well-formed only if the non-Case-marked subject *wh*-phrase *nwukwu* 'who' has a D(iscourse)-linked interpretation in the sense of Pesetsky (1987).⁸

- (5) a. **Nwukwu** Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni? (only D-linked reading)
 who Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q
 'Who is such that he/she met Yenghi?'
 b. **Nwu(kwu)-ka** Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni?⁹ (non-D-linked reading possible)
 who-Nom Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q
 'Who met Yenghi?'

If the Nom Case marker is present, as in (5b), no such semantic restriction is obtained: hence, (5b) can be interpreted either as D-linked or as non-D-linked.

By contrast, such restriction isn't observed in the case of object *wh*-phrases in (6). The "bare" object *wh*-phrase in (6a) can be interpreted either as D-linked or non-D-linked, as well as the Case-marked object *wh*-phrase in (6b).

- (6) a. Yenghi-ka **nwukwu** manna-ss-ni? (non-D-linked reading possible)
 Yenghi-Nom who meet-Past-Q
 b. Yenghi-ka **nwukwu-lul** manna-ss-ni? (non-D-linked reading possible)
 Yenghi-Nom who-Acc meet-Past-Q
 'Who did Yenghi meet?'

Further note that when a non-Case-marked object *wh*-phrase occurs in sentence-initial position, only D-linked reading is induced, as indicated in the English translation in (7a).

it is a "marker" of old information, for the overt realization of *wa* plays a significant role in marking semantic information. Under Kuno's strategy, we may offer a functional account for why *wa*-marked NPs can be deleted (since it can be recovered by context). However, we cannot account for the deletion of *wa* itself in this approach since it cannot be recovered functionally.

⁸ The well-formedness of (5a) that we judge runs counter to most previous approaches such as Hong (1994, 2004), Kim (1998), and Choi (2005), which consider (5a) ill-formed (Ko 2002 is a notable exception, however). (5a) becomes more acceptable if the *wh*-phrase is modified by D-link-inducing elements, as in (i).

- (i) I cwung-eyse 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 *i cwungeyese* 'among this group', (i) seems to be more natural than (5a). In both (5a) and (i), *wh*-phrases always have D-linked interpretations.

⁹ *Nwukwu* normally reduces to *nwu* when it is marked with nominative Case.

- (7) a. **Nwukwu** Yenghi-ka manna-ss-ni? (only D-linked reading)
Who Yenghi-Nom meet-Past-Q
‘Who is such that Yenghi meet (him/her)?’
b. **Nwukwu-lul** Yenghi-ka manna-ss-ni? (non-D-linked reading possible)
Who-Acc Yenghi-Nom meet-Past-Q
‘Who did Yenghi meet?’

However, if the Case marker is present in the scrambled object *wh*-phrase, either D-linked or non-D-linked interpretation is possible, as shown in (7b).

In Japanese by contrast, as observed in Saito (1985: 267), when an object *wh*-phrase is scrambled out of its base-generated position, it seems to require an overt Case marker, as shown in (8c).

- (8) a. John-ga **dare(-o)** nagutta no?
John-Nom who-Acc hit Q
b. **Dare-o** John-ga nagutta no?
who-Acc John-Nom hit Q
c. ?***Dare** John-ga nagutta no?
who John-Nom hit Q ‘Who did John hit?’

As expected, *dare-wa* substituting the fronted *dare* in (8c) with topic reading is also ruled out, so parallel account for deviance of (4c) can be given to (8c).¹⁰

In sum, the subject-object asymmetries and D-linking asymmetries with regard to non-Case-marking mentioned so far are listed in Table 1 & 2.

Canonical	Subjects	Objects
Non-Case-Marking	Impossible	Possible

Table 1: Subject-object asymmetries on non-Case-marking

Non-Case-Marked WH	Subjects	Fronted Objects	In-Situ Objects
D-linked Reading	Possible	Possible	Possible
Non-D-linked Reading	Impossible	Impossible	Possible

Table 2: Asymmetries on non-Case-marking and D-linking restriction

Numerous questions arise: (i) How can nominals be bare in complement positions in Korean (and Japanese)? (ii) Why are *wh*-subjects and dislocated *wh*-objects in Korean semantically restricted that way? Namely, why do they yield only D-

¹⁰ Again, most of our Japanese informants rule out the dislocated bare WH, while they accept WH-*wa* with contrastive or focused interpretation only. However, the same informant who accepts (4c) also rules in (8c). Hence, there seem to be consistent judgment variations attested among Japanese informants.

linked interpretation? (iii) Why can't *wh*-subjects and dislocated *wh*-objects be bare in Japanese for most speakers (unlike Korean)?

This paper is organized as follows: In section 1 we attempt to answer the question (i). In sections 2 and 3, possible clues for the questions (ii) and (iii) will be explored. Summary and further implications will be provided in Section 4.

1 Bare Object NPs vs. Bare Subject/Dislocated NPs

The first question that is raised in the previous section concerns the well-known puzzles on subject/object asymmetry of bare NPs. We propose that bare NP object forms a "syntactic" complex predicate with the subcategorizing verb. In other words, the bare NP object has a dual function: namely, it fulfills as an argument of the subcategorizing verb, and it also forms a predicate with the selecting verb. This option is only available with bare NPs in Korean (but not DPs, for example).¹¹ Note that this option is not available if a bare NP takes place outside of V domain.¹² Hence, we get the contrast between (1) and (2), repeated here.

- (1) Mary-ka Sue-(**lul**) mannasse.
Mary-Nom Sue-Acc met
(2) Sue-lul **Mary**-(**ka**) mannasse.
Sue-Acc Mary-Nom met
'Mary met Sue.'

Our proposal of bare object NPs essentially differs from incorporation-like analyses put forward in Hong (1994) and K-S Kim (1999). Incorporation analyses

¹¹ See related discussion of the dual status of a postcopular NP in English in Hazout (2004); bare NPs in English in Uriagereka (2000); nonspecific indefinite NP and bare NPs in Turkish in Cagri (2005) and Ozturk (2005).

¹² Under the analysis advanced here, what is crucial is not which kind of Case marker can be absent but where the Caseless nominal is placed. In this regard, non-occurrence possibility of Nominative Case-marker on objects merits our attention. It seems that a Nominative Case on the object can be non-marked, as indicated in Ahn & Cho (2006c).

(i) Sue-ka ton-(i) pilyoha-yss-e.
Sue-Nom money-(Nom) need-Past-Dec
'Sue needed money.'

Nom can be unmarked in (i) since the bare object *ton* 'money' in (i) which occurs in the complement position of the verb *pilyohaysse* can form a complex predicate with it. The judgment is similar with Nominative *wh*-phrases in a complement position. To our ears, non-marking of Nom on *wh*-phrase in (ii) is also fully acceptable.

(ii) Sue-ka mwe-(ka) pilyoha-yss-ni?
Sue-Nom what-(Nom) need-Past-Q
'What did Sue need?'

Interestingly, there are two groups of native speakers in Japanese concerning non-Case-marking possibility of Nominative *wh*-phrases. Cf. Kuno (1973), Saito (1985), Ueda (1993), Ono (2001).

basically assume “strict adjacency” between the object and the selecting verb. The incorporation analysis is empirically incorrect since bare object NPs can be non-adjacent to the selecting verbs via intervening adverbs (See Y-J Kim 1991, Y-h Kim 1998b).

- (9) a. Chelswu-ka **hakkyo-(lul)** ohwu-ey/besu-lo ka-n-ta
 Chelswu-Nom school-(Acc) afternoon-in/bus-by go-Pres-Dec
 ‘Chelswu goes to school in the afternoon/by bus.’
 b. Chelswu-ka **ku chayk-(ul)** ceycwuto-eyse sa-ss-ta
 Chelswu-Nom the book-(Acc) Jejudo-in buy-Past-Dec
 ‘Chelswu bought the book in Jejudo.’ (Y-h Kim 1998b: fn. 15)

Cagri (2005) and Ozturk (2005) also note the problems of the incorporation analysis of bare NPs in Turkish, put forward in Kornfilt (2003). They suggest a pseudo-incorporation or complex predicate analysis for Turkish bare NPs, which basically is akin to our syntactic complex predicate analysis for bare Korean NPs.¹³

A syntactic complex predicate analysis can be indirectly supported by the so-called subscrambling in Turkish. The following examples show that subconstituents of phrases can move only out of a bare NP; i.e., extraction out of Case-marked DP as in (10b) results in ill-formedness (Kornfilt 2003: 132).

- (10) a. ?Bir daha [e_i bir terzi] bul -a -ma -m [sen-in gibi]_i
 one time a tailor find-ABIL-NEG-1sg you-GEN like
 ‘I won’t ever be able to find a tailor [-specific] like you again.’
 b. *Bir daha [e_i bir terzi]-yi bul -a -ma -m [sen-in gibi]_i
 one time a tailor-ACC find-ABIL-NEG-1sg you-GEN like

The intended meaning of (10b) is the same as for (10a), but the difference is that the object *bir terzi* ‘a tailor’ is intended to have a [+specific] interpretation.

Note that specificity is not a crucial factor here to block subscrambling since nothing can move out of oblique Case-marked phrases, irrespective of specificity, as observed in Kornfilt (2003: 135).

¹³ As observed in Kornfilt (2003), Cagri (2005), and Ozturk (2005), in Turkish, there is a correlation between the overt realization of accusative Case on direct objects and genitive Case on the subjects of nominalized embedded clauses on one hand, and of the specificity, on the other. Basically Cases are overtly realized on specific DPs, while corresponding nonspecific DPs do not bear overt Cases (Turkish seems to differ from Korean in this respect: As discussed in footnote 2, it is unclear that Korean bare NPs are necessarily nonspecific). Like Japanese, scrambled phrases in Turkish must be overtly Case-marked. Thus, Turkish seems to pattern more closely with Japanese than Korean concerning the behavior of bare NPs.

- (11) *[e_i bazi haydut-lar]-dan kac-mis –lar [dev gibi]_i
 some robber-pl-ABL flee-REP.PAST-3pl giant like
 ‘They reportedly fled from some robbers [specific or nonspecific] like (big) giants.’

Turkish subscrambling facts indirectly support our complex predicate analysis of bare NP complements since the bare NP is understood no longer as a barrier for movement of subconstituents as a result of complex predicate formation.¹⁴

A similar fact is observed in Korean shown in (12). Consider the contrast between (12b) and (12d).

- (12) a. Na-nun [sakwa sey kay] mek-ess-e.
 I-Top apple three eat-Past-Dec
 b. Sakwa_i na-nun [t_i sey kay] mek-ess-e.
 apple I-Top three eat-Past-Dec
 c. Na-nun [sakwa sey kay-lul] mek-ess-e.
 I-Top apple three-Acc eat-Past-Dec
 d. ?*Sakwa_i na-nun [t_i sey kay-lul] mek-ess-e.
 apple I-Top three-Acc eat-Past-Dec
 ‘I ate three apples.’

Suppose the nominal *sakwa* ‘apple’ forms a constituent with the numeral classifier *sey kay* ‘three’. In (12b), the bare NP complement *sakwa sey kay* ‘three apples’ undergoes a complex predicate formation with the verb, and consequently the bare NP is no longer a barrier for movement of the subconstituent *sakwa* ‘apple’. By contrast, in (12d), the Case-marked phrase *sakwa sey kay-lul* ‘apple three-Acc’ is a DP, and hence it cannot undergo a complex predicate formation with the verb. Then, the subextraction of the nominal from DP is blocked, which results in the ill-formedness of (12d).

Let us now consider the second question raised in the previous section: namely, what causes *wh*-subjects and dislocated *wh*-objects in Korean semantically restricted as D-linked? We first adopt a proposal in Ahn (1999) that

¹⁴ Perhaps specificity effects in general can be reconsidered along these lines:

- (i) a. Who did you see pictures of?
 b. *Who did you see the pictures of?

In (ia), we may possibly assume that *see pictures* may form a complex predicate, hence *see [pictures of who]* can be reanalyzed as *see-pictures [of who]*, hence no DP barrier occurs for the movement of *who*. In (ib), by contrast, *see the pictures* cannot form a complex predicate, and hence *who* cannot extract out of the DP barrier [*the pictures of who*].

a bare NP subject without a nominative Case marker in (13) can be analyzed as a Left-Dislocated (LDed) NP.

- (13) *Mary*_i *pro*_i *ku chayk ilk-ess-ni*?
 Mary the book read-Past-Q
 ‘Did Mary read that book?’

In (13), although *Mary* is not in a complement position of V, a nominative Case marker can be absent. We analyze *Mary* in (13) as an LDed NP in a left peripheral position with a null resumptive *pro* in its base-generated position.^{15 16} Note that LD option is not available for the analysis of the bare subject NP in (2), repeated here, since LDed phrases cannot be embedded by other scrambled/moved elements cross-linguistically (see Grohmann 2003).

- (2) Sue-lul **Mary**-*(ka) mannasse.
 Sue-Acc Mary-Nom met
 ‘Mary met Sue.’

Note further that bare subjects cannot occur in embedded contexts such as relative clause (14a) and subordinate clause (14b) (Ahn 1999, Ahn & Cho 2006a):

- (14) a. Na-nun ecey Mary-?(ka) cohaha-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.’

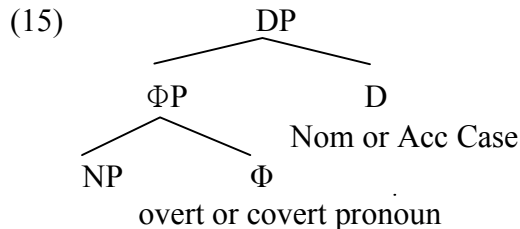
Dislocated bare objects in leftmost peripheries can also be treated along the similar lines: they too are LDed. Note that LDed phrases across languages are generally interpreted as specific and topical (see Grohmann 2006). Hence, D-linked property of bare *wh*-phrases of (5a) and (7) may follow: they are *wh*-topics in some broad sense (recall discussion in footnote 6). In the next section, we attempt to derive the D-linked property via syntactic operations SubMove.

¹⁵ In fact, a similar possibility is speculated in Saito (1985: 266): He states the possibility that a Caseless bare subject in Japanese, like *Mary* in (13), is simply uttered prior to the beginning of the sentence to create a discourse context, and this bare NP topic may not be treated as part of the sentence. He further mentions the possibility that the sentential-initial NP isn’t generated by sentence grammar and it will differ from a topic marked by *wa* in this respect.

¹⁶ We will return to the precise status of resumption in the next section.

2 Elaborations: SubMove Analysis of LD

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



Note that there are three independent layers in (15): DP, ΦP, and NP.¹⁷ Suppose that these layers can be freely projected, a null hypothesis. Then, (15) may give rise to four possible nominal layouts: namely, NP, ΦP and DP with or without ΦP as an intermediate layer. The first possibility, NP layout, can only arise in complement positions, and it undergoes syntactic complex predicate formation with the selecting verb. The DP without ΦP is an instance of typical Case-marked nominals: NP-*ka*, NP-*lul*. The projection of the DP with ΦP and the bare ΦP demand detailed discussion.

First, let us consider the outcome of projecting ΦP with a null *pro*. We suggest that ΦP, necessarily containing *pro* can be projected independently without DP layer, and it triggers movement of NP out of its domain stranding *pro* for theta-theoretic reasons.

The ΦP structure depicted in (15), hosting NP and Φ, is reminiscent of doubling constituents independently advanced by Kayne (2005) for a unified analysis of clitic doubling (16a), and antecedent-pronoun relation (17a).¹⁸

(16) a. **cela** est-**il** vrai?

that is-it true

b. [cela il] est vrai → verb movement: est_i [cela il] t_i vrai

→ movement of the double: cela_j est_i [t_j il] t_i vrai

(17) a. **John** thinks **he** is smart.

b. thinks [John he] is smart

→ movement of the double: John_i thinks [t_i he] is smart

¹⁷ In Korean, we assume that D is correlated with Case, following Ahn (1988). The correlation of D and Case is also found in other languages. For example, in German, the determiner alters its shape according to Case value: e.g. der(Nom)/den(Acc)/dem(Dat)/des(Gen) Tag 'the day'. We further assume that Φ is the projection of pronominal features such as number, person, gender, etc.

¹⁸ See also Uriagereka (2000) for underlying inalienable possession structure for clitic doubling, and Hornstein (2001; 2006) for deriving interpretative mechanisms via movement conspiracies.

As shown in (16b), 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 (17b) from the beginning to capture the coreference relation as agreement, and subsequently separated. The movement of *John* is motivated for a 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*.¹⁹ 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).²⁰

By the same token, we suggest that NP buried inside Φ P in (15) cannot be assigned a theta-role parallel to the double in (16-17). Hence, the NP is forced to seek a landing site in order to be properly interpreted. We propose that the Spec-C 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 on a par with movement of double in (17).

The next task is 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.

(18) NP_i...[TP...[DP RP [<NP_i>]]...]

In (18), a resumptive pronoun, RP and its antecedent, NP form a constituent and the resumptive chain is a result of sub-extraction of the NP. We assume with Boeckx (2003) that the resumptive chain results in D-linked interpretation. The particular derivational step is called SubMove (Boeckx & Grohmann 2004:11). In line with this reasoning, we assume that (19) has the structures like (20).

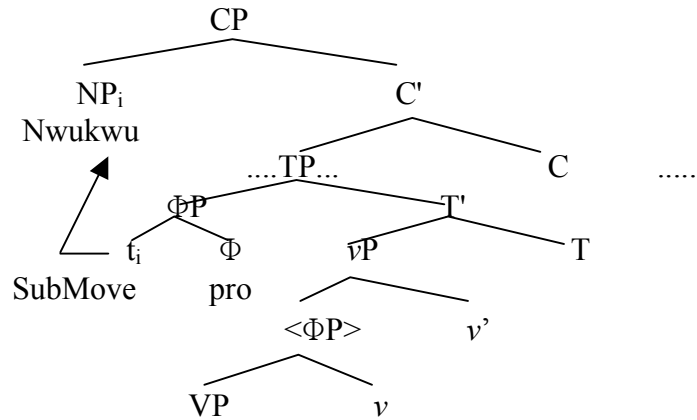
(19) Nwukwu Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni?
 Who Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q
 'Who is such that he/she met Yenghi?'

¹⁹ Belletti (2005) has a different view that the theta role associated with the big DP reaches all its internal constituents. She shows that clitic left dislocation, right dislocation, and floating quantifier are all captured under the single big DP analysis and that the two parts in which the original constituent split are a lexical noun phrase and a functional word, either a clitic or a quantifier in all the cases. She argues that the possibility that two parts are both lexical noun phrases is excluded for a theta-theoretic reason.

²⁰ 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.

(20)



Movement of the bare NP to Spec-C is triggered by the theta-theoretic requirement because the NP cannot obtain a theta role in Spec-v.^{21 22} 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 NP undergoes SubMove to Spec-C where it gets a theta-role "aboutness," so it fulfills the Full Interpretation. Consequently, the chain \langle *nwukwu*, *pro* \rangle induces only D-linked reading like many other *wh*-resumption or *wh*-clitic doubling constructions (Boeckx 2003, Boeckx & Grohmann 2004, Grohmann 2006, Hirose 2003, Jaeger 2003; 2004, Kallulli 2005).²³

²¹ 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.

²² As gratefully pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, our analysis is compatible with both an Attract and a Greed-based framework. If Attract-based framework is assumed, movement in (20) is explained in the following way: CP attracts the closest nominal element. In this case, Φ P does not intervene: It is not active because it already has its theta-role. Under the Greed-based framework, movement in (20) is legitimate: The NP doesn't have a theta role and hence it is greedy. Thus, it should undergo movement.

²³ *Wh*-phrases in Korean generally cannot variable-bind "overt" pronouns (cf. Montalbetti 1984, Hong 1985, Boeckx 2004). Perhaps for this reason, a resumptive pronoun bound by the dislocated WH cannot be overt (but must be *pro*) in Korean, as in (i).

- (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 overt pronoun constraint seems to come into play in Greek CLLD, as observed in Alexopoulou, Doron & Heycock (2003: 342).

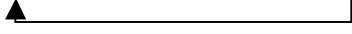
- (ii) *Pion ton ides?
Who(M)-Acc him saw-2S
'Who did you see (him)?'

CLLDed *wh*-phrases in Greek typically resist coindexing with resumptive pronouns shown in (ii).

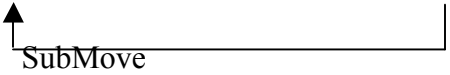
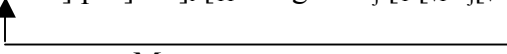
A similar explanation is possible for (21). In (21), a non-Case-marked object *wh*-phrase occurs in a left periphery position, and only D-linked interpretation is induced.

- (21) Nwukwu Yenghi-ka manna-ss-ni?
 Who Yenghi-Nom meet-Past-Q
 'Who is such that Yenghi meet (him/her)?'

Under our analysis, the object *wh*-phrase *nwukwu* in (21) is LDed. Then *nwukwu* undergoes SubMove, leaving *pro* in its base-generated position shown in (22), and the D-linked property of dislocated *wh*-object results.

- (22) $[_{CP} [_{NP} Nwukwu]_i [_{TP} Yenghi-ka_j [_{VP} t_j [t_i pro]..]T]C]$

 SubMove

Finally, let us consider the projection of the DP with ΦP . Here too, the bare NP should move for a theta-theoretic reason. However, if the NP SubMoves, it will result in stranding the affixal D, i.e., Case marker in Korean, and hence, it will yield Stray Affix Filter violation (Lasnik 1981), as seen in (23a).

- (23) a. $*[_{CP}[_{NP} Nwukwu]_i [_{TP}Yenghi-ka_j [T'[_{VP}[v' t_j[_{DP}[_{\Phi P} t_i pro]-lul]]]T]C]$

 SubMove
- b. $*[_{CP}[_{DP} [_{\Phi P} [Nwukwu] pro]-lul]_i [_{TP}Yenghi-ka_j [T'[_{VP} t_j[_{v} t_i]]]T] C]$

 Move

Notice that pied-piping movement of the whole DP, as shown in (23b), results in theta-theoretic problems since *nwukwu* in (23b) cannot get a theta-role inside the DP. Thus, if a D is projected/pronounced, ΦP layer cannot be projected even with the null Φ , i.e., *pro*. It implies that the nominal structures that project the DP with ΦP headed by a null *pro* are theoretically absent in Korean. Thus, the bare and only bare subject/dislocated-*wh*'s are predicted to be enforced to be D-linked, while Case-marked-*wh*'s, lacking Φ -layer, are neutral for D-linking, as shown in (24).

They (ibid. fn.6), however, noted that D-linking could improve the acceptability of clitics in *wh*-questions in Greek. Korean, in contrast, seems to differ from Greek in that even D-linked WH's do not allow an overt resumption, as shown in (i).

- (24) a. Nwukwu-lul Yenghi-ka manna-ss-ni?
 Who Yenghi-Nom meet-Past-Q
 'Who did Yenghi meet?'
- b. [CP [DP Nwukwu-lul]_i [TP Yenghi-ka_j [T' [vP t_j [v' t_i]]]T]] C]
-

As shown in (24b), the DP *nwukwu-lul* doesn't have a Φ -layer. Hence, non-D-linked reading of WH is also available when a Case marker is present, a crucial contrast now we can derive naturally. Further, we can correctly capture the fact that Φ -layer with *pro* and overt Cases are in complementary distribution, another welcome result.

3 Resumption Strategy and Dislocation Typology

3.1 Two types of LD in Korean

A couple of questions arise at this point concerning the pronunciation possibility of Φ , namely, overt resumption. Suppose we pronounce Φ of a bare Φ P, then (25a) might result. However, this sentence is not acceptable in contrast with Case-marked resumption of LD in (25b):

- (25) a. ?*Mary, ne-nun ecey kyay po-ass-ni?
 Mary you-Top yesterday her see-Past-Q
- b. Mary, ne-nun ecey kyay-lul po-ass-ni?
 Mary you-Top yesterday her-Acc see-Past-Q
 'Lit. Mary, did you see her?'

The deviance of bare overt resumption in (25a) is reminiscent of blocking resumption in the context where movement is possible, as noted in Hornstein (2006). He advances that resumption is possible only as a last resort where movement is blocked.²⁴ Along the similar lines, we propose that covert realization of the functional category Φ blocks its overt realization by economy

²⁴ Hornstein (2006) proposes that derivations with bound pronouns like (ia), compete with those containing reflexives like (ib):

- (i) a. John₁ likes himself₁
 b. *John₁ likes him₁

He suggests that (ia) and (ib) have a common numeration: namely, {*John, likes*}. Thus, (ia) and (ib) are comparable under the assumption that the reflexive/pronoun in his system cannot be part of the numeration of either sentence in (i).

considerations. Thus, (25a) seems to be blocked by its covert resumptive counterpart (26) where Φ is unpronounced and indicated as *pro*.

(26) Mary, ne-nun ecey pro po-ass-ni?
 Mary you-Top yesterday see-Past-Q
 ‘Lit. Mary, did you see her?’

(25b), on the other hand, is not blocked by (26) since the numeration is different.²⁵ Note that a D-projection is present in (25b) to host an accusative Case, which is lacking in (26).²⁶

We, however, suggest that (25b) cannot be derived through SubMove of the bare NP *Mary* in the following fashion.

²⁵ The analysis advanced here assumes that numeration contains lexical elements and “categorical features.” Hornstein (2006: 64) notes that (ib) is blocked by (ia) since they have the same numeration (NB: Obligatory control structure (ia) is derived via movement under Hornstein’s analysis).

(i) a. Harry hates [PRO kissing Mary] = Harry_i hates [t_i kissing Mary]
 b. Harry_i hates him_i kissing Mary

Hornstein (2006: fn.26) further indicates that categorial difference may also yield separate numerations as shown in the following example which is not blocked by the convergent (ia).

(ii) John_i hated his_i having to leave the party

Hornstein (2006), following Pires (2001), notes that Acc-ing gerunds are essentially clauses, while Poss-ings have an additional DP layer of structure. Further he suggests that this additional nominal layer is part of the numeration of Poss-ings but not PRO-gerunds, and hence PRO gerunds shouldn’t block Poss-ings since these two constructions have two distinct numerations to compare. In line with this reasoning, D is essentially part of numeration in Korean, too. Hence, the example in (26) doesn’t block the one in (25b).

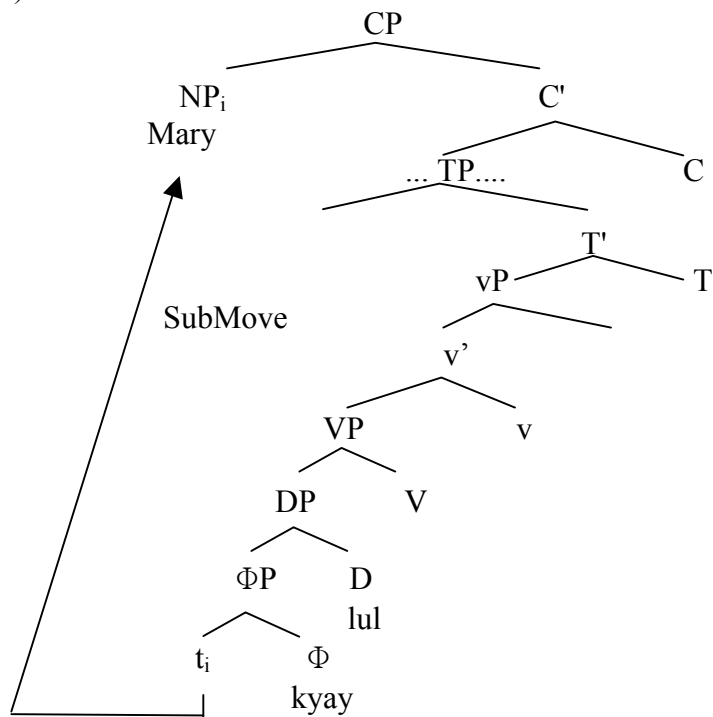
²⁶ The following contrast is explained along the similar vein.

(i) Mary_i, na-nun pro_i coha.
 Mary, I-Top like
 ‘Mary, I like her.’

(ii) a. *?Mary_i na-nun ku papo_i coha.
 Mary, I-Top that idiot like
 b. ?Mary_i na-nun ku papo_i-ka coha.
 Mary, I-Top that idiot-Nom like
 ‘Mary, I like that idiot.’

Ku papo ‘that idiot’ in (ii) is an epithet and the covert realization like (i) blocks overt realization in (iia). In the case of (iib) the numeration is different since the resumptive epithet structure is a DP (NB: the resumption structure in (i) is a bare Φ P). Thus, (iib) is not blocked by (i) in contrast to (iia).

(27) illicit derivation



Following Howard Lasnik's suggestion (p.c.), we speculate that movement of an NP out of the DP shown in (27) is barred since DP is an inherited barrier by the blocking category Φ P.^{27 28} Here, resumption as a last resort applies to save the illicit derivation in (26). (This is equivalent to intrusive pronouns or true resumption in previous literature; see Boeckx (2003) for extensive discussion). Thus, the resumptive (or intrusive) pronoun *kyay* 'he/she' in (25b) is inserted, and the corresponding structural representation should be:

(27') [_{CP} [**Mary**]_i ... ne-nun_j [_{TP} t_j [_{T'} [_{vP} t_j [_v [_{DP} [_{Φ P} **kyay**_i]-lul]]]]T]]C]

In (27'), *Mary* is base-generated in the left-edge, linked to the resumption via binding. Thus, subextraction of an NP is not possible whenever a DP is layered, and the only licit option to license the dislocated NP is base-generation along with

²⁷ See relevant details of barriers in Chomsky (1986). Note that Φ P doesn't seem to be L-marked inside DP since Case marker *lul* in Korean is not "lexical" by assumption.

²⁸ Cyclic movements of NP via Spec- Φ and Spec-D might be barred by independent reasons. See Yoshida (2003) and Lee & Cho (2004) for related discussion.

true resumption in-situ. This implies that overt resumptive LD in Korean can be a different kind in contrast to covert resumptive LD induced by Φ -projection.

There seem to be at least three distinct types of LD cross-linguistically: Hanging Topic LD (HTLD), Contrastive LD (CLD), and Clitic LD (CLLD), as illustrated below (see Alexiadou 2005 and Grohmann 2003).

(28) a. Dutch HTLD

Marie, dat wijf vermoord ik nog eens.
Mary, that bitch killed I one day
'Mary, I killed that bitch one day.' (Riemsdijk 1997: 3)

b. German CLD

Diesen Mann, den kenne ich nicht.
This.Acc man that-one.Acc know I not
'This man, I don't know [him].' (Grohmann 2003: 134)

c. Greek CLLD

Ton Jani den ton ksero.
The-acc John-Acc neg cl-acc know-1sg
'John, I don't know him.' (Alexiadou 2005: 669)

Alexiadou (2005) points out that the resumptive element is crucial in classification of LD across languages or even within a language. As can be seen in HTLD construction (28a), the role of the resumptive element is performed by an epithet. By contrast, in the CLD construction, the resumptive element can be a regular personal pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun, as seen in (28b). In the CLLD construction, the resumptive element is a clitic pronoun, which is found in languages such as Italian, Romanian, Spanish, Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek. In addition to properties of resumptive elements, their positions and the presence of connectivity effects are also important issues in classifying LD constructions.

What kinds of LD are Korean ones among these types? First, consider the following two types of LD in Spanish. Escobar (1997: 233) analyzes that (29a) is discourse topic construction while (29b) is sentence topic construction: that is, (29a) parallels HTLD, while (29b) parallels CLLD in Spanish.

(29) a. Juan, lo conozco.

'John, I know him.'

b. A Juan, lo conozco.

'John, I know.'

Note that the sentential topic must bear a Case marker in Spanish shown in (29b). As indicated in Escobar (1997: 239), the *A*-marker in Spanish generally is a realization of an accusative Case. Thus, the presence/absence of *A*-marker in (29)

explicitly discriminates the two constructions.²⁹ Evidence for the distinction is provided in (30).

- (30) a. Juan_i, lo conozco a él_i.
 b. *A Juan_i, lo conozco a él_i.

Only in the HTLD construction, the clitic can be followed by a matching strong pronoun, as in (30a), but not in CLLD in (30b).

We propose that there are at least two types of LD in Korean: HTLD and CLLD.³⁰ If the resumption is overt as a pronoun or an epithet, it is HTLD, whereas when the resumption is covert, it should be CLLD in Korean on a par with two types of LD in Spanish, as seen in (29-30).³¹ More specifically, dislocated NPs in CLLD are derived via SubMove leaving “unpronounced” resumptive *pro* in Φ in Korean. CLLD in Korean displays typical movement properties such as (strong) island sensitivity (31), intervention effect (32), and superiority effect (33).

ISLAND SENSITIVITY³²

²⁹ The default case in Spanish seems to be Nominative, as indicated in the HTLD with dislocated pronouns (Escobar 1997: 271):

- (i) a. *Mi, no me quieren
 me, not me want
 b. Yo, no me quieren
 I, not me want
 ‘Me, they don’t want me.’

In English LD, as shown in English translation in (ib), the lefthand pronoun is Accusative, which indicates default Case realization. In contrast, the lefthand pronoun in Spanish must be (default) Nominative parallel to the German default Case (see Grohmann 2003).

³⁰ We set aside instances of C(ontrastive)LD in Korean here. We believe that *nun*-marked Topicalization is the one (see Ahn & Cho 2006a and Hong 2005 for full discussion). We also sidestep the nature of scrambling operation in Korean. See Ahn & Cho (2005b) for some related discussion.

³¹ We assume that the head of epithets and pronouns are base-generated in the head of Φ P based on the assumption that epithets are pronominal (cf. Jackendoff 1969; 1972, Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998 and others). Epithets can function as resumptives in other languages, too. See Boeckx (2003).

³² As noted in Hornstein (2006: 58), resumptive pronouns can ameliorate unacceptable sentences:

- (i) a. *The man_i who you told me that t_i was kissing a dog...
 b. The man_i who you told me that he_i was kissing a dog...

A question that arises at this point is whether a resumptive pronoun can ameliorate island violation of (30). Consider (ii).

- (ii) *Nwukwu_i ne-nun ecey Chelswu-ka kyay_i mannan sasil-ul alko sip-ni?
 Who you-Top yesterday C-Nom him met fact-Acc knew want-Q
 ‘Who do you want to know the fact that Chelswu met?’

The sentence (ii), however, is independently ruled out since *wh*-phrases in Korean cannot variable-bind overt resumptive pronouns as noted in fn. 23.

- (31) *Nwukwu_i ne-nun ecey Chelswu-ka t_i mannan sasil-ul alko sip-ni?
 Who you-Top yesterday Chelswu-Nom met fact-Acc knew want-Q
 ‘Who do you want to know the fact that Chelswu met?’

INTERVENTION EFFECT (cf. Beck & Kim 1996, Ko 2005)

- (32) *Mwe_i amwuto t_i ilkci anhas-ni?
 What anybody read not-Q
 ‘What did nobody read?’

SUPERIORITY EFFECT (cf. Kim & Beck 1996, Ko 2005)

- (33) *Nwukwu_i way t_i wass-ni?
 Who why came-Q
 ‘Why did who come?’

The ill-formedness of the examples in (31-33) implicates that bare *wh*-LD, namely, CLLD involves movement.

Connectivity effects further show that the bare WH’s in left peripheral positions undergo movement from sentence-medial positions: Scope reconstruction in (34) and binding reconstruction in (35).

CONNECTIVITY #1: SCOPE

- (34) Mwe_i nwu-ka t_i ilkess-ni? (what > who, who > what)
 What who-Nom read-Q
 ‘Who read what?’

CONNECTIVITY #2: BINDING

- (35) [Selo_i-uy chinkwu]_j nwu-ka t_j chingchanhayss-ni?
 Each other-Gen friend who-Nom praised-Q
 ‘Who praised each other’s friend?’

Further note that although a part of idiomatic chunks is LDED, idiomatic interpretation is retained. And this strongly exhibits a movement property of (non-*wh*) CLLD.

CONNECTIVITY #3: IDIOM

- (36) a. Son Yenghi cham khuta.
 Hand Yenghi really big
 ‘Yenghi is generous.’
 b. Pal Yenghi cham nelpta.
 Foot Yenghi really wide
 ‘Yenghi has a large acquaintance.’

In sum, this type of LD including *wh*-LD in Korean patterns alike Clitic Doubling (CD) and CLLD constructions in other languages, as discussed in Grohmann (2006).

By contrast, dislocated NPs in HTLD are claimed to be base-generated in Korean, and bind the resumption. Non-*wh*-LD (i.e., referential LD) with overt resumption in Korean exhibits typical non-movement (i.e., base-generation) property of dislocated elements:

NO ISLAND SENSITIVITY

- (37) ?Yenghi_i ne-nun ecey Chelswu-ka kyay_i-lul/ku ai_i-lul mannan sasil-ul
 Yenghi you-Top yesterday C-Nom he-Acc/the kid-Acc met fact-Acc
 alko sip-ni?
 knew want-Q
 ‘As for Yenghi_i, do you want to know the fact that Chelswu met her_i?’

NO INTERVENTION EFFECT

- (38) Ku chayk_i amwuto ku ke_i-lul ilkci anhass-ni?
 The book anybody the thing-Acc read not-Q
 ‘As for the book, did nobody read it?’

NO SUPERIORITY EFFECT

- (39) Chelswu_i way kyay_i wass-ni?
 Chelswu why he came-Q
 ‘As for Chelswu, why did he come?’

Island insensitivity in (37) and absence of intervention effect in (38), and superiority effect in (39) support our claim that in this type of LD, the sentential initial NPs do not undergo movement.

Furthermore, observe that connectivity effects disappear in this type of LD, as shown in (40-42).

NO CONNECTIVITY #1: SCOPE

- (40) Manhun chayk_i nwu-ka ku ke_i-lul ilkess-ni? (many>wh only)
 Many book who-Nom the thing-Acc read-Q
 ‘As for the many books, who read them?’

NO CONNECTIVITY #2: BINDING

- (41) *[Selo₁-uy chinkwu]₂ nwu₁-ka kyaytul₂-ul chingchanhayss-ni?
 Each other-Gen friend who-Nom them-Acc praised-Q
 ‘As for each other’s friend, who praised them?’

NO CONNECTIVITY #3: IDIOM

- (42) a. *Son Yenghi ku ke-ka cham khuta.
 hand Yenghi the thing-Nom really big
 ‘Yenghi is generous.’ ← This reading is not possible
- b. *Pal Yenghi ku ke-ka cham nelpta.
 foot Yenghi the thing-Nom really wide
 ‘Yenghi has a large acquaintance.’ ← This reading is not possible

Thus, (40) is not ambiguous, namely the fronted QP takes widest scope; Binding reconstruction doesn’t occur in (41); Idiom chunks cannot be separated as in (42).

This type of LD functions more like a discourse-topic, as speculated by Saito (1985).^{33 34} Absence of multiplicity shown in (43) and restriction to root contexts in (44) further support our analysis that this type LD exhibits HTLD property.

NO MULTIPLICITY

- (43). *Ku chayk_i Yenghi nay-ka ecey ku ke_i-lul cwuess-ci?
 The book Yenghi I-Nom yesterday the thing-Acc gave-Q?
 ‘As for the book, did I give it to Yenghi?’

NO EMBEDDED-DISLOCATION

- (44) *Ne-nun Yenghi Chelswu-ka kyay-lul mannassta-ko sayngkakha-ni?
 You-Top Yenghi Chelswu-Nom her-Acc met-Comp think-Q
 ‘Intended reading: Do you think that as for Yenghi, Chelswu met her?’

³³ Non-*wh*-LD (i.e., referential LD) without overt resumption in Korean, however, may give rise to dual status of movement and base-generation: For example, under island context, connectivity effects may not occur as shown in (i) (see Aoun, Choueiri, and Hornstein 2001 for related phenomena in Lebanese Arabic).

(i) ?*[Selo_i-uy chinkwu]_j ne-nun ecey Chelswu-wa Yenghi_i-ka t_j mannan sasil-ul
 Each other-Gen friend you-Top yesterday Chelswu-and Yengi-Nom met fact-Acc
 alko sip-ni?
 knew want-Q
 ‘Do you want to know the fact that Chelswu and Yenghi met each other’s friend?’

This indicates that non-*wh*-LD with *pro* resumption can be either HTLD or CLLD in Korean.

³⁴ The *wh*-LD in Korean seems to exhibit radical reconstruction effects in the sense of Saito (1989): namely, *wh*-LD in Korean patterns with long-distance *wh*-scrambling in one crucial respect (in many respects, however, they do not parallel scrambling).

(i) a. Mwe_i-lul Chelswu-nun [Yenghi-ka t_i sa-ss-nunci] alkoiss-ta.
 What-Acc Chelswu-Top Yenghi-Nom buy-Past-QComp knew-Dec
 ‘Chelswu knew what Yenghi bought.’
 b. Mwe_i Chelswu-nun [Yenghi-ka t_i sa-ss-nunci] alkoiss-ta.
 What Chelswu-Top Yenghi-Nom buy-Past-QComp knew-Dec
 ‘Chelswu knew what Yenghi bought.’

Under the assumption that the position for the HTLD in Korean is restricted to one base-generated position per sentence, the absence of multiplicity in (43) and ban on embedded-dislocation in (44) are accounted for.³⁵

3.2 Difference between Japanese LD and Korean LD

In this sub-section, we discuss impossibility of bare *wh*-subjects and dislocated *wh*-objects in Japanese. Japanese LD seems to pattern with Spanish CLLD at least in one respect: Only (overtly) Case-marked NP can be dislocated as shown in (45) (recall the obligatory presence of A-marker in Spanish CLLD as discussed in (29)).

- (45) **Dare-?*(o)** John-ga nagutta no?
 who-Acc John-Nom hit Q
 ‘Who did John hit?’

In other words, if a Case marker is not realized on a lefthand phrase, the construction must be HTLD in Japanese. Thus, apparent Case marker drop in subjects and dislocated phrases in Japanese can all be treated as instances of HTLD. However, *wh*-phrases cannot be hanging (discourse) topics for semantic reasons, and hence they must always bear overt Cases in Japanese (and perhaps in Spanish, too). By contrast, in Korean LD, dislocated NPs must be bare whether they are HTLD or CLLD.

Saito (1985: chapter 4) observes: in Japanese, NP-topicalization (NP-*wa*) can be base-generated while PP-topicalization (PP-*wa*) always exhibits movement properties. He suggests that only NP-topic can be related to *pro* in-situ, while this option may not be available for PP-topic since PP-*pro* might not exist in Japanese.³⁶ We may reinterpret this asymmetry in the following way. SubMove is available only for NP-topic (presumably movement of a bare NP to the Spec-Topic (*wa*); see Kayne 1994 and Whitmann 2001 for *wa*-projection), but not PP-topic since Φ P, hence Φ -*pro*, is licensed only with the NP-layer it selects (this idea obviously recaptures the presence/absence of NP-*pro*/PP-*pro* advanced in Saito 1985).

³⁵ By contrast, CLLD in Korean shows multiplicity:

- (i) Ku chayk_i nwukwu_j ney-ka ecey t_j t_i cwuess-ni?
 The book who you-Nom yesterday gave-Q
 ‘As for the book, to whom did you give it?’

Further, CLLD in Korean can also selectively take place in some non-root contexts:

- (ii) Ne-nun nwukwu_i Chelswu-ka ecey t_i mannan sasil-ul alkoiss-ni?
 You-Top who Chelswu-Nom yesterday met fact-Acc know-Q
 ‘Intended reading: Who do you know the fact that Chelswu met yesterday?’

³⁶ See, however, Watanabe (2003) and Nishigauchi & Fujii (2006) for alternative treatments.

Another correlated interesting observation is made by Hoji (1990: chapter 5). He observes that a bare NP-cleft in Japanese does not exhibit movement properties, whereas Case-marked NP-cleft does (see Fukaya & Hoji 1999 for further discussion). He suggests that the bare NP-cleft is associated with *pro* in situ. We can also reinterpret this fact in following fashion: the bare and only bare NP-cleft seems to be a partial instance of SubMove, and hence, it only displays limited movement properties in Japanese since the construction is ambivalent for HTLD and CLLD in Japanese. Korean cleft constructions below, however, do not appear to display this kind of asymmetry since Case-marked NP-cleft is generally barred in Korean.

- (46) Chelswu-ka ecey manna-n kes-un Yenghi-(*lul) ita
 Chelswu-Nom yesterday meet-REL thing-Top Yenghi-(Acc) is
 ‘It was Yenghi who Chelswu met yesterday.’

Thus, there’s another difference lying between Korean and Japanese with respect to presence/absence of Case markers in Clefts.

4 Summary and Further Implications

To recap, we attempt to give a new analysis of distribution of subject-object asymmetries on absence of Case markers in Korean. We argue that bare NPs can occur in the complement position of V since it can be a part of a syntactic complex predicate. As a result, a non-Case-marked object nominal can freely occur without any semantic restriction whether it is *wh* or non-*wh*. We postulate a Φ P layer within the nominal structure of the Korean DP. With this fine structure of nominals, we account for the following novel facts: subject *wh* and dislocated object *wh* without Case markers must have D-linked interpretations. We claim that bare *wh*-phases in derived positions are CLLDed nominals which undergo SubMove leaving unpronounced resumptive *pro* that heads Φ -projection. Our proposal may correlate with the new typology of dislocation in Korean: namely, HTLD vs. CLLD in connection to the pronunciation of resumption. HTLD (true resumption) emerges only when CLLD (resumption-by-stranding in the sense of Boeckx 2003) is blocked. Thus, the instances of Korean LD are not special at all, but they are just possible subtypes of LD derivable from UG species.

There are some implications of our proposal. First, our analysis crucially takes a step against postulation of a null D in Korean. One may possibly postulate a null D to account for the asymmetries of overt/covert distinction of Cases in Korean. One possible candidate (as suggested by Masaya Yoshida, p.c.) is positing a null D that has a feature [+specific]. Thus, in Korean under this view, there are two sorts of Ds: overt D is neutral for specificity, while covert D is argued to be always specific (putting aside the status of a bare NP in complement

positions). Hence, the bare dislocated/subject-*wh* in Korean is predicted to be D-linked under this view since it is linked to [+specific] D which is always phonetically null.

However, this view encounters at least two problems: one is empirical, and the other is theoretical. Empirically, unlike our LD analysis, this null D view cannot account for the deviance in (2) repeated here. Note that it is not obvious why a [+specific] null D cannot occur here on this subject.

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

Theoretically, the null D approach bears a burden to explain why null Ds in Korean pattern differently from the ones in other languages. As widely catalogued in Landau (2005), the distribution of null Ds (in fact, null X^0 in general including null P and C) in many languages is heavily restricted: namely, they cannot occur in subject/dislocated positions. Note that under the null D view of Korean, [+specific] null D's must take place only in the environment of subjects (leaving aside the counterexample in (2)) and dislocated positions, which is exactly contrary to the facts in other languages. Why, then, is Korean so special in this regard? We see no convincing reasons to take the opposite route for Korean unless there is some compelling independent evidence.

The structural difference between bare NP subjects and bare NP objects correctly predicts the high occurrence rate of bare NPs in complement positions, as observed in the wide range of conversational data (H.Lee 2006). Given that bare NPs in a complement position can freely occur as part of a syntactic predicate, it is not conditioned by any discourse restrictions. By contrast, bare NPs in non-complement positions that are derived through movement are conditioned by discourse constraints. If bare NPs function as base-generated sentence-topic, their distribution is closely conditioned by their information factors. Hence, unlike bare NPs in complement position, those in derived positions are distributionally more restricted (see D.Lee 2002, Ohara 2001, Shimojo 2006). The LD analysis of bare NPs in non-complement positions also predicts that bare NP subjects are sensitive to person information (H.Lee 2006). Given that 1st and 2nd person subjects are given information in the discourse, they are more likely to function as LDed nominals that trigger D-linked or topical reading, compared with 3rd person subjects. This analysis further explains the fact that definite subjects exhibit the higher rate of Case deletion than low definite ones (see H.Lee 2006, K.Lee 2002, Masunaga 1988, Ono et al. 2000, Yatabe 1999) since definite expressions referring to individuals already known to the hearer are more likely to function as sentence topics or as LDed nominals.

This analysis also makes a correct prediction about bare NP subjects in specific/non-specific contexts.

- (47) (Yeytnaley) *han/etten namca-*(ka) sal-ass-ta.*
long.time.ago a/a.certain man-(Nom) live-Past-Dec
'(Long time ago) there was a man lived.'

In (47), nominative Case marker must be pronounced since the modifier *han/etten* can license only nonspecific nominals. This is predicted under our analysis since LDed subject, i.e., bare NP subject, which is inherently specific or D-linked cannot co-occur with nonspecific marker semantically. Note, however, that this restriction doesn't apply to the non-occurrence of Accusative Case. Thus, in the following example, Acc Case on the object can be freely missing with nonspecific modifier.

- (48) (Yeytnaley) *Mary-ka han/etten namca-(lul) manna-ass-ta.*
long.time.ago Mary-Nom a/a.certain man-(Acc) meet-Past-Dec
'(Long time ago) Mary met a man.'

Note, however, that as observed in the previous discourse studies, overt realization of Acc Case in (48) may induce a "focal" reading (Jun 2005, Ko 2000, S.Lee2006, Matsuda 1995). By contrast, overt realization of Nom case in (47) does not necessarily give rise to a focal interpretation. This minimal difference may imply that our syntactic treatment of Nom/Acc asymmetry is on the right track. In other words, the presence of Nom Case in (47) is compulsory under our analysis unlike that of Acc Case in (48), and hence overt Nom Case should cover wider range of discourse information in contrast to overt Acc Case considering pragmatic division of labor. Similar contrasts seem to be found in Accusative Case variation in Kannada. Lidz (2006) observes that Acc Case-marked objects receive a specific interpretation, but only when this morphological marking is optional (this is the case with inanimate direct objects). When the Accusative Case morpheme is obligatory, specificity effects are positional and are not due to the presence of the morpheme (this is the case with animate direct objects, for instance). In this case, additional morphology is required in order to achieve the specific interpretation. In Korean, the morphological marker *nun* (often called Topic marker) is widely employed in subject positions to make semantic/pragmatic distinction from Nom Case, instead of overt/covert Nom distinction. The morphological marker *nun*, however, occurs only in certain very limited contexts (often called Contrastive Focus) in object positions since we can exploit overt/covert Acc distinction here quite freely for semantic/pragmatic purposes.

In sum, our main concern in this paper is two-fold. First, we try to tie some seemingly unrelated phenomena in Korean with other languages: namely, non-Case-marked (subject/dislocated) WH's in Korean and *wh*-resumption or *wh*-clitic doubling in other languages. Secondly, we have attempted to build up a UG-based approach to account for the nature of these new phenomena in Korean: namely, via the operation SubMove and fine nominal structures postulating Φ -layer under DP. Our analysis further sheds fresh light on parametric language variations (e.g., Korean vs. Japanese on the distribution of bare *wh*-NPs) along with new insights on semantic/pragmatic implications concerning presence and absence of Case markers.

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