Nominative Case Assignment by Phase: A Predication-Based Approach

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Abstract

Nominative Case Assignment by Phase: A Predicate-Based Approach

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The goal of this paper is twofold: one is to point out the issues of the current models of case assignment in generative grammar; the other is to propose a novel mechanism of structural case assignment by arguing for predication as the cyclic domain of case assignment.

Structural case marks the structural relationships of nominals in a given domain (Blake 2001). On the topic of its assignment, two main models are in competition: the Agree model and the Dependent Case model. The two models differ crucially in their view of what the relationship encoded by structural case is: the Agree model asserts that structural case is assigned according to its relationship to other functional heads, while the Dependent Case model argues that a nominal is assigned its case according to its structural relationship to other nominals.

For the Agree model (Chomsky 2000, 2001), the identity of the case assigning functional head F^0 is a crucial topic of investigation. Previous studies have proposed T_{FIN} (Chomsky 2000, 2001) or Agr (Raposo 1987, Kornfilt 2003) as the assigner of nominative case. Others yet proposed that C or C in addition to T (Tanaka 2005, Fakih 2016) is responsible for case

assignment. Chomsky (2008) especially proposed that C/v* as the phase head introduces all uninterpretable features, among which are features responsible for case assignment.

For the Dependent Case model (Yip et al. 1987, Marantz 1991), the relative positions of nominals in a local domain are critical in calculating the assignment of case. How this domain is defined thus becomes an important topic as different domain boundaries can change whether a nominal is c-commanded or not in the domain. An earlier version (Marantz 1991) proposed the V+T complex as the case assigning domain, while recent works (Baker 2015; Levin and Preminger 2015; Levin 2017) propose phase as the local domain.

In this paper I present theoretical challenges to both models of case assignment. I demonstrate that the Agree model, which relies on a specific functional head for the assignment of case, is cross-linguistically untenable. As for the Dependent Case model, I show that the model cannot properly predict the distribution of nominative case assignment. Data from Turkish, Romanian, Korean and other languages are used to demonstrate these challenges.

Two constructions of Korean are used to argue for the key points of my proposal, namely periphrastic causative construction (PCC) and multiple nominative construction (MNC). PCC data illustrates an instance where nominative case is assigned in a nonfinite clause smaller than a CP. The various syntactic categories proposed to be the case assigning F^0 in previous research adopting the Agree model cannot adequately account for the assignment of this nominative case. Moreover, case-stacking data shows that the nominative case in PCC cannot be a default case and thus needs to be licensed by a case assigner, providing a non-trivial challenge to the Agree model. MNC data, where multiple nominative marked subjects in a c-command relationship appear in a local domain, also poses challenges to the Dependent Case model, as non-assignment of dependent case in the situation calls for either a rewrite of how case is assigned in the model, or reexamination of the case assigning domain.

Based on these observations I argue that if *phase* is involved in case

assignment as the two models assume, the definition of phase should be revised in order to account for the presented data. I propose a new theory of case assignment where phase, defined as predication, operates as the cyclic domain of nominative case assignment. The model proposed is able to capture the previously observed correlation between case assignment, phase and predication, as well as successfully account for the puzzling data of Korean PCC and MNC data. Ascribing case assignment to phase can also open up new avenues for analyzing case assignment in connection with other phenomena in syntax that have been argued to be related to the characteristics of phase.

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1. Introduction

The goal of this paper is twofold: one is to point out the issues of the current models of case assignment in generative grammar; the other is to propose a novel mechanism of structural case assignment by arguing for predication as the cyclic domain of case assignment.

Case has garnered much interest from literature in generative grammar, and rightfully so, as case has often been theorized to be responsible for determining the distribution of nominals. Accordingly, many aspects of case have been widely investigated, and diverse interactions of case with other topics of syntax have been reported. These topics include agreement, A-movement and *pro*/PRO. However, despite all the attention it has enjoyed and many observations made on its properties, the mechanism of case assignment is still a much-debated issue in generative grammar.

In regards to the assignment of structural case, the domain of assignment and the structural relationship that case encodes are the central issues. On these issues, two main models of case assignment are in competition: the Agree model and the Dependent Case model. The two models differ crucially in their view of what the relationship encoded by the structural case is: the Agree model asserts that structural case is assigned according to its relationship to other functional heads, while the Dependent Case model argues that a nominal is assigned its case according to its structural relationship to other nominals.

(1) *Two Models of Case Assignment.*
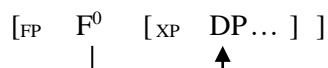
  a. *Agree model*   b. *Dependent Case model*
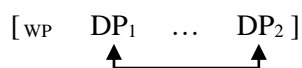
    $[_{\text{FP}}$ F^0 $[_{\text{XP}}$ DP…]] $[_{\text{WP}}$ DP_1 … DP_2]

For the Agree model (Chomsky 2000, 2001), the identity of the case assigning functional head F^0 is a crucial topic of investigation. Previous studies have proposed T_{FIN} (Chomsky 2000, 2001) or Agr (Raposo 1987,

Kornfilt 2003) as the assigner of nominative case. Others yet proposed that C or C in addition to T (Tanaka 2005, Fakih 2016) is responsible for case assignment. Chomsky (2008) proposed that C/$v*$ as the phase head introduces all uninterpretable features, among which are features responsible for case assignment.

However, finding a cross-linguistically valid functional head responsible for nominative case assignment is a daunting task. It has been argued that T_{FIN} or Agr as the assigner of nominative case is cross-linguistically untenable, using data from Tamil, Hungarian and Italian, where nominative case is seen to be assigned in an unambiguously infinitival clause without person agreement (McFadden and Suderasen 2011).

The Dependent Case model (Yip et al. 1987, Marantz 1991), on the other hand, calculates the assignment of case using the relative positions of nominals in a local domain. How this domain is defined thus becomes an important topic, as different domain boundaries can change whether a nominal is c-commanded or not in the domain. An earlier version (Marantz 1991) proposed the V+T complex as the case assigning domain, while recent works (Baker 2015; Levin and Preminger 2015; Levin 2017) propose phase as the local domain.

While the Dependent Case model is free from problems stemming from the mysterious identity of a specific case assigning functional head F^0, it is not without its own issues. Case-stacking data, especially those where nominative case is assigned to nominals already assigned case, is problematic for the Dependent Case model, which treats nominative case as an unmarked, default case. Furthermore, as will be presented in this paper, this model cannot properly account for constructions involving multiple nominative case assignments.

In this paper I present theoretical challenges to the two models of case assignment using data from Turkish, Romanian, Korean and other languages. Along with those data, two constructions of Korean, namely periphrastic causative constructions (PCC) and multiple nominative constructions (MNC) serve to highlight the necessity of reconsidering the domain of case assignment for both models.

Based on these challenging data, I argue that phase, defined as predication, should be the domain of case assignment, and propose a new mechanism of case assignment. I will then show that the puzzling data of Korean PCC and MNC can be successfully accounted for under the new model. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated that the domain of case assignment correlates with the domain of cyclic linearization and argument ellipsis, which have been argued to be *phase* defined as predication.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Chapter 2 offers a brief background of the two models of structural case assignment of generative grammar: the Agree model and the Dependent Case model. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical challenges the two models face using data from various languages. I pose challenges to the Agree model and provide Korean PCC data in Section 3.1, and challenges to the Dependent Case model will be illustrated with Korean MNC data in Section 3.2. In Chapter 4, I go over theoretical assumptions and present the main proposal, which argues for phase, defined as predication, to be the cyclic unit of case assignment. In Chapter 5, I show how the puzzling instances of nominative case assignment presented in Chapter 3 can be accounted for using the new model. Chapter 6 demonstrates how the newly proposed cyclic domain of case assignment corresponds to other cyclic domains of syntax. Chapter 7 covers the remaining issues and Chapter 8 concludes the thesis.

2. Background

Case is a syntactic system that (often morphologically) marks the syntactic/semantic relationship of a noun and relevant heads (Blake 2001). In the generative framework, case is often divided into two types: Structural case and Non-structural case. Structural case marks the structural relationship of a nominal in a given domain, and Nonstructural case is associated with either particular θ-relations, such as *goal*, *experiencer*, and *instrument*, or with the idiosyncratic properties of the lexical head introducing the noun (see Woolford 2007 for further division of Non-structural case).

Polinsky and Preminger (2014) group the many theories of structural case assignment proposed in generative grammar into two main divisions: head-centered approaches and configurational approaches. Head-centered approaches maintain that case is assigned in relationship to certain functional heads. On the other hand, configurational approaches argue that case is assigned by virtue of their structural position relative to certain lexical heads and other noun phrases in the clause.

The main proponent of the first view is the Agree model. The Agree model of case assignment states that structural case is assigned to nominals by functional heads. Specifically, the more popular version of this theory, following Chomsky (2000, 2001), argues that case is a by-product of φ-feature agreement, where a functional head F^0 with φ-features probes a DP within its c-commanding domain. This is schematized in (2)

(2) *The Agree model of case assignment*
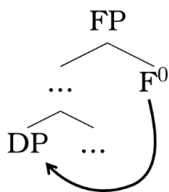
While this functional head F^0 remains the core component of theories adopting the Agree model, there are many versions of this approach that

vary in their exact implementation of how case is assigned. One of the points of variation is the identity of the functional head F^0. Syntactic categories proposed to be the locus of features responsible for nominative case assignment include T_{FIN} (Chomsky 2000, 2001), Agr (Raposo 1987, Kornfilt 2003), and C (Tanaka 2005, Fakih 2016). Among these candidates, finite T, fully specified for tense and φ-features, has long been a favored contender by many. But other theories, proposing the dissociation of tense and person agreement, have argued that F^0 is Agr.

In the Dependent case model (Yip et al. 1987, Marantz 1991), the main theory holding the second view, case is assigned to a nominal according to its structural relationship to other nominals within a local domain. Specifically, Marantz's (1991) more famous version of this model proposes the algorithm of dependent case assignment described in (3).

(3) *Case Disjunctive Hierarchy* (Marantz 1991)

    1. Assign Idiosyncratic case.
    2. Of the remaining DPs, if DP_1 c-commands DP_2, assign 'dependent' case to either DP_1 (ergative case) or DP_2 (accusative case).
    3. Assign 'Unmarked' case.

In a nominative-accusative language[1], the 'lower' c-commanded DP_2 is assigned accusative case, and the remaining DP_1 is assigned 'unmarked' nominative case. In the original proposal of Marantz (1991), the domain of case assignment was the V+T complex. However, *phase* has been proposed to be the local domain in a recent line of work (Baker 2015; Levin and Preminger 2015; Levin 2017). Implementation of this model varies from theory to theory, but they all agree that case assignment depends on the c-command relationships between nominals within a local domain.

While the two models of case assignment radically differ in their mechanisms, they still stay true to the original description of structural case stated in the beginning of this chapter, characterized as a system that marks the *structural relationship* of a nominal in a *given domain*. As for the structural relationship, the two models define it as either agreement with a

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[1] For ergative-absolutive languages, see Baker (2014, 2015) and Baker & Bobaljik (2017)

certain functional head F^0, or as a c-command relation with other nominals. For the domain of case assignment, the two models each define it as the c-commanding domain of the functional head F^0 or as a phase (C and $v*$)[2].

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[2] Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 1999/2000) limits the c-commanding domain to each phase and the spec/head of the previous phase. However, see Bošković (2007) for an argument against PIC for agreement.

3. Theoretical Challenges

In previous chapter I showed that the theory of structural case assignment boils down to two core elements: the structural relationship it encodes and its assigning domain. In this section, I bring in data from various languages to challenge the two elements stated by both models of case assignment. Section 3.1 illustrates how previously proposed case assigning functional heads fail to capture cross-linguistic data. In particular, in regards to theories where the C phase head participates in case assignment, Korean PCC data will be provided to demonstrate an instance where nominative case is assigned in a domain smaller than CP. In Section 3.2, it will be argued that the case assigning domain and the mode of assignment for nominative case in the Dependent Case model cannot properly account for nominative case in Korean PCC data. In addition, Korean MNC data will be brought in to argue that the current implementation of the Dependent Case model cannot properly explain nominative case assignment in Korean, and either the case assigning domain or the mechanism of dependent case assignment should be revised.

3.1 Challenges to the Agree Model

The core component of the Agree model is the functional head F^0 that establishes an agreement relationship with the target DP to assign case. The main prediction of this model is that the presence of the functional head F^0 in a given domain will determine the assignability of case.

Finite T, fully specified for tense and φ-features, has long been suggested for this F^0. This line of research has proven fruitful in regulating the distribution of overt nominative subjects and null subjects, as well as accounting for ECM constructions. However, finite T as the locus of nominative case assignment has been argued to be cross-linguistically untenable. For example, McFadden and Sunderasen (2011) provide the Tamil example in (4), where unambiguously non-finite adjunct embedded

clauses have overt nominative subjects.

(4) a. [vasu   poori   porikk-a] raman   maavu   vaangi-n-aan
        vasu.NOM poori.ACC fry-INF   raman.NOM   flour.ACC buy-PST-M.3SG

    'Raman bought flour for Vasu to fry pooris'

   b. [naan   poori   porikk-a] raman   maavu   vaangi-n-aan
       I.NOM   poori.ACC fry-INF   raman.NOM   flour.ACC buy-PST-M.3SG

    'Raman bought flour for me to fry pooris.'

McFadden and Sunderasen (2011)

In another line of work, agreement, disassociated from tense, has been suggested as the F^0. Data on inflected infinitives from European Portuguese seem to provide strong evidence. In (5a), the subject of the embedded clause appears as a nominative, with the person agreement morpheme *-em* attached to the embedded verb. (5b) shows that without the agreement morpheme, nominative case is not licensed, lending weight to the argument that it is the person feature agreement (expressed morphologically) that operates as the assigner of nominative case.

(5) a. Séra difícil   [eles   aprovar*em*   a   proposta]
        It will be difficult they   to-approve-AGR   the   proposal]

   b. *Séra difícil   [eles   aprovar_   a   proposta]

   c. Séra dificil   [PRO   aprovar   a   proposta]

    'It will be difficult for them to approve'

Raposo (1987: 2)

Kornfilt (2003) argues that genuine subject case (as opposed to default case) is licensed by overt Agr(eement) morphology. Indeed, Turkish appears to be another language where the person feature agreement is directly involved in nominative case assignment. (6a) shows that the agreement marker is obligatory for a nominative subject to be licensed, as opposed to (6b), where the accusative marked embedded subject can appear with or without the marker.

(6) a. Ben-0   [sen-0   gel-di-n]   san-dı-m.
       I-NOM   you-NOM   come-PERF/PAST-2SG think-PERF/PAST-1SG

   b. Ben-0   [sen-i   gel-di-(n)]   san-dı-m.
       I-NOM   you-ACC   come-PERF/PAST   think-PERF/PAST-1SG

   'I thought you came to the party'

Aygen (2002: 5-6)

However, as illustrated in (7), nominative case in Turkish can also appear in adjunct clauses without agreement morphology.

(7) a. sen-0   gel-ince   parti-ye   gid-eceğ-iz
       you-NOM   come-when   party-DAT   go-FUT-1PL

   b. sen-0   gel-dik-ten   sonra   parti-ye   gid-eceğ-iz
       you-NOM   come-PERF-ABL   after   party-DAT   go-FUT-1PL

   'when you come, we will go to the party'

Aygen (2002: 5-6)

Furthermore, the Agr analysis also faces problems with languages that lack person agreement morphemes, such as Japanese and Korean. In fact, Korean infinitival control clauses show that nominative case can be licensed without tense and agreement morphemes. In (8), the embedded clauses disallow tense morphemes, and do not show any person agreement morphemes. However, we observe that the *caki*, anaphora, allowed in the place of the null subject, is marked with a nominative case marker.

(8) a. Inho-ka [$_s$[$_s$ PRO/caki-ka   ka-*ass]-ko   ] sipheha-n-ta
       I-NOM   PRO/self-NOM   go-*PAST-COMP   hope-PRES-DEC

   'Inho hoped to go himself'

   b. Inho-ka [$_s$[$_s$ PRO/caki-ka   ku   kes-ul   ha-*ess]-lyeko]
       I-NOM   PRO/self-NOM   that   thing-ACC   do-*PAST-COMP

                                          ayssu-ess-ta
                                          endeavor-PAST-DEC

   'Inho endeavored to do that thing himself'

Y. J. Kim (1991:135)

Data from Tamil, Turkish and Korean have shown that nominative case can be assigned in the absence of tense/person specification on T. Crosslinguistic data suggests that finite T, defined as a T head fully specified with tense and person features, cannot account for the licensing pattern of nominative case.

Another functional projection that has been suggested to be responsible for assignment of case is C. A number of studies (Iatridou 1993, Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, Aygen 2002, Hiraiwa 2005 among others) argue that C in conjunction with T assigns case. Involvement of the C head in case assignment has a theoretical advantage: Chomsky (2008) argues that uninterpretable features should be located in the phase head (C and v^*), and any uninterpretable features located in T are inherited from C. C head as the locus of uninterpretable features responsible for case assignment follows naturally. If this line of research is on the right track, we can interpret the case assigning mechanism of the Agee model as in (9):

(9) *Mechanism of Agree model (revised)*

  Some feature uF in the phase head assigns case via an agree relation. The phase head is involved in case assignment as the (original) locus of uF.

However, assuming the C phase head as the assigner of nominative case still cannot fully account for Korean data. In Korean periphrastic causative constructions (PCC henceforth), the subject of the embedded clause can freely alternate between NOM/ACC/DAT. While the alternation in itself is interesting, the fact that nominative case is licensed is critical to the discussion at hand.

(10) Mina-ka Cheli-**ka/**lul/hantey cang-ul po-(*ass)-key hay-ss-ta
   M-NOM C-**NOM/**ACC/DAT   shopping-ACC see-(*PAST)-*key* do-PAST-DECL

   'Mina made Cheli do the shopping'

As illustrated in (10), the embedded clause does not allow a tense morpheme, and does not show any person agreement. Nominative case being licensed without finite tense or person agreement alone is somewhat problematic for the Agree model, which argues that tense or agreement is the assigner of nominative case. However, the real problem this data

presents is the lack of a C head in the embedded clause to either introduce the case assigning *u*F (for the Agree model) or to act as the case assigning domain (for the Dependent Case model).

The fact that the size of the embedded clause is smaller than a CP can be illustrated with the NPI *amwu-to* which requires a local negative particle. In (11a) the negative particle *ahn* in the matrix clause cannot license *amwu*-to in the embedded clause across the CP boundary. Only when the negative marker is local, as in (11b), is the NPI licensed.

(11) a.* Chelsu-nun [_{CP} Yenghi-ka **amwu**-kes-**to** mek-ess-ta-ko]
Chelsu-TOP Yenghi-NOM **amwu**-thing-**to** eat-PAST-DECL-C

malha-ci **anh**-ass-ta.
say-*ci* **NEG**-PAST-DECL

'Chelswu didn't say that Yenghi ate anything.'

b. Chelsu-nun [_{CP} Yenghi-ka **amwu**-kes-**to** mek-ci-**anh**-ass-ta-ko]
Chelsu-TOP Yenghi-NOM **amwu**-thing-**to** eat-*ci*-**NEG**-PAST-DECL-C

malha-ess-ta.
say-PAST-DECL

'Chelswu didn't say that Yenghi ate anything.'

Jung (2014: 184)

In PCCs, however, the contrast of (11a) and (11b) is lost. In (12a), *amwu-to* in the embedded clause is licensed by the negative particle *anh* in the matrix clause. Based on this observation, Jung (2014) argues that -*key* cannot be a complementizer.

(12) a. Emma-ka ai-eykey **amwu**-kes-**to** mek-**key** ha-ci **anh**-ass-ta.
mother-NOM child-DAT **amwu**-thing-**to** eat-**KEY** do-CI **NEG**-PAST-DECL

'Mother did not let/make the child eat anything.'

b. Emma-ka ai-eykey **amwu**-kes-**to** mek-ci **anh**-**key** ha-ass-ta.
mother-NOM child-DAT **amwu**-thing-**to** eat-CI **NEG**-KEY do-PAST-DECL

'Mother did not let/make the child eat anything.'

Jung (2014: 185)

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Returning to (10), what we have is nominative case being assigned inside a clause smaller than CP, without tense specification or an agreement morpheme. According to the Agree model, the embedded subject requires T_{FIN} or Agr for nominative case to be assigned. Additionally, following Chomsky (2008) and other proponents of C-related case assignment, a C phase head is required to bring in the relevant uninterpretable feature. Failing that, the embedded subject is expected to be assigned accusative case from the c-commanding matrix v^*. The source of this nominative is mysterious under the current theories of the Agree model discussed so far.

One possible way to resolve this issue within the Agree model is by assuming that the nominative case in the embedded clause is not a licensed nominative case. Shütze (2001a), based on English and German data, argues that DP can be supplied with morphological case features independent of case assignment. However, this analysis of default case cannot be applied to the Korean PCC data at hand. Putting aside the question of taking the nominative-case marked form as the default form in a language that allows nominals with no case marker, the case-stacking data of Korean suggests the nominative case in this construction is actually licensed.

In Korean, it is possible to have a structural case stacked on top of an inherent case. The types of arguments that allow case-stacking are limited, and not every Korean speaker allows case-stacking. However, case stacking of nominative case over dative case in dyadic unaccusative verb is, if degraded, well attested.

(13) a.   Wangja-hantey   kaykuri-ka   mwusep- ta
         prince-DAT   frog-NOM   scary- DECL

     b. [?] Wangja-hantey-**ka**   kaykuri-ka   mwusep- ta
         prince-DAT-**NOM**   frog-NOM   scary- DECL

     'The prince is scared of frogs'

While there still remains controversies on the identity of the stacked case marker in Korean, Yoon (2004, 2007) makes a compelling argument that the stacked structural case is indeed a case marker.[3] He proposes that the

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[3] However, see Y. J. Yoon 1989, Schütze (2001b) and Chung (2012) for an alternative

stacked nominative case is the marker of a Major Subject, and is assigned structurally, not inherently. The schematics he suggests for case stacking are illustrated in (14). (In the next subsection I will clarify the identity of the Major Subject. For the moment, it is sufficed to say that the nominative case assigned on Major Subject is analyzed as structural.)

(14) Structure without a Major Subject Position

    a. Cheli-eykey   ton-i   philyoha-ta
        C-DAT   money-NOM   necessary- DECL

     'Cheli needs money.'

Structure with a Major Subject Position

    b. $^?$ Cheli-eykey-ka$_i$ [e_i ton-i   philyoha-ta   ]
       C-DAT-NOM   [money-NOM   necessary- DECL]

     'It is Cheli who needs money.'

<div align="right">Yoon (2004: 30)</div>

  Korean PCC allows case stacking in the embedded clause: It is possible to have a nominative case stacked on top of a dative case, as in (15). Analyzing the nominative case in a PCC as an un-licensed case cannot explain why a default case, a morphological case feature given to nominals without case, should be provided to a nominal already assigned with dative case.

(15) $^?$ Manye-ka   [wangja-hantey-ka   kaykuri-ka   mwusep-key]
       witch-NOM   [prince-DAT-NOM   frog-NOM   scary-key   ]

                                          mantul-ess-ta
                                          make-PAST-DECL

     'A witch made the prince to be scared of frogs'

  The data in (15) serves to illustrate that the embedded clause in Korean PCC is a case assigning domain. This domain lacks tense specification and person agreement, and the size of this domain is smaller than the traditionally assumed phase CP. What functional head F^0 in this domain is assigning the nominative case is puzzling.

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analysis of -*ka* as a focus marker.

Note that in placing the uF responsible for case assignment in the phase head, the question of the identity of F^0 has become a question of phasehood. Indeed, there have been observations that phase is crucially involved in the assignment of Case. In Romanian, nominative subject is not licensed in the embedded clause, even with the 3rd person singular agreement present as in (16a). On the contrary, (16b) shows nominative case being licensed in a non-finite clause without agreement. Alboiu (2007) argues that the two constructions differ crucially in that the *de*-clause of (16b), being a relative clause, is of necessity phasal, while the *de*-clause in (16) is not, being a complement.

(16) a. Au   făcut-o   [de   a   mîncat
       AUX.3_PL made-CL.3_SG.F.ACC [of   AUX.3_SG eaten

                                          (*Ioana /*ea)   supa   ]
                                          (*Ioana/*3_SG.F.**NOM**) soup-the   ]

       'They made her eat the soup

   b. Pe   el   l-a   deranjat   dreptul
      PE   3SG.M.ACC   CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX3.SG   bothered   right-the

                                          [_CP de   a   cîştiga noi   mai   bine]
                                          [_CP of   INF win   1PL.**NOM** more   well]

      'He was bothered by our right to make more money.'

                                                                    Alboiu (2007:8)

Viewed in this light, Korean case stacking data in (13) implies a need for a review of either phase as the locus of the case assigning feature, or the definition of phase.

To summarize, the Agree model attributes case assignment to a one-time mapping to a particular functional head F^0. The identity of this F^0 thus becomes crucial in deciding whether case is assigned or not in a given domain. Traditionally proposed candidates for this F^0 (finite T and Agr) fail to account for crosslinguistic variations. Phase head (C) as the locus of the uF responsible for case assignment, while theoretically appealing, cannot account for the nominative case assignment of Korean data.

3.2 Challenges to the Dependent Case Model

The core component of the dependent case model is the c-command relationship between nominals within a local domain. The main prediction of this model is that the presence of other nominals in the given domain will determine the assignment of case.

The first challenge for the Dependent Case model comes from the assumed domain of case assignment. The definition of local domain is especially critical in this model, as it determines whether a given nominal is c-commanded by other nominals, and thus eligible for dependent case assignment.

As briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, recent works (Baker 2015; Levin and Preminger2015; Levin 2017) have chosen the CP and vP phase as this domain of case assignment. However, CP and vP as a phase domain fails to account for the Korean PCC data in (10), repeated here as (17) for convenience.

(17)   Mina-ka Cheli-**ka/**lul/hantey cang-ul   po-(*ass)-key   hay-ss-ta
        M-NOM C-**NOM/**ACC/DAT   shopping-ACC see-(*PAST)-*key* do-PAST-DECL

        'Mina made Cheli do the shopping'

In the previous subsection it has been illustrated that the size of the embedded clause has to be smaller than CP. Assuming CP/vP as the local domain, the embedded subject *Cheli* can only appear as dative (idiosyncratic case marking) or accusative (dependent case marking from being c-commanded by the matrix subject *Mina*). However, (17) shows that nominative case on the embedded subject is acceptable. It appears that in this construction, the embedded clause and the matrix clause act as separate domains of case assignment. The current definition of local domain of case assignment cannot adequately explain this data.

The second challenge to the Dependent Case model comes from its treatment of nominative case as an 'unmarked' case. According to the Dependent Case model, dependent case assignment operates 'downwards' in nominative-accusative languages, meaning that the c-commanding DP_1

assigns dependent case (accusative case) to the c-commanded DP_2. DP_1 then manifests as an unmarked case (nominative case). This is schematized in (18).

(18) *The Dependent Case model*
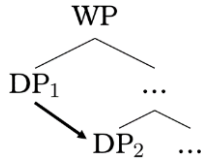
  Different theories adopting this model vary in their implementation. However, the core concept of nominal relationships assigning dependent case and unmarked case is shared.

  With nominative case defined as an unmarked case, the Dependent Case model is incompatible with case-stacking data where nominative case is stacked to an already case assigned nominal. If nominative case is an unmarked case assigned to a caseless nominal, why would it be assigned on top of an already case marked element?

  In order to resolve this incompatibility, Levin (2017) proposes that case stacking data in Korean can be accounted for with cyclic dependent case assignment. He suggests the emendation in (19) to the Dependent Case model.

(19) *Case-stacking in a Dependent Case model*

     Evaluate a nominal for case in every phase it occupies.

  In his analysis, the case stacking of dative case and nominative case in (20a) is the result of the DP *Cheli* undergoing movement from one phase to another. Within the base *v*P phase, both the subject *Cheli* and object *ton* 'money' are evaluated for case. Here *Cheli* receives lexical dative case, and subsequently becomes illegible for dependent case assignment due to the idiosyncratic case it received. As a result, *ton* 'money' receives nominative case. Afterwards, the experiencer *Cheli* raises to Spec-TP, where it is the only nominal within the CP phase. In the CP phase, as the sole nominal in a phase, *Cheli* receives nominative case again. This process is schematized in

(20b). He defends his argument by showing that case-stacking correlates with a specificity interpretation and scopal readings, which suggests that case-stacked nominals belong to two different domains of case assignment and thus demonstrates that case-stacking correlates with movement.

(20) a. Cheli-hantey-ka ton-i isse.
　　　 C-DAT-NOM money-NOM have

　　　 'Cheli has money.'

　 b. *Dative-nominative stacking*

$$\text{TP}$$

[Cheli$_{DAT}$]$_{NOM}$

... Cheli$_{DAT}$ V$_0$ ton$_{NOM}$

Levin (2017:12)

However, this analysis of cyclic dependent case assignment still cannot account for the Korean PCC data in (15), repeated here as (21).

(21) [?]Manye-ka [wangja-hantey-ka kaykuri-ka mwusep-key]
　　　 witch-NOM [prince-DAT-NOM frog-NOM scary-key]

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 mantul-ess-ta
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 make-PAST-DECL

　　　 'A witch made the prince to be scared of frogs'

In the previous subsection it was illustrated that the size of the embedded clause has to be smaller than a CP. Given that Levin's (2017) cyclic case assignment defines CP and *v*P as the domain of case assignment, the availability of nominative case on the embedded clause is surprising.

So far, Korean PCC data has highlighted the challenges the Dependent Case model faces on its case assigning domain and its mode of nominative case assignment. Another point of data that provides challenges to the Dependent Case model is Multiple Nominative Constructions (MNC henceforth).

MNC, observed in Korean and Japanese, is characterized by multiple instances of nominative marked subjects. Kuno's (1973) example of MNC in Japanese is maybe the best-known example, here adapted for Korean in (22).

(22) nampankwu-ka   mwunmyengkwukka-ka   namca-ka
      southern.hemisphere-NOM   developed.country-NOM   men-NOM

                                phyengkywunswumyeng-i   ccalp-ta
                                average.lifespan-NOM   short-DECL

      'It is in the southern hemisphere where it is the developed countries

                        where it is that the men whose lifespan is short'

Yoon (2004, 2007, 2015) argues that the nominative marked nominals are indeed all true subjects. He argues that there are two types of subjects: a Major Subject (MS) and a Grammatical Subject (GS), diagnosed by two different diagnostics. He argues that while in most cases, a subject is both a MS and GS, in the case of MNC, the two are split between the Higher DP (DP$_1$) and the lower DP (DP$_2$).[4]

(23) Diagnostics for MS

      a. Subject-to-Object raising
      b. Nominative case-marking

(24) Diagnostics for GS

      a. Subject honorification
      b. Controller in obligatory control

(25) a. Cheli-ka (DP$_1$)   apeci-ka (DP$_2$)   pwuca-ta
         C-NOM   father-NOM   rich-DECL

      'Celi's father is rich.'

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[4] While this thesis follows Yoon (2004, 2007, 2015) for a single type structure analysis for MNCs, the syntax and semantics of MNC is still a topic of on-going debate. It has been argued that the different types of constructions which appear in MNC can be separated and grouped. A number of criteria for the classification has been proposed (see Choi 2009, Nam 2015), which goes together with multiple-structure analysis such as possessor-raising analysis. See Youn (1991), Choe (1986), Cho (2003), S.Y Lee (2007) among others for this approach.

b. Cheli-ka   apeci-ka   cemsim-ul   kuk-ul   tusiess-ta
   C-NOM   father-NOM   lunch-ACC   soup-ACC   rich-DECL

'Celi's father had soup for lunch.'

Yoon (2007) argues that the GS is the subject of the simple predicate, while the MS, whose position is licensed via predicate abstraction, is the subject of the sentential predicate. In (26), YP, consisting of the grammatical subject DP_2 and its predicate, acts as a sentential predication. The major subject *Cheli* is predicated by this sentential predicate.

(26) *The Schematics of Sentential Predication*
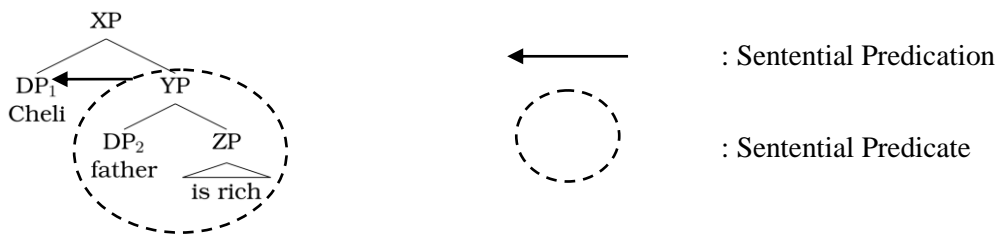
(27) *The Structure of MNC*
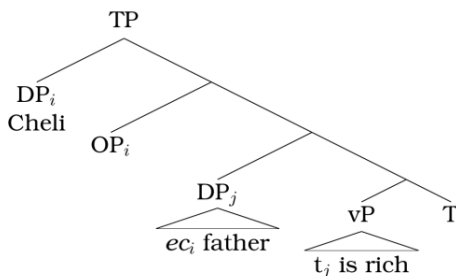
While there still are debates on the exact structure of MNC, the asymmetric c-command relationship of DP_1 and DP_2 is uncontroversial. According to the Dependent Case model, the c-command relationship of the two nominals should trigger dependent case assignment on the lower nominal, contrary to the fact.

There are two ways of resolving this issue. First is to argue that while the two nominals indeed belong to a single local domain, dependent case assignment is blocked for some reason. Baker (2015) argues that MNC in Japanese can be explained if c-command is evaluated cyclically. His

argument hinges on the nominative marked nominals being base-generated in VP, and not being case valued because the dominating *v*P is a *soft phase*. At the following Spell-Out of C's complement TP, because there are no newly established c-command relationships, the two nominals are assigned nominative case. However, he limits his analysis only to psychological and possessional predicates, thus MNC data with transitive verbs, such as (25b), are left without explanation.

Hogan (2018) also choses this first approach and proposes Theta-Sensitive Dependent Case Assignment to account for the MNC data. He argues that only arguments marked by an external theta-role can act as assigners of dependent case. His analysis successfully accounts for data in (25), but requires a major rewrite on how dependent case is assigned (the theta-role of the nominal has to be checked, eliminating the possibility of post-syntactic assignment of dependent case).

The second approach is to argue that the two nominals belong to two different domains. However, proponents of this approach need to revise the definition of the domain of case assignment, as MNC does not involve multiple CPs.

The two approaches the Dependent Case model can take to account for MNC requires the model to either alter the mechanism of dependent case assignment, or alter the cyclic domain of case assignment.

To summarize this subsection, the Dependent Case model attributes case assignment to a c-command relationship between nominals in a local domain. The identity of this domain becomes crucial in deciding whether a nominal is c-commanded by other nominals in the domain. However, it has been demonstrated using Korean PCC and MNC data that the recently proposed local domain of CP/*v*P phase could not adequately account for empirical data.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter I have presented challenges to both the Agree model and the Dependent Case model. For the Agree model, it was argued that the traditionally proposed identity of the case assigning functional head F^0 could not successfully account for crosslinguistic data. Introducing phase as the original locus of the case assigning feature uF extended the possible candidates for F^0 and uF to elements of C. However, the Agree model, with its definition of CP as a phase, was still unable to account for Korean PCC data. For the Dependent Case model, it was argued that in order to properly account for case stacking data and MNC data of Korean, either the mechanism or the domain of case assignment should be revised.

4. Proposal

In the previous chapter, challenges to the two models of case assignment have been presented. Examining the challenges that the current models face provides much needed insight to a model of case-assignment compatible with the crosslinguistic data covered in this paper. One problem that has been raised in both models was the need to revise the domain of case-assignment. Korean PCC data illustrated how a case-assigning domain smaller than the CP should be proposed.

In this chapter, I propose that case is licensed within a phase domain, and nominative[5] case in particular is assigned by phase. I adopt the view that phase is defined as a predication domain *á la* den Dikken (2006) and Ko (2011), and ague that nominative case can be licensed by phase *regardless of the presence of finite T or Agr*. In the following subsections, I go over the theoretical assumptions on phase, and argue that phase defined as predication is the cyclic domain of case assignment. This analysis can capture the long-observed connections of nominative case and the subject of a predication, and better accommodate the puzzling data of Korean PCC and MNC.

4.1 Theoretical Assumptions

Chomsky (2000, 2001) originally defined a phase as a propositional unit, namely C and $v*$. However, in the following years studies suggested that other syntactic categories also bear the characteristics of a phase. Fox & Pesetsky (2005) and Ko (2005) argued that VP acts as a Spell-Out domain, Legate (2003) argued that passive and unaccusative verbal projections should be considered a Spell-Out domain, and Holmberg (2002) argued that passive projection in some languages operates as a phase. For nonverbal projections, Matushansky (2000) suggested that certain types of small

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[5] The Assignment of accusative case is not extensively investigated in the current research. While nominative case and accusative case have been studied in tandem due to their close relationship, this research concentrates on arguing for a revised domain of case assignment necessary for nominative case assignment.

clauses possibly act as a phase, and Sabbagh (2007) and Abels (2003) suggested PP could also be a phase.

  Some studies have also suggested that phase may be defined dynamically. One way of attaining this dynamicity is having phasehood extended by the movement of the phase head, as den Dikken (2007) has argued, or via the Phase Sliding of Gallego (2006). Another way is by defining the phase head contextually. Takahashi (2010) argues that phases are determined via Case-valuation. Bošković (2014) proposes the highest phrase in the extended projection of lexical category to be phase. Yet another dynamic definition of phase is the predication structure proposed in den Dikken (2006), where R(ELATOR) is a cover term used to refer to any functional category that mediates the subject and its predicate, such as *v*, T, C and others, as long as it satisfies the syntax and semantics of predication.

(28) *The syntactic configuration of Predication, den Dikken (2006)*
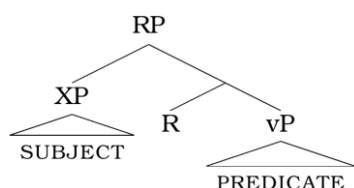
  Among these varying theories of phase, I follow den Dikken (2006) and Ko (2011) in assuming a phase is defined as a predication. In chapter 3, the need for a definition of phase which could properly account for the 'smaller sized' Korean PCC and recursive nominative assignment in MNC was clearly demonstrated. Adopting this definition of phase enables us to explain the puzzling data, and capture the long-observed connection between nominative case and predication.

4.2 Predication as Case Assigning Domain

  At least since the Government and Binding framework, where the redundancy of EPP and Case Filter had been pointed out, the link between

the subject of predication and nominative case has been observed. Especially in studies on Korean and Japanese, nominative case has been studied in connection to predication structures more directly. H. S. Han (1989) proposed that nominative case assignment in Korean is the process of AGR assigning its Case index to the governed subject, where the Case index is licensed by predication. Heycock & Lee (1989) argued that the nominative case morpheme -*ka* in Korean marks the syntactic subject of a predication structure. Y. S. Lee (1990) further adds to the argument that the minimal unit of a predication structure is a saturated function of the lexical head.

Outside of Korean, Doron & Heycock (1999) proposed that "Broad Subjects", the higher subject dubbed Major Subject by Yoon (2004, 2007), can be observed in Arabic and Hebrew. See (29) for Arabic data exhibiting multiple nominative subjects in a sentence.

(29)　?al-bayt-u　　?alwa:n-u-hu　　za:hiyat-un
　　　the-house-NOM　colours-NOM-its　bright-NOM

　　　'the house has bright colours'
　　　literally: the house, its colours are bright

<div align="right">Doron and Heycock (1999:2)</div>

They argue against the analysis where the structure is formed by left dislocation, and claim that Broad Subjects are base generated in the Spec-TP position and are licensed their case where they are generated from T.

Kornfilt (2003), while arguing for nominative case assignment by Agr, proposes that Agr needs to be licensed in order to assign case, and that it can be licensed in three ways: a) categorically; b) by thematic indexing in case of categorial mismatch; and, most importantly for the discussion at hand, c) through predication with an external head, i.e. when the domain headed by that Agr receives an index via predication.

Phase as the cyclic domain of case assignment, when defined as predication, can incorporate the observations made on the connection between nominative case and predication. Note that defining predication as the domain of case assignment does not mean that EPP to the Spec-TP is a

requirement for nominative case assignment. The definition of phase now allows nominative case to be assigned in *v*P or even VP. However, EPP to Spec-TP can correlate to the assignment of nominative case if the movement to Spec-TP results in the formation of a predication, in which case nominative case will be assigned. I will illustrate this in section 5.1 with case-stacking data.

4.3 Main Proposal

I propose that nominative case assignment is a property of phase, defined as a predication, and that nominative case is assigned to the subject of this predication.

(30) *Nominative Case Assignment by Phase*

Nominative Case is assigned by phase to the nominals in its specifier position, where phase is defined as a predication domain.

(31) *Schema of Nominative Case Assignment*
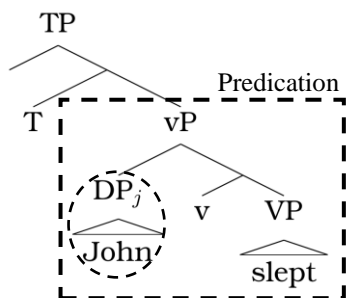
According to this mechanism, the *v*P in (31) becomes a fully saturated predication when the subject 'John' is introduced, and acts as a phase. The subject 'John' is assigned nominative case in the specifier position of the predication. It later moves to the Spec-TP position to satisfy the EPP feature (See Miyagawa 1997 for an analysis of Japanese where the subject receives its nominative case in the Spec-*v*P position). The assignment of the nominative case pattern is reminiscent of both the Agree model and the Dependent Case model, where the external argument (the subject) is

assigned its nominative case either via agreement from T_{FIN}, or by being the highest argument in the case assigning vP phase.

On one hand, this analysis brings in the insights of the Head-centered approach, as it assumes the phase head mediating the predication is involved in case assignment. On the other, it also brings in the insights of the Configurational approach, as the configuration of predication and the subject position is crucial in assigning case. In this way my model could be said to be a hybrid of the two approaches.

As was laid out in Section 2, Phase has already been suggested as the domain relevant to case assignment in both the Agree model and the Dependent Case model. As mentioned in 4.1, Takahashi (2010) argued that the assignment of case determines phasehood. Still yet, there are other models that analyze the phase head itself as the critical element of case assignment. Branigan (2005) argues that while the nominals AGREE with the probe and share their φ-features, case does not arise as a by-product of the operation, contra the standard Agree model. She claims that the unvalued case features are valued derivationally on the head of a phase at the phase level. Similarly, Alboiu (2007) argues that structural case is a property of phasal domains rather than φ-feature probes. She proposes that a phasal domain is the necessary and sufficient condition for case licensing, and φ-feature valuation determines whether a given nominal will be spelled-out as nominative or accusative. Their proposals, which exploit φ-features in order to assign case in a given phase, however, cannot be readily applied to languages like Korean where the existence of Indo-European-language-like φ-features is debated.[6]

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[6] In Korean, it has been argued that the honorific morpheme, -si- acts as a probe in nominative case assignment. However, even when adopting this view, Korean shows nominative case assigned to nominals which cannot be associated with the honorific marker.

(32) na-nun   halapeci-ka   silhu-*si-e
      1SG-TOP   grandfather-NOM   hate-HON-DECL

      'I hate (my) grandfather'

In (32), the pragmatically sound interpretation where the honorific marker -si- is associated with *halapeci* 'grandfather' is not possible, and the only interpretation possible is the one

In another approach, based mainly on Korean data, Koak (2012) proposes that structural case is assigned by phase heads to every argument in the c-command domain of the phase head at the completion of each strong phase. While his proposal can be said to be a proponent of the configurational approach in that case is assigned by virtue of its structural position relative other heads, he also maintains the insight from the head-centered approach in that it is the phasal heads (in his case, C and *v**) that determines the case morphology. However, I have shown in section 3.1 that nominative case can be assigned in a phrase smaller than C. Defining the case assigning phase as C and *v** seems to be inadequate.

My proposal of case assignment based on phase eliminates the need for φ-feature Agreement in case assignment, making the model compatible with languages that lack φ-feature Agreement altogether. My proposal also differs from previous studies in assuming *predication* as the unit of case assignment. This definition of phase, contrary to the static definition of phase where CP is assumed to be the case assigning domain, is flexible enough to account for case assigning domains smaller than CP.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter I advanced my proposal of case assignment by phase. Among the many competing definitions of phase, I argued that predication constitutes the cyclic domain of case assignment. Defined this way, phase can account for the 'smaller' clauses licensing nominative case. Furthermore, the long-observed correlation of predication and nominative case can be captured within the frame work of the cyclic domain of phase, which enables us to consider the matter in connection with other cyclic properties in syntax. Another advantage of this proposal is that it treats the assignment of structural case and inherent case in a uniform way: as being assigned in

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where the honorific is associated with *na* 'I'. However, we see that *halapeci* 'grandfather', unable to Agree with the honorific morpheme, still receives nominative case. Korean shows that nominative case assignment can occur regardless of φ-feature (or similar honorific feature) Agreement.

the specifier position of the relevant functional head. In this way it also incorporates the functional view in which case marks the role of nominals. Inherent case marks the *θ-role* of the nominal, the role in the argument structure; structural case marks the role of the nominals in the predication, the role in the event structure.
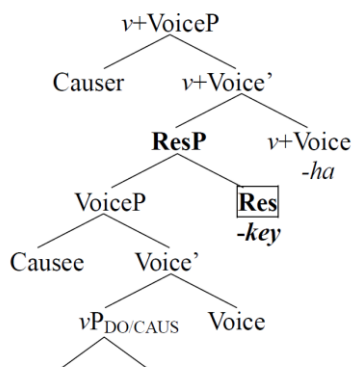
5. Analysis

In this chapter I illustrate how predication as the case assigning domain can account for the challenging data presented in chapter 3. In Section 5.1, I show that the nominative case assigned in the embedded clause of Korean PCC, which lacks a specific functional head F^0 for the assignment of nominative case, can be accounted for with the proposed model that ascribes the assignment of nominative case to phase. In Section 5.1, I illustrate how the presence of multiple nominative cases in MNC can be readily explained as a recursive nominative case assignment with phase, defined as prediction, acting as the cyclic unit of case assignment.

5.1 Korean Periphrastic Causative Constructions

In Section 3.1, I presented Korean PCC data (illustrated again in 33) as an example of case assignment without finite T or an agreement morpheme occurring in a clause smaller than a CP. This posed a major problem to both the Agree model and the Dependent Case model.

(33) Mina-ka [TP Cheli-**ka** tali-(*ass)-key] hay-ess-ta
      Mina-nom   Cheli-**NOM** run-(*PAST)-*key*   do-PAST-DECL

   'Mina made Cheli do the shopping'

(34) *The structure of Korean PCC, Jung (2014: 189)*

29

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      Mina-nom   Cheli-**NOM** run-(*PAST)-*key*   do-PAST-DECL

   'Mina made Cheli do the shopping'

(34) *The structure of Korean PCC, Jung (2014: 189)*

After an extensive investigation, Jung (2014) concludes that the *-key* head is a ResP (Ramchand 2008) that selects VoiceP. While the exact categorial status of the head *-key* is still debated, what is generally agreed on is that the embedded clause involves a predication. Here, following Ko's (2015) analysis of Resultatives, I assume *-key* is a RELATOR head.
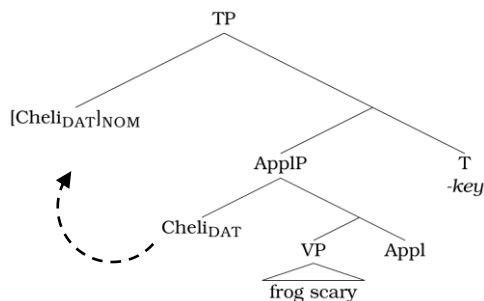
(35) *Structure of Periphrastic Causative*
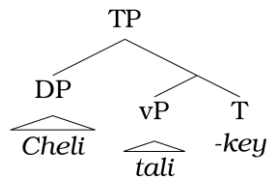
With the current proposal, the embedded clause in (36) becomes a case assigning domain in its own right, with the RP operating as a predication domain that can assign nominative case. The troubling data of case stacking in causative constructions can now also be accounted for without the need to posit a tense element in a structure that does not allow tense morphemes. The stacked case is an instance of the cyclic assignment of case *á la* Levin (2017), where the TP phase assigns nominative case on top of the dative case assigned to the experiencer in the *v*P domain.

(36) [?]Manye-ka [$_{TP}$ wangja-hantey-ka$_i$ [$_{vP}$ e$_i$ kaykuri-ka mwusep]-key]
        witch-NOM   prince-DAT-NOM$_i$ e$_i$ frog-NOM   scary-key

                                                    mantul-ess-ta
                                                    make-PAST-DECL

       'A witch made the prince to be scared of frogs'

(37) *Dative-Nominative Stacking*

I follow K. M. Kim (2017) in assuming the dative experiencer argument is introduced by the Appl head verb-externally. Throughout the derivation, the experiencer argument *Cheli* first receives its inherent dative case from the Appl head when it is introduced. Then it is raised to the Spec-TP position due to EPP, where it receives a structural nominative case. The analysis of Levin (2017) on the correlation of movement and case-stacking is thus captured in this model of case assignment.[7] Korean PCC does not involve finite T. Nor does it involve Agr or CP. What it involves is a predication, that is, a phase. It is this phase that licenses the nominative case.

5.2 Multiple Nominative Constructions

In 3.2, it has been shown that in Korean MNC data, multiple subjects were assigned nominative case within the presumed case assigning domain of CP. This assignment pattern proved to be both unexpected and problematic, especially for the Dependent Case model.

With the current analysis, the puzzling assignment of nominative case in MNC naturally follows if Yoon's (2004, 2007) proposal of MNC as a case of multiple predication construction is accepted. According to Yoon, the sentence constituted of a 'lower' grammatical subject and its predicate, serves as a sentential predicate, predicating the 'higher' major subject. The process can occur recursively.

(38) Cheli-ka   ←─┐ apeci-ka   ←─── khi-ka   khu-si-ta
      C-NOM   │ father-NOM   height- NOM   tall-HON-DECL

      'Celi's father is rich.'

Assuming phase is defined as predication, every recursion of a sentential construction constitutes a phase, allowing the assignment of nominative case to the subject of the predicate. Therefore, we here observe recursive

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[7] Aside from the stacked nominative case, there is another nominative case being assigned in this construction: the nominative on the nominative object *kaykuri* 'frog'. I follow Fox & Pesetsky (2005) and Ko (2005) in assuming that VP is a phase. However, VP assigning nominative as a predication has some non-trivial consequences on accusative assignment. I explore this matter in section 7.1

predication accompanying recursive nominative assignment.

Note however, that the structure of MNC provided by Yoon (2007), where multiple subjects occupy multiple specifiers of T, is not readily compatible with the structure of predication proposed by den Dikken (2006). The predication structure *á la* den Dikken requires an abstract functional head RELATOR that acts as a functional connective as in (28), repeated here in (39). However, the sentential predication proposed by Yoon (2007) is not mediated by a functional head, but an operator as illustrated in (40).

(39) *The syntactic configuration of Predication, den Dikken (2006)*
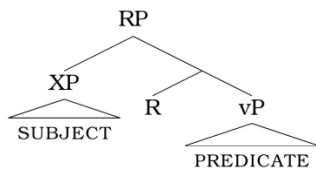
(40) *The Structure of MNC, Yoon (2007)*
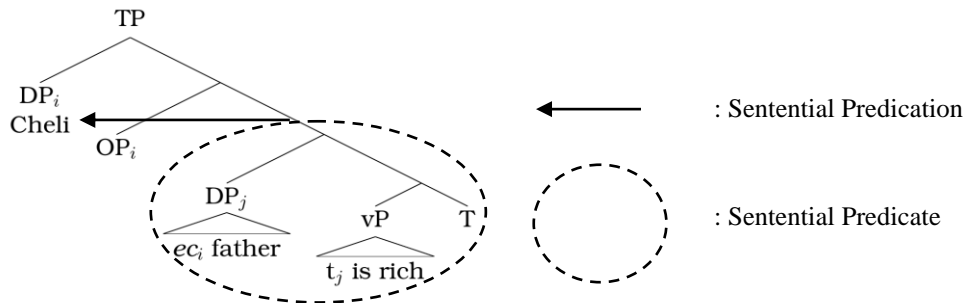
One possible way of resolving this issue is to assume an additional T head is present in the structure that serves as a RELATOR mediating the sentential predication and the major subject. However, presuming every subject in MNC brings in a locus of temporal interpretation is not only semantically undesirable, but also lacks morphological evidence, as stacking T is impossible.[8]

Another possible resolution to this issue is to assume that the predication relation required for nominative case assignment can be licensed not only by

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[8] Korean allows reduplication of the past morpheme *-ess-* to express the distant past. However, the stacking of T morphemes as a result of the formation of an MNC without obtaining the meaning of a distant past is impossible.

means of syntax but by semantics as well. Matushansky (2019) argues that structural uniformity is not necessary for defining small clauses. What small clauses have in common, according to her, is their semantics: the predication relation. While assuming a functional head mediating predication provides syntactic footing through which the role of the phase head in case assignment observed in previous research can be integrated into the current model, an entirely semantic-based definition of phase is, in my opinion, also plausible. As for this issue, I leave the question open for further research.

6. Discussion

I have argued that phase defined as a predication domain is the cyclic unit of case assignment. In previous research, phase has also been proposed to act as the cyclic domain for other phenomena, and the cyclic nature of phase has been argued to be responsible for their cyclicity. This chapter examines how the domain of case assignment proposed in this thesis corresponds to the domain of other phenomena of syntax.

Movement is maybe the most extensively researched operation that has been linked to phase. It has long been observed that movements in syntax occur through intermediate steps. In explaining the motivation behind this cyclic behavior, the Phase Impenetrability Condition and Cyclic Linearization have been proposed. In support for the latter, Ko (2011, 2015) has argued that phase defined as a predication domain acts as the cyclic domain of linearization. In Section 6.1, I show how her domain of cyclic linearization corresponds to the domain of case assignment.

Another phenomenon whose cyclic domain has been proposed to be predication is Argument Ellipsis (AE). Y. H. Kim (2019) has argued that predication acts as the cyclic domain for AE in Korean, and imposes constraints on what argument can undergo ellipsis. In Section 6.2 I present new data to show how his domain of AE corresponds to the domain of case assignment, and discuss its implication on how Argument Ellipsis operation is related to phase.

6.1 Cyclic Linearization

It has long been observed that movement in syntax occurs cyclically with intermediate steps. The motivation for this phenomenon could be ascribed to Chomsky's (2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), according to which any operation outside of a phase can only access the head of the phase and its edge. An alternative that can motivate successive cyclic

movement is Cyclic Linearization (CL), proposed by Fox and Pesetsky (2005). According to CL, Spell-out at the phase domain results in the freezing of the linear order of a syntactic structure, but leaves its elements accessible. This accessibility leads PIC and CL to make diverging predictions when multiple movements are involved. CL predicts that movement out of a non-edge area is possible as long as the order made in the previous phase is preserved. This is illustrated in (40). On the other hand, PIC predicts that extraction out of a non-edge area is impossible, as the elements inside are no longer accessible.

(40) a. $[_{\alpha P}$ X $[_{\alpha'}$ Y $\alpha]$: $\mathbf{X < Y < \alpha}$

b. $[_{\beta P}$ X$_1$ Y$_2$ $[_{\alpha P}$ t$_1$ $[_{\alpha'}$ t$_2$ $\alpha]$ β] : $\mathbf{X} < \mathbf{Y} < Z < \mathbf{\alpha} < \beta$

Following this line of research, Ko (2011, 2015) has argued that predications act as a domain of cyclic linearization. Crucial to the discussion at hand, she has argued that -*key* constitutes a phase domain defined by a predicational unit, and thus is a domain of cyclic linearization. Examples for linearization patterns are shown in (41):

(41) a. na-nun [Cheli-ka ton-ul pel-key] mantul-ess-ta
   I-TOP Cheli-NOM money-ACC earn-KEY make-PAST-DECL

b.*na-nun ton-ul pel-key Cheli-ka mantul-ess-ta
   I-TOP money-ACC earn-KEY Cheli-NOM make-PAST-DECL

'I made Celi earn money.'

In (41a), the embedded clause headed by -*key* is a phase and acts as a Spell-Out domain, linearizing the components inside. The word order of [Cheli-NOM money-ACC earn-*key*] is frozen as a result. Scrambling this frozen word order is illegal, as shown in (41b). Here we see the domain argued to assign nominative case operating as a cyclic linearization domain as well.

MNC showcases this connection in maybe the clearest manner. Ko (2015) argues that the Major Subject and sentential predicate form a predicational unit and undergo cyclic linearization together, freezing the word order between them. This is illustrated in (42), where the recursive predication structure of MNC corresponds to recursive nominative assignment and

recursive linearization.

(42) a. [pred Cheli-ka   [pred apeci-ka   pwuca-ta   ]
              Cheli-NOM   father-NOM   rich-DECL

   'Celi's father is rich'

   b. #[pred apeci-ka₁   Cheli-ka   [pred t₁   pwuca-ta   ]
              father-NOM   Cheli-NOM   rich-DECL

      (intended) 'Celi's father is rich'

These data show that the case assigning domain proposed in this paper corresponds to the cyclic linearization domain of Ko (2011). The phasehood of the embedded clause of PCC, not recognized by phase theories advocating for a static CP phase, is captured by this model and Ko's (2011, 2014) analysis as a cyclic unit of case assignment and linearization. The recursive predication structure in MNC is also recognized as a unit of case assignment and cyclic linearization under the current definition of phase as a predication.

6.2 Argument Ellipsis

Y. H. Kim (2019) has argued that the domain of Argument Ellipsis (AE) in Korean is predication, and that only the element in the specifier of a phase, as a Spell-out domain and a predication unit, can be elided. His proposal is formally described in (43) and schematized in (44).

(43) *The Constraint on Argument Ellipsis (CAE)*

   Provided the identity condition is met by the discourse antecedent, nominal argument α whose θ-role has been given is eligible for ellipsis only if α is placed in the specifier of phase XP, where XP corresponds to a Spell-Out domain and a predication unit.

(44) *The Structural Configuration for the CAE*

XP — Phase: Spell-Out Domain

Δ [α~specifier~]   X′
        β~adjunct~   X′
              γ~complement~   X
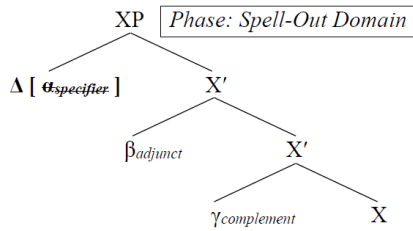
His argument is supported by the asymmetries on AE patterns observed in Korean. This asymmetry is illustrated in (45).

(45) A. Mina-nun [namca-ka   son-i   khu-tako]   malha-ess-ta
         Mina-TOP   man-NOM   hand-NOM   big-DECL-C   say-PAST-DECL

     'Mina said men have big hands'

     a. Cheli-nun [Δ   pal-i   khu-tako]   malha-ess-ta
         C-TOP   foot-NOM   big-DECL-C   say-PAST-DECL

     'Cheli said men have big feet.'

     b. #Cheli-nun [yeca-ka   Δ   khu-tako]   malha-ess-ta
         C-TOP   woman-NOM   big-DECL-C   say-PAST-DECL

     (intended) 'Cheli said women have big hand.'
     (accepted) 'Cheli said women are big.'

With (45A) as the antecedent, the element in the specifier position of the phase, *namca* 'man' can be elided without loss of its meaning in (45a). On the other hand, *son* 'hand', occupying the adjunct position (non-left most element of phase), cannot be elided without loss of its meaning.

(46) *The Asymmetry of AE*

TP
  DP
  man   DP
         hand   vP   T
                 big
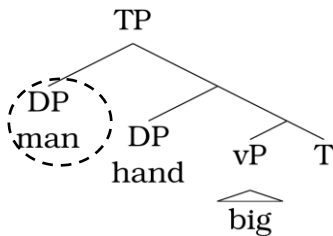
At first glance, his analysis clashes with my proposal: my model of case

assignment requires the nominative assigned nominal to be the subject of predication, and thus occupy the specifier position of the Spell-Out domain. With my proposal (43) predicts that all nominative case marked elements would be eligible for argument ellipsis. However, (45) shows that there exists an asymmetry between nominative marked nominals in an elliptical pattern, and that only the highest, leftmost element can be elided.

I argue that this apparent conflict can be resolved if we assume that the restriction on argument ellipsis is not an inherent property of the phase, but a derived property stemming from cyclic linearization. If AE in Korean involves a process of some variable (or their equivalent) raising to a higher projection in the matrix clause in order to be bound by discourse, the lower nominal cannot elide leaving the higher nominal because the linear order between them is frozen. In (47A), the linear order of 'man' and 'hand' is frozen. Raising 'hand' to the matrix without raising 'man', as in (47a), violates the linear ordering established in the lower phase. Only when 'man' raises together can 'hand' raise, as in (47b)

(47) A. $[_{pred}$ man $[_{pred}$ hand big] : man $<$ hand $<$ big
    a. $[_{matrix}$ hand$_1$ $[_{pred}$ man $[_{pred}$ t$_1$ big] C] : **hand !<man** $<$ big $<$ C
    b. $[_{matrix}$ man$_1$ hand$_2$ $[_{pred}$ t$_1$ $[_{pred}$ t$_2$ big] C] : man $<$ hand $<$ big $<$ C

This analysis predicts that arguments in MNC can be elided as long as the arguments higher than the argument are all elided. This prediction is borne out in (48). All the available patterns of ellipsis in this structure, even the ones not listed in (48), follow this pattern.

(48) A. M-nun [namca-ka khi-ka pyenggywun-i khu-tako] malhayssta
    M-TOP man-NOM height-NOM average-NOM big-DECL said

    'Mina said that men, their height, the average of it is big.'

    a. #C-nun [yeca-ka Δ Δ khu-tako] malhayssta
       C-TOP woman-NOM big-DECL said

    (intended) 'Cheli said that women, their height, the average of it is big'
    (accepted) 'Cheli said that women are big'

b. #C-nun [Δ mwukey-ka Δ khu-tako] malhayssta
C-TOP weight-NOM big-DECL said

(intended) 'Cheli said that men, their weight, the average of it is big'
(accepted) 'Cheli said that weight is big'

c. C-nun [Δ mwukey-ka pyenggywun-i khu-tako] malhayssta
C-TOP weight-NOM average-NOM big-DECL said

'Cheli said that men, their weight, the average of it is big'

d. C-nun [Δ Δ cwunggangaps-i khu-tako] malhayssta
C-TOP median-NOM big-DECL said

'Cheli said that men, their height, the median of it is big'

This result is harmonious with the analysis of predication as a case assigning domain and the domain of ellipsis. Nominative case assigned nominals are, in fact, eligible for argument ellipsis as long as CL is not violated.

7. Remaining Issues

So far, I have presented challenges to the current models of case assignment, proposed an alternative model where predication acts as the case assigning domain, and illustrated how its domain corresponds to other cyclic phenomena of syntax. In this chapter I go over the remaining issues of my proposal and future research topics.

7.1 Accusative

In this paper I discussed the assignment of one form of structural case: nominative case. However, accusative case, as a structural case, has been studied in close connection with nominative case. The problem with the assignment of accusative case in the theory presented here is that its assignment seems to depend on a functional head outside of the VP predication domain, namely Voice.

(49) a. Cheli-nun   Mina-ka   silh-ta
      Cheli-TOP   Mina-NOM   hate-DECL

      'Cheli hates Mina'

    b. Cheli-nun   Mina-lul   silhe-ha-n-ta
      Cheli-TOP   M-ACC   hate-do-PRES-DECL

      'Cheli hates on Mina'

    c. *Cheli-nun   Mina-ka   silhe-ha-n-ta
      Cheli-TOP   Mina-NOM   hate-do-PRES-DECL

      'Celi hates on Mina'

In (49a), the case assigned to the theme Mina is nominative. However, in (49b), with the addition of the light verb *-ha-*, accusative assignment becomes possible. In fact, accusative assignment is not only possible but obligatory, as seen in (49c). Considering that Korean ECM structure allows

the alternation of nominative/accusative case marking, a ban on nominative case in (49c) is surprising, and possibly indicates the inability for nominative case to be assigned. This data suggests that the presence of the light verb *-ha-*, debated to be a morphological expression of *v*(+Voice), decides what case a given VP phase can assign.

One way to account for this is to assume a different mode of case assignment for accusative case: accusative case is not assigned to the subject of the VP verbal predicate, but follows the pattern of agreement. It is possible that the mode of assignment of nominative and accusative are not the same, contrary to what has been assumed in the literature. Nominative and accusative case differ in that the assignment of accusative case depends on the argument structure and the lexical property of the verbal root, while the assignment of nominative case is more crucially linked to the event structure. However, by doing so, the theory loses the means to capture the relationship between accusative and nominative case.

Another possible answer is to assume that the predicational property of VP is dependent on the selectional property of the *v*(+Voice) that selects it, or vice-versa. It has been argued that the assignment of accusative case depends on the event structure, especially the inner aspects of the verb (Svenonius 2002a, 2002b). It is possible assume that the predication structure that assigns accusative case is closely related to the event structure, which in turn is in intimate relationship with Voice.

7.2 Typology

Accounting for typology is crucial in a theory of case where the assignment of case is presumed to be universal. My proposal asserts the assigner of case is a predicational unit, which is a universal concept. Yet we see languages differ in their ability to assign nominative case in a given structure.

There are at least two ways to account for the variations with my proposal. One is to argue that while the subjects in infinitival clauses in English-like languages are indeed assigned nominative case, they are not expressed.

Richards (2017) suggests nominals may receive case arbitrarily many times, and that multiple case is expressed as case stacking in some languages, while the new case overwrites the existing one in others. In English infinitival clauses, the embedded subject may receive its nominative case in the lower domain, and consequently receive accusative case, leaving it as the only case which is phonologically expressed.

Alternatively, if nominative case assignment by predication is indeed untenable in some languages, this may be due to a matter of parameters. It is possible to assume that different languages adopt different modes of case assignment: Miyagawa (2010) proposed that patterns of feature inheritance from C to T can capture the variation of Agree-based languages and Discourse-configurational languages[9]. Although his analysis, which defines CP as phase, is not immediately compatible with my analysis, the observation that there are variations among languages still holds. It could be the case that Agree-based languages utilize an agreement mechanism for case assignment, while discourse-configurational languages rely on the more semantic/pragmatic-based method of case assignment proposed in this paper.

Through another option for parametrization, we can assert that predication as the case assigning domain holds cross-linguistically, but that languages are parameterized on the case-assigning property of phase in the fashion of the Strong/Weak phase of Chomsky (2000, 2001) or Baker (2015). In fact, this kind of strong/weak distinction seems to be necessary in order to account for not only inter-language variation, but intra-language variation in the case-assigning ability of different types of predications. (50) shows a resultative small clause in Korean, which is proposed to form a predicational unit in Ko (2015: 2). However, as illustrated in (51), nominative case cannot be assigned to the subject of this predication. This demonstrates that even in Korean, where predication seems to act as the case-assigning unit, not *all* predications can assign nominative case.

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[9] See Miyagawa (2017) for further division of variation.

(50)　　mapepsa-nun　[mwul-ul　　photocwu-lo]　　mantulessta

　　　　　wizard-TOP　　water-ACC　　wine-RES　　　made

　　　'A magician made water into wine.'

<div align="right">(Ko 2015: 2)</div>

(51)　*mapepsa-nun　[mwul-i　　photocwu-lo]　　mantulessta

　　　　　wizard-TOP　　water-NOM　wine-RES　　　made

　　　'A magician made water into wine.'

On the need to set up a strong/weak phase, note that with phase defined as predication, the parameters affecting case assignment can now be investigated in line with previous studies on the case assigning ability of predication. Citko (2008) has proposed two types of small clauses depending on the completeness of the head. A defective π which cannot assign case and a complete π which can. The full list of the properties of these heads are illustrated in (52).

(52) *Two types of π heads, Citko (2008: 27)*

COMPLETE π_{COMPL}	**DEFECTIVE π_{DEF}**
• eventive • case features • no parellelism requirement	• non-eventive • no case features • parallelism requirement

The Korean *-lo* result head in (50) shares some characteristics with Citko's defective π: it cannot assign nominative case (the accusative case is assigned by the dominating verb), and it requires both the subject and the predicate to be DPs (parallelism requirement). While her analysis cannot be readily adopted to account for *-lo*, as it does not necessarily give an individual-level interpretation, it demonstrates that, with my proposal, structural case assignment can now be investigated in line with previous studies on the case assigning ability of predication.

Accounting for typology is crucial in a theory of case where the assignment of case is presumed to be universal. However, it is not an easy task, especially if the element that assigns nominative case is not cross-linguistically identical, as Iatridou (1993) notes as a possibility. While more

studies are necessary in order to capture the language variation, my proposal provides a novel mechanism of case assignment that allows new possible parameters (parameters on properties of predication) with which we can attempt to account for variation.

8. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have shown that the current models of case assignment cannot properly account for empirical data, especially Korean PCC and MNC data. I suggested that one core problem that the two theories share lies in the strict definition of the case assigning domain as CP (and v*P), and argued that case is licensed within a phase domain defined as a predication. My model was able to capture the odd case of nominative case being assigned in smaller clauses (PCC data) as well as multiple nominative case assignment (MNC data). The connection with other properties of syntax related to phase, such as cyclic linearization and argument ellipsis, have also become accountable under my proposal.

Ascribing the assignment of case to a property of phase is not entirely new. However, previous research has followed Chomsky (2000, 2001) in defining a propositional unit as a phase (C and v*). In this thesis I have adopted a view of phase that defines the predication domain as the derivational unit. While definitions of phase other than as a propositional unit of CP and v*P have been suggested —where various other functional domains, both static and dynamic, are considered phasal— to the best of my knowledge, the connection of case assignment and these newly proposed domains of derivation has not been investigated. Among these possible definitions of phase, this study argued for a definition of phase where it is defined as a predication, based on the assumption that phase also acts as a cyclic unit of case assignment.

By defining the domain of case assignment using the notion of predication, a semantically relevant unit, this thesis allows for the relationship between structural case assignment and semantics / pragmatics to be suggested. This line of approach can possibly reconcile the conceptual chasm between structural case, believed to be purely syntactic, and inherent case, assigned based on the semantic concept of theta-roles.

As it stands, even without resorting to a semantic based assignment of case,

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my analysis brings together the mode of assignment of structural case and inherent case, as case in general marks the role of the nominal in the given predication: inherent case is associated with the theta-role of the nominal in a predication; and structural case, in the current analysis, marks the structural role of the nominals in a predication. In a sense, this can be viewed as integrating the functionalist insight with formal syntax.

While remaining issues need to be worked on and the identity of the case licenser needs to be further investigated, my proposal opens up a new avenue for predicational properties to become possible candidates for the licenser.

The goal of this paper has been twofold: first, to present challenges to both models of case assignment described in this paper, which demonstrate the need to revise the domain of case assignment; and second, to propose an alternative model of case assignment which overcomes these challenges. Note that regardless of the success of the model of case assignment proposed in this paper, the need for a revision of the case assigning domain remains intact. In order to account for empirical data, current models of case assignment need to be revised, and any new model of case assignment should be able to properly account for the challenges laid out in this paper.

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국문초록

국면에 의한 주격 부여: 서술기반 접근

본 논문의 목적은 두 가지이다. 하나는 격 부여를 설명하는 현재의 모델들이 문제점을 가지고 있음을 지적하는 것이고, 다른 하나는 서술(predication)이 격 부여의 주기적 영역(cyclic domain)으로 작용하는 새로운 격 부여의 방안을 제안하는 것이다.

생성문법에서 격은 명사의 분포를 설명하는 이론으로서 지배결속 이론에서부터 주요한 통사론의 주제로 연구되어 왔다. 특히 구조격은 주어진 영역 내에서 명사들이 지니는 구조적 관계를 표시하며 (Blake 2001), 이러한 구조격의 부여와 관련하여 최근 최소주의 문법에서는 일치 모델(Agree model)과 의존격 모델(Dependent Case model)이라는 두 모델이 대두되고 있다. 두 모델은 구조격이 부여되는 방법에 대해 크게 다른 설명을 내놓는데, 일치 모델에서는 구조격이 다른 기능핵과의 관계를 통해 부여된다고 설명하는 반면 의존격 모델은 구조격이 명사간의 구조적 관계에 의해 부여된다고 설명한다.

일치 모델(Chomsky 2000, 2001)에서는 격을 부여하는 기능핵 F^0의 정체가 중요한 연구 대상 중 하나이다. 기존 연구에서는 이 기능핵에 대해 그 정체가 T_{FIN}(Chomsky 2000, 2001), Agr (Raposo 1987, Kornfilt 2003) 혹은 C (Tanaka 2005, Fakih 2016)라는 주장이 있어왔으며, Chomsky (2008)에서는 격의 부여를 담당하는 자질이 C 혹은 $v*$로 정의되는 국면핵에 의해 들여온다고 주장한 바 있다. 반면 의존격 모델 (Yip et al. 1987, Marantz 1991)의 경우 명사구 간의 구조적 관계가 비교되는 영역의 정의에 따라서 두 명사구 사이의 관계가 달라질 수 있기 때문에 격이 어떤 영역에서 부여되는지가 중요한 주제로 연구되어 왔다. 이에 대해 초기 의존격

모델(Marantz 1991)에서는 V+T 복합 영역을 격 부여의 영역으로 제시한 반면, 최근 연구(Baker 2015; Levin and Preminger 2015; Levin 2017)에서는 국면(phase)을 이러한 격 부여의 영역이라고 주장한다.

본 연구는 이러한 두 모델이 모두 문제점을 안고 있음을 주장한다. 우선 일치 모델에 대해서는 격 부여를 특정 기능핵에 의존하는 현 모델이 범언어적 데이터를 수용할 수 없음을 제시하고, 의존격 모델에 대해서는 현 모델이 주격의 분포를 제대로 설명할 수 없음을 지적한다. 이를 위해 본고는 터키어, 루마니아어, 한국어 등의 언어들의 예문을 살펴보고 특히 모델들이 가지는 문제점들을 효과적으로 제시하기 위해 한국어 통사사동구문과 다중주격구문을 핵심적인 자료로 제시한다.

한국어 통사사동구문에서는 CP보다 작은 크기의, 시제소나 일치소가 부재하는 절에서 주격이 부여되는 상황이 관찰된다. 이는 일치 모델을 따르는 기존 선행연구들에서 다양하게 제시된 여러 종류의 격 부여 기능핵 중 그 어느 핵으로도 설명되지 않는다. 더욱이 이 구문에서 관찰되는 격중출 현상은 해당 구문에서 나타나는 주격이 무표격(default case)이 아니며 격 인가자가 필요한 구조격임을 시사하기 때문에 일치 모델에 큰 문제를 야기한다. 한편 한국어 다중주격구문에서는 성분통어 관계에 있는 여러 주어가 주격으로 나타나는데, 이러한 관계에서 의존격이 부여되지 않고 무표격인 주격이 발현되는 현상은 현 의존격 모델이 그 격 부여의 기제나 격 부여의 영역을 수정해야 함을 시사한다.

이러한 문제제기를 바탕으로 본고는 두 모델에서 말하듯 국면이 격 부여 현상과 관련이 되어있다는 것이 사실이라면, 문제되는 자료들을 설명하기 위해 국면이 새롭게 정의되어야 한다고 주장한다. 그리고 서술으로 정의되는 국면이 격 인가의 영역으로 작용하고, 해당 주술관계의 주어가 주격을 부여받는 새로운 격 부여 모델을 제안한다. 본고에서 제시되는 모델은 기존 연구에서 포착되어온 격의 인가와 국면, 주술관계가 가지는 연관성을 포착할 수 있으며, 문제로 제시된 한국어의 사동구문과 다중주격구문을 성공적으로 설명할 수 있다. 또한 격의 인허를

서술으로서의 국면의 역할으로 상정하는 이러한 분석은 기존에 국면의 속성으로 주어졌던 선형화, 생략현상 등의 다양한 현상들을 격의 인허와 연결하여 해석할 수 있는 새로운 방안을 개척한다.