

On the Syntax of Unusual Subjects: Exceptional Case Marking Constructions

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to explain the mixed properties of the ECM subject in Korean and Mongolian in terms of the Relator Phrase (RP) analysis proposed by den Dikken (2007, 2017a, 2017b). The embedded subject in the Korean ECM is known to exhibit both higher/lower and A/A' properties. How can an XP have several locus properties at the same time? To address this question, the present study proposes the following insights: Predication relations constitute an inherent RP phase (den Dikken 2007, 2017a, 2017b; Wurmbrand, 2021); The ECM subject is base-generated in the Spec-RP position in Korean, which is an A-position by definition; R assumes a null state or becomes C+R if C is elevated to R; A null operator (O) binds the overt/covert pronoun in the embedded TP; The ECM subject is related to the embedded CP in terms of predication, akin to Browning's (1991) perspective. The proposed analysis explains the Korean ECM and its difference from Mongolian. The proposal resolves the ongoing discourse on whether the ECM subject moves or stays in situ. Additionally, significant similarities between ECM construction and the multiple nominative constructions (MNC) in Korean are also explained in terms of RP, a correlation previously understudied in previous studies.

Keywords: ECM, relator phrase (RP), phase, null operator, predication

1. Introduction

This study explores the syntactic properties of the ECM subject across languages, Korean and Mongolian in particular. A typical ECM in English is given in (1) and its counterparts in Korean and Mongolian are in (2).

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- (1) a. John believes [that Mary is pretty].
 b. John believes [*Mary* to be pretty].
- (2) a. John-i [Mary-lul yeppu-tako] sayngkakhanta. (Korean)
 J-NOM M-ACC pretty-C think
 b. Bat [margaash Dulmaa-g nom unsh-n gej] khel-sen. (Mongolian)
 Bat [tomorrow Dulmaa-ACC book read-n.pst C] say-pst
 'Bat said that Dulmaa will read a book tomorrow.'

The categorial status of the embedded clauses has been assumed to differ across languages. While (2a and 2b) have a full clausal CP as an embedded clause, (1b) has a TP. In addition, differently from English, the embedded subject of the ECM in Korean has been discussed to have higher properties as if it is in the matrix clause. The NP-ACC, *Mary-lul* in (2b) behaves as if it is in the matrix, depending on the context. This is in contrast with the ECM of other typologically related languages. For example, Fong (2019) reported several lower A(argument) properties of the embedded subject in Mongolian in line with (1b) in English.

A big research question is how come the ECM subject has dual properties and why languages differ about higher/lower properties of the ECM subject? Traditionally, the ECM in English is a descendant of SOR (Subject-to-Object Raising) in which the ECMed subject eventually resides in a higher A-position (object position) by movement. Chomsky (1981) later argues that there is no actual movement but that the categorial status of the embedded clause is deficient so that Case can be assigned across the deficient boundary. If the subject does not move, such an ECM analysis will be compatible with lower properties of the ECM subject. If that is the case, then, where do their higher properties come from in Korean, for example? To accommodate the dual properties of the ECM subject, this paper proposes an alternative analysis based on two important previous studies: Yoon (2007) and den Dikken (2017b, et seq.) The following is a foreshadowing of the proposal.¹⁾

(2') ... V [_{RP} Subject_i [_{R'} [_{CP}O_i [_{TP} (*pro*_i/pronoun_i) ... T] C] R]].

1) In particular, RP (Relator Phrase) is advocated by den Dikken (2017b) and adopted later by Wurmbrand (2021) and Lohninger et al. (2022). Bošković (2023) extensively discusses the mixed properties of the "lower subject" in various languages. Readers are advised to look at the data therein for further confirmation about the dual status of the subject.

The proposed analysis explains the dual properties of Korean ECM eschewing the burden of deciding the location of the ECM subject. Its dual properties can be explained since it occupies two positions at the same time. This solution makes use of already existing hypotheses about the argument status of each position and thus needs no extra cost. In Mongolian, the subject in Spec-RP plays a pivotal role in syntax, producing A-property. It is not related to the null operator O, which is assumed to be absent in Mongolian ECM.

2. ECM Subjects

2.1. Korean vs. Mongolian ECM

The ECM subject of Mongolian is argued to have A properties by Fong (2019). This does not immediately hold for Korean ECM. One observation is that the NP-ACC, *Mary-lul* in (2b) acts as a kind of topic depending on the context. To test this, first of all, let us assume that the creation of new antecedents for binding is a signature property of A-movement. Consider Korean examples regarding Condition A:

- (3) a. *ku kemsanun [John_i-i yucoy-lako] caki_i-uy caypan-eyse
 the prosecutor-TOP J-NOM guilty-C self-gen trial-at
 cungmyengha-ass-ta.²⁾
 demonstrated
 ‘The prosecutor demonstrated that John was guilty in his trial.’
- b. *ku kemsanun [John_i-lul yucoy-lako] caki_i-uy caypan-eyse
 the prosecutor-TOP J-ACC guilty-c self-gen trial-at
 cungmyengha-ass-ta.
 demonstrated
 ‘The prosecutor demonstrated John to be guilty in his trial.’

Both sentences violate Condition A because the reflexive *caki* ‘self’ is not bound by its antecedent. It does not matter whether the embedded subject carries

2) A reviewer comments that even if *John-i/lul* is replaced by the dative *John-ekkey*, the coreference between *John* and *caki* is still impossible. Although this paper does not discuss the dative subjects in Korean, the author assumes that it is also located inside the embedded clause.

nominative or accusative Case. This demonstrates that the ECM subject in Korean is not in an A-position. In (3b), *caki* cannot be interpreted to be bound by *John*, in the same way as it is impossible in (3a). If we assume that the embedded subject is in an A-position at the level in which Condition A applies, then (3b) would be wrongly predicted to be grammatical. These examples are in sharp contrast with English data which Lasnik (1992) and Lasnik and Saito (1999) took as evidence in favor of the high A properties of the ECM subject in English (and UG).

Secondly, Condition B also provides supporting evidence for the same conclusion. Look at the following sentences:

- (4) a. ?Mary-nun [John_i-i chencay-lako] ku_i-uy emeni-pota kwutkey
M-TOP J-NOM genius-C he-GEN mother-than firmly
mit-nun-ta.
believe
'Mary believes that John is a genius more firmly than his mother.'
- b. (?)Mary-nun [John_i-lul chencay-lako] ku_i-uy emeni-pota kwutkey
M-TOP J-ACC genius-c his mother-than firmly
mit-nun-ta.
believe
'Mary believes John to be a genius more firmly than his mother.'

(4a) is grammatical since the pronoun *ku* is not c-commanded by *John* in the embedded clause, satisfying Condition B. However, in (4b), although there is speaker variation, if *John* is in a position from which it can c-command *ku* then the sentence is predicted to be ungrammatical.

According to Fong (2019), the embedded subject takes part in binding and preserves idiom interpretation (Fong 2019) in Mongolian. Mongolian, a typologically related language with Korean, shows that the ECM subject has A-properties.

- (5) a. Öör-iin-kh n'_{*i,j} bagsh oyuutan бүр(-iig)_i sain oyuutan
self-gen-epth POSS.3 teacher student every(-ACC) good student
gej khel-sen.
C said
'His/Her teacher said that every student is a good student.'
- b. Oyutan бүр-iig_i öör-iin-kh n'_i bagsh [t sain
student every-ACC self-gen-epth POSS.3 teacher good

oyuutan gej] khel-sen.

student C said

‘Their teacher said that every student is a good student.’

(‘For every student x, x’s teacher said that x is a good student.’)

(5a) shows that in Mongolian, regardless of the Case marker, the embedded subject cannot be bound by the QP in the matrix clause. However, if the embedded subject is ECMed to the matrix clause initial position, the bound variable interpretation becomes possible. Fong (2019) argues that (5b) implies that the ECM subject drops by an A-position on its way to the matrix clause-initial position. Critically, Fong (2019) assumes that the intermediate landing site is Spec-CP, which turns out to be an A-position in Mongolian.

The second piece of evidence that the ECM subject in Mongolian involves an A-position property is related with idiom interpretation.

(6) Dorj chang-aar Bat-iin nüd(-iig) oreē deer-ee gar-san
Dorj loud-instr Bat-GEN eye(-ACC) TOP on-refl.POSS climb-pst
gej khel-sen.

C said

‘Dorj said loudly that Bat was very surprised.’

(Lit.: ‘Dorj said loudly that Bat’s eyes climbed on TOP of themselves.’)

(6) shows that idiom interpretation is maintained regardless of Case alternation of the ECM subject in Mongolian. If idiom interpretation is a diagnostic for A-position, (6) shows that the ECM subject is in an A-position in Mongolian. All in all, the ECM subjects in Korean and Mongolian have different syntactic positions.

2.2. Proleptic Properties and Korean ECM

It is widely agreed among Korean researchers that Korean ECM has topic-like Major Subject properties that can be linked to prolepsis (Yoon 2007, Choi 2017)³⁾

3) Proleptic accusatives refer to the construction the matrix of which has an accusative object that is semantically related to the element in the embedded clause. Examples are given in (8) (van Koppen et al 2016):

(i) Eenargument waar-van ik denk dat **het** belangrijk is. (Dutch)
an argument which-of I think that it important is
‘an argument of which I think that it is important’

Below are the examples of English prolepsis (Davies 2005):

- (7) a. Harley believes about John_i that he_i is the best candidate for the job.
- b. Ariel knows about Mary_i that the principal will give her_i an award.

The only surface difference between the English examples in (7) and the Korean prolepsis examples in (8) is that in the latter the embedded pronoun is optional (Yoon 2007. See Fong 2019 for Mongolian).⁴⁾

- (8) a. Ne-nun John-lul/John-eytayhay ettehkey sayngkakha-ni?
 you-TOP J-ACC/J-regarding how think-Q
 ‘What do you think about/of John?’
- b. Na-nun John-lul/John-eytayhay (kunyese*k*-i) tolassta-ko
 I-TOP J-ACC/J-regarding that guy-NOM crazy-C
 sayngkakhay.⁵⁾
 think
 ‘I think John is crazy.’ [parenthesis mine]

Although there has been a considerable amount of debate on the identity of prolepsis in Korean, if it is assumed that Korean has it, how can this be captured? It will be shown shortly that it can be nicely subsumed under the proposed RP analysis of ECM. This paper argues that the following examples in (9) are the proleptic accusatives in Korean, which are non-distinct with the ECM in (10).

- (9) a. John-un Mary_i-lul kunye_i-ka yepputako sayngkakhanta.⁶⁾

As shown by the Dutch (and English) example, the proleptic accusative construction is characterized by the accusative object in the matrix and its resumptive pronoun in the embedded clause. According to van Koppen et al. (2016), the proleptic accusatives are found in many languages, living or dead, like Dutch, Middle Dutch, Classical Greek, Latin, Nahuatl, etc. They also add Japanese (and possibly Korean) ECM constructions.

- 4) Whether Korean really has proleptic constructions is a delicate problem which awaits a deeper scrutiny. This paper simply adopts Yoon's (2007) and Lohninger et al.'s (2022) view and (8b) can be understood as a proleptic construction.
- 5) The pronoun *kunyese*k** in (8b) is a kind of resumptive pronoun that is found in regular proleptic constructions. This different from the epithet that shares much to do with a null operator in *tough* constructions. The difference between the two is that the former is optional (in Korean) but the latter is required (in Dutch, for instance) (Yoon 2007).
- 6) Some Koreans take this not quite grammatical, but many others including the author accept it as grammatical.

J-TOP M-ACC she-NOM pretty-C think

‘John thinks that Mary is pretty.’

b. Mary-nun John-ul Bill-i ku-lul ttaylyesstako sayngkakhanta.

M-TOP J-ACC B-NOM he-ACC hit-C think

‘Mary thinks that Bill hit John.’

(10) a. John-un Mary-lul yepputako sayngkakhanta.

J-TOP M-ACC pretty-C think

‘John thinks that Mary is pretty.’

b. Mary-nun John-ul Bill-i ttaylyesstako sayngkakhanta.

M-TOP J-ACC B-NOM hit-C think

‘Mary thinks that Bill hit John.’

To repeat, this paper argues that Korean has the proleptic accusatives, and they are non-distinct with the ECM.

2.3. Korean ECM: A-properties?

Many researchers reported a number of mixed properties of the embedded subject in Korean. In contrast to the claim by Fong (2019) about ECM in Mongolian, ECM in Korean sometimes shows quite an opposite property. First, in fact, Yoon (2007) claims that idiom interpretation is not maintained in Korean ECM.⁷⁾

(11) a. Hankwuksalam-un cakun kochwu-ka maypta-ko sayngkakhanta.

Koreans-TOP small pepper-NOM hot-C think

b. Hankwuksalam-un cakun kochwu-lul maypta-ko sayngkakhanta.

Koreans-TOP small pepper-ACC hot-C think

7) Tests about idiom interpretation are not as solid as has been argued it to be. In contrast to the examples discussed above, the following example seems more or less to keep its idiomatic reading.

(i) a. John-i olhay sewultay-eyse miyekkwuk-ul mekessta.

J-NOM this year SNU-at seaweed soup-ACC ate

‘John ate seaweed soup at SNU this year.’

(Idiomatic: John failed to get admission from SNU this year.)

b. Miyeckkwuk-ul John-i olhay seuwltay-eyse mekessta.

seaweed soup-ACC J-NOM this year SNU-at ate

(ib) can be interpreted both idiomatically and literally to my and some of my colleagues' ears. This is probably because the adverbial *sewultay-eyse* forces the idiomatic interpretation due to the world knowledge about college entrance and *miyekkwuk* in Korean culture. Therefore, tests based on idioms must be carefully controlled.

Literal reading; Small peppers are hot.

Idiomatic reading: Size/height is not a measure of toughness.

(11a: idiomatic, literal; 11b: *^{2/?}idiomatic, literal)

Differently from Yoon (2007), however, some Koreans including the author take (11b) not as bad as Yoon (2007) judges. In other words, to their ears, (11b) is ambiguous between literal and idiomatic readings. This means that the test based on idioms are shaky, inconclusive, and not as solid as Yoon (2007) argues. (11b) can be a piece of evidence that Korean ECM can have A properties as well.⁸⁾

Second, binding seems to be obtained in Korean. Look at the following examples with respect to Condition B, reproduced from (4):

- (12) a. ?Mary-nun [John_i-i chencay-lako] ku_j-uy emeni-pota
M-TOP J-NOM genius-C he-GEN mother-than
kwutkey mit-nun-ta.
firmly believe
'Mary believes that John is a genius more firmly than his mother.'
- b. (?)Mary-nun [John_i-lul chencay-lako] ku_j-uy emeni-pota
M-TOP J-ACC genius-c his mother-than
kwutkey mit-nun-ta.
firmly believe
'Mary believes John to be a genius more firmly than his mother.'

The fact is that there is speaker variation about the status of the examples in (12b). At least to those who take the example bad, it can be evidence that the ECM subject is in A-position so that it brings about Condition B violation.

The major evidence of A-properties of ECM subject argued for Mongolian by Fong (2019) seem to work with Korean with respect to the above examples. The question is how come the embedded subject of ECM in Korean has both A and A' properties, but Mongolian has only A-properties.

8) This conclusion does not mean that accusative subjects in Korean ECM are in the matrix clause. Section 3 deals with a possible solution to this issue. In addition, in contrast to Mongolian examples, if idiomatic reading is maintained in Korean ECM, the difference between the two languages is limited only to the matter of bound variable reading.

3. RP Invited

3.1. Proposed Analysis

To accommodate the mixed high/low and A/A'-properties of the ECM subjects across languages, this paper proposes an RP (Relator Phrase) analysis advocated by den Dikken (2006, 2017a, 2017b) and also adopted by Wurmbrand (2021) and Lohninger et al. (2022). To roughly illustrate the structure, look at (13) below:

(13) ... V [_{RP} Subject_i [_{R'} [_{CP} O_i [_{TP} (pro_i/pronoun_i) ... T] C] R]].

(13) shows the proposed location of the ECM subject in Korean of this paper. Den Dikken (2017b) originally proposed that his RP is advantageous in explaining the hyperraising construction, the most typical example of which is given in (14):

(14) O João parece que 'ta doente (Brazilian Portuguese)
the João seems.3sg that be.3sg sick
'John seems *like/as if/as* though he's sick.' (literal)
João seems to be sick.

The key point of the structure for hyperraising is that the subject is base-generated in the matrix clause and from there it binds the pronoun in the embedded clause as a bound variable.⁹⁾

(15) [_{RP} Subject_i [_{R'} [_{CP} [_{TP} pronoun_i ...

The proposed analysis of this paper can explain the dual properties of Korean ECM avoiding the complicated matter of decision about the status of Spec-CP. In (15), the dual property of the ECM subject is explained through the analysis in which it occupies two positions at the same time. The ECM subject is base-generated in Spec-RP and it is related to the null operator O in a predication relation argued in Browning (1991). If it is correct, A-properties of the ECM subject is captured

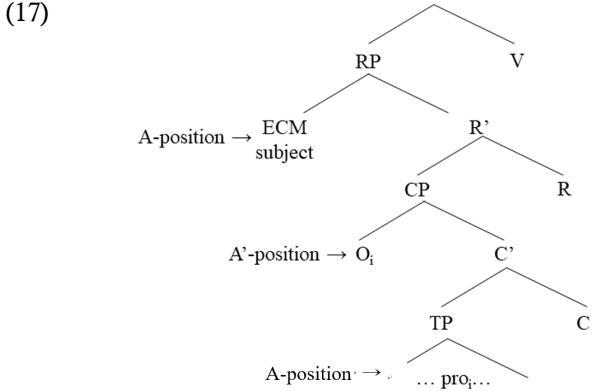
9) The bound variable nature of the pronoun is evidenced by the obligatory sloppy identity reading when is followed by an elided clause.

(i) John_i seems like he_i is sick and Sue_j does <seem like she_j's sick>, too.
(John = he; Sue = she)

in Spec-RP and its A'-properties in Spec-CP. This solution makes use of already existing hypotheses about the argument status of each position. The major claims of the proposed analysis is as follows:

- (16) Major claims
- Predication relation forms an RP, which is an inherent phase under den Dikken (2007, 2017a, 2017b).
 - The ECM subject is base-generated in Spec-RP, which is an A-position by definition.
 - R in Korean ECM is null or C+R if C moves up to R.
 - The null operator (O) is assumed to move from inside the embedded CP to its edge, Spec-CP, which is an A'-position
 - The null operator binds *pro* or pronoun as a bound variable
 - The ECM subject is related to the embedded CP in terms of predication.

This analysis is an extension of den Dikken's (2017b) recent proposal about hyperraising and copy raising in an attempt to remove the NP movement component from them. This is illustrated in (17) below:



3.2. Explanandum

Regarding the proleptic properties of Korean ECM, consider the following, reproduced from (8):

- (18) a. Ne-nun John-lul/John-eytayhay ettehkey sayngkakha-ni?
 you-TOP J-ACC/J-regarding how think-Q
 ‘What do you think about/of John?’
- b. Na-nun John-lul/John-eytayhay (kunyesek-i) tollassta-ko
 I-TOP J-ACC/J-regarding that guy-NOM crazy-C
 sayngkakhay.
 think
 ‘I think John is crazy.’

The proleptic properties of Korean ECM can be nicely subsumed under the RP analysis of the Korean ECM. That is, the proleptic property, A' property in other words, comes from the A'-property of Spec-CP in Korean, which is occupied by a null operator in the structure under consideration.

Independently from this track of analysis, an alternative is recently proposed by Fong (2019). She proposes that Mongolian ECM is well explained under the view that ECM subject undergoes hyperraising.

- (19) a. It seems that John is smart.
 b. John seems to be smart.
 c. John seems that he is smart.

- (20) a. Bat [margaash Dulmaa nom unsh-n gej]
 Bat tomorrow Dulmaa-NOM book read-n. pstC
 khel-sen. (Mongolian)
 said
- b. Bat [margaash Dulmaa-g nom unsh-n] khel-sen.
 Bat tomorrow Dulmaa-ACC book read-n.pst] said
 ‘Bat said that Dulmaa will read a book tomorrow.’

Fong (2019) adopts a movement analysis of the ECM subject to Spec-CP. She, however, has a couple of problems. One problem is that her analysis lacks generality across languages. The analysis does not hold beyond Mongolian (and some languages discussed therein). For instance, the basic paradigm given in (5) and (6) in section 2.1 does not hold for Korean in the least. The ECM in Korean has a vast amount of research accumulated about the case alternation possibility of the subject. The early known constraint is that stative/dynamic distinction is valid (Lee

1992) but other various factors make the whole picture quite complicated (Choi 2017 and references therein). The other problem is concerned with the status of Spec-CP. Although the position has widely been accepted an A'-position, she extensively argues that the Spec-CP in Mongolian is an A-position.

3.3. Movement Issue Revisited

Regarding movement, the ECM subject was analyzed to move from its original position to the matrix object position in the same way as Raising to Object (ROT, or Subject-to-Object Raising (SOR)) in English. Movement approaches, however, face many challenges. One robust problem is that movement is island-insensitive (Yoon 2007).

(21) Na-nun Mary-lul hanunil-i mopemcekila-ko sayngkakhanta.
 I-TOP M-ACC doing-NOM exemplary-C think
 'I think that what Mary does is exemplary.'

(22) Na-nun Mary-lul ttenaki cen-ey mannassta.
 I-TOP M-ACC leave-N before met
 'I met Mary before she left.'

(21) has a complex NP island; (22) has an adjunct island and the ACC-marked NP does not cause problems with respect to islands. These examples show that the ECM subject is not island-sensitive, which argues against movement analysis. Under the proposed analysis of this paper, if the ECM subject is base-generated in situ, island obviation is not predicted since *Mary-lul* actually does not move out of the island. Choi (2017) argues that the ECM subject adjoins to AgrP. This proposal, however, does not solve the problem since AgrP is located outside not inside of the embedded clause. In addition, adjunction is not the only option to take; that is, why not move to Spec-VP to get accusative Case?

The second problem has to do with reconstruction. As for reconstruction, note that a raised nominal does not reconstruct.

(23) a. ?Na-nun caki_i sensayng-uy chwuchense-ka citohaksayngtul_i-eykey
 I-TOP self teacher-GEN letter-NOM advisees-DAT
 kakkak kongkay-toy-eyahanta-ko sayngkakhanta.

each release-pass-must-C think

'I believe that their teacher's letters of recommendations should be released to each advisee.'

- b. *Na-nun caki_i sensayng-uy chwuchense-lul citohaksayngtul_i-eykey
I-TOP self teacher-GEN letter-ACC advisees-DAT
kakkak kongkay-toy-eyahanta-ko sayngkakhanta.
each release-pass-must-C think

Bound variable reading is not possible with NP-ACC as in (23b). This argues against raising because if NP-ACC is raised, it would have been reconstructed and (23b) is falsely predicted to be good.¹⁰ Choi (2017) argues that the following scope interaction examples can be found, supporting the same conclusion:

- (24) a. Mary-un [sey haksayng-i motun kyoswu-ekey
M-TOP three students-NOM all professors-to
sokaytoyeya hantako] sayngkakhanta. (three > all, three < all)
must-be-introduced do-C think
'Mary thinks that three students must be introduced to all professors.'
- b. Mary-un [sey haksayng-lul motun kyoswu-ekey
M-TOP three students-ACC all professors-to
sokaytoyeya hantako] sayngkakhanta. (three >all, *three < all)
must-be-introduced do-C think

Choi (2017) says that if *sey haksayng* 'three students' is reconstructed into the embedded position, (24b) is predicted to have scope ambiguity in tandem with (24a), which is not true. Choi's solution to this is of course attributed to his adjunction to AgrP; however, adjunction to AgrP is not without problems as discussed above. The proposed analysis of this paper assumes that *sey haksayng-ul* 'three students-ACC' is base-generated at Spec-RP, which does not call for reconstruction for sure. Note that as was discussed before, Fong (2019) proposes that the movement in Mongolian is A-movement to Spec-CP.¹¹ This is, however, a very costly assumption because Spec-CP has every reason to be an A'-position. On top of it, Fong's (2019) solution

10) It is reported that there is no reconstruction in Japanese ECM, too (Takano 2003).

11) Recall that Yoon (2007) proposed that the ECMed subject undergoes major subject raising. But when the observed A-properties of the ECM subject are considered, his proposal is problematic because it cannot explain height effect with respect to A-properties of Mongolian.

has no cross-linguistic motivation in that it does not explain the A'-properties of Korean ECM.

In early 90's, influential arguments were made in support of the existence of AgroP above the embedded clause (TP) to explain the height effect of the ECM subject in English (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993, Lasnik 1992). The movement analysis for ECM gets support from Binding Theory. Consider the following sentences.

- (25) a. Joan believes [he_i is a genius] even more fervently than Bob_i does.
b. *Joan believes [him_i to be a genius] even more fervently than Bob_i does.
- (26) a. The king declared [that he_i was an outlaw] even more eagerly than Marcel_i's own squire had.
b. The king declared [him_i to be an outlaw] even more eagerly than Marcel_i's own squire had. (Branigan (1992: 63))

In (25a) *he* cannot c-command *Bob*, since the former is in the embedded clause at the level in which Condition C applies (presumably at LF). On the other hand, in (25b), *him* can c-command *Bob*, since the former is raised to the matrix object position, resulting in Condition C violation. The same explanation holds for the sentences in (26). A more famous set of examples are given below: in the distribution of reciprocal expressions:

- (27) a. ?The DA proved [*the defendants*_i to be guilty] during *each other*_i's trials.
b. ?*The DA proved [that *the defendants*_i were guilty] during *each other*'s trials.

In (27a), the antecedent, *the defendants*, would be able to c-command the anaphor, *each other*, in adverbial clause, satisfying Condition A. In (27b), the antecedent, being in the subject position of the embedded clause, cannot c-command *each other*, resulting in a violation Condition A.

Negative Polarity Item licensing gives further support to the movement analysis.

- (28) a. ?The DA proved [*none of the defendants* to be guilty] during *any* of the trials.
b. ?*The DA proved [that *none of the defendants* were guilty] during *any* of the trials.

If Negative Polarity Items like *any* is licensed by being c-commanded by its antecedent (negator) as is assumed in the literature, the sentences in (28) get quite

natural explanation: in (28a), the antecedent *none of the defendants* would be raised to the matrix at the level at which the Negative Polarity Item Licensing takes place and from this position, it will be able to c-command *any*. In (28b), however, the antecedent, being inside the embedded clause, would not be able to c-command *any*, failing to satisfy its licensing requirement.

Korean ECM, however, shows no such contrast that has been observed in English. First of all, consider the following data, reproduced from (3).

- (29) a. *ku kemsanun [John_i-i yucoy-lako] caki-uy caypan-eyse
 the prosecutor-TOP J-NOM guilty-C self-gen trial-at
 cungmyengha-ass-ta.
 demonstrated
 ‘The prosecutor demonstrated that John was guilty in his trial.’
- b. *ku kemsanun [John_i-lul yucoy-lako] caki-uy caypan-eyse
 the prosecutor-TOP J-ACC guilty-C self-gen trial-at
 cungmyengha-ass-ta.
 demonstrated
 ‘The prosecutor demonstrated John to be guilty in his trial.’

These examples are in sharp contrast with English data. As is shown in (29b), even if the embedded subject *John* is assumed to get raised, as allegedly claimed in Lasnik (1992), *caki* cannot be interpreted to be bound by *John*, whereas it is impossible in (29a). If we assume that the embedded subject has moved to the matrix at the level in which BT applies, then (29b) would be wrongly predicted to be grammatical.

Negative Polarity Item licensing renders further evidence against the movement analysis. It is generally reported that Korean NPIs are subject to a kind of locality requirement that NPI and its antecedent should be in the same clause (Choe 1988 and Lee 1992):

- (30) a. John-i amwukesto sa-ci an-ha-ass-ta.
 J-NOM anything buy-N not-did (N=nominalizer)
 ‘John did not buy anything.’
- b. Mary-ka [John-i amwukesto sa-ci an-ha-ass-ta-ko] mit-ess-ta.
 M-NOM J-NOM anything buy-N not-do-C believed
 ‘Mary believed that John did not buy anything.’

- c. *Mary-ka [John-i *amwukesto* sa-ass-ta-ko] mit-ci *an-ha-ass-ta*.
 M-NOM J-NOM anything bought-C believe-N not-did
 '(intended reading) Mary did not believe that John bought anything.'
- (31) a. *Amwuto* ton-ul hwumchi-ci *an-ass-ta*.
 anyone money-ACC steal-n not-pst-dec
 '(intended reading) Anyone did not steal money.'
- b. John- i [*amwuto* ton-ul hwumchi-ci *an-ha-ass-ta-ko*]
 J-NOM anyone money-ACC steal-N not-did-C
 mit-ess-ta.
 believed
 'John believed that anyone did not steal money.'
- c. *John- i [*amwuto* ton-ul hwumchi-ess-ta-ko] mit-ci
 J-NOM anyone money-ACC stole-C believe-N
an-ha-ass-ta.¹²⁾
 not-did
 'John did not believe that anyone stole money.'

English, on the other hand, does not show such clause-boundedness as shown below:

- (32) a. Mary did *not* buy *anything*.
 b. John believed that Mary did *not* buy *anything*.
 c. John did *not* believe that Mary bought *anything*.

Now, consider the following examples ECM context:

- (33) a. *John-un [amwuna(-ka) Chomsky-lul manna-ass-ta-ko] mit-ci
 J-TOP anyone(-NOM) C-ACC met-C believe-n
 an-ha-ass-ta.
 not-did

12) Some Koreans judge (31c) and a similar example below not fully ungrammatical.

(i) John-i [amwuto chencay-lako] mit-ci annunta.
 J-NOM anyone genius-C believe-n not-be
 'John does not believe anyone to be a genius.'

Those who take those examples as grammatical seem to have a Neg raising with attitude verbs like *mitta* 'believe' in Korean. This awaits further exploration about Neg raising predicates in Korean.

'John did not believe that anyone meet Chomsky.'

- b. *John-un [amwuna(-lul) Chomsky-lul manna-ass-ta-ko] mit-ci
J-TOP anyone(-ACC) C-ACC met-C believe-N
an-ha-ass-ta.
not-did
'John did not believe anyone to meet Chomsky.'

If the embedded subject *amwuna* is raised to the matrix, then (33b) should be grammatical, since both an NPI and its antecedent would be in the same matrix clause. (33b) is, however, as bad as (33a).

Condition C renders additional support to the same conclusion. Look at the following examples:

- (34) a. ?Mary-nun [ku_i -ka chencay-lako] John_i-uy emeni-pota
M-TOP he-NOM genius-C J-GEN mother-than
kwutkey mit-nun-ta.
firmly believed
'Mary believes that he is a genius more firmly than John's mother.'
- b. ?Mary-nun [ku_i -lul chencay-lako] John_i-uy emeni-pota
M-TOP he-ACC genius-c J-GEN mother-than
kwutkey mit-nun-ta.
firmly believed
'Mary believes him to be a genius more firmly than John's mother.'

(34a) is grammatical since *John* is not c-commanded by *ku*, satisfying Condition C. On the other hand, in (34b), if *ku* is raised to SPEC of AGRoP from which it can c-command *John*, then the sentence is wrongly predicted to be ungrammatical as a violation of Condition C.

Examples given in (29-34) argue against the height effect view of the ECM subject in Korean. This paper argues that the RP analysis can take care of this difference nicely in that Spec-RP is still under the matrix VP. Structure-wise, the NP in Spec-RP cannot c-command whatever element in the matrix VP.

4. A Remark on the Similarity between ECM and MNC

The ECM construction and the MNC (multiple nominative construction) in Korean are known to share significant similarities. The first similarity is about the nature of embedded predicates. The embedded predicate cannot be stative in ECM.

- (35) *John-un [Mary-lul pap-ul mekesstako] sayngkakhayssta.
J-TOP M-ACC meal-ACC ate-C thought
'John thought that Mary ate meal.'

The ungrammaticality of (35) has been ascribed to the transitivity of the embedded verb *mekta* 'to eat'. Transitivity, however, seems to be neither sufficient nor necessary for ECM. First some transitive verbs allow ECM clauses.

- (36) Mary-nun [John-ul nul kongwon-eyse nontako] sayngkakhanta.
M-TOP J-ACC always park-in play-C think
'Mary thinks that John always play in the park.'

(36) shows that even with the embedded verb *nolta* 'to play', which is clearly not stative, the accusative subject is possible in ECM. Secondly, look at (37) below:

- (37) *Na-nun [Mary-lul John-ul salanghantako] sayngkakhanta.
I-TOP M-ACC J-ACC love-C think.
'I think that Mary loves John.'

(37) shows that even though the embedded verb *salanghata* 'to love' is stative, the accusative subject is not possible in ECM.

Hong (1992) argues that the above data show that what really matters about the nature of ECM predicates in Korean is their habitual or generic interpretation. This interpretation allows the accusative subject in ECM; if not habitual or generic, no accusative subject is possible in ECM. Look at (38):

- (38) ?*Mary-un [John-ul kongwon-eyse nolkoisstako] sayngkakhanta.
M-TOP J-ACC park-in play-C think
'Mary thinks that John is playing in the park.'

The aspect of *nolkoissta* 'be playing' is different from *nolta* 'to play' in that the former, which is progressive, cannot be habitual or generic.

These properties are interestingly shared with the restriction on possible predicates of MNC in Korean. Consider the following MNC (Kang 1988):

- (39) a. John-i atul-i nwun-i kuta.
J-NOM son-NOM eye-NOM big
'John's son has big eyes.'
- b. ?*John-i atul-i nwun-i kuta.
J-NOM son-NOM eye-NOM big
'John's son has big eyes.'

(39b) does not sound as perfect as (39a), for owning a big-eyed dog is not a characteristic of a person. In contrast, (39a) sounds perfect, for the information about a person's son can be a characteristic of the person. The first NP describes something important enough to invite more description to follow; the second NP must provide the first NP with sufficient and habitual information to specify it. This is stativity according to Hong (1992).

The second similarity has something to do with the availability of non-subject adjunct phrases.

- (40) a. Ecey-ka nalssi-ka cohassta.
yesterday-NOM weather-NOM was-good
'Weather was good yesterday.'
- b. LA-ka hankuksalam-i ceyil mahnisanta.
L-NOM Korean-NOM most many live
'Koreans live in LA most.'
- (41) a. Na-nun ecey-lul nalssi-ka cohasstako sayngkakhanta.
I-TOP yesterday-ACC weather-NOM was-good-C think
'I think that weather was good yesterday.'
- b. Na-nun LA-lul hankuksalam-i ceyil mahni santako
I-TOP L-ACC Korean-NOM most many live-C
sayngkakhanta.
think
'I think that many Koreans live in LA.'

(40) shows that time adjuncts or place adjuncts can be the first nominative phrase. (41) shows that ECM constructions share the same property with MNC in allowing an adjunct in the subject position of the embedded clause. These examples demonstrate that both constructions share the same property that they can have an adjunct as the first subject. This is confirmed by the following examples:

- (42) a. Ku hay-ka ssal-i phungcakita.¹³⁾
 that year-NOM rice-NOM good-harvest-be
 ‘We have a good harvest this year.’
- b. Na-nun [ku hay-lul ssal-i phungcakilako] sayngkakhanta.
 I-NOM that year-ACC rice-NOM good-harvest-be think
 ‘I think that we have a good harvest this year.’

(42) shows that MNC and ECM share the same property that the first subject is an adjunct.

All in all, the proposed structure of MNC in Korean (44) is given in (45) in line with the structure for ECM.

- (43) John-i emeni-ka cousita.
 J-NOM mother-NOM good-HON-C
 ‘John has a nice mother.’

- (44) [RP [John-i [CP O_i [TP emeni-ka [[VP cousi] [T pres]]] [C ta]] [R Ø]].

(44) is non-distinct from (13) for the ECM in Korean under the proposed RP analysis of this paper.

5. Conclusion

So far, the mixed (A and A'; high and low) properties of the ECM subject in Korean have been discussed and explained in terms of the RP (Relator Phrase) proposal of den Dikken (2007, 2017a, 2017b). One robust challenge of the ECM

13) A reviewer comments that (42a) has an embedded predicate which is neither habitual nor generic, which is different a view from Hong (1992). Granting that the interpretation of the predicate has speaker variation, this paper adopts Hong's (1992) judgment.

in Korean has been that the categorial status of the embedded clause is different from that of typical ECM in English. Korean seems to have a full clausal CP as an embedded clause while English has TP. To accommodate these perplexingly mixed properties of Korean ECM, this paper proposed that Korean ECM subjects are base-generated in Spec-RP, which is an A-position by definition and that R in Korean ECM is null or C+R if C moves up to R. In addition, a null operator (O) is assumed to move from inside the embedded CP to its edge, Spec-CP, which is an A'-position. This null operator binds *pro* or pronoun as a bound variable. In this regard, the ECM subject is related to the embedded CP in terms of predication relation. One prospective extension of this paper is that the proposed analysis explains Fong's (2019) observation that ECM subjects in Mongolian have A-properties. ECM subjects are invariably located in Spec-RP according to the conclusions of this paper. Finally, significant similarities between ECM construction and the MNC (multiple nominative construction) in Korean are also explained in terms of RP, which has not been claimed in previous studies. Hopefully, this paper would be able to explain the complicated properties of ECM subjects across languages.

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