

An RP Analysis of ECM in Korean and Mongolian

This study is purposed to explain dual properties of the ECM subject in Korean given in (1b) below in terms of the RP (Relator Phrase) analysis of den Dikken (2007, 2017a, 2017b).

- (1) a. Chelswu-ka [_{CP} Yenghi-ka yeppu-tako] saykakhanta.
C-nom Y-nom pretty-C think
b. Chelswu-ka [_{CP} Yenghi-lul yeppu-tako] saykakhanta. (ECM in Korean)
C-nom Y-acc pretty-C think

This kind of case alternation of the embedded subject has been analyzed as an example of ECM in Korean. One challenge of the ECM analysis of (1b) is that the categorial status of the embedded clause is different from that of typical ECM in English, for instance. (1b) has a full clausal CP as an embedded clause while (2b) has TP.

- (2) a. John believes [_{CP} that Mary is pretty].
b. John believes [_{TP} Mary to be pretty]. (ECM in English)

Furthermore, the embedded subject of ECM in Korean has been discussed to have both A and A' properties. The gist is that the NP-acc, *Yenghi-lul* in (1b) acts either as an argument or as a non-argument depending on the context. Many researchers reported a number of A properties of the embedded subject in (1b) in line with (2b) in English. For example, the embedded subject takes part in binding and preserves idiom interpretation. Many more pieces of evidence can be added in support of A properties. In contrast to A properties, tons of A'-properties of the embedded subject have also been reported in the literature.

A big research question is how come an XP has dual properties at the same time? Traditionally, ECM is a descendant of the SOR (Subject-to-Object Raising) in which the ECM subject eventually resides in an A-position (object position) and hence comes A-properties. ECM analyses assume 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 TP. If the subject does not move, the ECM analysis will be comfortable with the A properties of the ECM subject. However, what about their A' properties? To accommodate the dual properties of Korean ECM, this paper proposes an RP (Relator Phrase) analysis advocated by den Dikken (2017b). To roughly illustrate the structure, consider (3) below:

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

Basic tenets are as follows:

- (4) 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.
 - A 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 in the sense of Browning (1988).

The proposed analysis explains the dual properties of Korean ECM nicely eschewing the complicated matter of deciding the status of Spec-CP. The dual property of the ECM subject is explained in that 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 in Spec-RP and A'-properties in Spec-CP. This solution makes use of already existing hypotheses about the argumenthood of each position. It is widely agreed among Korean researchers that it has topic-like Major Subject properties that can be linked to prolepsis. In a prolepsis construction, a DP with a non-subject case is base-generated inside the matrix clause and the DP is resumed by a pronoun in the embedded clause (Davies 2005). Below are examples of English:

- (5) a. Haley believes about Aubrey_i that he_i is the best candidate for the job.
b. Ariel knows about Jungmin_i that the principal will give her_i an award.

The only superficial difference between the Korean examples in (6) and the English prolepsis

examples in (5) is that in the former the embedded pronoun is optional. (Yoon 2007. See Fong 2019 for Mongolian examples)

- (6) a. Ne-nun Cheli-lul/Cheli-eytayhay ettehkey sayngkakha-ni?
 you-top C-acc/C-regarding how think-Q
 'What do you think about/of Cheli?'
 b. Na-nun Cheli-lul/Cheli-eytayhay (kunyese-k-i) tollassta-ko sayngkakhay (parenthesis mine)
 I-top C-ACC/C-regarding that guy-nom crazy-C think
 'I think Cheli is crazy.'

Although there has been a considerable amount of debate on the identity of prolepsis in Korean, if it is assumed that Korean has it, it can be nicely subsumed under the RP analysis of the Korean ECM. That is, the propletic 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). He proposes a hyperraising analysis which assumes that Mongolian ECM is well explained under the view that ECM subject undergoes hyperraising.

- (7) a. It seems that John is smart.
 b. John seems to be smart.
 c. John seems that he is smart.
 (8) a. Bat [_{Clause} margaash Dulmaa nom unsh-n gej gej] khel-sen. (Mongolian)
 Bat [tomorrow Dulmaa.nom book read-n.pst comp] say-pst
 b. Bat [_{Clause} margaash Dulmaa-g nom unsh-n] khel-sen.
 Bat [tomorrow Dulmaa-acc book read-n.pst comp] say-pst
 '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 (8) 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 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. The question of whether it is A or A' needs a more extensive discussion across languages. The proposed analysis not only fares well with the problems of dual properties of the ECM subject in Korean, it will also be shown that a couple of hitherto-not-directly-related phenomena regarding hyperraising or copy raising in English and Hungarian are explained under the proposed analysis.

References

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