Subject-Object Asymmetries of Morphological Case Realization

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Hee-Don Ahn and Sungeun Cho. 2007. Subject-Object Asymmetries of Morphological Case Realization. *Language and Information 11.1*, 53–76. Case markers in Korean are omissible in colloquial speech. Previous discourse studies of Caseless bare NPs in Korean show that the information structure of zero Nominative not only differs from that of overt Nominative but it also differs from that of zero Accusative in many respects. This paper aims to provide a basis for these semantic/pragmatic properties of Caseless NPs through the syntactic difference between bare subjects and bare objects: namely, the former are left-dislocated NPs, whereas the latter form complex predicates with the subcategorizing verbs. Our analysis will account for the facts that (i) the distribution of bare subject NPs are more restricted than that of bare object NPs; (ii) bare subject NPs must be specific or topical; (iii) Acc-marked NPs in canonical position tend to be focalized. (**Konkuk University and Sungkyunkwan University**)

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1. Introduction

Case in Korean is morphologically realized by Case markers, which attach to nouns as suffixes. It was held that Case markers are frequently omissible in colloquial contexts, as shown in (1).[1]

[1] Ko (2000) observes a close correlation between the non-pronunciation of the Accusative Case marker and the style of the discourse:

(1) Chelswu-(ka) i   chayk-(ul) sa-ss-e.
    Chelswu-Nom this book-Acc buy-Past-Dec
    'Chelswu bought this book.'

In (1), two nominals, *Chelswu* 'Chelswu' and *i chayk* 'this book' can occur without Case markers. Given that a Case marker is pronounced in the head position of DP (Ahn, 1988), the absence of Case morpheme may result in a bare NP (instead of a DP with a null D put forward in Ahn and Cho (2006b)).

Many previous studies of bare NPs in Korean show that subject-object asymmetries are observed in various respects. For example, as observed in the wide range of conversational data (Lee, 2006c; Lee, 2006a), occurrence rate of bare NPs in complement positions is higher than that of bare NPs in subject positions. Thus, in (1), for instance, the absence of an accusative marker is more frequently found than that of a nominative marker in colloquial discourse. The grammatical contrast in (2) further shows that the distribution of bare NP subjects is not only less common but also severely restricted in certain structural environment, in contrast to the bare NP objects.[2]

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

        b. Chelswu-(lul) Mary-ka   manna-ss-e.
           Chelswu-(Acc) Mary-Nom meet-Past-Dec
           'Chelswu, Mary met.'

Another interesting asymmetry is found with specific/non-specific contexts.

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

In (3), the bare NP is not permitted with the non-specific modifier *han/etten*.[3] Note, however, that this restriction does not apply to bare NP objects.

(i) The frequency of the occurrence of the Acc marker
    News broadcast (74%) > Newsgroup (64%) > Telephone (27%)

E. Ko concludes that the more informal the discourse is, the higher the rate of use of unpronounced Acc Case marker is. Thus, as shown in (i), the Acc marker *-lul* is unpronounced most frequently in telephone conversation.

[2] In Section 2.2 we will discuss the difference related to Case marker omissibility in (2) more precisely.

[3] An anonymous reviewer points out that the bare subject modified by a nonspecific modifier *etten* 'a certain' in the following sentence is acceptable:

(i) Onul **etten**   **haksayng-∅** o-kilo   ha-yess-ta-myense,
    today a.certain student   come-to do-Past-Dec-Quotative
    kulentey cikum naka-myen ettehkey hay?
    then   now   go.out-if how   do
    'I heard a certain student would come today, then how come you go out now?'

(4) (Yeysnal-ey) Mary-ka han/etten namca-(lul) manna-ss-ta.
    long.time-at M.-Nom a/a.certain man-(Acc) meet-Past-Dec
    '(Long time ago) Mary met a man.'

Thus, in (4), Acc Case on the object can be freely unpronounced with non-specific modifier. Note, however, that overt realization of Acc Case in (4) tends to induce a "focalized/emphatic" reading, as observed in the previous discourse studies (Jun, 2005; Ko, 2000; Lee, 2006a; Matsuda, 1995). By contrast, overt realization of Nom Case in (3) does not necessarily give rise to a focalized interpretation, which is another instance of subject-object asymmetry of Case realization.

To recapitulate, there are at least three subject-object asymmetries that beg an explanation in connection to the presence/absence of Case markers: (i) The distribution of bare subject NPs are more restricted than that of bare object NPs; (ii) Only bare subject NP cannot be modified by non-specific modifier; (iii) Only Acc-marked NP (in canonical position) tends to be focalized.

In this paper, we attempt to explain how the structural difference between bare NP subjects and bare NP objects correctly predicts various kind of asymmetries of morphological Case realization. This paper is organized as follows: In section 2 we briefly review two recent approaches to Morphological Case realization. Section 3 discusses how well the formal approach mentioned in section 2 accounts for semantic/pragmatic properties of bare subject NPs. Section 4 further deals with the semantic/pragmatic properties of bare NPs in object positions. Summary and further implications will be provided in Section 5.

2. Two Approaches to Morphological Case Realization

2.1 Functional Approaches (Lee, 2006a; Lee, 2006b)
A series of recent corpus and experimental studies by Lee (2006a), Lee (2006b) show that quantative patterning found in Korean Case ellipsis follows the hierarchy put forward by Silverstein (1976) and Aissen (2003), which has an effect on Case marking system in various languages.

(5) a. Animacy hierarchy: Human > Animate > Inanimate

    b. Definiteness hierarchy: Personal pronoun > Definite NP > Indefinite specific NP > Non-specific NP

The intuition based on the hierarchy mentioned above is that subject and object are maximally differentiated from each other. More specifically, subject prototypically

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To our ears, however, (i) is not fully acceptable with nonspecific reading of *etten*. Perhaps the modifier *etten* is lexically ambiguous, and it might not always yield nonspecific interpretation. The modifier *han* 'a certain', by contrast, seems to always yield nonspecific reading, and hence the following sentence is far worse than (i).

(ii) ?*Onul **han haksayng-**$\emptyset$ o-kilo   ha-yess-ta-myense,
        today one student   come-to do-Past-Dec-Quotative
     kulentey cikum naka-myen ettehkey hay?
     then   now   go.out-if how   do
     'I heard a certain student would come today, then how come you go out now?'

have features that are high on the hierarchy of person, animacy and definiteness, while objects prototypically have low features. When objects have high features, they need to be differentiated from subjects. At this time, morphological Case realization can be a means to play the role. Similarly, when subjects have low features, they need to be differentiated from objects. Again, morphological Case realization plays the role.

Lee (2006a), Lee (2006b) examines how definiteness, person, and animacy correlate with morphological Case realization of subject and object. Let us consider how definiteness of subjects and objects has an effect on the choice of Case-marked or Caseless forms. In the case of subjects, definite nouns such as pronouns and names show the higher rate of Caseless forms than low definite ones. By contrast, in the case of objects, definite nouns show the lower rate of Caseless forms than other nouns. When subjects have definite features that are high on the hierarchy, they are maximally differentiated from objects by themselves. As a result, the occurrence of nominative Case marker isn't strongly forced. Along the same line, when objects have definite features that are generally linked to subjects, they should be differentiated from subjects. Hence, they need overt Case marking.

Animacy effects on morphological Case realization are also asymmetric in subjects and objects. Human and (non-human) animate subjects exhibit a higher rate of Caseless form than inanimate subjects. By contrast, animate objects exhibit a lower rate of Caseless form than inanimate ones. The higher rate of animate Caseless subjects is analyzed in the following way: Since animate subjects are prototypical subjects, without help of Case markers, they can be maximally differentiated from objects. The lower rate of animate Caseless object is also accounted for under the general pattern related to the hierarchy. Given that animate objects have a high feature, a feature linked to subjects, they need to be differentiated from subjects. Hence, occurrence of object Case marker is strongly forced. Regarding person effects on morphological Case realization, Lee (2006c) reports that bare NP subjects are sensitive to person information, and Nominative Cases are more frequently unpronounced on 1st and 2nd person subjects than on 3rd person subjects. Turning to objects, the person effect isn't significant. This phenomenon is also accounted for under the tendency to Case-mark non-canonical argument type.

Along with the referential pattern mentioned in (5), Lee (2006b, 336) claims that discourse prominence plays a crucial role in variation of Case marking in Korean, as shown in (6).

(6)   The degree of argument strength

   a. Discourse prominence and referential prominence
      Strong ◄——————————————————
            High prominence in topicality and focality
            High prominence in animacy, definiteness, specificity

   b. Prototypicality
      Strong ◄——————————————————
            Proto-agent
            Proto-Patient

(6) is based on two ways to measure the strength of arguments proposed by de Hoop and Narasimhan (to appear).[4] One way is to use the notion 'discourse prominence' and the other is to use semantic prototypicality, i.e., the degree to which an argument possesses certain features that characterize the argument's role in the expressed event (Dowty, 1991). For example, a prototypical agent and prototypical patient are characterized in terms of volitionality and affectedness, respectively.

Assuming (6), Lee (2006b, 336) claims that two different functions, namely, identifying and distinguishing function, predict Case variation for object. Case marking identifies strong arguments or prototypical types of argument. When objects have low prominence in the dimension of focus (i.e. contrastive focus), objects left unmarked. According to the distinguishing function, overt Case should be assigned to objects that are more marked (or more-subject-like) and that non-pronunciation of Case should apply more frequently to objects that are less prominent and hence are less marked.

2.2 Formal Approaches (Ahn and Cho, 2006c; Ahn and Cho, 2006a; Ahn and Cho, 2007)

Ahn and Cho (2006c), Ahn and Cho (2006a), Ahn and Cho (2007) propose that bare NP object forms a "syntactic" complex predicate with the subcategorizing verb.[5] In other words, the bare NP object has dual function: namely, it fulfills as an argument of the subcategorizing verb, and it also forms a predicate with the selecting verb in syntax. Ahn & Cho claim that this option is only available with bare NPs in Korean (but not Case-marked DPs, for example). Note that this option is excluded if a bare NP takes place outside of V domain.[6] Hence, we get the contrast between (7) and (8).

(7) Mary-ka   **Chelswu-∅** manna-ss-e.
    Mary-Nom Chelswu-Acc meet-Past-Dec
    'Mary met Chelswu.'

(8) *Chelswu-ul   **Mary-∅** po-ass-e.
    Chelswu-Acc Mary   see-Past-Dec
    'Chelswu, Mary saw.'

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[4] Lee (2006b, 335) assumes that the degree of argument strength varies on the number of factors, including agentivity, referentiality, animacy, definiteness, specificity, and discourse prominence.

[5] Due to space limitations, we will not discuss the similar behavior of bare NP objects in other languages. See related discussion of the dual status of a postcopular NP in English in Hazout (2004), bare NPs in English in Uriagereka (2000), and nonspecific indefinite NPs and bare NPs in Turkish in Cagri (2005) and Ozturk (2005). See Ahn and Cho (2007, 5–8) for extensive discussion.

[6] An anonymous reviewer raises a question as to the motivation for syntactic complex predicate formation with bare NP objects. Note that bare NP objects are s-selected by the verb, hence they seem to satisfy the theta-theoretic requirement. There is, however, an additional formal licensing requirement for the verb, namely, Φ-features or Case, which are respectively licensed by Φ- or D-head of nominal projections. Since bare NPs are lacking in these functional projections, they should undergo complex predicate formation as a last resort. Note that bare NP subjects cannot undergo this process since they are structurally "external" to V-domain, hence they cannot occur alone in syntax unlike bare NP objects.

Regarding the bare NP in subject position, Ahn and Cho (2006c), Ahn and Cho (2006a), Ahn and Cho (2007) adopt a proposal in Ahn (1999) that a bare NP subject with an apparent unpronounced nominative Case marker in (9) can be analyzed as a Left-Dislocated (LDed) NP.

(9) $Mary_i$-$\emptyset$ pro_i ku chayk ilk-ess-ni?
     Mary   the book read-Past-Q
     'Did Mary read that book?'

In (9), although *Mary* is not in a complement position of V, a nominative Case marker can be unpronounced. *Mary* in (9) is analyzed as an LDed NP in a left peripheral position with a null resumptive *pro* in its base-generated position. Note that LD option is not available for the analysis of the bare subject NP in (8), repeated here, since LDed phrases cannot be embedded by other scrambled/moved elements cross-linguistically (see Grohmann (2003)).

(10) *Chelswu-lul **Mary-$\emptyset$** manna-ss-e.
       Chelswu-Acc Mary   meet-Past-Dec
      'Chelswu, Mary met.'

Given that the bare NP subject is an LDed nominal, the distribution of bare NP subjects is closely related to discourse properties. Note that LDed phrases across languages are generally interpreted as specific and topical (see Grohmann (2006)). This is confirmed by a semantic restriction on bare *wh*-phrases in sentence-initial positions. As initially noted by Ahn and Cho (2006c), (11a) is well-formed only if the subject *wh*-phrase *nwukwu* 'who' has a D(iscourse)-linked interpretation in the sense of Pesetsky (1987).[7]

(11) a. **Nwukwu-$\emptyset$** Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni?
         who   Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q

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[7] D-linked *wh*-phrases ask for answers in which individuals that replace the *wh*-phrases are drawn from a set that is presumed to be salient to both speaker and hearer. (11a) becomes more acceptable if the *wh*-phrase is modified by D-link-inducing elements, as in (i).

(i) I   cwung-eyse nwukwu Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni?
     this group-among who   Yenghi-Acc met-Past-Q
     'Which person of this group met Yenghi?'

As a result of domain specification like *i cwungeyse*, (i) seems to be more natural than (11a). In both (11a) and (i), *wh*-phrases always have D-linked interpretations.

An anonymous reviewer indicates that (11a) can be interpreted as 'Did someone/anyone meet Younghee?'. The word *nwukwu* in Korean is lexically ambiguous, and it can be interpreted as 'who' or 'someone/anyone'. Although we are mainly concerned with D-linked WH reading in (11a), 'someone/anyone' reading that the reviewer raises presents a nontrivial problem if that reading is indeed possible in (11a). One of us cannot get this reading, either, in (11a). If the subject *nwukwu* occurs with an unaccusative verb, as noted by the reviewer as in (ii), the sentence can be more easily interpreted as 'someone/anyone'.

(ii) Pakk-ey   nwukwu wa-ss-ni?
      outside-at someone come-Past-Q
      'Did someone/anyone come outside?'

This, however, has to do with the "unaccusativity" of the verb since if the verb is a prototypical unergative, the bare subject *nwukwu* is less acceptable, as shown in (iii).

(only D-linked reading is possible)

 b. **Nwu(kwu)-ka** Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni?[8]
  who-Nom   Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q
  'Who met Yenghi?'

 (non-D-linked reading is also possible)

By contrast, such restriction isn't observed in the case of bare object *wh*-phrases in (12).

 (12) a. Yenghi-ka **nwukwu-∅** manna-ss-ni?
     Yenghi-Nom who   meet-Past-Q

   (non-D-linked reading is also possible)

  b. Yenghi-ka **nwukwu-lul** manna-ss-ni?
    Yenghi-Nom who-Acc meet-Past-Q
   'Who did Yenghi meet?'

   (non-D-linked reading is also possible)

Given that *wh*-phrases can occur in complement positions as bare NPs (and subsequently undergo complex predicate formation), the Caseless object *wh*-phrase in (12a) does not necessarily exhibit D-linked interpretation since it is not LDed.

Dislocated bare objects in leftmost peripheries can also be treated along the similar lines. Consider (13).

 (13) **Chelswu-∅** Mary-ka manna-ss-e.
    Chelswu Mary-Nom meet-Past-Dec
    'Chelswu, Mary met.'

Bare NPs in dislocated positions are also analyzed as LDed nominal. Hence, (13) has the structure like (14).

 (14) **Chelswu$_i$** Mary-ka **pro$_i$** mannasse.

Evidence for this claim is observed with dislocated bare *wh*-object, as shown in (15).[9]

 (15) **Nwukwu-∅** Yenghi-ka manna-ss-ni?
    Who   Yenghi-Nom meet-Past-Q
    'Who is such that Yenghi meet (him)?'

   (only D-linked reading is possible)

 (iii) ?*Pakk-ey nwukwu twi-ess-ni?
     outside-at someone run-Past-Q
    'Did someone/anyone run outside?'

It is a well-known fact that the subjects of unaccusatives pattern alike the objects of transitives, hence the bare subject in (ii) is predicted to pattern with the bare objects unlike the ones in (iii) and (11a).

[8] *Nwukwu* reduces to *nwu* when it is marked with nominative Case.

[9] (11a) and (15) are not acceptable to one anonymous reviewer. The D-linked interpretation is only relevant for those speakers who accept these sentences.

When a bare *wh*-phrase is scrambled to the sentence-initial position, only D-linked reading is possible since it is LDed, parallel to the bare *wh*-subject in (11a).[10] Note that the parallel behavior between scrambled bare objects and bare subjects cannot be captured under the series of work by Lee (2006a), Lee (2006b). Put another way, the functional analysis focuses basically on functional roles (i.e. subject/object), so the semantic properties of dislocated bare NPs cannot be captured under this proposal.[11] Ahn & Cho's formal analysis, on the other hand, is concerned with structural positions of bare NPs (i.e. VP-internal vs. VP-external), and can provide a uniform account for the semantic restriction of the subject WH and scrambled WH based on syntactic principles since they are all LDed.

Another advantage of the formal analysis is that the structural difference between bare NP subjects and bare NP objects correctly predicts the high occurrence rate of bare NPs in complement positions.[12] Given that the bare NP in a complement position can freely occur as part of a syntactic predicate, restrictions on the bare NP are predicted to be relatively weak. Put differently, the presence of

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[10] Ahn and Cho (2006a), Ahn and Cho (2007) attempt to capture the D-linked property of LDed nominals under the assumption that they undergo a special type of movement; namely, movement of the bare NP to Spec-Force stranding *pro* inside the ΦP that originally dominates the dislocated NP (See Boeckx (2003)). Ahn & Cho also indicate that *wh*-resumption or *wh*-clitic doubling constructions in many other languages pattern with *wh*-LD in Korean. See Ahn and Cho (2006a), Ahn and Cho (2007) for extensive discussion.

[11] H. Lee's analysis seems to have to stipulate that the function SUBJ and TOP share morphologically common property, namely, Caseless bare NPs (this possibility is pointed out by an anonymous reviewer). Our syntactic analysis is in fact designed to derive this surface property. Ahn and Cho (2006a), Ahn and Cho (2007) assume the following articulated structure of nominal projections in Korean.

(i) [$_{DP}$ [$_{\Phi P}$ [$_{NP}$...]pro]ka/lul]

A null hypothesis is that DP, ΦP, and NP can be freely projected. Then, (i) may give rise to four possible nominal layouts: namely, NP, ΦP and DP with or without ΦP as an intermediate layer. The first possibility, NP layout, can only arise in complement positions, and it undergoes syntactic complex predicate formation with the selecting verb. The DP without ΦP is an instance of typical Case-marked nominals: NP-*ka*, NP-*lul*. Left-dislocation is the outcome of projecting ΦP with null *pro*. ΦP, containing *pro* can be projected independently without DP layer, and it triggers movement of bare NP out of its domain stranding *pro* for theta-theoretic reasons since the theta-role assigned by the verb is absorbed by the ΦP-head *pro*. In the case of the projection of the DP with ΦP, the bare NP should also move out for the same theta-theoretic reason. Then, we get the derivation in (ii), and it will result in stranding the affixal D, i.e., Case marker in Korean, and hence, it will yield Stray Affix Filter violation (Lasnik, 1981).

(ii) *[$_{FP}$ [$_{NP}$ Nwukwu]$_i$ [$_{TP}$Yenghi − ka$_j$ [$_{T'}$[$_{vP}$[$_{v'}$ t$_j$ [$_{DP}$[$_{\Phi P}$ t$_i$ *pro*]−lul]]] T]]···]F]

Notice that pied-piping movement of the whole DP, as shown in (iii), results in theta-theoretic problems since *nwukwu* in (iii) cannot get a theta-role inside the DP.

(iii) *[$_{FP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{\Phi P}$ [$_{NP}$ Nwukwu] *pro*]−lul]$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Yenghi − ka$_j$ [$_{T'}$[$_{vP}$ t$_j$ [$_v$ t$_i$]] T]]···]F]

Thus, if a D is projected/pronounced, ΦP layer cannot be projected even with the null Φ, i.e., *pro*. It implies that the nominal structures that project the DP with ΦP headed by null *pro* are theoretically absent in Korean. See further technical details in Ahn and Cho (2006a), Ahn and Cho (2007).

[12] Lee (2006c, 75) states that it is tempting to think that direct objects appear without Case markers more often than subjects since they are closer to the verb in the unmarked order in Korean (SOV). She doesn't attempt to verify the speculation.

bare objects in canonical positions is grammatically unmarked, and is not regulated by any semantic/pragmatic constraints. By contrast, the dislocated bare NPs in non-complement positions are grammatically designed as such to exhibit extra discourse semantics. Therefore, unlike bare NPs in complement position, those in VP-external positions are expected to be distributionally more marked and semantically more restricted (see Lee (2002), Ohara (2001), Shimojo (2006) for similar facts in Japanese).

Note further that the formal analysis can account for the contrast discussed in (2).

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

     b. **Chelswu-(lul)** Mary-ka   manna-ss-e.
        Chelswu-(Acc) Mary-Nom meet-Past-Dec
        'Chelswu, Mary met.'

Since the functional analyses mostly focus on the choice between two variants as shown in (2b), there is little explanation to the situation that only one form is chosen, as shown in (2a). By contrast, since the formal analysis focuses on the position of the nominals, it accounts for the ill-formedess of Cassless *Mary* in (2a). Given that the landing site of an LDed nominal is a sentence-initial position, the LD option is impossible for *Mary*, and hence it cannot be predicted to be "bare" (since only LDed subjects can be bare in non-canonical position). Thus, our structural account correctly predicts that *Mary* should occur with a nominative Case marker in (2a). Functional accounts, on the other hand, seem to simply stipulate that the accusative marker can be absent in (2), while the nominative marker cannot.

3. Bare NPs in Subject Positions

3.1 Person and Definiteness Effects
In this section we show how well person and definiteness effects of bare NP subjects are captured under Ahn and Cho (2006a), Ahn and Cho (2007).[13] As observed in Lee (2006c), nominative Cases are more frequently unpronounced on 1st and 2nd person subjects than on 3rd person subjects. Given that 1st and 2nd person subjects are given information in the discourse, 1st and 2nd person subjects are more likely to function as LDed nominals that trigger D-linked reading or topical reading, compared with 3rd person subjects. The examples in (16) support this

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[13] The fact that animate subjects exhibit a higher rate of non-pronunciation of Case than inanimate ones remains unexplained under our account. One possibility is that animate subjects can be more topical or specific than inanimate ones, hence animate ones can undergo LD more easily. Another possibility is that animate nominal structures differ from inanimate ones (this possibility is explored by Cagri (2005) for human nominals vs. nonhuman nominals in Turkish). The exact nature of pragmatic features such as [animacy] and [human] which are relevant to our analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. See, however, Cagri (2005) for one possible syntactic analysis based on $\emptyset$-features.

claim.[14]

    (16) a. Ne-(!ka) etiey ka-ss-ess-ni?
            You-Nom where go-Past-Perf-Q
            'Where have you been?'

        b. Ne-(!ka) kwail-ul elmana   sa-ss-ni?
            you-Nom fruit-Acc how many buy-Past-Q
            'How many fruits did you buy?'

        c. Wuli-(!ka) etilo   ka-l-kka?
            We-Nom   where go-Fut-Q
            'Where will we go?'

        d. Wuli-(!ka) mwusun yenghwa po-l-kka?
            We-Nom   what   movie   see-Fut-Q
            'What movie will we see?'

Ko (2002, 237) notes that the bare NP forms are strongly preferred in (16). Since the referents of 1st and 2nd person subjects are pragmatically assumed in the context, bare NP subjects, which are LDed nominals, are more coherent in these contexts. The unnaturalness of subjects with Nominative Case marker *-ka* is accounted parallel to *ga*-marked subjects in Japanese, as discussed in Kuno (1972). According to Kuno (1972, 273), *-ga* as a subject marker in the matrix sentence always signals that the subject conveys new, unpredictable information. Note that the speaker's or hearer's existence or coming into existence is presupposed in a regular conversational discourse. Therefore, it is implausible for the speaker to talk about his or addressee's existence or appearance at the place of his speaking as if it were an entirely new event. This seems to be why all the 1st–2nd person nominals with *-ka* marker make the relevant sentences much more unnatural.

    We can also account for the contrast that Ko (2002, 237) observes for the 3rd person subject which can occur with or without a nominative Case marker, as shown in (17).[15]

    (17) a. Chelswu-(ka) etilo   ka-ss-ni?
            Chelswu-Nom where go-Past-Q
            'Where did Chelswu go?'

        b. Chelswu-(ka) mwusun yenghwa-lul po-ni?
            Chelswu-Nom what   movie-Acc   watch-Q
            'What movie does Chelswu watch?'

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[14] '!' indicates a marked use in discourse. '!' may contrast with the symbols '*' and '#'. '*' indicates syntactically ill-formed, while '#' indicates semantically and/or pragmatically ill-formed. '!', by contrast, doesn't concern absolute ill-formedness. It simply indicates unnaturalness or markedness in discourse.

[15] An anonymous reviewer indicates that Japanese counterparts of (17) are more natural with *wa*-marked subjects. Thus, the use of Nom *-ka* in Korean seems to be wider than Nom *-ga* in Japanese. Thus, the direct comparison between Korean *-ka* and Japanese *-ga* seems to be less straightforward, as correctly pointed out by the reviewer. However, this minor difference between two languages is immaterial to our analysis of Nom marker in Korean.

Since referents of 3rd person subjects are not pragmatically assumed in the discourse, the occurrence of -*ka* marker doesn't make the sentences unnatural unless the subject is mentioned in the previous discourse or presupposed.

The analysis advanced here further explains the fact that definite subjects such as pronouns and names show the higher rate of Case deletion than low definite ones (see Lee (2006c), Lee (2006b), Lee (2002), Masunaga (1988), Ono, Thompson, and Suzuki (2000), Yatabe (1999)).

> (18) a. Ce-∅ hyuka-lul   daum tal-lo   milwu-ess-eyo.
>   I   vacation-Acc next   month-lo postpone-Past-Dec
>   'I (humble) postponed my vacation to next month.'
>
>   b. Ahn Sungbae-ssi-∅ sihem-ul   an machiko   nay-ss-eyo.
>   Ahn Sungbae-Mr. exam-Acc not complete submit-Past-Dec.
>   'Mr. Ahn Sungbae submitted the exam without completing it.'
>
>   (cf. Lee (2006c, 77))

Definite expressions referring to individuals already known to the hearer are more likely to function as sentence topics or as LDed nominals. Thus, definite subjects are expected to occur more frequently without Nom Case than low definite ones.

3.2 Zero Nominative vs. Overt Nominative
The information structure of zero Nominative differs from that of overt Nominative, which can be confirmed by the following examples, Korean counterparts of Japanese examples discussed in Kuno (1972).[16]

> (19) a. Na-nun i   hoysa-uy pwuhoycang-i-ta.
>   I-Top   this company vice-president-Cop-Dec
>   'I am a vice-president in the company.'
>
>   b. Nay-ka i   hoysa-uy pwuhoycang-i-ta.
>   I-Nom this company vice-president-Cop-Dec
>   'I am the only vice-president in the company.'
>
>   c. Na-∅ i   hoysa-uy pwu-hoycang-i-ta.
>   I   this company vice-president-Cop-Dec
>   'I am a vice-president in the company.'

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[16] The corresponding Japanese examples are the following with his glosses:

> (i)   a. Boku wa, kono kaisya no huku-syatyoo desu.
>   I   this company's vice-president am
>   'I am a vice-president in this company.'
>
>   b. Boku ga kono kaisya no huku-syatyoo desu.
>   'I am the vice-president in this company.'
>
>   c. Boku ∅ kono kaisya no huku-syatyoo desu.
>   'I am a vice-president in this company.'

Kuno (1972, 283) observes the subject with the overt Nominative *-ga* marker in Japanese implies that there are no other vice-presidents in the company. This is, according to him, due to the force of exhaustive listing of *-ga*.[17] He observes that such a connotation does not exist with a topic maker, or with no markers. The same contrasts seem to be found in Korean, as in (19). This contrast is correctly predicted under the LD analysis of bare NP subjects. Note that LDed NPs share some discourse properties with topics such as specificity or D-Linkedness, so the paradigm naturally follows.

The following examples further confirm the fact that presence of *-ka* marker is enforced by exhaustive listing meaning the referent has (cf. Ono, Thompson, and Suzuki (2000, 70)).[18]

(20) Wuli cip-un   yeca-*(ka)   motwu khu-ta.
     our family-Top woman-Nom all   big-Dec
     'As for my family, women are all big.'

(21) A: Etten tongali-ey kaipha-l-ke-ni?
        which club   join-Fut-Q
        'Which club will you join?'

     B: Yengehoyhwa-*(ka)   cohtako sayngkakhapni-ta.
        English conversation-Nom good   think-Dec
        'I think that English conversation club may be good.'

In this case, a speaker uses *ka*-marked nominal X in order to convey the following meaning: the meaning of 'X (and only X) ...' or 'It is X that ...'. Therefore, the nominal with *-ka* is generally a discourse-new information. Given the analysis that Bare NPs in subject positions are either LDed nominals or sentence topics, they are predicted to be ruled out in (20–21).

This line of analysis also makes a correct prediction about bare NP subjects in specific/non-specific contexts (3) repeated here as (22).

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

As the bare NP subject is inherently specific or D-linked, it cannot co-occur with non-specific marker *han/etten* semantically.

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[17] Note: It is not the case that Nominative marker *-ga* only induces exhaustive list reading. In the neutral context where the subject is not assumed, *ga*-marked subjects can give rise to neutral (non-exhaustive-listing) description that simply conveys new information.

[18] In contrast to (20), an anonymous reviewer judges acceptable the following sentence where Nom is not pronounced on the canonical subject.

   (i) Wuli cip-un   aytul-∅ motwu khu-pni-ta.
       our family-Top kids-Nom all   big-Hon-Dec
       'As for my family, kids are all big.'

To our ears, however, (i) is still much worse than (ii) where Nom is pronounced.

   (ii) Wuli cip-un   aytul-i motwu khu-pni-ta.

3.3 Bare *Wh*-subject and *Totaychey*

The correlation between morphological Case realization on *wh*-phrases and the possible modification of an emphatic adverb *totaychey* lends substantial support to the proposal made above. According to Choi (2004), the use of the emphatic adverbial *totaychey* is a means to get extra emphasis or attention to the *wh*-phrase. Therefore, thanks to *totaychey*, 'who' in (23) is interpreted as emphatic or focal.

(23) **Totaychey nwu-ka** Yenghi-lul   manna-ss-ni?
      the hell   who-nom Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q
      'Who the hell met Yenghi?'

Interestingly, when bare *wh*-phrases occur with the adverb, the sentence is much degraded as shown in (24).

(24) ?***Totaychey nwukwu-∅** Yenghi-ul   manna-ss-ni?
      The hell   who   Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q
      '(Among these people) Who the hell met Yenghi?'

This reminds us of the distribution of the English modifier *the hell*.

(25) Who the hell bought that book?

The modifier *the hell* is similar to the adverb *totaychey* in many respects. In addition to an informative answer, (25) licenses a negative inference of the form 'Nobody was supposed to buy that book'. This inference is called the "surprise reading" by Lee (1994) or the speaker's negative attitude (cf. den Dikken and Giannakidou (2002), Huang and Ochi (2004)). Like *the hell* in (25), the surprise reading is also observed with the Korean sentence containing *totaychey* in (23).

It has also been noted that *the hell* is not compatible with *which* phrase that has a D-linked reading, as shown in (26) (cf. Pesetsky (2000)).

(26) *Which the hell man bought that book?

Like the English modifier *the hell* shown in (26), the Korean adverb *totaychey* seems not to be compatible with a D-linked *wh*-phrase, either. The bare *wh*-subject in (24) is a left-dislocated NP which is arguably topical and D-linked. Since topical elements must be inherently defocused, the dislocated *wh* in (24) semantically resists modification by an emphatic/focusing modifier *totaychey*.

The surprise reading is possible even when the emphatic adverb *totaychey* doesn't occur, as shown in (27a). Interestingly, when the surprise reading is induced, a bare NP seems not to be allowed, as shown in (27b).

(27) a. **Nwu-ka**   ilen cis-ul   kamhi   halswuiss-ni?
         Who-Nom this trouble-Acc daringly can-Q
         'Who can daringly cause this trouble?'

      b. ?***Nwukwu-∅** ilen cis-ul   kamhi   halswuiss-ni?
           Who   this trouble-Acc daringly can-Q
         'Who can daringly cause this trouble?'

The examples in (27) are interpreted as 'Nobody is supposed to cause this trouble'. Since the candidates that can make the trouble are not available in the discourse, the bare *wh*-phrase *nwukwu* 'who' in (27b) which is argued to be D-linked cannot be used.

The analysis advanced here is also supported by the following fact. (28a) also induces negative inference as shown in its English translation. Unlike (27b), the bare *wh*-phrase *mwe* 'what' in (28b) is allowed with the surprise reading.

(28) a. Nay-ka **mwe-ka**   aswiptako
          I-Nom what-Nom lacking
          'Nothing is lacking for me.'

      b. Nay-ka **mwe-∅**   aswiptako
          I-Nom what-Nom lacking
          'Nothing is lacking for me.'

Unlike the bare *wh* in (27b), the bare *wh*-phrase *mwe* 'what' occurs in the complement position of the predicate and may subsequently undergo a complex predicate formation. Thus, it is not necessarily D-linked, and hence can occur in the negative inference context.[19]

4. Bare NPs in Object Positions

Under our analysis, a bare NP object is a purely optional counterpart of the Accusative Case-marked NP, which can be generated as a part of a complex predicate. An Accusative Case marker on the object can be freely unpronounced with non-specific modifier, as shown in (29).

(29) (Yeysnal-ey) Mary-ka han/etten   namca-(lul) manna-ass-ta.
       long.time-at M.-Nom a/a certain man-(Acc)   meet-Past-Dec
       '(Long time ago) Mary met a man.'

Although the presence of Acc Case is optional, when it appears, it is likely to exhibit additional pragmatic effects: namely, a focalized/emphatic reading. Thus, *namca-lul* in (29), for example, tends to be interpreted as focalized.

In what follows, we reconsider the analyses in previous literature and show that the information structure of bare objects differs from that of Acc Case-marked objects.

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[19] A similar observation is made in Kuno (1972, 282, n. 13). Kuno notes that *-ga* for object marking in stative transitives can be unpronounced rather freely (on a par with Accusative marker *-o*).

(i)   a. Kimi nihongo (ga) wakaru ka?
          you Japanese   understand
          'Do you understand Japanese?'

      b. Boku kono hon (ga) yomi-tai.
          I   this book   read-want
          'I want to read this book.'

Here we simply indicate the fact that the "structural" position is more crucial in licensing the unpronunciation of Case markers instead of morphological "shapes."

4.1 Unmarked vs. Marked

Shin (1982) and Lee (1995) analyze bare NPs in complement positions as unmarked forms, and NP-Acc as marked forms containing special information. Shin (1982) argues that *-lul* marker is used to introduce new information or convey some kinds of contrast, as shown in (30).[20]

(30) A: acessi! tampay-∅ cwuseyo.
      Man   cigarette give
      'Please give me cigarettes'

    B: acessi! tampay-lul   cwuseyo.
      Man   cigarette-Acc give
      'Please give me cigarettes' Shin (1982, 121)

The context that (30A) is used differs from the one that (30B) is used. (30B) is uttered, for example, when a shop assistant gave the speaker a wrong item and the speaker reordered the correct item, cigarettes, whereas (30A) can be uttered simply in a neutral context.[21] Lee (1995) also claims an Acc-marked NP signals

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[20] An anonymous reviewer points out that Case ellipsis occurs in imperatives and interrogatives more frequently than in declaratives. Thus, the reviewer judges (i) unnatural since the sentence is declarative.

    (i) Ku acessi-nun tampay-∅ cwu-ess-ta.
       the man-Top cigarette give-Past-Dec
       'The man gave cigarettes.'

It is unclear, however, that (i) is truly unnatural. Consider a similar declarative sentence:

    (ii) Ku acessi-nun tampay-∅ cwu-ko i   acessi-nun ton-∅ cwu-ess-ta.
        the man-Top cigarette give-and this man-Top money give-Past-Dec
        'The man gave cigarettes and this man gave money.'

(ii) seems to be fully acceptable to our ears. The unnaturalness of (i) for some speakers seems to be related to its ambiguous register in formality. Perhaps (i) can be recognized either as neutral register in written style or as plain register in spoken style. If (i) is understood as the written style, the sentence is unnatural without accusative marker since it belongs to the formal register. If (i), in contrast, is understood as a colloquial plain register, it is acceptable since as also noted in Han (1987) and Ko (2000), the more informal the speech level is, the easier it is to drop Case markers. (ii), then for some reason, is more easily recognized as plain colloquial register.

[21] An anonymous reviewer points out that the bare object in following sentence can be contrastive (or focused), in contrast to (30a):

    (i) acessi! (sengnayng-i ani-ko)   tampay-∅ cwuseyo.
       Man   match-Nom not.be-and cigarette give
       'Please give me cigarettes (not match).'

However, the context that (i) is uttered is already not neutral due to the contrastive phrase *sengnayng-i ani-ko*. Hence, it seems that the noun *tampay* 'cigarette' is independently focalized regardless of presence of a Case marker in (i).

  The anonymous reviewer also indicates that the occurrence of modifier seems to force a Case marker to be pronounced, as shown in (ii).

    (ii) Chelswu-ka   yeki iss-ten   kwaca-??(lul) mek-ess-ta.
       Chelswu-Nom here be-PastREL cookie-Acc   eat-Past-Dec
       'Chelswu ate cookies that were here.'

that "the event involved is rather unexpected and attention is paid to the NP."
Under the analysis made by Lee (1995), strong preference for the bare NP object in
(31B) is easily accounted for. Corresponding examples are taken from Ko (2004,
227).

(31) A: Ney-ka   yeki iss-ten   kwaca mek-ess-e?
          You-Nom here be-Past fruit   eat-Past-Q
          'Did you eat the cookies that were here?'

     B: Ung, nay-ka ku kwaca-(!lul) mek-ess-e.
          Yes   I-Nom the cookie-(Acc) eat-Past-Dec
          'Yes, I ate the cookies.'

Since the object *ku kwaca* 'the cookie' is already mentioned in the discourse, atten-
tion is less likely to be paid to the object NP. The event involved is also assumed in
the previous sentence. Hence, the bare NP object is strongly preferred in (31B),
as expected in this analysis.

Similarly, Ko (2000) suggests that the newness of an NP with an Acc Case
marker *-lul* comes either from the newness of the discourse entity or from its oper-
ational property which performs an identificational function over a set of alternative
members generated by *-lul*.

Here we instead suggest that this "newness" requirement of E. Ko and "atten-
tion" or "unexpectedness" requirements of C. Lee can be subsumed to "contrastive
focalization/emphasis." We assume that the contrastive focalization does not nec-
essarily convey new information. In other words, even old, aforementioned or pre-
supposed information can also be contrastively focalized. Thus, the contrastive
focalization crucially differs from completive focus/information, informational fo-
cus, or presentational focus.[22] With this in mind, consider the following examples:

(32) (Over the phone)
     Nay-ka cikum ne-(!lul) pole ka-l-kkey
     I-Nom now   you-Acc see go-Fut-Dec
     'I'll go to see you now.'

(33) isang   iss-umyen i   mwulken-(!ul) pakkwule olkkey-yo
     problem be-found-if this item-Acc   exchange go-Dec
     'If a problem is found, I will return this item.'

     (Ko, 2004, 228)

First of all, it is not clear whether (ii) is seriously degraded without the Acc marker. Suppose
the Acc marker in (ii) must be pronounced for some speakers. If so, then (ii) with overt Acc
marker is predicted to be not necessarily focalized. This judgment seems to be borne out, as
the reviewer indicates. Concerning why the bare object resists a complex predicate formation
if modified (for some speakers at least), we leave the matter open for future research.

[22] Our notion of contrastive focalization is reminiscent of the contrastive focus discussed in Choi
(1999) and Lee (2003), Lee (2006a) or *kontrastive* focus in Ko (2000). It is less clear at this
stage, however, whether it can be more construed with prominent feature [PROM] advanced
in Choi (1999, section 3.3) to subsume both Topic and contrastive focus. It would take us too
far afield here to explore the exact nature of the contrastive focalization/emphasis.

In (32), *ne* 'you' cannot indicate new information and doesn't perform identification function. Thus, unless you intend to emphasize/focalize who you are going to see, the bare NP is preferred in neutral context. A similar explanation can be given in (33). In normal context, it is not necessary to focalize the item you are going to return if it has a problem. In other words, it is naturally expected that malfunctioning items will be returned to the store within a warranty period. Thus, the appearance of Acc marker on the object in (33) is predicted to be unnatural in the usual context under our conception of the functional role of overt Acc Case.

Unlike the previous literature, Lee (2006) proposes that bare NPs without Acc markers are more restricted or "marked" from the perspective of neo-Gricean pragmatics, utilizing Levinson's (2000) pragmatic inferences. His argument is based on the contrast between Case-marked object and bare NP object in (34).

(34) a. Yengho-nun Seoul Yek   tayhapsil-eyse
        Yengho-Top Seoul Station waiting-room-at

        kwutwu-lul takk-ass-ta
        shoes-Acc   shine-Past-Dec
        'Yengho had his shoes shined at Seoul Station waiting room.'

    b. Yengho-nun Seoul Yek   tayhapsil-eyse
        Yengho-Top Seoul Station waiting room-at

        kwutwu-∅ takk-ass-ta.
        shoes   shine-Past-Dec
   'Yengho was a shoeshine boy at Seoul Station waiting room.'

Unlike the Case-marked form *kwutwu-lul* 'shoes-Acc' in (34a), the Caseless form *kwutwu-∅* 'shoes' in (34b) is more likely to induce idiomatic reading with its predicate *takkassta* 'shined'. Hence, *kwutwu-∅ takk-ass-ta* tends to be interpreted as 'he was a shoe-shine boy'.[23] A similar contrast is given in (35).

(35) a. Nehi apeci-nun tayhakkyo tanil-cekey Shin Sung-Il
        Your father-Top college   go-when   Shin Sung-Il

        ppyam-ul chi-ess-ta
        cheek-Acc hit-Past-Dec
        'When your father was a college student, he hit Shin Seung-Il's cheek.'

    b. Nehi apeci-nun tayhakkyo tanil-cekey ShinSung-Il
        Your father-Top college   go-when   Shin Sung-Il

        ppyam-∅ chi-ess-ta
        cheek   hit-Past-Dec
        'When your father was a college student, he was more handsome that
        the handsome actor Shin Sung-Il'

---

[23] Although idiomatic reading is more easily obtained in (34b), (34a) can be also interpreted idiomatically. In contrast to (34b), (34a) additionally induces focus reading whether the reading is idiomatic or not. Note that (34b) can also induce non-idiomatic literal reading.

Unlike (34b), the Caseless form *ppyam* 'cheek' in (35b) only induces idiomatic reading 'outdo' with its predicate *chi-* 'hit'. (35a), in contrast, induces only literal reading. Thus, it seems that "*ppyam + chi-*" in (35b) is conventionalized as an idiom unlike "*kwutwu takk-*" in (34b), as indicated by an anonymous reviewer.

The complex predicate formation approach to the bare object NPs advanced in Ahn and Cho (2006a), Ahn and Cho (2007), in fact, correlates directly with this consequence, dispensing with additional (meta)pragmatic functions since idioms in general can be analyzed as extended complex predicate formations (Marantz, 1984; Larson, 1988).[24]

(36)

VP ⇒ V 'outdo'

```
          VP ⇒ V 'outdo'
         /  \
        /    \
      NP      V
     /\       |
    /  \      |
  ppyam      chi-
```
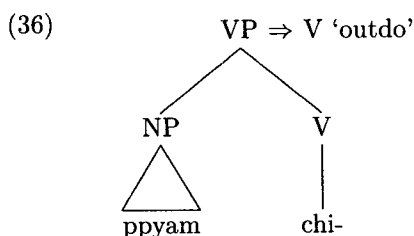
If the preferred or obligatory idiomatic readings with bare objects can be explained by complex predicate formation as in (36), our general claim is still sustained: namely, bare NPs in complement positions are unmarked forms and Acc-marked forms are marked ones containing special information since idioms are usually derived from unmarked formation across languages.

4.2 Bare *Wh*-object and *Totaychey*

Acc realization on *wh*-phrases basically adds focalization/emphasis to the *wh*-object, as in (12) repeated here as (37).

(37) a. Yenghi-ka   **nwukwu-∅** manna-ss-ni?
      Yenghi-Nom who   meet-Past-Q

   b. Yenghi-ka   **nwukwu-lul** manna-ss-ni?
      Yenghi-Nom who-Acc   meet-Past-Q
      'Who did Yenghi meet?'

Note further that the correlation between morphological Case realization on *wh*-phrases and the possible modification of an emphatic adverb *totaychey* lends further support to the proposal made above. In contrast to the bare *wh*-subject, the bare *wh*-object can be modified by *totaychey* as shown in (38b).

(38) a. **Totaychey** Mary-ka   **nwukwu-lul** manna-ss-ni?
      the hell   Mary-Nom who-Acc   meet-Past-Q
      'Who the hell did Mary meet?'

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[24] Marantz (1984) claims that verb and object form a theta complex and that <V + object> assigns a theta-role to the matrix subject. This claim is supported by the fact that the predicate by <a transitive verb + object> regularly depends on the contribution of the object, as shown by VPs like *throw a baseball, throw support behind a candidate, throw a boxing match*. Larson (1988, 348) suggests that a phrase [$_{V'}$ ...] containing one undischarged internal theta role may be reanalyzed as [$_V$ ...]. In the same reasoning, we suggest that a phrase [$_{VP}$ ...] containing one undischarged theta role may be reanalyzed as [$_V$ ...] in syntax.

     b. ?**Totaychey** Mary-ka   **nwukwu-∅** manna-ss-ni?
        the hell   Mary-Nom who   meet-Past-Q
        'Who the hell did Mary meet?'

Note that the bare *wh*-object in situ can be interpreted either as D-linked or non-D-linked, so there seem to be no reasons to exclude the modification by *totaychey*. (38b), however, seems less natural than (38a), which we believe cannot be attributed to the fact that *totaychey* is simply an aggressively non-D-linked induced marker.[25] There seems to be an independent factor that causes the unnaturalness of (38b). On the face of it, the bare *wh*-object in-situ in (38b) can be congruent with focalization/emphasis (since anything can be contrastively focalized under our account). However, it appears that the additional discourse effects, namely, focalization/emphasis, are invoked if Case is morphologically realized in the environment where it is "optional" like in-situ objects. Hence, the bare *wh*-object in (38b) having no morphological Case realization is less preferred to co-occur with the *totaychey* that essentially requires a target with additional (or newly-invoked) emphasis/focalization of the speaker's negative attitude.[26]

4.3 Further Implications

Acc Case on the object in canonical object position can be freely unpronounced, and may induce a "focalized/emphatic" reading when it is overtly realized. Overt realization of Nom Case in canonical subject position, by contrast, does not necessarily give rise to a focalized interpretation. This minimal difference implies that our syntactic treatment of Nom/Acc asymmetry is on the right track. In other words, the presence of Nom Case is compulsory in canonical subject position, viz., in non-dislocated position. Thus, overt Nom Case should cover wider range of discourse information in contrast to overt Acc Case considering pragmatic division of labor. Note further that unlike Acc-marked NPs in situ, ones in dislocated position, namely, in scrambled position, are not simple variants of bare NPs. That is, the structural status of the dislocated Acc-marked NPs and bare NPs are significantly distinct: namely, the former is an instance of scrambling, whereas the latter is that of LD. Thus, it is predicted that the appearance of Acc Case on scrambled NPs does not necessarily give rise to focalization effects on a par with that of Nom

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[25] Note in passing that *daodi* and *ittai*, *the hell* expressions in Chinese and Japanese, are not aggressively non-D-linked markers, either, as observed in Huang and Ochi (2004).

[26] In fact, even non-*wh*'s without an Acc-marker is less preferred to cooccur with *totaychey*:

  (i) a. **Totaychey** Chelswu-ka   ency/way Yenghi-**lul** manna-ss-ni?
         the hell   Chelswu-Nom when/why Yenghi-Acc meet-Past-Q

      b. ?**Totaychey** Chelswu-ka   ency/way Yenghi-∅ manna-ss-ni?
         the hell   Chelswu-Nom when/why Yenghi meet-Past-Q
         'Why/when the hell did Chelswu meet Yenghi?'

D-Linking is clearly not a decisive factor for bare (*wh*)-objects.

   The unnaturalness of (ib) and (38b) sharply contrasts with the impossible co-occurrence of *totaychey* with bare *wh*-subjects indicated in section 3. There we proposed that dislocated bare *wh*'s are topical or D-Linked, and semantically defocused, hence cannot co-occur with a focusing element *totaychey*. In contrast, the source of unnaturalness of bare *(wh-)*objects with *totaychey* is not semantic but rather seems to be pragmatic or functional.

Case in canonical subject position. Hence the scrambled NP in (39a) is not necessarily focalized unless it receives extra focal strategy such as special prosody and the like.

(39) a. Way ecey   **Chelswu-lul** Mary-ka   manna-ss-ni?
        why yesterday Chelswu-Acc Mary-Nom meet-Past-Q

        (neutral reading is unmarked)

     b. Way ecey   Mary-ka   **Chelswu-lul** manna-ss-ni?
        why yesterday Mary-Nom Chelswu-Acc meet-Past-Q
        (focal reading is unmarked)
        'Why did Mary meet Chelswu yesterday?'

Although the judgment is subtle, (39b) contrasts with (39a) in that only the Acc Case-marked object in-situ is more likely to be focalized as in (39b).

Similar contrasts are detected in Accusative Case variation in Kannada. Lidz (2006) observes that Acc Case-marked objects receive a specific interpretation only when this morphological marking is optional (this is the case within animate direct objects). When the Accusative Case morpheme is obligatory, specificity effects are positional and are not due to the presence of the morpheme (this is the case with animate direct objects, for instance). In this case, additional morphology is required in order to achieve the specific interpretation. In Korean, the morphological marker -*nun* (often called Topic marker) is widely employed in subject positions to make semantic/pragmatic distinction from Nom Case, instead of overt/covert Nom distinction. The marker -*nun*, however, occurs only in certain very limited contexts in object positions since we can exploit overt/covert Acc distinction here quite freely for "soft" pragmatic distinctions including focalzation/emphasis or implicature (Lee, 2006).[27] The presence or absence of Nom Case, on the other hand, gives rise to "hard" semantic/pragmatic effects such as specificity, definiteness, D-Linking, and the like. Thus, extra uses of the marker -*nun* with subjects (and perhaps with the dislocated NPs in general) are relatively more frequent and significant than the one with the objects in situ on pragmatic considerations.

5. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we have explored subject-object asymmetries of morphological Case realization and semantic/pragmatic implications under the formal analysis proposed by Ahn and Cho (2006a), Ahn and Cho (2007). According to Ahn and Cho (2006a), Ahn and Cho (2007), bare NP objects and subjects have different structural sources: bare NP objects form a "syntactic" complex predicate with

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[27] The -*nun* marker that occurs in the canonical object positions are often called a "contrastive focus" marker (see Choi (1999), Han (1995) for related discussion). Lee (2007), by contrast, treats the *nun*-marked phrases uniformly as topics, and the *nun*-marked objects and predicates, in particular, as "contrastive topics." Jun (2005), on the other hand, analyzes contrastive focus as [+exhaustive, +contrastive], and contrastive topics as [-exhaustive, +contrastive]. Ahn and Cho (2006c) defends C. Lee's contrastive-topic analysis of the *nun*-marked objects. See the literature above for further details.

subcategorizing verb, whereas bare NP subjects are LDed nominals. Hence, the distribution of bare NP subjects is closely related to discourse properties. Specifically, we have shown that such structural difference between bare NP subjects and bare NP objects results in various kind of asymmetries: high occurrence rate of bare NP objects, person/definiteness effects in bare NP subjects, and presence or absence of D-linked interpretation for bare WHs. We also discussed the contexts where overt morphological Case marking is strongly preferred. When the speaker wants to convey the meaning of 'X (and only X) ...' or 'It is X that ...', the subject nominal generally occurs with -*ka* marker. The object nominal, by contrast, occurs with -*lul* marker mostly when contrastive focalization/emphasis is given to it. Our formal account of subject-object asymmetries concerning non-pronunciation of Case markers in Korean sharply contrasts with the functional approaches such as Lee (2006a), Lee (2006b) which might basically exploit the idea that subjects and objects prototypically differ with respect to the hierarchies of person, animacy and definiteness. Our analysis can present a firm basis for these hierarchies that underlie the functional flavor of Case marking variations.

Some speculative notes are in order.[28] The Strong Minimalist Thesis (SMT) dictates that the computational system (CS) of human language, namely, syntax in a broad sense, is an optimal solution to interface conditions. Thus, the adequacy of syntactic principles can be indirectly testified by considerations of language use/performance. Therefore, exploring the nature of interface conditions imposed on CS should clearly help understand and evaluate the optimal analysis of CS. Along this line of reasoning, one might tempt to derive structural principles internal to CS from external demands imposed on the CS: namely, functional considerations. This is one way of interpreting SMT which is denied by most minimalists. Alternative, and more standard, way of interpreting SMT is to regard the external factors or functional considerations as a consequence (not motivation) of the structural conditions in CS. Under this standard reasoning, the properties of CS cannot be derived from the functional considerations of language use/performance. Put another way, there is no functional need for an external system to be imposed on the architecture of formal conditions of CS. To be specific for our purposes in this paper, the formal conditions imposed on bare NPs cannot be derived from semantic-pragmatic factors such as specificity, D-linking, topicality, focalization, and the like. The formal (structural) conditions in CS, on the other hand, lend themselves to give rise to these semantic-pragmatic effects.

A final note on degrees of judgment on semantic/pragmatic formedness and markedness in use. One might possibly cast doubts on the status of categorical status of formal principles based on non-categorical degreeness of our judgment on the relevant linguistic data. Note, however, that we are dealing with two independent cognitive domains here: namely, one is internal to CS; the other is external to CS, i.e., the so-called performance systems. Thus, the discrepancy between these two domains does not necessarily present direct evidence against the invalidity of the correlation of these domains. In other words, one might plausibly assume that

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[28] These notes intend to be brief replies to some conceptual and philosophical questions that are raised by anonymous reviewers. The replies will be far from comprehensive, and we hope to portray more clear perspectives in future research.

the degreeness/fluctuation of our judgment that may belong to performance component can be separated from (or be only indirectly related to) the categorical property of computational component. Although it has been poorly understood as to why our judgment varies on semantics-pragmatics side, the degreeness of judgment does not logically dictate the degreeness or probabilistic aspects of our CS. Presumably, fuzzy or probabilistic/stochastic aspects of judgment are mere epiphenomena of primary categorical phenomenon that begs further investigation. We look forward to drawing more concrete architecture of syntax-discourse interface and computation-performance interrelation in the near future. We thank anonymous reviewers for bringing these issues to our attention.

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