

Kim (12)  
114 ~ 129

# Syntactic Recoverability of Null Objects in Korean<sup>1</sup>

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Yoon, Seok-Hwa. 1997. Syntactic Recoverability of Null Objects in Korean. *Linguistics*, 5-2, 271-288. The purpose of this paper is to survey James Huang's recent proposal regarding nominals with special reference to Korean, and to propose a new analysis on the syntactic recoverability of the null objects, and to present some theoretical implications of my analysis on parametric variation with Chomsky's principles and parameters approach in syntax. So far I have argued that some functional phrases are existent and behave like dynamic elements in Korean syntax although the existence of functional categories such as AGRPs is minimally attested in its morphology. (Won Kwang University)

## 1. Introduction

This paper pursues three major goals; i) To discuss James Huang's recent proposal regarding nominals with reference to Korean and show that, as it stands, it is empirically inadequate; ii) To propose a new analysis on the syntactic recoverability of the null objects in Korean; iii) To present some theoretical implications of my analysis on parametric variation with Chomsky's principles and parameters approach in syntax.

I adopt Georgopoulos' (1991) analysis of A-agreement and *pro*-Movement analysis (Moon, 1991) to account for identification process of *pro* object in Korean. I claim i) that a Dative Argument in [Spec, VP] triggers Verb-Object Agreement (VOA) in Korean; ii) that AGR<sub>o</sub> triggered by i) in turn licenses and identifies object *pro*

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(through *pro* Movement at LF); and iii) that the Korean mood markers behave like a coordinator of AGR<sub>s</sub> and AGR<sub>o</sub>.

In sum, I point out some problems with Huang's analysis on null objects and propose a new analysis which remedies the problems. In doing so, I support Georgopoulos' (1991) approach to A-agreement and Chomsky's (1989) enriched INFL hypothesis. Building on the enriched INFL hypothesis, I suggest: i) The Korean [+deictic] agreement system is contained in honorifics and it licenses and identifies *pro* in Korean; ii) The *pro*-drop parameter can be single clause: *pro* must be licensed and identified by [+deictic] AGR (i.e., AGR<sub>s</sub> and AGR<sub>o</sub>); iii) Korean contains both AGR<sub>s</sub>-P and AGR<sub>o</sub>-P.

## 2. Empirical Problems with Huang's Analysis

In this section, I will discuss on the status of Object EC in Korean and give a plausible answer to the phenomenon. Huang(1984) observes that null objects in Chinese are Á-bound variables and claims that null objects obey Principle C of the Chomsky's Binding Theory<sup>2</sup>.

- (1) a. [e<sub>j</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub> Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> shuo [Lisi bu renshi e\*<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>.  
                                 say                         not know  
                                 'Zhangsan said that Lisi does not know [him].'  
    b. Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> shuo [Lisi bu renshi ta<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>  
                                 say                         not know him  
                                 'Zhangsan said that Lisi does not know him.'  
    c. [O<sub>j</sub>] Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> shuo [e<sub>j</sub> bu renshi Lisi]  
                                 say                         not know  
                                 'Zhangsan said that[he] does not know Lisi.'  
    d. [O<sub>j</sub>] Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> shuo [ta<sub>i</sub> bu renshi Lisi]  
                                 say he                 not know  
                                 'Zhangsan said that he does not know Lisi.'

As we can observe in (1a) and (1b), the object EC cannot be bound by the subject NP, Zhangsan, while the pronoun can. This fact is

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2. Huang's claim on the issue has not been changed at all. Please refer to Huang (1987 and 1989) for more information about it.

contrasted with examples in (1c) and (1d) where the subject EC and The pronoun can be bound either by a c-commanding NP or by a null operator. Based on this kind of Subject-Object asymmetry of ECs in binding properties, Huang claims the following:<sup>3</sup>

- (2) Chinese ECs                    a) Subject EC : pro  
   b) Object EC : variable

However, this paper observes some counterexamples to the claim made by Huang (1984, 1987, 1989), Hasegawa(1984), and Lee(1987). As in Cole(1987), this paper will advocate the claim that the object EC in Korean is pro. Consider the following.

- (3) a. \*John<sub>1</sub>-i [[Mary<sub>2</sub>-ka e<sub>1</sub> poassta] ko] cwucanghayssta.  
                      NOM              NOM       saw        COMP claimed  
          'John claimed that Mary saw(him).'
- b. [e<sub>3</sub>] John<sub>1</sub>-i [[Mary<sub>2</sub>-ka e<sub>3</sub> poassta] ko] cwucanghayssta.  
                      NOM              NOM       saw COMP claimed  
          'John claimed that Mary saw (someone).'
- (4) John<sub>1</sub>-i [[Mary<sub>2</sub>-ka e<sub>1</sub> ttaleyssta] ko] cwucanghayssta.  
                      NOM              NOM       hit COMP claimed  
          'John claimed that Mary hit (him).
- (5) John<sub>1</sub>-i Mary<sub>2</sub>-eke [[e<sub>1</sub> e<sub>2</sub> salanghanta] ko] malhayssta.  
                      NOM         DAT       love        COMP said  
          'John said to Mary that (he) loves (her).'

According to Huang (1984, 1987 and 1989), the ungrammaticality of

3. Hasegawa (1984) also observes the Subject-Object asymmetry in Japanese:

- a. John<sub>i</sub>-ga [e<sub>i</sub> Mary-o nagutta to] itta.  
      nom       acc hit that said  
      'John<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> hit Mary.'
- b. John<sub>i</sub>-ga [Mary-ga e<sub>i</sub> nagutta to] itta  
      nom       nom hit that said  
      'John<sub>i</sub> said that Mary hit him<sub>i</sub>'

If an EC occurs in the subject position of the embedded sentence, the EC can either refer to the matrix subject or to a discourse topic, but an EC occurs in the object position of the embedded sentence, coindexing the EC with the matrix subject *Mary* will cause ungrammatical sentence. In other words, if there is an EC in the object position, it should be a discourse topic. Lee(1987) claims the same thing for Korean.

(3a) is attributed to his GCR (Generalized Control Rule: Co-index an empty pronominal with the closest nominal element) combined with Chomsky's (1981) Binding Principle B. In (3a), the  $\emptyset$  should be coindexed with Mary because of GCR, but this coindexation violates Chomsky's Binding Condition B which bars  $\emptyset$  pronoun from being bound in its smallest functional complex. (3b) is ruled in because  $\emptyset$  is coindexation violates Chomsky's Binding Condition B which bars  $\emptyset$  pronoun from being bound in its smallest functional complex. (3b) is ruled in because  $\emptyset$  is coindexed with a discourse topic. (4) and (5), however, pose a problem for Huang's analysis. Due to the  $\emptyset$ -criterion, this EC cannot be a NP-t. It may not be a variable since the antecedent NP is not in Topic position (i.e., not in A-position). It cannot be a PRO either because it appears in a governed position. A natural conclusion here is to assume it to be pro. Examining (3a)-(5), we note:

- Kim (P)*  
*118*
- (6) i. When there is no Dative Argument(DA) in the matrix sentence and the sentence does not trigger logophoric reading (3b), the null object can be best categorized as a variable or null epithet (Huang, 1991)
  - ii. When there is no DA in the matrix sentence and the sentence triggers logophoric reading (4), the null object can be classified as an empty logophoric pronoun, i.e., as an empty counter part of logophoric caki in Korean.
  - iii. When there is a DA in the matrix sentence (5), the null object can be classified as pro.

As for the syntactic recoverability, (6i) does not pose a problem (Huang, 1984). However, (6ii) poses a problem with Huang's analysis in that it does not allow pro in the embedded object position. GCR dictates that e must have the same index with the embedded subject Mary, but this coindexation immediately blocks the possibility of being a pronominal. One solution to this problem is stipulation that GCR doesn't apply in this case. His analysis faces a serious problem with (6iii). If GCR is applied to (5), Mary and the two ECs must have the same index, which forces the EC in object position to be an anaphor. In sum, Huang's analysis faces two major problems: i) It wrongly predicts that empty nominals in object position are not pronominals; ii)

It does not provide any identification device for pro object.

### 3. Honorific Agreement in Korean

*Kim (P) 118*

Korean shows Subject-Verb Agreement when an NP in subject position carries a honorific marker-*kkese*. Note the following:<sup>4</sup>

- (7) a. Kim kyosoo-nim-**kkese** Mary-lul palapo-si-ess-ta.  
 porf.Kim-HON-NOM(HON) Mary-ACC see-HON-PAST-DEC  
 'Professor Kim saw Mary.'
- b. \* Chulsoo-ka Mary-lul palapo-si-ess-ta.  
 -NOM Mary-ACC see-HON-PAST-DEC  
 'Chulsoo saw Mary.'

As sentence (7a) illustrates, when honorific subject appears, it is necessary to insert honorific marker to the verbal stem. The honorific marker -*si*, however, cannot be used if the subject NP is not honorific as in (7b). Sentence (7b) may be considered as a possible sentence, but cannot be honorific. If the subject NP is a normal NP, the verbal honorific marker does not appear in the sentence. Interestingly enough, the Honorific Agreement appears not only between Subject and Verb, but also between Topic NP and Verb<sup>5</sup>. Notice that the Object-Verb

4. Cho(1990) also argues that Korean has an AGR-P, a maximal projection of honorific AGR, and it is commonly believed that Korean, just like Japanese, shows Subject-Verb Agreement with respect to honorific markers.

Kim sensayng-nim-i chayk-ul sa-si-ess-ta.  
 teacher-Hon-Nom book-Acc buy-Hon-Past-Dec  
 'Professor Kim bought a book.'

As the sentence given above illustrates, if there is a subject NP which is marked by a honorific marker-*nim*, the verb must take the honorific morpheme-*si*.

5. Although the topic marker-*nun* is attached to the subject NP in the following sentence, it is perfectly grammatical in Korean.

Kim Kyosoo-nim-un muscangi-si-ta.  
 Prof.Kim-HON-TOP gentleman-be(HON)-DEC  
 'Professor Kim is a gentleman.'

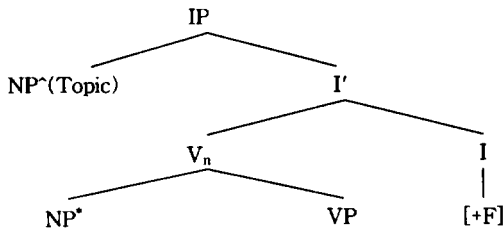
Agreement is also visible in Korean honorifics.

- (8) a. *Apenim-kkese cinci-lul tusinta/ \*meknunta.*  
 (my) father-HON dinner(HON)-ACC eat(HON)/eat  
 '(My) father is having a dinner.'
- b. *Naytongsayng-i pap-ul meknunta/ \*tusinta.*  
 (my) brother-NOM dinner-ACC eat / eat (HON)  
 '(My) brother is having a dinner.'

Sentence in (8) clearly shows that the honorific verb not only selects a THEME argument as its object, but also agrees with its object. Second, Korean honorific markers are sensitive to both Nominative Arguments and DAs.

- (9) *Sensaynim<sub>1</sub>-kkese Mary<sub>2</sub>-eke [[e<sub>1</sub> e<sub>2</sub> salangha-n-ta] ko]*  
 (HON)NOM DAT love-DEC COMP  
*malssumha-si-ess-ta.*  
 sayHON-PAST-DEC  
 '(Her) teacher said to Mary that (he) loves (her).'
- (10) *Haksayngtul<sub>1</sub>-i Sensayngnim<sub>2</sub>-kke [e<sub>2</sub> e<sub>1</sub> salangha-nya-ko]*  
 students-NOM teacher-Dat(HON) love-INT-COMP  
*mul-ess-ta.*  
 ask-PAST-DEC  
 'The students asked to (their) teacher if (he) love (them).'

According to Kim (1988:130), Korean topicalization is an instance of a 'licensing' process. She assumes that Korean topic feature [+topic] is one of the agreement features appearing in the INFL node. She claims that the topic feature [+topic] is morphologically realized as affix '(n)un' in the INFL and is spelled out as 'XP+nun' by a rule of Affix Hopping at PF : XP [+definite] +Affix'nun'=topic XP.



I assume that the Korean mood markers are specified for [+F] and they are the licensors of the topic position.

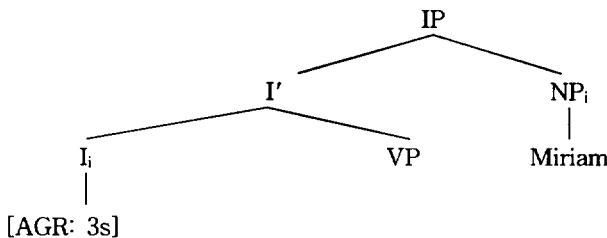
Third, the agreement system in honorifics provides a parsing strategy of ordinary expression in Korean which lacks visible morphological agreement. Note that the referential indices are the same in (3) and (6). Finally, the referential interpretation may be controlled by the mood markers, i.e., *-nya* in (7) changes the indexing.

#### 4. Towards a solution

##### 4.1 Functional Categories and Parametric Variation

In the Principles and Parameters framework, language variation is to a large extent determined by functional categories (Fukui & Speas 1986; Baker 1988; Pollock 1989; and Ouhalla 1991). Chomsky (1988,2) puts it this way: 'If substantive elements (verbs, nouns, etc.) are drawn from an invariant universal vocabulary, then only functional elements will be parameterized.' In the same vein of thinking, Borer(1983) claims that parameters are associated with individual lexical items and that the set of lexical items with which parameters are associated is restricted to the class of inflectional/functional categories.

Georgopoulos (1991, 136) argues that all agreement is based on specifier-head co-indexing and that the abstract structural basis for agreement exists whether or not there is an overt morphological evidence of it. Subject agreement in Palauan is interpreted as agreement between I and Spec(I), as the following diagram illustrates:

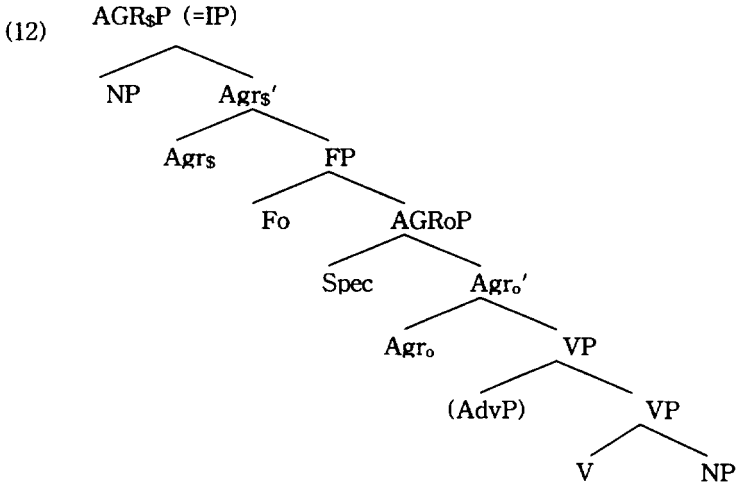


- (11) ng-'illebed-ii      a'obok-uk      aMiriam  
 3s-hit-3s          brother-1s      (name)  
 'Miriam hit my brother.'

In the diagram above, the agreement relation is assumed to be based on coindexing where the index is not referential but rather an indicator of shared features.

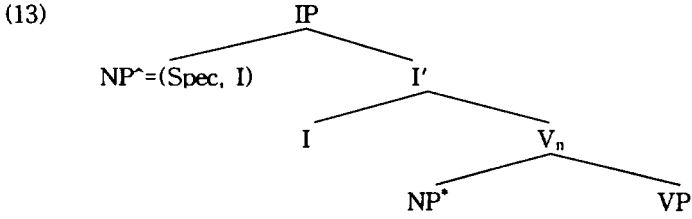
Chomsky (1988), building on earlier work by Emonds (1978) and Pollock (1989), proposes that a clause contains a node AgrP headed by Agr-O. Agreement with the subject, effected by Agr-S within IP, is distinct from the constituents of AgrP, i.e., Agr<sub>s</sub>-P is different from Agr<sub>o</sub>-P.

Chomsky proposes the following IP structure of English, which is assumed to be universal across languages:



The Structure of IP (Chomsky 1988; (28))

Koopman and Sprotiche (1988: 15) proposes the following analysis for the position of the subject:

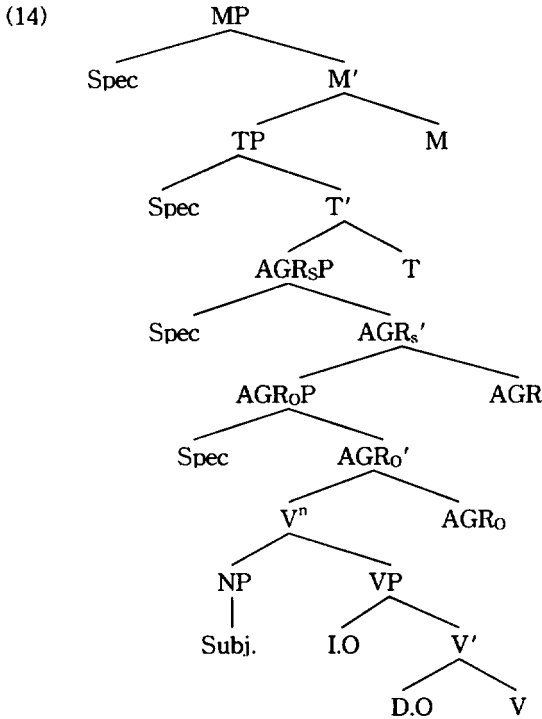




According to K & S, there are two ways that an NP can obtain Case: Case is assigned to an NP either i) under government by a structural Case assigner or ii) by Agreement of the NP with a Case assigning head. Which of these two Case assigning options is realized depends on the particular category  $X^0$ , the head H it contains, and the language L. For example, tensed INFL in English only assigns Case by agreement, forcing raising of NP\* when it needs Case while tensed INFL in Arabic and Irish/Welsh can assign Case structurally, permitting lexical NPs to surface in NP\*. K & S also indicate that Korean is the second type. Since the current paper is not dealing with null pronominal subjects, it is not our concern here, but, as in K & S, I will assume that subjects and objects in Korean are derived inside of VP at D-structure.

Before I deal with the formal devices for the current analysis, note some characteristics of Korean. First, the nominative Case is not assigned by the [+Tense] element in Korean (Yoon J-Y 1990). Second, a Dative Argument triggers the honorific agreement in the embedded clause. Third, as Ahn & Yoon (1989) point out, TP is not the highest node of a sentence in Korean. In order to coordinate these linguistic facts, I would like to propose an IP structure based on Chomsky (1988) and Pollock(1989).

Comparing to Chomsky's model, the proposed model includes the position of indirect object and excludes the category of FP. Another big difference between the two models lies in the position of the subject in that the later model incorporates the VP-internal subject hypothesis in its model. The question of why my model includes two AGR-P's may be answered if we think of the difference between honorification triggered by the subject NP and one by the dative argument. I assume that AGR<sub>0</sub>-P occurs only when there is a dative argument in the higher clause.



#### 4.2. Function of AGR-O

Chomsky (1989) suggests that sentences can contain the projection of AGR<sub>O</sub>(object agreement), whether the predicate is transitive or intransitive, i.e., whether its specifier position is used for Case-assignment or not. Along the line of Chomsky, Georgopoulos(1991) argues that his analysis on Palauan obtains a potential for agreement in UG, proposing the following:

$$(15) [_{VP} V_i \text{ --- } [_{Spec_V} ]_i / [_{VP} [_{Spec_V} ]_i \text{ --- } V_i] \\ \rightarrow [_{IP} I_i \text{ --- } [_{Spec_i} = \theta ]_i / [_{IP} [_{Spec_i} = \theta ]_i \text{ --- } I_i]$$

(15) can be interpreted that if there is specifier-head coindexing in VP, then there must be specifier-head coindexing in IP involving a thematic Spec(I). Franco(1991, 110) also indicates that AGR<sub>O</sub>-P has to

be projected every time there is a transitive verb, quoting Landa (1990) who assumes AGR<sub>O</sub>-P in Basque even though there is no clitic or agreement morpheme in the language.

Following Chomsky and others indicated above, I will assume that Korean sentences also project AGR<sub>O</sub>-P and that argument NPs must be in the specifier position of a functional category and must agree with its head to receive a theta role. Consequently, a subject NP needs to be raised or externalized to Spec(AGR-S) and agrees with its head AGR-S at LF. Likewise an object NP also needs to be raised to the Spec(AGR-O) position and agrees with its head AGR-O. In addition, AGR-Ps in Korean not only carry underspecified phi-feature(s) but also [=/-honorific] feature matrix. For example, if AGR-S contains [+honorific] feature, the subject NP must be a referential expression which designates someone honorified in the sentence.

#### 4.3. A-Agreement in Georgopoulos (1991)

Georgopoulos (1991) claims the following:

- (16) i) In order for the object to trigger agreement, it must be in specifier position.
- ii) When two arguments are mapped inside the maximal projection of some head X (its government domain), and some argument controls agreement, that argument is always in the specifier position.
- iii) A simple transitive verb that externalizes its subject has a nonthematic(VP) specifier, which is available to object raising.

(16 i) indicates that agreement is strictly structural in that only an element in specifier position can trigger agreement. (16 ii) states the hierarchical relations between THEME and GOAL. Putting it another way, it means that a THEME argument can never trigger object agreement if there is a GOAL argument. (16 iii) suggests that a thematic argument is mapped to the specifier of a di-transitive verb, whence it can trigger object agreement.

## 4.4. On pro Movement

The requirement that *pro* needs to move at LF owes to Chomsky's (1986a, 98) principle of Full Interpretation, which states that every element of PF and LF must receive an appropriate interpretation. According to Moon (1991), the only option with which an object *pro* can be properly identified is when *pro* moves to the Spec of the matrix CP and an indexed D-morpheme appears in Comp<sup>6</sup>. Here D-morpheme is assumed as an identifier of *pro* in Spec(C). Moon also claims that this type of *pro* does not violate the disjoint requirement of pronouns because there is no NP c-commanding it. However, there are some problems in her analysis if we consider sentences with Dative Arguments. Let's examine the sentence given in (9), which is repeated here as (17).

- (17) Sensayngnim<sub>1</sub>-**kkese** Mary<sub>2</sub>-**eke** [[e<sub>1</sub> e<sub>2</sub> salangha-n-**ta**] ko]  
 (HON)NOM                      DAT    love-DEC COMP  
 malssumha-si-ess-ta.  
 say-HON-PAST-DEC  
 '(Her) teacher said to Mary that (he) loves (her).'

If we apply *pro*-Movement to (17) as Moon indicated, we will get the following representation.

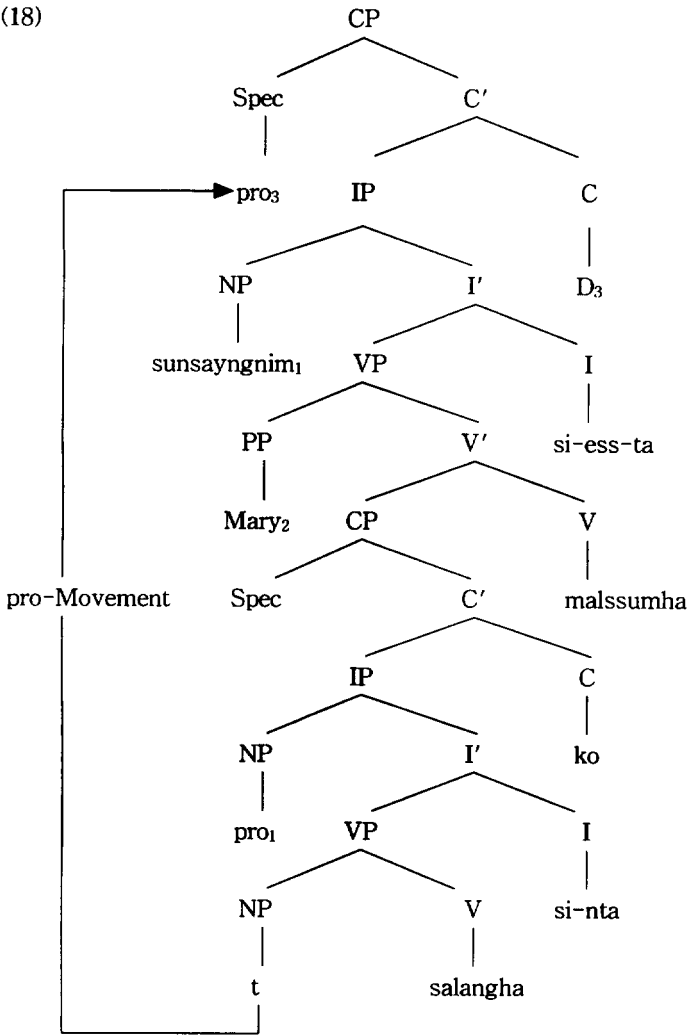
Since sentence (17) is grammatical, we could assume that *pro* object moves to the Spec(C) to get an index from the D-morpheme as indicated in (18). Whatever index can *pro* get from D-morpheme, it must be fine if Moon's explanation is relevant to our data. However, if *pro* gets an index different from the Dative Argument *Mary-eke*, the sentence becomes ungrammatical<sup>7</sup>.

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6. As in Yoon (1990), Moon assumes that Spec(C) position is an A-position.

7. Another line of thinking is to use a feature [+logo] as indicated in Moon (1991), which claims that *malhata* 'tell, say' is a logophoric verb which takes a speaker as its subject and the subject NP of it can be marked by [+logo]. However, it will not fix the problem either. Since *pro* subject in embedded clause gets a theta role of [+Agent], it will not be marked by [+logo] while *pro* object can be marked by [+logo] because it carries a theta role of [+Patient]. Consequently, her analysis predicts the following indexing:

(18)



### 5. Licensing and Identification of Null Objects in Korean

Before I give my own analysis on the issue of null objects, I would

\* Sensayngnim<sub>1</sub> Mary<sub>2</sub> [[pro<sub>1</sub> pro<sub>2</sub> salangha-si-nta]ko] malssumhasiessta. However, coindexation given above is not a possible analysis.

like to summarize the following:

- (19) i) *pro* moves to a  $\theta'$ /A-position. (Moon, 1991)  
 ii) There are more than one  $\theta'$  / A-positions in D-structure representation<sup>8</sup>. (Chomsky, 1989)  
 iii) In order for the object to trigger agreement, it must be in specifier position. (Georgopoulos, 1991)

Now let's think about a possible machinery for *pro* identification. As Chomsky (1981) I assume that *pro* gets the feature matrix [+pronominal, -anaphor], which indicates that *pro* must be free in its local domain D. In the following sentence, *pro* is free in D<sup>9</sup>.

- (17) Sensayngnim<sub>1</sub>-kkese Mary<sub>2</sub>-eke [[e<sub>1</sub> e<sub>2</sub> salangha-si-n-ta] ko]  
 (HON)NOM                      DAT    love-HON-DEC COMP  
 malssumha-si-ess-ta.  
 say-HON-PAST-DEC  
 '(Her) teacher said to Mary that (he) loves (her).'

Since both of the EC<sub>s</sub> are free in their local domain, it can be said that they are *pro*. As I argued in the previous section, *pro* needs to be interpreted. How can we give the proper coindexation to the sentence? First, I note that [+honorific] feature assigned to AGR-S correctly guarantees/identifies coindexation of the matrix subject and the embedded subject. Second, the Dative Argument provides the antecedent of the object *pro* as a last resort<sup>10</sup>. The identification process can be represented as follows :

- (20) Sensayngnim<sub>1</sub> Mary<sub>2</sub> [[*pro*<sub>2</sub> *pro*<sub>1</sub> salangha-si-nta]ko]  
 malssumha-si-essta.

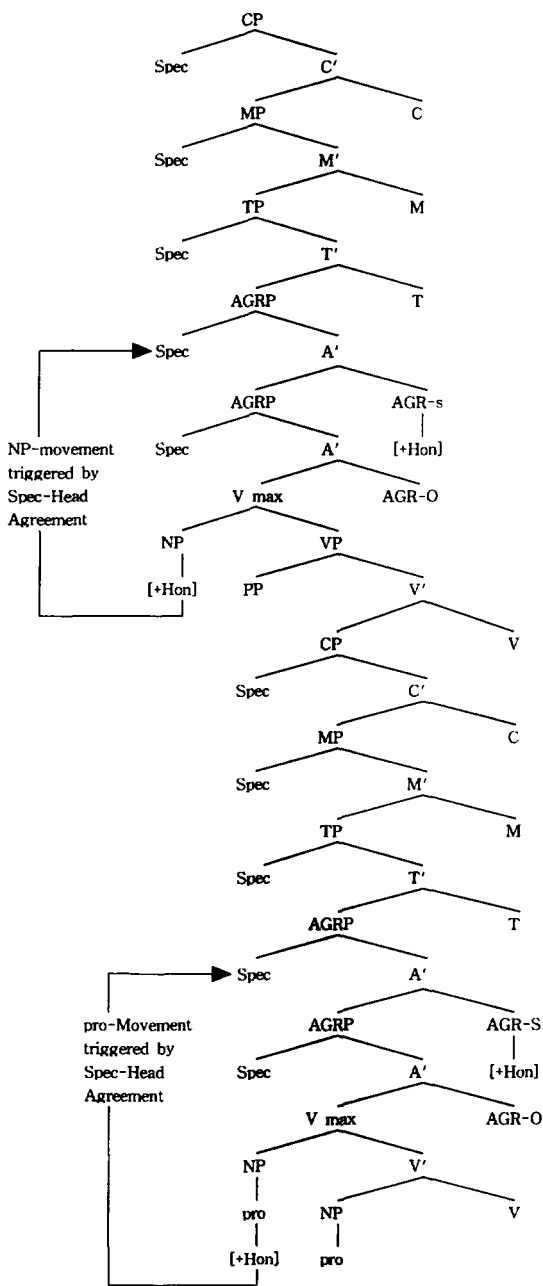
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8. If we adopt Chomsky's enriched INFL-hypothesis, all specifier positions of the functional categories such as Spec(M), Spec(T) and Spec(AGR) are theta-bar A-position.

9. I assume that the embedded clause which is tensed becomes the local domain D for the empty pronominals.

10. Note also that if there is no argument which can provide an antecedent of *pro* object in the same situation, i.e., if there is no DA all others being unchanged, *pro* object gets an arbitrary reading. It may be interpreted as a discourse topic or arbitrary person.

Kim 1995



An immediate question relating the identification process is why the index of the embedded subject is dependent to the index of the matrix subject. I would like to point out that it is a property of Korean AGR. Hermon and Yoon(1989) point out that the AGR of the null subject languages can be classified into four groups ; i) Fully Specified AGR, ii) Underspecified / [+pronominal] AGR, iii) Partially Specified / [+anaphoric] AGR and iv) Person lacking AGR. I argue that languages with the second type of AGR need a c-commanding NP to get phi-features. Although [+honorific] AGR licenses and identifies the subject *pro* in the embedded clause, it still needs phi-features from the matrix NP. I think it can be achieved through Verb-movement. Notice that Korean functional categories are affixes which obligate Verb-movement<sup>11</sup>.

The last question that must be answered is how can we incorporate the control effect exercised by the mood markers in Korean. I would like to claim that the mood markers also contain [+AGR] property with which they can coordinate the agreement feature conflict. For example, in sentence (10), it is DA that carries [+Hon] feature, hence AGR-O carries [+Hon] feature, which indicates that *pro* subject in the embedded clause must be identified by DA rather than the matrix subject. Thus, it is not a problem if there is honorific agreement between a subject and a verb. However, Korean allows ordinary sentence without honorification and we can get the same coindexation with (10).

- (10) Haksayngtul<sub>1</sub>-i Sensayngnim<sub>2</sub>-**kke** [e<sub>2</sub> e<sub>1</sub> salangha-si-**nya**-ko]  
 students-NOM teacher-Dat(HON) love-HON-INT-COMP  
 mul-ess-ta.

ask-PAST-DEC

The students asked to (their) teacher if (he) love (them).'

- (10)' Haksayngtul<sub>1</sub>-i Mary<sub>2</sub> -**eke** [e<sub>2</sub> e<sub>1</sub> salangha-**nya**-ko]  
 students-NOM teacher-Dat(HON) love-INT-COMP  
 mul-ess-ta.

ask-PAST-DEC

'The students asked to Mary if (she) love (them).'

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11. Note that functional categories have m-selectional property as well as c(ategory)-selectional property and grammatical features. See Ouhalla(1991) for more discussion on this.



I argue that the proper coindexation is achieved by the mood marker, *nya*, which carries a coordination feature like the following :

(21) Coordination Feature of *nya*<sup>12</sup> :

Interprete DA in the matrix clause as the subject of embedded clause if the embedded clause contains interrogative marker *-nya*.

## 6. Conclusion

*K. Lee (Pr) P. 121*

So far I have argued that some functional phrases are existent and behave like dynamic elements in Korean syntax although the existence of functional categories such as AGRPs is minimally attested in its morphology. First, if this analysis finds a solid foundation in Korean syntax, the hotly-debated topic of pro-Drop parameter may be simplified in a single clause: pro must be licensed and identified by AGR. Second, this paper advocates that Chomsky's (1989) proposal for Split-INFL Hypothesis and Case-checking at LF facilitates syntactic analysis in languages like Korean also. Finally and most importantly, Georgopoulos' (1991) claim that if there are two internal arguments in VP the DA gets the priority in triggering agreement is substantiated in this paper.

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12. I also note that imperative marker *-la* also gets the same coordination feature as interrogative marker *-nya*.

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