Moods and Complementizers in Korean

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1. Introduction

The investigation of functional categories has proved instrumental in the understanding of syntax in recent years. The verbal inflections in Korean, for instance, suggest presence of several functional categories which can play crucial roles in the syntax of Korean. This paper focuses on the identification of MP (Mood Phrase) and CP in Korean. Relevant features of MP and CP will be specified, and the syntactic positions of Spec/MP and Spec/CP will be subsequently substantiated.

I propose that the head of CP is specified with two features, namely [+/N, +/- M] (N for nominal, M for modal). The feature N accounts for the nominal status of some CP's whereas the feature M accounts for the modality expressed on certain comp's. The modal features under MP are proposed to percolate up to C when C is specified as [+M]. This feature percolation is supported by examining the selectional requirement of matrix verbs on the complementizer.

The presence of MP and CP by simple identification of corresponding morphemes is further substantiated by the syntactic importance of their Spec position. The Spec/CP, as in other languages, is proposed to be an A-bar position which wh-phrases occupy at LF on the basis of Subjacency effects. The presence of MP is substantiated by the necessity of gapless topic position in Korean. The Spec/MP position is argued to be the gapless topic position upon the comparative examination of extraction phenomena in gap and gapless topic constructions. The presence of Spec/CP and Spec/MP are further supported by the ECM phenomena in Korean. The unique characteristics of the Korean ECM are well accounted for, given the positions of Spec/CP and Spec/MP.

This paper contains three main parts. In the following section, I present complementizers and mood markers in Korean from a cross-linguistic point of view. In section 3, I propose the feature percolation of the modal features. This proposal is further supported by matrix verbs' selectional requirement on complementizers. In section 4, I substantiate the necessity of Spec positions of CP and MP. Section 5 concludes this paper by summarizing the proposals made here.

2. Identification of complementizers and mood markers in Korean

2-1. Simple Sentences in Korean

A simple verbal inflection in Korean shows the Stem-Tense-Mood sequence, where Mood consists of morphemes rendering such meanings as declarative (assertion), interrogative, imperative, and propositive (let us go!) as shown in (1).
(1) a. Inho-ka cip-ey ka-ss-ta
    Inho-N home-to go-Pst-Dec
    "Inho went home."

    b. Inho-ka cip-ey ka-ss-ni?
    Inho-N home-to go-Pst-Q
    "Did Inho go home?"

c. cip-ey ka-la'l
    home-to go-Imp
    "Go home!"

d. cip-ey ka-ca
    home-to go-Prop
    "Let's go!"

2-2. English Comps vs. Turkish Comps

A comparative survey of complementizers of various languages suggests that there may be two distinct types of complementizers cross-linguistically. One type of complementizers exhibits various illocutionary forces such as in English. For example, in (2) we note that the complementizers vary according to the mood types of the embedded clauses.

(2) English Comps
a. Craig says that it is raining.
b. Trisha asks Susan if it is raining.
c. Abdul wonders whether it is raining.

Another type of complementizers shows no such illocutionary forces: that is, the complementizers do not vary according to the mood types of the embedded clauses. Instead, they show categorical characteristics such that the complementizers nominalize the clauses. Turkish complementizers can be viewed as one of this type if we assume a clause nominalizing affix as a possible complementizer, as shown in (3).

(3) Turkish Comps
a. cocuğ-un balığ-i ye-diğ-i-ni san-iyor-um
    child-G fish-A eat-nom affl(C)-Poss-A believe-pres-1sg
    "I believe that the child ate the fish."

    b. cocuk-Ø kiz-in balığ-i ye-diğ-i-ni-mi sor-du-Ø
    "The child asked if the girl ate the fish"
We may distinguish these two types of complementizers with two features: [+/-Mood], [+/-Nominal]\(^1\). So, English complementizers and Turkish complementizers may be represented as:

\[(4)\]

English \([+M, -N]\)

Turkish \([-M, +N]\)

With regard to the feature \([+/-N]\), it is clear that Turkish complementizers nominalize the clause (thus, \(+N\)) since it is marked with a case marker (cf. Yükseler, this volume). As for the \([-N]\) feature for English complementizers, I present the following argument. According to the Case Filter, all phonetically realized nominal categories must receive a case. It follows that if English complementizers do nominalize clauses, then all such clauses should be assigned case. However, we find instances where clauses headed by complementizers appear in positions which do not need case assignment such as the following.

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\(^1\) The idea that English Comps are \([+M]\) is more explicitly dealt with in Lasnik & Saito (1984), Cowper (1992), McGinnis (1993), just to name a few. It has been understood that the complementizers are specified with abstract features such as WH, IMP, DECL where DECL has been argued to be the default value (Cowper 1992). However, these are not all the modal expressions that English has. English has modal verbs that also express modality.

It seems that English distinguishes the modality such as interrogative, imperative, declarative (usually referred to as illocutionary forces/sentence types) from the modals such as permission, obligation, possibility etc. expressed by modal verbs. One can view this difference of modal expressions in English from a purely syntactic perspective. The modality may have different scopes: either IP or VP. The moods such as interrogative, imperative, and declarative have their scope over IP. On the other hand, the moods such as permission (i.e., may) and obligation (i.e., must) have their scope over VP. For instance, McGinnis (1993) formalizes the semantics of modal readings of modal verbs such as:

\[A \rightarrow \text{B}\]

which reads, "the present state of affairs (A) entails the situation described by the VP (B) with the degree of force (F) associated with the particular modal" (p.17). Thus, the feature \([+M]\) on English complementizers is related to only moods of IP scope: i.e., declarative, interrogative, imperative.

Korean, as we will observe, does not distinguish these two types of modal expression. Since Korean simply does not have modal verbs, all the moods are expressed by either mood morphemes or complementizers. In other words, Korean has moods whose scope is uniformly IP. Consequently, one cannot express two different moods in a single clause which would be possible in English. In Korean, we need to use two clauses to express two different moods. For instance, a sentence such as "Must you go home!?", which has two modal expressions i.e., obligation and interrogative, can be expressed only by a sentence with an embedded clause: thus having two clauses. The modality of interrogative is expressed in the matrix sentence whereas the modality of obligation is expressed in the complementizer of the embedded clause as shown in (1).

\[(1) \text{n}e\text{\-}n\text{\-}un [pro}c\text{\-}\text{c}ip\text{-}\text{ey} \text{ka}\text{-}\text{ya} \text{ha}\text{-}\text{ni}?\]

you\text{-}Del. home\text{-}to go\text{-}C do\text{-}Q

"Must you go home?!"
(5)
   a. Mr. Johns informed me that I have to finish this paper by tonight.
   b. I wondered if I would be kicked out of school tonight.

"Inform" is a transitive verb assigning a case to 'me'. "Wonder" is an intransitive verb, not assigning any case. Therefore, neither 'that'-clause nor 'if'-clause in (5) receives case. We also find that if we force that/if clauses to appear in some case positions, we get ungrammatical sentences. The verbs in (5) can take PP as an argument as shown below. Here, the NPs which are complements of the prepositions are assigned case.

(6)
   a. Mr. Johns informed me about the lecture.
   b. I wondered about the dream.

If we force clauses headed by complementizers 'that', or 'if' in this case-assigned position, we get ungrammatical reading as below.

(7)
   a. *Mr. Johns informed me about that I have to finish this paper by tonight.
   b. *I wondered about if I would be kicked out of home tonight.

Therefore, English complementizers are [-N].
   If this generalization is correct, then we have some gaps that need to be filled. Since we have two binary features, we should be able to have four different kinds of complementizers cross-linguistically: namely, [+M,+N], [+M,-N], [-M,+N], and [-M,-N].

2-3. Korean Comps

Korean shows precisely the two other possible complementizers: [+M, +N] as well as [-M, -N]. In fact, Korean has these two types and another type that is just like those of English.

2-3.1 ko [-M, -N]

Ko is a complementizer that neither has illocutionary forces nor does it nominalize the clause it heads. Notice in (8) that clauses of all the different mood types shown in (1) appear in the embedded clauses headed by ko.

(8)
      Chelswu-Del I-N genius-be-Pst-Dec-ko believe-Pres-Dec
      "Chelswu believes that I was a genius."
   Chelswu-Del I-N genius-be-Pst-Q-ko ask-Pst-Dec
   "Chelswu asked if I was a genius."

   Chelswu-Del I-D home-to go-Imp-ko say-do-Pst-Dec
   "Chelswu told me to go home."

d. Chelswu-nun na-eykye [pro_ cip-e ka-ca-ko] mal-hay-ss-ta
   Chelswu-Del I-D home-D go-Prop-ko say-do-Pst-Dec
   "Chelswu told me, "Let's go home.""

2-3.2 ka, ci, swu, um [+M, +N]

These complementizers show illocutionary forces, and they also nominalize the clauses: note the case markers at the end of the embedded clauses. As illustrated in (9), they all express modality: insertion of mood markers before these complementizers results in ungrammaticality. As in the case of English complementizers, only a restricted set of matrix verbs can select each complementizer.

(9)

a. -ka (question)
   Chelswu-nun [Inho-ka onul cip-e ky-nun-ka]-lul mwul-ess-ta
   Chelswu-Del Inho-N today home-to go-Pres-ka-(A) ask-Pst-Dec
   "Chelswu asked if Inho is going home today."

b. -ci (suspicion)
   Chelswu-nun [Inho-ka onul cip-e ka-nun-ci]-lul molu-n-ta
   Chelswu-Del Inho-N today home-to go-Pres-ci-(A) not know-Pres-Dec
   "Chelswu does not know if Inho is going home today."

c. -swu (possibility)
   [Inho-ka onul cip-e ka-nun-swu]-ka iss-ta
   Inho-N today home-to go-Pres-swu-N be-Dec
   "It is possible that Inho goes home today."

d. -um (assertion)
   na-nun [cikwu-ka onul-to tol-ass-um]-ul cwucang-ha-n-ta
   I-Del earth-N today-Del turn-Pst-um-A insist-do-Pres-Dec
   "I insist that the earth rotated even today."

2-3.3 ya, to [+M, -N]

Finally, Korean has these two complementizers that have modal expression but do not nominalize the clauses as noted by the absence of case markers at end of the embedded
clauses. So, they are like the English complementizers. Like the [+M,+N] complementizers in (9), only a limited set of matrix verbs are allowed with these complementizers.

\[(10)\]

a. -ya (obligation)
Inho-\text{-nun} [pro\text{ }\text{eiskey} \text{ } \text{cip-ey} \text{ } \text{ka-ss-e-ya}] \text{ } \text{hay-ss-ta}
Inho-\text{-Del} \text{ } \text{yesterday} \text{ } \text{home-to} \text{ } \text{go-Pst-e-ya} \text{ } \text{do-Past-Dec} \n"\text{Inho should have gone home yesterday.}"

b. -to (permission)
Inho-\text{-nun} [pro\text{ }\text{eiskey} \text{ } \text{cip-ey} \text{ } \text{ka-ss-e-to}] \text{ } \text{toy-ss-ta}
Inho-\text{-Del} \text{ } \text{yesterday} \text{ } \text{home-to} \text{ } \text{go-Pst-e-to} \text{ } \text{become-Pst-Dec} \n"\text{Inho was allowed to go home yesterday.}"

In summary, we have three types of complementizers in Korean. We note that modality is expressed by either a complementizer or mood marker in a given clause.

\[(11)\] Complementizers in Korean
[-M, -N] : \text{ko}
[+M, -N] : \text{ya (obligation), to (permission)}
[+M, +N] : \text{ka (question), ci (suspicion), swu (possibility), um (assertion)}

\[(12)\] Mood markers in Korean
\text{ta (assertion), nya/ni (question), la (imperative), ca (propositive)}

However, it is the case that the modality is never redundantly expressed by both a complementizer and a mood marker in a single clause: recall that mood markers appear only before \text{ko (cf. (8))} but not before any other complementizers. It would be, therefore, simpler if the feature specification of modality is somehow identified under a single head (i.e., M) instead of two (i.e., M and C).

3. Features of C and M

3-1. Feature Percolation

I propose (13) as the structure of a Korean sentence. C is specified with features [+/-M] and [+/-N]. M is specified with modal features of all kinds: i.e., obligation, permission, question, suspicion, possibility, assertion, question, imperative, propositive. Korean verbs, which are inflected for tense, mood, as well as complementizer, move to the heads of these functional categories to check off their features.
I further propose that the feature [+N] on C percolates up to its maximal projection CP, giving the entire clause a nominal status: the case is accordingly realized on such a CP as shown in (14). A modal feature under MP percolates up to a C whenever the C is specified [+M]. Thus, the modal feature [question] in (14) is expressed under the C. Consequently, this modal feature is checked off at C when an inflected verb moves in there. In this case, a verbal inflection containing a [+N, +M] complementizer with a modal expression of question (i.e., ka) would "converge".

When a C is [-M], on the other hand, the modal feature does not percolate up to the C. As a result, the modal feature is not expressed on the C. In this case, the modal feature is checked off at M. Thus, a verbal inflection containing a [-N, -M] complementizer (i.e., ko) and a mood morpheme nya would converge.
3-2. Selectional Requirement

It is a general assumption that a matrix verb selects a C. In English, for instance, a matrix verb 'wonder' would choose 'whether' or 'if' but not 'that' as its complementizer. More specifically, the verb 'wonder' selects a complementizer which is specified with [+WH] feature. In Korean, we have also noted that each complementizer with modal expression is selected by a small set of verbs. It follows that it is the modal feature specified on C which plays a crucial role for the selection. Thus, the percolation of modal features to C is necessary for the selection of the higher verbs.

Accordingly, we can predict that when a complementizer is not specified with a modal feature (i.e., C [-M]), there would be no selectional requirement forced by the matrix verb on the complementizer. This prediction is born out as shown in (16). It shows that all the matrix verbs can be uniformly 'ha(y)' (do) regardless of the different moods of the embedded clauses.

(16)

a. Inho-nun nay-ka swunha-ta-ko hay-ss-ta
   Inho-Del I-N, innocent-Dec-C do-Pst-Dec
   "Inho said that I am innocent."

b. Inho-nun nay-ka chencay-nya-kö hay-ss-ta
   Inho-Del I-N, genius-Inter-C do-Pst-Dec
   "Inho asked if I am a genius."

c. Inho-nun cip-ey ka-ca-ko hay-ss-ta
   Inho-Del home-to go-Prop-C do-Pst-Dec
   "Inho suggested that we go home."

d. Inho-nun na-eykye cip-ey ka-la-ko hay-ss-ta
   Inho-Del I-D, home-to go-Imp-C do-Pst-Dec
   "Inho commanded me to go home."
4. Spec of CP and MP

4-1. Spec of CP

The feature [+WH] (equivalent to 'question' above) of complementizer has been held responsible for licensing the Spec/CP as a landing site of wh-element (i.e., Lasnik & Saito (1984)). In Koren as well, we can substantiate the presence of CP by the necessity of Spec/CP as the landing site of wh-element.

I follow Choe (1988) in that Korean, a language with in-situ wh-phrases, has two wh-phrases that show Subjacency effects at LF: namely, which-phrase and wh-phrase linked with 'totayche' (on earth)\(^2\). Observe the following.

(17)

a. ?? ne-nun [[Chelswu-ka enu-kulim-ul kuli-ess-ta-nun] sasil]-ul mit-ess-ni?
   you-Del Chelswu-N which-painting-A paint-Pst-Dec Att fact-A believe-Pst-Q
   "Which painting did you believe the fact that Chelswu painted?"

b. ne-nun [[Chelswu-ka enu-kulim-ul kuli-ess-ta]-ko] mit-ess-ni?
   you-Del Chelswu-N which-painting-A paint-Pst-Dec C believe-Pst-Q
   "Which painting did you believer Chelswu painted?"

c. ?? ne-nun [[Chelswu-ka todaychey mwuet-ul hay-ss-ta-nun] somwun]-ul tul-ess-ni?
   you-Del Chelswu-N on earth what-A do-Pst-Dec Att rumor-A hear-Pst-Q
   "What on earth did you hear a rumor that Chelswu did?"

d. ne-nun [[Chelswu-ka todaychey mwuet-ul hay-ss-ta]-ko] tul-ess-ni?
   you-Del Chelswu-N on earth what-A do-Pst-Dec C hear-Pst-Q
   "What on earth did you hear Chelswu did?"

The Subjacency effects shown above suggest that these wh-phrases involve (null-operator) A-bar movement at LF. Therefore, the existence of Spec/CP, which is an A-bar position, plays the role of an escape hatch for the long-distance A-bar movement. The sentences (b) and (d) show that the Spec/CP provides an escape hatch; thus, no Subjacency effects are observed. In contrast, Subjacency effects are observed in (a) and (c) where no escape hatch of A-bar movement is available.

Choe (1988) shows yet another kind of A-bar movement in Korean that obeys Subjacency. She claims that in the rightward inversion constructions as in (18), the

\(^2\) Other wh-words/phrases do not show Subjacency effects. For instance, a simple wh-word, 'what' does not obey Subjacency as shown in (2). Therefore, with such wh-words/phrases it is not possible to prove whether they move at LF.

(2) ne-nun [xp [p Chelswu-ka mwuet-ul hay-ss-ta-nun] somwun]-ul tul-ess-ni?
   You-Del Chelswu-N what-A do-Pst-Dec Att rumor-A hear-Pst-Q
   "What on earth did you hear a rumor that Chelswu did?"
inverted phrase is base-generated and a "null inversion operator" moves. This movement is also shown to obey Subjacency

(18) (Choe 1988: 101)
a. ??[Chelswu-ka [[ t₁ maul-ey nathana-ss-ta-nun] somwun]-ul tul-ess-ta], holangij-ka
   Chelswu-N village-at appear-Pst-Dec-Pres rumor-A hear-Pst-Dec, tiger-N
   "Chelswu heard a rumor that a tiger appeared in the village"

b. [na-nun [[ Chelswu-ka t₁ ilk-ess-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta], ku chayky-ul
   I-Del Chelswu-N read-Pst-Dec-C think-Pres-Dec, that book-A
   "I think that Chelswu read that book."

Again the available escape hatch, Spec/CP, explains the grammaticality of (b), while the absence of the escape hatch in (a) accounts for the observed Subjacency effects.

Accordingly, these Subjacency effects of syntactic A-bar movement show that in Korean, C projects to form a CP making its Spec position available.

4-2. Spec of MP

The Spec/MP position is also found to be not superfluous. I hold that the Spec/MP is the gapless topic position in Korean. As in English, Korean has two distinct types of topic constructions: gap and gapless topic constructions. Gap topics result from a syntactic movement of extraction. On the other hand, there is no syntactic movement involved for gapless topic constructions. (19) shows these two types of topics in Korean.

(19)
a. gap topic construction
   Banana-lul nay-ka t₁ cohaha-n-ta
   Banana-A I-N like-Pres-Dec
   "Bananas, I like."

b. gapless topic construction
   Kwail-i pineapple-i pissa-ta
   fruit-N pineapple-N expensive-Dec
   "As for fruits, pineapples are expensive."

For the syntax of extracting a gapless topic, I hold that it is a result of IP adjunction (more precisely TP adjunction in case of Korean) as topicalizations of other languages are usually treated. Thus, a structure for (19-a) is shown in (20) where the topic, 'banana' is adjoined to TP.
(20)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP} \\
\text{TP} \\
\text{TP} \\
\text{T} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V'} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{cohaha-n-ta}
\end{array}
\]

It is, however, necessary that the syntactic position of gapless topics be different from the position of gap topics. In other words, we cannot have Spec/TP as both gap and gapless topic position. The reason for this necessity comes from the different syntactic behaviors of the two types of topic constructions with respect to extraction. Observe the following.

(21)

a. Inhoq-eykye Swuni-ka t_i kwail-ul cwu-ess-ta
   Inho-D Swuni-N fruit-A give-Pst-Dec
   "To Inho, Swuni gave fruits."

b. kwailj-ul Inhoq-eykye Swuni-ka t_i t_j cwu-ess-ta
   fruit-A Inho-D Swuni-ka give-Pst-Dec
   "Fruits\textsubscript{j}, to Inho, Swuni gave t_i." (lit.)

(21-a) is a normal gap topic sentence where Inho is topicalized by extraction. This sentence can successfully undergo another extraction which results in another gap topic, as shown in (21-b). Now observe extraction facts in a gapless topic sentence below.

(22)

a. kay-ka Husky-ka sselmay-lul cal kku-n-ta
   dog-N Husky-N sled-A well pull-Pres-Dec
   "As for dogs, Huskies are good at pulling sleds."

b. *sselmay\textsubscript{j}-lul kay-ka Husky-ka t_i cal kku-n-ta
   sled-A dog-N Husky-N well pull-Pres-Dec
   "Sleds\textsubscript{i}, as for dogs, Huskies are good at pulling t_i." (lit.)

In (22-b), we observe that the gapless topic sentence (22-a) undergoes extraction in that the direct object is moved to the front. The ungrammaticality of (22-b) indicates that extraction is not possible in gapless topic sentences. However, a closer look at this phenomenon suggests that extraction is still possible in gapless topic sentences as long as
the extracted NP does not come in front of the gapless topic as shown in (23)

(23) kay-ka sselmay-lul Husky-ka cal t1 kku-n-ta
    dog-N sled-A Husky-N well pull-Ind-Dec
    "As for dogs, sleds, Huskies pull well t1 (lit.)."

Since extraction is held to be a process of a TP adjunction, the presence of another XP is necessary to explain this extraction fact. If a gapless topic appears under MP which is above TP, then the impossibility of extracting an argument in front of the gapless topic (i.e.,22-b) is accounted for since extraction does not happen as a result of MP adjunction. The possibility of extracting an argument to the right of the gapless topic (i.e.23) is also accounted for since extraction does involve adjunction to TP.

Therefore, I propose that gapless topics are base-generated as specifiers of MP. Thus, the proposed structure of a gapless topic sentence (19-b) is the following.

(24) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{MP} \\
/ \text{kwail-i} \text{M'} \\
\text{TP} \\
/ \text{pineapple-i} \text{T'} \\
\text{AP} \\
/ t_1 \text{A'} \\
\text{A} \\
\end{array}
\]

Kwail-i pineapple-i pissa-ta
fruit-N pineapple-N expensive-Dec
"As for fruits, pinapples are expensive."

When an extraction occurs in a gapless topic sentence (i.e., 23), we would have the following structure.
Consequently, the presence of Spec/MP is crucial in explaining the different syntactic behaviors of gap and gapless topic constructions. Thus, M also projects to form MP providing its Spec position in Korean.

4-3. ECM in Korean

Identifying Spec/MP as the gapless topic position further benefits us in understanding ECM phenomena in Korean. In examining the ECM phenomena, we will see that the presence of Spec/MP plays a crucial role in explaining the case assignment process.

The ECM in Korean shows some unique characteristics. In short, Korean ECM is: a) optional where ECM is possible, b) possible into a finite clause, c) possible across a complementizer. An example of ECM construction is given in (26). Notice all the three characteristics mentioned.

(26)
John-N Jane-A/N genius-Pst-Dec-C  believe-Pres-Dec
"John believes that Jane was a genius."

Another unique feature of ECM in Korean is that the semantic relationship observed between a gapless topic and the rest of the sentence is also observed between an ECMed NP and the rest of the embedded sentence. A gapless topic is found to be under a semantic constraint such that a gapless topic must be sufficiently characterized by the rest
of the sentence\(^3\). For instance, sentences in (27) show how this semantic constraint affects grammaticality judgments of gapless topic constructions.

(27)
a. Tom-i tongsayng-i uysa-i-ta
   Tom-N brother-N doctor-be-Dec
   "As for Tom, his brother is a doctor."

b. *Tom-i tongsayng-i noll-ass-ta
   Tom-N brother-N surprised-Pst-Dec
   "As for Tom, his brother was surprised."

Notice that (27-a) is grammatical since the rest of the sentence (i.e., his brother being a doctor) provides "sufficient" information about the topic, "Tom". "Sufficient" information refers to permanent rather than temporary characteristics of the topic. On the other hand, (27-b) is ungrammatical because the clause (his brother being surprised) does not provide sufficient (i.e., permanent) characteristics of the topic, "Tom".

In (28), we see that the same semantic constraint applies to the ECMed NP and the rest of the clause. Note that the same predicates as those in (27) are used here.

(28)
a. salam-tul-un [Tom-i/ul uysa 0-la-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta
   person-Pl-Del Tom-N/A doctor be-Dec-C think-Pres-Dec
   "People think that Tom is a doctor."

b. salam-tul-un [Tom-i/*ul noll-ass-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta
   person-Pl-Del Tom-N/A surprised-Pst-Dec-C think-Pres-Dec
   "People think that Tom was surprised."

The same semantic constraint is shown to apply between the ECMed NP, 'Tom', and the rest of the embedded clause: 'being a doctor' but not 'being surprised' may give a sufficient characterization of 'Tom'. Therefore, ECM is possible with (28-a) but not with (28-b).

In accordance with the characteristics of ECM in Korean, I propose the structure of an ECM construction as in (29).

(29)
Tom-i [Jane-ul/i papo i-ess-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta
Tom-N Jane-A/N fool be-Pst-Dec-C think-Pres-Dec
"Tom thinks that Jane was a fool."

---

\(^3\) For a complete argument for claiming such a semantic constraint, see Cho (1994).
As shown in the above tree, I propose that the subject of the embedded clause (i.e., Jane) moves up to the Spec of MP, the gapless topic position, in order to receive case from the matrix ECM verb. The ECM verb assigns case to the CP, and the case is transmitted to its head which in turn assigns case to an NP under government⁴. Since the only position governed by C is the Spec/MP (i.e., gapless topic position), any ECMed NP will be subject to the semantic constraint on gapless topics.

An NP will not be able to move up to Spec/CP since it is an operator (A-bar position). In addition to the fact that C cannot govern an NP at Spec/TP, there is another motivation for an NP to move out of Spec/TP in order to receive a case from the matrix verb. An NP at Spec/TP would not be able to receive a case from the matrix verb if we adopt the idea that ECM does not operate across a tensed domain. As was noted, Korean allows tensed embedded clauses in ECM constructions. Therefore, an NP must move out of the tensed domain (i.e., TP) in order to receive case. The movement out of the TP is possible in

⁴ For the notion of government, I follow Chomsky (1986) where government generally holds between α and β in structures such as the following. A maximal projection does not block government of its own specifier position.

\[ \text{A maximal projection does not block government of its own specifier position.} \]
Korean because of the presence of Spec/MP. However, such movement would be impossible in languages like English which has no MP. Accordingly, we find that in English ECM occurs only with non-finite clauses.

The presence of Spec/MP is, therefore, crucial in understanding the process of ECM in Korean. It not only accounts for the semantic constraint on the relationship between ECMed NP and the rest of the embedded clause, but it also explains why it is possible to have finite ECMed clauses in Korean.

5. Summary

We have seen in this paper that Korean has functional categories C and M both of which project to form CP and MP with Spec position. The relationship between C and M in Korean is accounted for by the feature percolation of modal features. The projection of CP and MP is substantiated by the crucial syntactic roles of their Spec positions.

References

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