COMP *-Ko* and Case Markers*

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The purpose of this paper is to investigate morphosyntactic properties of COMP *-ko*. I will make two claims regarding COMP *-ko*. First, I will argue that COMP *-ko* is an accusative marker, just as the nominal suffix *-lul* is. This argument is based upon the fact that *-ko* and *-lul* are licensed in the same configuration, that is, in complement to V, which is defined as the position to which accusative is assigned. Second, I will argue that *-ko* is an inherent case marker, whereas *-lul* is a structural case marker. I will show that in a wide variety of morphosyntactic aspects *-ko* patterns with *-eykey* and *-ey*(*se*). which are assumed to be inherent case markers.

1. Inflectional Morphology in Korean

In this section, we discuss the structures of nominal and verbal projections in Korean. With respect to the nominal projections, I assume with Ahn and Yoon (1989) and Bak (1990) that nominal case markers such as *-ka* and *-lul* are the head of DPs. With respect to the verbal projections, I assume that subordinator

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-ko is the head of CPs (Choe 1988, Yoon 1990, Jung 1992, and Sells 1995).

1.1. Nominal Projections

Cross-linguistically, fully inflected noun phrases, that is, DPs, are typically associated with case features. It has long been observed that the head D is the locus of case features in various languages (Emonds 1985, Abney 1987, and Olsen 1989). As pointed out by Olsen (1989), lexical determiners in German are morphologically inflected for case features, which suggests that the head D is the locus of case features. Observe the examples in (1).

(1) a. der Lehrer
the-Nom teacher
b. den Lehrer
the-Acc teacher

The data in (1) show that case features, i.e., nominative and accusative, are overtly marked on the lexical determiners, which belong to the category D.[1] Bavarian also shows that the head D is the locus of case features (Bayer 1984).

(2) a. dem Mo
the-Dat man
b. den Mo
the-Acc man

1. Abney (1987) and Olsen (1989) argue that pronouns, which are also inflected for case features, are of the category D, which implies that the head D is the locus of case features. See Chomsky (1995) in which it is left open whether D or N is the locus of case features. See also Webelhuth (1995).

The lexical determiners *dem* and *den*, which are of the category D, are morphologically inflected for case features, which confirms that the head D is the locus of case features.

In Korean, fully inflected noun phrases are associated with case features, which are morphologically realized as nominal suffixes.[2]

(3) a. aki-ka/lul/uy
baby-Nom/Acc/Gen
b. aki-eykey
baby-Dat
c. sangca-ey(se)
box-Loc

With respect to the categorial status of the nominal case markers in (3), Ahn and Yoon (1989) and Bak (1990) suggest that they are the head of the entire noun phrases, i.e, DPs. Given that Korean is head-final and that the case markers occur in the final position of noun phrases, it is quite plausible to say that the case markers are the head of DPs. I assume Ahn and Yoon (1989) and Bak (1990) that the nominal case markers are of the category D.

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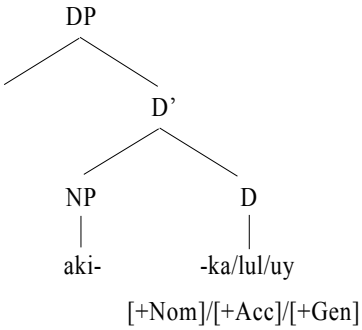
2. Korean shows two locative markers, i.e., *-ey* and *-eyse*. The former is employed when the verb denotes an 'event' and the latter is used when the verb denotes 'state' or 'existence'. Observe the examples in (i).

(i) a. Sue-ka [kyosil-ey] iss-ass-ta.
Sue-Nom classroom-Loc be-Past-Dec
'sue is in the classroom.'
b. Sue-ka [kyosil-eyse] kongpuha-ass-ta.
Sue-Nom classroom-Loc study-Past-Dec
'sue studied in the classroom.'

(4)



Cross-linguistic evidence has been provided that case markers or particles should be analyzed as an independent syntactic head. Bittner and Hale (1996), for example, suggest an independent category 'K' for case particles. Consider the examples in (5) and (6), cited from Bittner and Hale (1996).

(5) a. Ka la yo''ii [ya 'u khlaa]. (Khasi)
she Past see Acc the tiger
'she saw the tiger.'

b. 'olo'o uli [e le teine] la ta'avale. (Samoan)
Prg drive Erg the girl the car
'The girl is driving the car.'

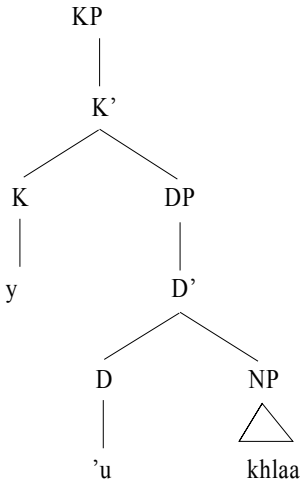
(6) a. Vaitna ba [sula ba ra] kaik-an. (Miskitu)
man the deer the Acc see-Past/3rd
'The man saw the deer.'

b. [Ti to] e kuyan te kupe wa. (Shokleng)
he Erg his body the wash Prg
'He is washing his body.'

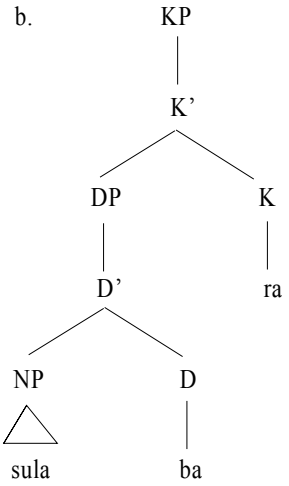
As shown in (5) and (6), case features are overtly realized as independent particles in these languages. Based upon the data in (5) and (6), Bittner and

Hale (1996) suggest the structures in (7a) and (7b) for the case marked noun phrases in (5a) and (6a), respectively.

(7) a.

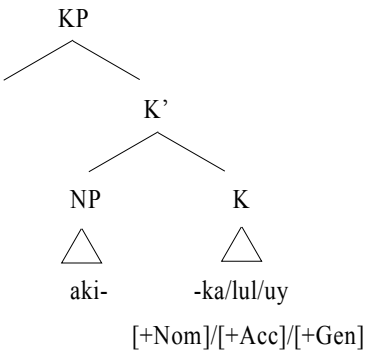


b.



It is generally assumed that the head D is associated with 'referentiality' or 'definiteness'. (Chomsky 1995 and Ritter 1995). In the above-mentioned languages, it seems not impossible to assume two functional categories, that is, K and D, within case-marked noun phrases, given that case and referentiality/definiteness are overtly realized as separate particles. In Korean, however, we need not assume two independent syntactic heads within DPs since referentiality or definiteness is not overtly realized. Given this situation, we have two possible structures for case-marked nominals in Korean: (4) and (8).

(8)



In this paper, I assume the structure in (4) for the following reason. As the term 'K' indicates, the head K in (8) is supposed to be exclusively associated with case features. The term 'D', on the other hand, need not be exclusively associated with case features.

In Korean, fully inflected nouns are inflected for agreement features as well as for case features. Observe the examples in (9).

(9) a. apeci-kkeyse
father-Nom/Hon
b. apeci-kkey
father-Dat/Hon

In (9a), the case feature [+Nom] and the agreement feature [+Hon] are overtly realized as a single morpheme, i.e., *-kkeyse*. Similarly, in (9b), the features [+Dat] and [+Hon] are overtly realized as a single morpheme, i.e., *-kkey*. It is quite clear that the nominal suffixes *-kkeyse* and *-kkey* are associated with both case and agreement features. Given this, it does not make sense to argue that *-kkeyse* and *-kkey* belong to the category K. It has long been observed that the head D is associated with case and agreement features in various languages

(Emonds 1985, Olsen 1989, and Haegeman 1991). For this reason, I assume that the nominal case markers in (3) and (9) belong to the category D.

1.2. Verbal Projections

With respect to the categorial status of the verbal suffix -*ko*, I assume that it belongs to the category C (Choe 1988, Ahn and Yoon 1989, Yoon 1990, Jung 1992, and Sells 1995). A clear piece of evidence for assuming -*ko* as the head C comes from the fact that it is licensed in embedded clauses but not in root clauses, as illustrated in (10) and (11).[3]

(10) a. *Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko.
Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C
'*That Sue won.'
b. *Sue-ka iki-ass-nya-ko
Sue-Nom win-Past-Int-C
'*Whether Sue won.'

(11) a. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko] malha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C say-Past-Dec
'Joe said that Sue won.'
b. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-nya-ko] mul-ass-ta.
Joe-ka Sue-Nom win-Past-Int-C ask-Past-Dec
'Joe asked whether Sue won.'

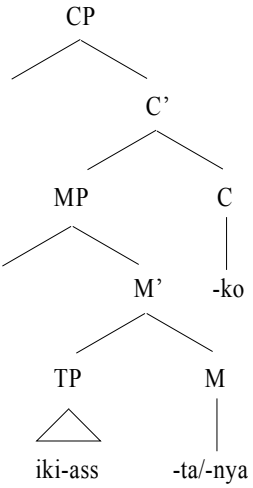
From the above data, it is clear that the verbal suffix -*ko* serves as a subordinator, which typically falls under the category C.

3. See Chomsky (1995), who argues that overt complementizers are licensed only in embedded clauses.

With respect to the so-called sentential endings such as *-ta* and *-nya*, which are associated with mood features, I simply assume with Ahn and Yoon (1989) that they are the head MOOD, although it is controversial whether the sentential endings belong to the category M or C.[4] In this paper, I will assume the structure in (12b).

(12) a. [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta/nya-ko]
Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec/Int-C

b.



2. COMP *-Ko* as Accusative Marker

In this section, I propose that COMP *-ko* is an accusative marker. Under this analysis, we have two accusative markers, that is, *-lul* and *-ko*. The two accusative

4. See Jung (1992), for example, who argues that the mood markers are of the category C. See also Choe (1988) and Whitman (1991), among others, for further discussions on the categorial status of the sentential endings.

markers are distinguished, however, in terms of the categorial features; -*lul* is nominal or [+N, -V] and -ko is verbal or [-N, +V]. I claim that accusative assigned to nominal projections is realized as a nominal suffix and accusative assigned to verbal projections are realized as a verbal suffix, which can be derived from the notion of extended projection suggested in Grimshaw (1991).

The analysis of COMP -*ko* as an accusative marker is empirically evidenced by the syntactic configurations in which -*ko* is licensed. Despite the widely accepted assumption in Bresnan (1979) that the category COMP is the one associated with mood features, COMP -*ko* is not associated with mood features and therefore may be licensed in various types of clausal arguments, as illustrated in (13).

(13) a. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko] mit-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom [Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C believe-Past-Dec
'Joe believed that Sue won.'

b. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-nya-ko] mul-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom [Sue-Nom win-Past-Int-C ask-Past-Dec
'Joe asked whether Sue won.'

c. Joe-ka Sue-eykey [party-ey ka-la-ko] malha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat party-Loc go-Imp-C tell-Past-Dec
'Joe told Sue to go to the party.'

d. Joe-ka Sue-eykey [party-ey ka-ca-ko] malha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat party-Loc go-Prop-C tell-Past-Dec
'Joe suggested to Sue that they go to the party.'

The data in (13) clearly indicate that it is not COMP -*ko* but the sentential endings -*ta*, -*nya,* -*la,* and -*ca* that are associated with mood features. Unlike English COMP *that* or *whether*, which are licensed in specific types of clause,

i.e., declarative and interrogative, respectively, Korean COMP *-ko* is not restricted at all in terms of mood features and thus may be licensed in any type of clause.

COMP *-ko*, however, exhibits a different type of restriction. It has long been noted that *-ko* is licensed only in clausal arguments (=CPs) that serve as complement to V, whereas it is not licensed either in complement to N nor in subject position (Yoon 1990). Compare the examples in (13) with those in (14) and (15).[5]

(14) a. *[Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko] Joe-uy mitum.
Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C Joe-Gen belief
'Joe's belief that Sue won'

b. *[Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko] motu-lul nolakey ha-ass-ta.
Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C everybody-Acc surprised make-Past-Dec
'That Sue won surprised everybody.'

(15) a. *[Sue-ka iki-ass-nya-ko] Joe-uy cilmun
Sue-Nom win-Past-Int-C Joe-Gen question
'Joe's question whether Sue won'

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5. Clausal arguments used as complement to N is headed by the verbal suffix -nun, which is also known as COMP. Clausal arguments appearing in subject position, on the other hand, are typically extraposed, leaving dummy noun kes-, which itself can be assigned nominative. Observe the examples in (i).

(i) a. [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-nun] Joe-uy mitum
Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C Joe-Gen belief
'Joe's belief that Sue won'

b. [[Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-nun] kes-i] motu-lul nolakey ha-ass-ta.
Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C it-Nom everybody-Acc surprised make-Past-Dec
'It surprised everybody that Sue won.'

COMP *-nun* will not be discussed in this paper. See Lim (1995) and Jeong (1998) who suggest a possibility that *-nun* is a genitive marker.

b. *[Sue-ka iki-ass-nya-ko] muncey-i-ta.
Sue-Nom win-Past-Int-C problem-be-Dec
'Whether Sue won is a problem.'

The examples in (13) through (15) tell us that the configuration in which COMP -*ko* is licensed is exactly the same as the configuration in which the nominal accusative marker -*lul* is licensed. Like COMP -*ko*, -lul is licensed in complement to V but neither in complement to N nor in subject position, as illustrated in (16) and (17).

(16) a. Joe-ka [Kim kica-uy poto-lul] mit-ass-ta
Joe-Nom Kim reporter-Gen report-Acc believe-Past-Dec
'Joe believed reporter Kim's report.'

b. *[Kim kica-uy poto-lul] (Joe-uy) mitum
Kim reporter-Gen report-Acc Joe-Gen belief
'Joe's belief of reporter Kim's report'

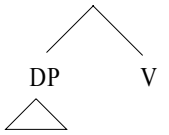
c. *[Kim kica-uy poto-lul] modu-lul nolakey ha-ass-ta
Kim reporter-Gen report-Acc everybody-Acc surprised make-Past-Dec
'Reporter Kim's report surprised everybody.'

(17) a. Joe-ka [sako kyungwi-lul] mul-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom accident detail-Acc ask-Past-Dec
'Joe asked about the details of the accident.'

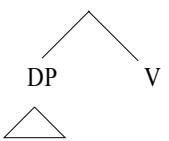
b. *[sako kyungwi-lul] (Joe-uy) cilmun
accident detail-Acc Joe-Gen question
'Joe's question about the details of the accident'

c. *[sako kyungwi-lul] motu-lul nolakey ha-ass-ta.
accident detail-Acc everybody-Acc surprised make-Past-Dec
'The details of the accident surprised everybody'

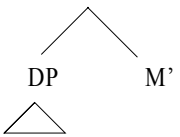
Now consider the configurations (18) and (19). The fact that *-ko* and *-lul* are licensed in the same configuration suggests that they share a certain feature in common.

(18) a. 

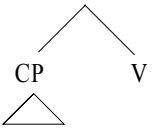
-lul

b. 

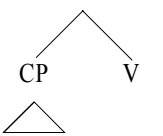
*-lul

c. 

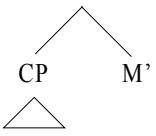
*-lul

(19) a. 

-ko

b. 

*-ko

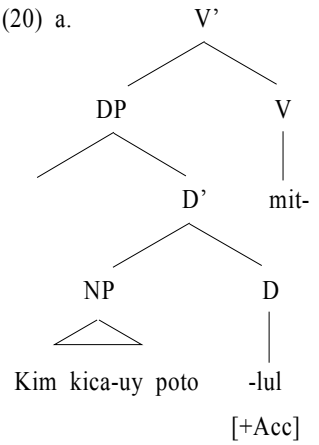
c. 

*-ko

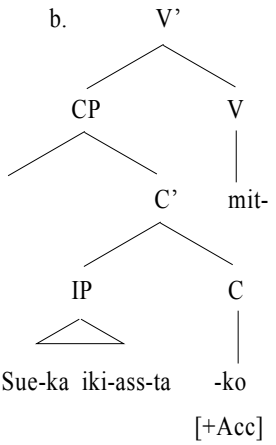
Based upon the fact that COMP *-ko* is licensed in the same configuration as the nominal accusative marker *-lul*, I propose that not only *-lul* but also COMP *-ko* is an accusative marker.[6]

6. A reviewer pointed out that it is generally assumed that clauses do not need case, considering that the Case-Filter holds only for N(P)s. In fact, however, there are two different versions of the Case-Filter: the visibility version of the Case-Filter and the morphological version of the Case-Filter, as outlined in Webelhuth (1995). In this paper, I assume the former and argue that not only nominal arguments but clausal arguments must be visible for theta role assignment and that clausal arguments are made visible by case.

(20) a.



b.



The complement DP in (20a) is assigned accusative by the verb -*mit*. Now I argue that the complement CP in (20b) is also assigned accusative by the matrix verb. In the meantime, the accusative assigned to the complement DP in (20a) is realized on the head D as the nominal suffix -*lul*. Now I claim that the accusative assigned to the complement CP in (20b) is overtly realized on the head C as the verbal suffix -*ko*. At this point I propose a principle regarding the morphological realizations of case features in Korean.[7]

(21) Case Realization Principle

Case assigned to an XP is morphologically realized on the head X.

A piece of evidence for the proposed analysis of COMP -*ko* as an accusative marker comes from interrogative clauses in Korean. It is well-known that interrogative clauses show both nominal and verbal properties in various languages. Let us consider interrogative clauses in English.

7. Detailed arguments for the principle (21) will be presented in section 3.

(22) a. the belief *(of) Kim's report
b. the belief (*of) that Sue kissed Joe
c. the question (of) whether Sue kissed Joe

The so-called *of*-insertion obligatorily takes place when the head N takes a nominal argument (22a). The *of*-insertion, however, does not take place when the head N takes a clausal (or verbal) argument (22b). Now note that the *of*-insertion is optional when the head N takes an interrogative clause (22c). This is a clear indication that English interrogative clauses have both nominal and verbal properties.[8]

Interrogative clauses in Korean also show both nominal and verbal properties. That is, interrogative clauses may be headed either by the verbal suffix *-ko* or by the nominal suffix *-lul* as illustrated in (23).

(23) a. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-nya-ko] mul-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Int-C ask-Past-Dec
'Joe asked whether Sue won.'
b. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-nya-lul] mul-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-Acc ask-Past-Dec
'Joe asked whether Sue won.'

The fact that *-ko* and *-lul* are interchangeable in the interrogative clauses suggests that COMP *-ko* may be an accusative marker. Interrogative clauses may be headed by other nominal case markers such as *-ka*, *-uy*, and *-ey*. Now consider whether these nominal case markers can be replaced by *-ko*.

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8. Abney (1987) suggests that the nominal properties of English interrogative clauses may come from *wh*-elements in the specifier position. More specifically, he assumes that in interrogative clauses there exist a [+wh] AGR in the head C that licenses *wh*-elements in the specifier and that this AGR provides the entire CP with nominal features.

(24) a. [nuku-ka iki-ass-nya-ka/*ko] cungyoha-ta.
who-Nom win-Past-Int-Nom/C important-Dec
'It is important who won.'
b. [nuku-ka iki-ass-nya-uy/*ko] cilmun
who-Nom win-Past-Int-Gen/C question
'the question (of) who won'
c. [nuku-ka iki-ass-nya-ey/*ko] kwansim-i moa-ci-ass-ta.
who-Nom win-Past-Int-Dat/C attention-Nom pay-Pass-Past-Dec
'Attention was paid to who won.'

The examples in (23) and (24) clearly show that the nominal accusative marker -*lul* can be replaced by -*ko*, whereas none of -*ka*, -*uy*, and -*ey* can be replaced by -*ko*, which is an indication that COMP -*ko* is indeed an accusative marker.

3. Feature Realizations in DPs and CPs

It has long been observed that nominal arguments and clausal arguments exhibit different external distributions in English (Stowell 1981 and Abney 1987). In order to account for the different distributions of DPs and CPs in English, Stowell (1981) suggests Case Resistance Principle, stated in (25).

(25) Case Resistance Principle
Case may not be assigned to a category bearing a case-assigning feature.

Stowell argued that CPs cannot be assigned case since they bear a case-assigning feature, that is, [+tense]. Now observe the examples in (26) and (27).

(26) a. *Did [that Sue kissed Joe] surprise Bill?
b. *Paul knew [that [that Sue kissed Joe] surprised Bill.
c. *Paul knew about [that Sue kissed Joe].

(27) a. Did [Sue's kissing Joe] surprise Bill?
b. Paul knew that [Sue's kissing Joe] surprised Bill.
c. Paul knew about [Sue's kissing Joe].

The data in (26) and (27) are well accounted for by the Case Resistance Principle (CRP, henceforth). The embedded CPs in (26) occur in case marked positions. The embedded CPs in (26a) and (26b) occur in the subject position of finite clauses to which nominative is assigned, and the embedded CP in (26c) occurs in the complement to P, which assigns accusative or oblique case. Therefore the sentences in (26) all violate the CRP. Note in (27), on the other hand, DPs are licensed in case-marked positions since they are not subject to the CRP.[9]

Following Stowell (1981), Han (1987) and Yoon (1993) argue that the CRP holds in Korean, i.e., CPs cannot be assigned case. Their argument is based upon the fact that the nominal case markers cannot be licensed in CPs, as illustrated in (28).

(28) a. *[Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-(ko)-ka] motu-lul nolakey ha-ass-ta.
Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C-Nom everybody-Acc surprised do-Past-Dec
'That Sue won surprised everybody.'
b. *[Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-(ko)-lul] Joe-ka mit-ass-ta.
Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C-Acc Joe-Nom believe-Past-Dec
'Joe believed Sue won.'
c. *[Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-(nun)-uy] sasil

9. See Abney (1987) for the DP-analysis of English POSS-ing constructions.

Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C-Gen fact
'the fact that Sue won'

d. *[Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-(ko)-ey] kwansim-i moa-ci ass-ta.
Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C-Dat attention-Nom pay-Pass-Dec
'*Attention was paid to (that) Sue won.'

Han's (1987) and Yoon's (1993) argument that CPs cannot be assigned case in Korean, however, is not valid any more unless we assume that case features are invariably realized as nominal suffixes, regardless of whether they are assigned to nominal projections or to verbal projections. In what follows, we will discuss whether this assumption is valid or not.

In Korean, morphological features assigned to nominal projections, i.e., DPs, are overtly realized as nominal suffixes, whereas morphological features assigned to verbal projections, i.e., CPs, are realized as verbal suffixes. This can be derived from the notion of 'extended projection' suggested in Grimshaw (1991), who argues that functional heads share the categorial features with their stem. Under her analysis, no nominal suffixes can be licensed in verbal projections, no matter what features are involved in those nominal suffixes since their categorial features conflict with the categorial features of their stem. Similarly, no verbal suffixes can be licensed in nominal projections no matter what features those suffixes are associated with. It is true that the nominal case markers cannot be licensed in CPs as shown in (28) but this does not necessarily mean that case features cannot be assigned to CPs. It makes more sense to say that the nominal case markers cannot be licensed in CPs because they are nominal suffixes, not because they are case suffixes.

Therefore it is quite plausible to assume that a certain feature may be realized differently when assigned to the nominal projections and when assigned to the verbal projections, if the feature may indeed be associated with not only

verbal projections but also nominal projections. There exist morphological features in Korean which are overtly realized as different morphemes when they are assigned to nominal and verbal projections. Let us consider the feature [+Hon(orific)]. Both nominal and verbal projections may be associated with the feature [+Hon].

(29) [apeci-kkeyse] [o-si-ass-ta].
father-Nom/Hon come-Hon-Past-Dec
'Father came.'

In (29), not only the subject DP but also the verbal complex is associated with the feature [+Hon]. The feature [+Hon], however, is realized as different suffixes in the nominal and the verbal projections. That is, the feature is realized as the nominal suffix *-kkeyse* when associated with the nominal projection, whereas the same feature is realized as the verbal suffix *-si* when associated with the verbal projection.[10] Nominal and verbal suffixes are typically

10. The feature [+Hon] is morphologically marked when it is associated with nominative DPs or dative DPs, but not when it is associated with accusative DPs or genitive DPs, as illustrated in the following examples.

(i) a. chinku-ka
friend-Nom
b. apeci-kkeyse
father-Nom/Hon
(ii) a. chinku-lul
friend-Acc
b. apeci-lul
father-Acc/Hon
(iii) a. chinku-eykey
friend-Dat
b. apeci-kkey
father-Dat/Hon

distinguished in terms of the categorial features, given that inflectional suffixes share the categorial features with their stems (Grimshaw 1991).

(30) -kkeyse [+N, -V][+Hon, +Nom]
-si [-N, +V][+Hon]

Therefore it does not make sense to say that the feature [+Hon] cannot be associated with the nominal projections merely because the verbal suffix *-si* is not licensed in the nominal projections. It does not make sense either to say that the feature [+Hon] cannot be associated with the verbal projections merely because the nominal suffix *-kkeyse* is not licensed in the verbal projections.

Conjunctions in Korean provides a more convincing piece of evidence that a feature may be realized differently when assigned to nominal projections and when assigned to verbal projections. Both nominal and verbal projections can be conjoined by the so-called conjunctions. The function (or the feature) [+Conj], however, is realized as different suffixes when associated with nominal projections and when associated with verbal projections. Observe the examples in (31) and (32).

(31) a. [[cito]-wa [chayk]]-ul
map-Conj book-Acc
'a map and a book'
b. [[Sue-eykey]-wa [Joe-eykey]]
Sue-Dat-Conj Joe-Dat
'to Sue and to Joe'

(iv) a. chinku-uy
friend-Gen
b. apeci-uy
father-Gen/Hon

(32) a. [[mek]-ko [ca]]-ki
eat-Conj sleep-NM
'eating and sleeping'
b. [[apeci-nun ka-si-ass]-ko [emeni-nun o -si -ass]]-ta.
father-TOP go-Hon-Past-Conj mother-TOP came-Hon-Past-Dec
'Father went and Mother came.'

The feature [+Conj] is realized as the nominal conjunction *-wa* in (31) where it is associated with the nominal projections, i.e., NPs or DPs, whereas it is realized as the verbal conjunction *-ko* in (32) where it is associated with the verbal projections, i.e., VPs or TPs.[11] Therefore, *-wa* and *-ko*, which share the feature [+Conj], are distinguished from each other in terms of the categorial features as shown in (33).

(33) -wa [+N, -V][+Conj]
-ko [-N, +V][+Conj]

It does not make sense to argue that the feature [+Conj] cannot be associated with verbal projections merely because the nominal suffix *-wa* cannot be licensed nor that the feature cannot be associated with nominal projections merely because the verbal suffix *-ko* cannot be licensed.

Given the fact that the feature [+Hon] or [+Conj] is realized differently in the nominal and verbal projections, it is not impossible to assume that case features may also be realized differently when assigned to nominal projections and when assigned to verbal projections. At this point, I argue that the nominal suffix *-lul*

11. COMP *-ko* should be distinguished from the conjunction *-ko*. The former but not the latter is preceded by the so-called sentential endings. The latter but not the former, on the other hand, can be preceded by V.

and the verbal suffix -*ko* are both accusative markers but distinguished in terms of the categorial features.[12]

(34) -lul [+N, -V][+Acc]
-ko [-N, +V][+Acc]

As indicated in (34), -*lul* is nominal accusative marker, whereas -*ko* is verbal accusative marker. We have seen in this section that the nominal case markers are not licensed in CPs. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the nominal case markers are not licensed in CPs merely because they are case markers but that the nominal suffixes cannot be licensed in CPs since they are nominal suffixes.[13] [14]

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12. COMP -*ko* is further distinguished from -*lul* in that the former but not the latter serves as a subordinator, as shown in (i). This is not unusual, considering the fact that -*kkeyse* and -*si* share the feature [+Hon] but are still distinguished from each other since the former but not the latter is associated with [+Nom], as illustrated in (ii).

(i) a. -lul [+N, -V][+Acc]
b. -ko [-N, +V][+Acc][+Sub]
(ii) a. -si [-N, +V][+Hon]
b. -kkeyse [+N, -V][+Hon][+Nom]

13. There exist morphological features, of course, which are overtly realized as invariant suffixes, regardless of whether they are associated with nominal or verbal projections. As will be seen in section 5, the feature [+Topic] is a typical example.

(i) a. Joe-ka [Kim kica-uy poto-nun] mit-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Kim reporter-Gen report-TOP believe-Past-Dec
'Joe believed (at least) Kim's report.'
b. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko-nun] mit-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C-TOP believe-Past-Dec
'Joe believed (at least) that Sue won.'

The feature [+Topic] is invariantly realized as -*nun* both in the nominal and the verbal

projections. One might argue that the topic marker *-nun* is category-neutral, which I will not deny. The above examples, however, does not necessarily mean that all morphological features are overtly realized as unique suffixes in the nominal and verbal projections. Therefore inflectional suffixes seem to be grouped into two categories: suffixes which are category-neutral and suffixes which are not.

14. By providing the example in (i), a reviewer pointed out that the nominal suffix *-lul* may possibly be licensed in verbal projections.

(i) [nay-ka ne-lul coa-lul ha-ass-nya, miwe-lul ha-ass-nya?
I-Nom you-Acc like-Acc do-Past-Int hate-Acc do-Past-Int
'Did I like you or hate you?'

The sentence in (i) seems acceptable to me and thus it should be accounted for what is the categorial feature of the projections *coalul* and *miwelul*. It seems to me at this point that the accusative assigned to the verbal projections in (i) is licensed by the so-called light verb '*ha-*'. There exists another type of light verb in Korean which seems to assign accusative to verbal projections. Observe the example in (ii).

(ii) kimchee-ul meke-lul po-na, ma-na?
kimchee-acc eat-Acc try-Int not-Int
'shall I try having kimchee or not.'

It seems to me that the accusative assigned to the verbal projection *meke-* is licensed by the helping verb *po-*. The sentences in (i) and (ii) therefore seem to be against my analysis in which the nominal suffix *-lul* cannot be licensed in verbal projections.

In (i) and (ii), however, notice that the nominal suffix *-lul* is not attached to the verbal roots but to some inflected projections. In other words, there is a morphological process involved before *-lul* is licensed. Consider the morphological structures of *coalul* and *mekelul*.

(iii) a. co-a-lul
like-?-Acc
b. mek-e-lul
eat-?-Acc

As shown in (ii), verbal suffix *-a/-e* is attached to the verbal roots inside *-lul*. Now there arises a question regarding the categorial features of the inflected forms *co-a* and *mek-e*: are they verbal or nominal?

4. COMP -*Ko* as Inherent Accusative Marker

In the previous sections, I have proposed that both -*ko* and -*lul* are accusative markers. In this section, the analysis of -*ko* as an accusative marker will be revised in such a way that -*ko* is inherent accusative marker, whereas -*lul* is structural accusative marker.

We have seen in section 2 that -*ko* and -*lul* are licensed in the same configuration, that is, in complement to V, but neither in complement to N nor in subject position. A closer examination of the distributions of -*ko* and -*lul*, however, reveals that there exists a syntactic environment from which -*ko* but not -*lul* is excluded. Observe the examples in (35).

(35) a. motu-ka [Sue-uy sungli-lul] incengha-ass-ta.
everbody-Nom Sue-Gen victory-Acc admit-Past-Dec
'Everybody admitted Sue's victory.'

In this paper, I assume that the verbal suffix -*a*/-*e* is a nominalizer, which charges verb roots into nominal projections, just like typical nominalizers such as -*um* and -*ki*.

(iv) a. co-um
like-NM
'liking'
b. mek-ki
eat-NM
'eating/to eat'

I argue that the morphological process of adding -*a*/-*e* to the verbal roots is a type of category-changing process and that the nominal suffix can be licensed in -*a*/-*e* projections, which are nominal.

Under the assumption that -*a*/-*e* is a nominalizer, however, it still remains to be accounted for why other nominal case markers such as -*ka*/-*i* cannot be licensed in -*a*/-*e* projections, whereas they are licensed in -*um* and -*ki* projections.

b. KBS-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko] potoha-ass-ta.
KBS-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C report-Past-Dec
'KBS reported that Sue won.'

Under the analysis presented in the previous sections, the complement DP in (35a) is assigned accusative, which is realized on the head D as the nominal accusative *-lul*. In (35b), the complement CP is also assigned accusative, which is realized on the head C as the verbal accusative *-ko*.

Chomsky (1986) introduced two types of case assignment: structural case assignment vs. inherent case assignment. Structural case is distinguished from inherent case in many aspects. First of all, inherent case is assigned by a lexical head to its complement only when there is a certain thematic relation between them, whereas structural case does not require any thematic relation between a case assigner and a case assignee. Second, Chomsky (1986 and 1995) argues

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(v) a. mek-ki-ka
eat-NM-Nom
b. *co-a-ka
like-NM-Nom

The verbal suffix *-a/-e*, however, is not the only one that can take accusative but not nominative. Observe the examples in (vi).

(iv) a. mek-ci-lul (ma-la)
eat-NM-Acc not-Imp
'Do not eat.'
b. *mek-ci-ka
eat-NM-Nom

The nominalizer *-ci* can take accusative but not nominative. Therefore it seems that there should be an independent explanation for why *-a/-e* and *-ci* can take accusative but not nominative, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

that inherent case is assigned by [+N] categories, i.e., N and A, whereas structural case is assigned by [-N] categories, i.e., V, P, and Agr. Third, it is generally assumed that structural case is absorbed by passivized verbs, whereas inherent case is not, which is a widely accepted criterion by which we can distinguish accusative from dative and locative. The former but not the latter is absorbed in passive, which leads us to conclude that the former is structural and the latter is inherent (Chomsky 1986, Haegeman 1991 and Webelhuth 1995).

Based upon this criterion, let us consider whether accusative is structural or inherent in Korean. The example in (36) is the passive counterpart of (35a).

(36) [Sue-uy sungli-ka/*lul] inceng-toy-ass-ta.
Sue-Gen victory-Nom/Acc admit-Pass-Past-Dec
'sue's victory was admitted (by everybody).'

As illustrated in (36), the accusative marker *-lul* is absorbed by the passive morpheme *-toy* and thus it is not licensed in the passive, which suggests that accusative is structural in Korean. Unlike accusative, dative and locative are widely assumed to be inherent in Korean. Observe the examples in (37) and (38).

(37) a. Joe-ka [Sue-eykey] panci-lul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat ring-Acc give-Past-Dec
'Joe gave a ring to Sue.'
b. [Sue-eykey] panci-ka cu-eci-ass-ta.
Sue-Dat ring-Nom give-Pass-Past-Dec
'A ring was given to Sue.'

(38) a. Joe-ka panci-lul cangca-ey sumki-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom ring-Acc box-Loc hide-Past-Dec

'Joe hid the ring in the box.'

b. panci-ka sangca-ey sumki-eci-ass-ta.
ring-Nom box-Loc hide-Pass-Past-Dec
'The ring was hidden in the box.'

The examples in (37) and (38) clearly show that neither the dative marker *-eykey* nor the locative marker *-ey* is absorbed by the passive morpheme *-eci*. Both *-eykey* and *-ey* are licensed in the passive, which is a clear indication that dative and locative are inherent in Korean.

Under the assumption that structural case markers but not inherent case markers are absorbed in the passive, the analysis of COMP *-ko* as an accusative marker predicts that *-ko* is also absorbed and thus may not be licensed in the passive. This prediction, however, turns out to be false, as shown in (39).

(39) a. [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko] poto-toy-ass-ta.
Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C report-Pass-Past-Dec
'It was reported that Sue won.'

b. [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko] mit-eci-ass-ta.
Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C believe-Pass-Past-Dec
'It was believed that Sue won.'

Unlike the nominal accusative marker *-lul*, COMP *-ko* is not absorbed by the passive morpheme *-toy* or *-eci*. It is now clear that there exists a distinction between *-lul* and *-ko*. Therefore the analysis of *-lul* and *-ko* as accusative markers should be revised so that the distinction between *-lul* and *-ko* can be accounted for in a principled manner, while we can maintain the observation that *-lul* and *-ko* are licensed only in complement to V.

Given the fact that *-ko* but not *-lul* is licensed by the passivized verbs, I

revise the analysis of -*ko* that I presented in section 2 and argue that COMP -*ko* is inherent accusative marker, whereas the nominal suffix -*lul* is structural accusative marker. Under this revised analysis, CPs are assumed to be assigned inherent case, whereas DPs are argued to be assigned structural case. This analysis departs from Chomsky (1986 and 1995) since under this analysis it is case assignees but not case assigners that determine whether inherent case or structural case is assigned. In Chomsky (1986 and 1995), it is case assigners that determine the type of case assignment, i.e., [+N] categories assign inherent case and [-N] categories structural case. Belletti (1988) and Enç (1989) suggest the idea that the types of case assignment may be determined by case assignees.

Let us first consider Belletti's (1988) notion of inherent case assignment. Observe the example in (40), cited from Haegeman (1991).

(40) There were attacked [no fewer than three robbers].

The complement DP in (40) cannot be assigned accusative since the passivized verb *attacked* loses the ability to assign accusative and there is no way for the DP to be assigned case. Nevertheless, the sentence (40) is grammatical. In order to account for the grammaticality of (40), Belletti (1988) proposes that the complement DP in (40) is assigned inherent case by the passivized verb. She argues that the passivized verb loses the ability to assign structural case but retains the ability to assign inherent case. She suggests that the inherent case assigned to the complement DP in (40) is 'partitive', noting that indefinite DPs but not definite DPs can be licensed in this manner. Compare (40) with (41).

(41) *There were attacked [the three robbers].

Under Belletti's (1988) analysis, DPs may be licensed via structural case

assignment or via inherent case assignment, and it is determined by the (in) definiteness of the DPs whether they are assigned inherent case or structural case.

Belletti (1988) further argues that partitive case may be assigned not only to the complement of passivized verbs but to the complements of active verbs. Consider the examples from Finnish, cited from Belletti (1988).

(42) a. Hän pani kiriat pöydälle
he put the books (Accusative) on the table
'He put the books on the table.'
b. Hän pani kirjoja pöydälle
he put (some) books (Partitive) on the table
'He put some books on the table.'

According to Belletti (1988), the complement DP in (42a), which bears the feature [+Def(inite)], is assigned structural (accusative) case, whereas the complement DP in (42b), which bears [-Def], is assigned inherent (partitive) case. This means that the verb *pani* has the ability to assign either accusative or partitive, depending upon whether the complement DP is associated with [+Def] or [-Def].[15] [16]

15. Belletti (1988) also argues that unaccusative verbs, which cannot assign structural (accusative) case, may license its complement DP via inherent (partitive) case assignment. Observe the examples in (i).

(i) a. There arrived [a man].
b. *There arrived [the man].

In (ia), the complement DP may be assigned inherent (partitive) case by the verb. In (ib), however, the complement cannot be assigned inherent case. This is not because the verb lacks the ability to assign inherent case, but because the complement DP, which lacks the

Enç (1989) also provides a similar analysis for Turkish. Observe the examples in (43), cited from Lee (1992).

(43) a. Ali bir [piyano-yu] kiralamak istiyor
Ali one piano-Acc to-rent wants
'Ali wants to rent a (specific) piano.'
b. Ali bir [piyano] kiralamak istiyor
'Ali wants to rent a (non-specific) piano.'

The complement DP in (43a) is interpreted as specific, whereas the complement DP in (43b) is construed non-specific. Both are governed by the same verb *kiralamak* but a particular case suffix, i.e., *-yu*, is added to the complement DP in (43a). Enç (1989) suggests that the non-specific DP in (43b) is assigned inherent (partitive) case, whereas the specific DP in (43a) is assigned structural (accusative) case, which is overtly realized as *-yu*. Under Enç's (1989) analysis, the verb *kiralamak* has the ability to assign either structural or inherent case and it is determined by the (non-) specificity of the complement DPs whether inherent or structural case is assigned.

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feature [-Def], is not eligible for inherent case assignment.

16. Now consider the examples in (i), which are the active counterparts of (40) and (41).

(i) a. The police attacked [no fewer than three robbers]
b. The police attacked [the three robbers]

Under Belletti's (1988) analysis, it is implicitly assumed that the complement DP in (ib), which is definite, is assigned structural (accusative) case by the verb attacked and the complement DP in (ia), which is indefinite, may be assigned inherent (partitive) case by the same verb. It is not clear in Belletti (1988) whether the indefinite complement DP in (ia) can be assigned accusative. What should be pointed out is that the verb attacked in (i) has the ability to assign either accusative or partitive and that indefinite DPs may be assigned partitive.

Extending the notion suggested in Belletti (1988) and Enç (1989) that it is not the case assigners but the case assignees that determine whether inherent or structural case is assigned, I argue that in Korean CPs may be assigned inherent case, whereas DPs may be assigned structural case. Consider the examples in (44).

(44) a. Joe-ka [Kim kica-uy poto-lul] mit-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Kim reporter-Gen report-Acc believe-Past-Dec
'Joe believed reporter Kim's report.'
b. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko] mit-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C belive-Past-Dec
'Joe believed that Sue won.'

Under the analysis I am proposing here, the complement DP in (44a) is licensed by the verb *mit-* via structural case assignment and the complement CP in (44b) is licensed by the same verb via inherent case assignment. I argue that the inherent case assigned to the CP in (44b) is morphologically realized on the head C as the verbal accusative marker *-ko* and the structural case assigned to the DP in (44a) is realized on the head D as the nominal accusative marker *-lul*.

I am not quite sure at this point what to call the type of inherent case assigned to the complement CP in (44b). Adopting the notion of 'inherent accusative' in Woolford (1997), I will call the case assigned to the CP in (44b) 'inherent accusative', compared to 'structural accusative' assigned to the DP in (44a). Then *-ko* and *-lul* have the feature specifications as in (45).[17]

17. Chomsky (1986) implicitly assumes that CPs may be licensed via inherent case assignment in English. Observe the following examples.

(i) a. the belief [of John's report]
b. the belief [that Sue won the game]

(45) -lul [+N, -V][+Acc]$_{SC}$
-ko [-N, +V][+Acc]$_{IC}$

Under this revised analysis of -*ko*, it naturally follows that COMP -*ko* but not the nominal suffix -*lul* can be licensed by passivized verbs.

5. Structural vs. Inherent Case Markers

In the previous section, I have proposed that COMP -*ko* is the morphological realization of inherent accusative. This analysis can be supported by Emonds (1985) who argues that COMP morphemes belong to the category P. The category P is widely assumed to be the realizations of various types of inherent case in many languages (Baker 1988 and Kim 1990). Chomsky (1986) suggests that the *of*-insertion is the morphological realization of inherent (genitive) case. In this section, we will investigate morphosyntactic properties of three types of inflectional suffixes: (i) -*ko*, which I argue to be the overt realization of inherent accusative, (ii) -*ka* and -*lul*, which are the morphological realizations of nominative and accusative, respectively, which are structural and (iii) -*eykey* and -*ey*(*se*), which are the realizations of dative and locative, respectively, which are inherent.

(ii) a. I persuaded him [of the importance of going to college].
b. I persuaded him [that college is important].

Chomsky suggests that the complement DP in (i) is assigned by the head N (inherent) genitive, which is realized through the *of*-insertion. Similarly, the second complement DP in (ii) is assigned genitive, which is also realized through the *of*-insertion. Given this situation, it is not impossible to assume that the complement CPs in (i) and (ii) may be assigned inherent case, which happens not to be realized morphologically. Refer to the footnote 6.

5.1. Interactions with Topic Marker

The accusative marker *-lul* differs from the dative marker *-eykey* in terms of the interactions with topic marker *-nun*. Observe the examples in (46).

(46) a. Joe-ka Sue-eykey panci-lul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat ring-Acc give-Past-Dec
'Joe gave Sue a ring.'
b. *Joe-ka Sue-eykey panci-lul-nun cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat ring-Acc-TOP give-Past-Dec
c. Joe-ka Sue-eykey-nun panci-lul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat-TOP ring-Acc give-Past-Dec

The accusative marker *-lul* cannot co-occur with the topic marker (46b), whereas the dative marker *-eykey* may occur with the topic marker (46c).[18] This phenomenon is not restricted to accusative and dative. Let us consider nominative, which is structural, and locative, which is inherent. The nominative marker *-ka* patterns with *-lul*, whereas the locative marker *-ey* patterns with *-eykey*. That is, *-ey* but not *-ka* can co-occur with the topic marker as illustrated in (47).

(47) a. *Joe-ka-nun sakwa-lul sangca-ey sumki-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom-TOP apple-Acc box-in hide-Past-Dec

18. The data in (46b, c) show that the topic marker *-nun* may follow *-eykey* but not *-lul*. The examples in (i), on the other hand, show that *-nun* cannot precede either *-eykey* or *-lul*.

(i) a. *Joe-ka Sue-eykey panci-nun-ul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat ring-TOP-Acc give-Past-Dec
'Joe gave a ring to Sue.'
b. *Joe-ka Sue-nun-eykey panci-lul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-TOP-Dat ring-Acc give-Past-Dec

'Joe hide the apple in the box.'

b. Joe-ka sakwa-lul sangca-ey-nun sumki-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom apple-Acc box-Loc-TOP hide-Past-Dec

The structural case markers -*ka* and -*lul* are further distinguished form the inherent case markers -*ey* and -*eykey* in that the former but not the latter may be morphologically absorbed by the topic marker, as illustrated in (48) and (49).[19]

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19. It seems that unlike the locative marker -*ey*(*se*), the dative marker -*eykey* may be morphologically absorbed by the topic marker in some cases. Observe the example.

(i) Joe-ka Sue-eykey/nun panci-lul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat/TOP ring-Acc give-Past-Dec
'Joe gave Sue a ring.'

The sentence in (i), however, does not necessarily mean that the inherent case marker -*eykey* can be morphologically suppressed by -*nun*, considering the fact that the dative marker -*eykey* is often interchangeable with -*lul.*

(ii) Joe-ka Sue-eykey/lul panci-lul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat/Acc ring-Acc give-Past-Dec
'Joe gave Sue a ring.'

Given this situation, it is not clear whether it is -*eykey* or -*lul* which is absorbed by -*nun.* I assume that what is absorbed by -*nun* is the accusative marker -*lul.* Observe the examples in (iii) and (iv), which show that -eykey may be replaced by -*nun* only when -*eykey* is interchangeable with -*lul.*

(iii) a. Joe-ka Sue-eykey/*lul/*nun panci-lul censaha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat/Acc/TOP present-Past-Dec
'Joe gave Sue a ring as a present.'
b. Joe-ka Sue-eykey/*lul/*nun panci-lul ceanha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat/Acc/TOP suggest-Past-Dec
'Joe suggested a ring to Sue.'
c. Joe-ka Sue-eykey/*lul/*nun mul/malha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat/Acc/TOP ask/say-Past-Dec

(48) a. Joe-ka/nun sakwa-lul sangca-ey sumki-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom/TOP apple-Acc box-Loc hide-Past-Dec
'Joe hide the apple in the box.'
b. Joe-ka sakwa-lul sangca-ey/*nun sumki-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom apple-Acc box-in-Loc/TOP hide-Past-Dec

(49) a. Joe-ka Sue-eykey cenhwa-lul/nun ha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom apple-TOP phone-Acc/TOP do-Past-Dec
'Joe gave Sue a call.'
b. Joe-ka Sue-eykey/*nun cenhwa-lul ha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat/TOP phone-Acc do-Past-Dec

Based upon the facts given above, we can make a generalization about the interactions of the case markers and the topic marker *-nun*, as stated in (50)

(50) (i) Inherent case markers can co-occur with the topic marker, while they may not be absorbed by the topic marker.
(ii) Structural case markers cannot co-occur with the topic marker, while they may be absorbed by the topic marker.

Now let us consider how COMP *-ko* interacts with the topic marker. Observe the examples in (51).

'Joe said to/asked Sue.'

(iv) Joe-ka Sue-eykey/lul/nun cusa-lul noh-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat/Acc/TOP shot-Acc put-Past-Dec
'Joe gave Sue a shot.'

Therefore it seems plausible to say that it is indeed *-lul* but not *-eykey* which is absorbed by the topic marker *-nun*.

(51) a. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko] malha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C say-Past-Dec
'Joe said that Sue won.'

b. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko-nun] malha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C-TOP say-Past-Dec

c. *Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-nun] malha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-TOP say-Past-Dec

The data in (51) show that COMP *-ko* patterns with the inherent case markers *-eykey* and *-ey*(*se*) regarding the interactions with the topic marker *-nun*. That is, *-ko* can co-occur with the topic marker (51b), while it may not be morphologically suppressed by *-nun* (51c). This is an indication that COMP *-ko* is an inherent case marker.

5.2. Interactions with Delimiters

The structural case markers *-ka* and *-lul* also differ from the inherent case markers *-ey*(*se*) and *-eykey* in terms of the interactions with delimiters such as *-to* 'also' and *-kkaci* 'even'. The structural case markers cannot co-occur with the delimiters but the inherent case markers can, while the inherent case markers cannot be morphologically suppressed by the delimiters but the structural case markers can. Observe the examples in (52) and (53).

(52) a. Joe-(*ka)-to/kkaci sakwa-lul sangca-ey sumki-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom-DEL apple-Acc box-in hide-Past-Dec
'Joe hid the apples in the box.'

b. Joe-ka sakwa-lul sangca-*(ey)-to/kkaci sumki-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom apple-Acc box-Loc-DEL hide-Past-Dec

(53) a. Joe-ka Sue-eykey cenhwa-(*lul)-to/kkaci ha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat phone-Acc-DEL do-Past-Dec
'Joe gave Sue a call..'
b. Joe-ka Sue-*(eykey)-to/kkaci cenhwa-lul ha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat-DEL ring-Acc do-Past-Dec

Neither the nominative marker *-ka* in (52a) nor the accusative marker *-lul* in (53a) can co-occur with the delimiters, while both *-ka* and *-lul* may be absorbed by the delimiters. The locative marker *-ey* in (52b) and the dative marker *-eykey* in (53b), on the other hand, can co-occur with the delimiters but may not be absorbed by the delimiters. From the data in (52) and (53), we can make a generalization regarding the interactions of the case markers and the delimiters, as stated in (54).

(54) (i) Inherent case markers may co-occur with the delimiters, while they may not be absorbed by the delimiters.
(ii) Structural case markers may not co-occur with the delimiters, while they may be absorbed by the delimiters.

Now let us consider how COMP *-ko* interacts with the delimiters. Observe the examples in (55).

(55) a. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko-to/kkaci] malha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C-Del say-Past-Dec
'Joe said that Sue won.'
b. *Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-to/kkaci] malha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-Del say-Past-Dec

It is clear that COMP -*ko* patterns with the inherent case markers but not with the structural case markers. It can co-occur with the delimiters (55a), while it may not be suppressed by the delimiters (55b), which is another indication that COMP -*ko* is an inherent case marker.

5.3. Interactions with Negative Polarity Item

The structural case markers -*ka* and -*lul* are further distinguished from the inherent case markers -*eykey* and -*ey*(*se*), regarding the interactions with negative polarity item -*pakkey* 'only'. The dative marker -*eykey* but not the accusative marker -*lul* can co-occur with the NPI -*pakkey*. The accusative marker -*lul* but not the dative marker -*eykey*, on the other hand, may be morphologically absorbed by -*pakkey*.

(56) a. *Joe-ka Sue-pakkey-lul manna-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-NPI-Acc meet-C not-Past-Dec
'Joe met only Sue.'

b. *Joe-ka Sue-lul-pakkey manna-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Acc-NPI meet-C not-Past-Dec

c. Joe-ka Sue-pakkey manna-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-NPI meet-C not-Past-Dec

(57) a. Joe-ka Sue-eykey-pakkey iyakiha-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat-NPI tell-C not-Past-Dec
'Joe told (it) only to Sue.'

b. *Joe-ka Sue-pakkey-eykey iyakiha-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-NPI-Dat tell-C not-Past-Dec

c. *Joe-ka Sue-pakkey iyakiha-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-NPI tell-C not-Past-Dec

'Joe told (it) only to Sue.'

The data in (56) show that the accusative marker *-lul* cannot co-occur with but may be suppressed by the NPI *-pakkey*. The data in (57), on the other hand, show that the dative marker *-eykey* can co-occur with but may not be absorbed by the NPI *-pakkey*.

Similarly, the nominative marker *-ka* cannot co-occur with *-pakkey*, while it may be absorbed by *-pakkey*. The locative marker *-eyse*, on the other hand, can co-occur with but not be suppressed by *-pakkey*. Observe the examples in (58) and (59).

(58) a. *Joe-ka-pakkey o-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom-NPI come-C not-Past-Dec
'Only Joe came.'

b. Joe-ka Sue-lul Seoul-eyse-pakkey manna-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Acc Seoul-in-NPI meet-C not-Past-Dec
'Joe met Sue in only Seoul.'

(59) a. Joe-pakkey o-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-NPI come-C not-Past-Dec

b. *Joe-ka Sue-lul Seoul-pakkey manna-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Acc Seoul-NPI meet-C not-Past-Dec

The data in (56) through (59) therefore lead us to make a generalization regarding the interactions of the case markers and the negative polarity item *-pakkey*, as given in (60).

(60) (i) Inherent case markers can co-occur with the NPI *-pakkey*, while they may not be absorbed by *-pakkey*.

(ii) Structural case markers cannot co-occur with the NPI -*pakkey*, while they may be absorbed by -*pakkey*

Now consider how COMP -*ko* interacts with the NPI -*pakkey*. As clearly shown in (61), it turns out that COMP -*ko* patterns with the inherent case markers -*eykey* and -*ey*(*se*) in terms of the interactions with the NPI. In other words, COMP -*ko* can co-occur with -*pakkey* (61a) but may not be suppressed by -*pakkey* (61b).

(61) a. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko-pakkey] malha-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C-NPI say-C not-Past-Dec
'Joe said only that Sue won.'
b. *Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-pakkey] malha-ci aniha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-NPI say-C not-Past-Dec

The examples in (61) therefore strongly suggest that COMP -*ko* is an inherent (accusative) case marker.

In sum, we have seen that COMP -*ko* patterns with the inherent case markers -*eykey* and -*ey*(*se*) in terms of the passivization as well as the interactions with the topic marker, the delimiters, and the negative polarity item -*pakkey*. Therefore we are led to conclude that COMP -*ko* is an inherent case marker.

5.4. Morphological Structure

In 5.2, we have seen that the inherent case markers but not the structural case markers can co-occur with the delimiters such as -*to*, and -*kkaci*. There is a delimiter -*man* 'only', however, which is distinguished from the above-mentioned delimiters in that it can co-occur not only with the structural case markers but

also with the inherent case markers. This does not mean, however, that there exists no distinction between the structural case markers and the inherent case markers in terms of the interactions with the delimiter *-man*. Instead, a close examination of the interactions of the delimiter *-man* with the case markers reveals that COMP *-ko* is indeed an inherent case marker. Observe the examples in (62).

(62) a. Joe-ka Sue-eykey panci-man-ul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat ring-DEL-Acc give-Past-Dec
'Joe gave Sue only a ring.'
b. *Joe-ka Sue-eykey panci-lul-man cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat ring-Acc-DEL give-Past-Dec

Unlike the delimiters *-to* and *-kkaci* mentioned in 5.2, the delimiter *-man* can co-occur with the structural case marker *-lul*, as shown in (62a). The data in (62a) and (62b), however, show that the delimiter *-man* can precede but not follow the accusative marker *-lul*. In other words, the delimiter *-man* can be licensed only inside but not outside the structural case marker *-lul*.

Now consider how the inherent case marker *-eykey* interacts with the delimiter *-man*. Observe the examples in (63).

(63) a. Joe-ka Sue-eykey-man panci-lul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Dat-DEL ring-Acc give-Past-Dec
'Joe gave a ring only to Sue.'
b. *Joe-ka Sue-man-eykey panci-lul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-DEL-Dat ring-Acc give-Past-Dec

Despite the fact that the inherent case marker *-eykey* can also co-occur with

-*man* (63a), -*eykey* is clearly distinguished from the accusative marker -*lul*. Note in (63a) and (63b) that -*man* may be licensed only outside but not inside the inherent case marker -*eykey*. Therefore a clear distinction is found between -*lul* and -*eykey*, regarding how they interact with the delimiter -*man*, although both can co-occur with -*man*.

Similarly, the nominative marker -*ka* is licensed outside -*man*, whereas the locative marker -*eyse* is licensed inside -*man*.

(64) a. Joe-man-i Sue-eykey panci-lul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-DEL-Nom Sue-Dat ring-Acc give-Past-Dec
'Only Joe gave Sue a ring.'

b. *Joe-ka-man Sue-eykey panci-lul cu-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom-DEL Sue-Dat ring-Acc give-Past-Dec

(65) a. Joe-ka Seoul-eyse-man Sue-lul manna-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Seoul-in-DEL Sue-Acc meet-Past-Dec
'Joe met Sue only in Seoul.'

b. *Joe-ka Seoul-man-eyse Sue-lul manna-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Seoul-in-DEL Sue-Acc meet-Past-Dec

Therefore the simple fact that both the inherent case markers and the structural case markers can co-occur with the delimiter -*man* does not mean that there is no distinction between the inherent case markers and the structural case markers. Now consider the structures of the nominal projections associated with inherent case (66b) and those associated with structural case (67b).

(66) a. Sue-eykey-man
Seoul-eyse-man
sangca-ey-man

b. N-IC-DEL

(67) a. Sue-man-ul
Sue-man-i
b. N-DEL-SC

Now consider how COMP *-ko* interacts with the delimiter *-man*. COMP *-ko* patterns with the inherent case markers, that is, it can precede but not follow *-man*, as illustrated in (68).

(68) a. Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-ko-man] malha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C-DEL say-Past-Dec
'Joe said only that Sue won.'
b. *Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-man-ko] malha-ass-ta.
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-DEL-C say-Past-Dec

The examples in (68) therefore strongly suggest that COMP *-ko* is an inherent (accusative) case marker.[20] Now consider the morphological structure of the

20. It is well-known that structural case markers but not inherent case markers can be dropped in Korean, as illustrated in (i).

(i) a. Joe-ka nuku-(lul) manna-ass-nya?
Joe-Nom who-Acc meet-Past-Int
'Who did Joe meet?'
b. Joe-ka nuku-*(eykey) pyenciha-ass-nya?
Joe-Nom who-Dat write-Past-Dec
'Who did Joe write a letter?'

Under the analysis of COMP *-ko* as an inherent case marker, it is predicted that *-ko* may not be dropped.

It was pointed out by two anonymous reviewers, however, that COMP *-ko* tends to be dropped in some contexts, which they argue is against my analysis of COMP *-ko*. Observe

verbal projections containing COMP -*ko* and the delimiter -*man*.

(69) a. ikiassta-ko-man
b. V-COMP-DEL

Under the analysis of the analysis of COMP -*ko* as an inherent case marker, it is well accounted for why it is licensed only inside the delimiter -*man*.

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the examples in (ii).

(ii) Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-?(ko)] malha-ass-nya?
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C say-Past-Int
'Did Joe say that Sue won?'

The two reviewers suggested that the dropping of COMP -*ko* is fine in (ii). It seems to me, however, that the sentence without COMP -*ko* is marginally acceptable. The sentence seems to become worse when some element intervenes between the complement clause and the governing verb, as shown in (iii).

(iii) Joe-ka [Sue-ka iki-ass-ta-?*(ko)] cengmal malha-ass-nya?
Joe-Nom Sue-Nom win-Past-Dec-C really say-Past-Int
'Did Joe really say that Sue won?'

The examples in (ii) and (iii) show that COMP -*ko* does not behave exactly in the same manner as structural case markers, although it may be marginally dropped.

There is one more thing that should be pointed out here. It is quite clear to me that there exist no contexts in which embedded clauses without -*ko* are preferred to those with -*ko*, whereas there do exist contexts in which nominal projections without -*lul* are preferred to those with -*lul*. To sum, there arises a three-way distinction between -*lul*, -*eykey*, and -*ko,* regarding the so-called case drop. The distinction between -*lul* and -*ko* can be accounted for under my analysis but the distinction between -*eykey* and -*ko* remains to be accounted for in my analysis. I do not have an answer to this problem at this point.

6. Summary

I proposed in this paper that COMP *-ko* is verbal accusative marker with the categorial features [-N, +V], compared to nominal accusative marker *-lul* with the features [+N, -V]. I argued that case may be realized as a nominal suffix when assigned to DPs and as a verbal suffix when assigned to CPs. Then I revised the analysis of *-ko* as an accusative marker and proposed that *-ko* is an inherent (accusative) case marker, whereas *-lul* is a structural (accusative) case marker. I showed that *-ko* is distinguished from structural case markers and patterns with inherent case markers in terms of a wide variety of morphosyntactic phenomena. Following the notion of inherent case assignment in Belletti (1988) and Enç (1989), I claimed that the types of case assignment, i.e., inherent and structural case assignments, may be determined by case assignees.

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