

Backward object control in Korean

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1. Introduction

- Backward control (BC) is a construction where the null CONTROLLEE is superior to the overt CONTROLLER, (1b).
- (1) a. Gus Hiddink persuaded him_i [Δ_i to play center middle]
b. Gus Hiddink persuaded Δ_i [he_i to play center middle] (hypothetical)
- BC was proposed in Japanese (Kuroda 1965; Harada 1973), Brazilian Portuguese (Farrell 1995), Tsez (Polinsky and Potsdam 2002) and Malagasy (Polinsky and Potsdam 2003).
- Korean object control predicates permit a nominative/accusative case alternation:
- (2) Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul/ka** kake-e ka-tolok seolteukha-eoss-ta
Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc/Nom** store-to go-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
'Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.'
- **Accusative case**: constituent of the matrix clause binding a null element Δ in the embedded clause, (3). (ordinary control)
- (3) Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul**; [Δ_i kake-e ka-tolok] seolteukha-eoss-ta
Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc** store-to go-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
'Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.' (ordinary control)
- **Nominative case**: constituent of the embedded coindexed with a null element Δ in the matrix clause, (4). (backward control)
- (4) Cheolsu-neun Δ_i [**Yeonghi-ka**; kake-e ka-tolok] seolteukha-eoss-ta
Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Nom** store-to go-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
'Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.' (backward control)
- I argue that Korean licenses backward object control in (4).

2. Goals of the talk

- Provide empirical evidence for the forward control structure in (3) and the backward control structure in (4):
 - i) clause membership of the *persuadee* DP
 - ii) existence of Δ
- Argue against a *pro*-based analysis of backward control in Cormack and Smith 2002.
- Demonstrate that a control-is-movement approach accounts for the facts.

3. Korean *persuade* is an object control predicate not ECM

- ECM predicates license a case alternation similar to (2) (JS Lee 1992).
- (5) John-eun **Mary-leul/ka** yeppeu-ta-ko mit-neun-ta
John-Top **Mary-Acc/Nom** pretty-Decl-Comp believe-Pres-Decl
'John believes Mary to be pretty.'
- Korean *persuade* selects for the case alternating DP and places selectional restrictions on it, while Korean ECM does not.

3.1 Non-control usage

- Non-control Korean *persuade* can license an additional overt internal argument:
- (6) Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul/ke** Suyeong-ka ka-yaha-n-ta-ko
Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc/Dat** Suyeong-Nom go-should-Pres-Decl-Comp
seolteukha-eoss-ta
persuade-Past-Decl
'Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi that Suyeong be allowed to go to the store.'
- Korean ECM predicates cannot license an additional overt argument:
- (7) *Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul Suyeong-i** yeppeu-ta-ko mit-eoss-ta
Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc Suyeong-Nom** pretty-Decl-Comp believe-Past-Decl
(*Cheolsu believed Yeonghi Suyeong to be pretty.)

3.2 Passive/active synonymy

- Passive and active forms are not synonymous with *persuade* (as in the English translations):
- (8) a. Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-ka/leul** Suyeong-eul inteophyu ha-tolok
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Nom/Acc** Suyeong-Acc interview do-Comp
 seolteukha-eoss-ta
 persuade-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded **Yeonghi** to interview Suyeong.’
- b. Cheolsu-neun **Suyeong-i/%eul** Yeonghi-eke inteophyu pat-tolok
 Cheolsu-Top **Suyeong-Nom/Acc** Yeonghi-Dat interview Pass-Comp
 seolteukha-eoss-ta
 persuade-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded **Suyeong** to be interviewed by Yeonghi.’ (≠ 8a)
- This lack of synonymy suggests that Korean *persuade* is selecting for the *persuadee* DP.
 - Passive and active are synonymous with ECM:
- (9) a. Cheolsu-neun [Yeonghi-ka Suyeong-eul manna-ass-ta-ko] mit-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top Yeonghi-Nom Suyeong-Acc meet-Past-Decl-Comp believe-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu believed (that) Yeonghi to have met Suyeong.’ (active)
- b. Cheolsu-neun [Suyeong-ka Yeonghi-e euihaeseo manna-jyeoss-ta-ko] mit-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top Suyeong-Nom Yeonghi-by meet-Pass-Decl-Comp believed
 ‘Cheolsu believed (that) Suyeong to have been met by Yeonghi.’ (passive; = 9a)
- Korean ECM predicates do not select for the case alternating DP. Korean *persuade* does.

3.3 Selectional restrictions

- A non-persuadable entity in the case alternating position creates an anomalous reading, (10).
- (10) #Cheolsu-neun **tol-i/eul** tteoleoji-tolok seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **rock-Nom/Acc** fall-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
 ‘#Cheolsu persuaded the rocks to fall.’
- The same anomalous interpretation does not arise in ECM constructions:
- (11) Cheolsu-neun **tol-i** tteoleoji-n-ta-ko mit-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **rock-Nom** fall-pres-Decl-Comp believe-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu believes the rocks to be falling.’

3.4 Summary of section

- Korean *persuade* selects for three semantic arguments while Korean ECM selects for two.
- Korean *persuade* places selectional restrictions on the case alternating DP.
- With the assumption that argument selection is local, these facts suggest a control analysis.

4. Constituent analysis of Korean *persuade* constructions

- Propose two constituent structure analyses to account for the case alternation.
- Argue that the nominative DP is a constituent of the embedded clause

4.1 Proposed constituency structures

- Subject/Object Analysis: the nominative DP is a constituent of the embedded clause, (12a).

(12) Subject/Object Analysis (SOA)

- a. Cheolsu-neun [**Yeonghi-ka** kake-e ka-tolok] seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Nom** store-to go-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.’
- b. Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul** [kake-e ka-tolok] seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc** store-to go-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.’

- Object Analysis: the case alternating DP is a constituent of the matrix clause

(13) Object Analysis (OA)

- Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul/ka** [kake-e ka-tolok] seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc/Nom** store-to go-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.’

4.2 Case in monoclausal structures

- In a monoclausal structure, nominative case is not permitted on the object DP.
 - This is not predicted by the OA.
 - The SOA makes this prediction because nominative case is not licensed in matrix object position.
- (14) Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul/*ka** seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc/*Nom** persuade-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi.’

4.3 Temporal adverb distribution

- Temporal adverbs in Korean are clausebound in their scope (J Yoon 1996).
 - A matrix adverb is able to follow the accusative marked *persuadee* DP (15).
 - A matrix adverb is unable to follow the nominative marked *persuadee* DP (16).
- (15) Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul naeil** kake-e maeil ka-tolok seolteukha-l keo-ya
Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc tom.** store-to everyday go-Comp persuade-Fut-Decl
'Tomorrow, Cheolsu will persuade Yeonghi to go to the store everyday.'
- (16) *Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-ka naeil** kake-e maeil ka-tolok seolteukha-l keo-ya
Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Nom tom.** store.to everyday go-Comp persuade-Fut-Decl
'Tomorrow, Cheolsu will persuade Yeonghi to go to the store everyday.'

4.3.1 OA analysis of adverb facts

- OA predicts (15): the matrix adverb can be interpreted with matrix scope.
- (17) Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul naeil** [kake-e maeil ka-tolok] seolteukha-l keo-ya
Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc tom.** store-to everyday go-Comp persuade-Fut-Decl
'Tomorrow, Cheolsu will persuade Yeonghi to go to the store everyday.'
- OA fails to predict the ungrammaticality of (16).
- (18) *Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-ka naeil** [kake-e maeil ka-tolok] seolteukha-l keo-ya
Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Nom tom.** store-to everyday go-Comp persuade-Fut-Decl
'tomorrow, Cheolsu will persuade Yeonghi to go to the store everyday.'

4.3.2 SOA analysis of adverb facts

- SOA correctly predicts (15).
- (19) Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul naeil** [kake-e maeil ka-tolok] seolteukha-l keo-ya
Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc tom.** store-to everyday go-Comp persuade-Fut-Decl
'Tomorrow, Cheolsu will persuade Yeonghi to go to the store everyday.'
- SOA also predicts (16): the matrix adverb is unable to take matrix scope.
- (20) *Cheolsu-neun [**Yeonghi-ka naeil** kake-e maeil ka-tolok] seolteukha-l keo-ya
Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Nom tom.** store-to everyday go-Comp persuade-Fut-Decl
'Tomorrow, Cheolsu will persuade Yeonghi to go to the store everyday.'

4.4 Scrambling

- The embedded clause is unable to scramble without the nominative marked DP:
- (21) Cheolsu-neun **kake-e ka-tolok Yeonghi-leul/*ka** seolteukha-eoss-ta
Cheolsu-Top **store-to go-Comp Yeonghi-Acc/*Nom** persuade-Past-Decl
'Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.'

4.4.1 OA analysis of scrambling facts

- OA fails to predict a contrast between (22) and (23).
- (22) Cheolsu-neun [kake-e ka-tolok]_i **Yeonghi-leul** *t_i* seolteukha-eoss-ta
Cheolsu-Top store-to go-Comp **Yeonghi-Acc** persuade-Past-Decl
'Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.'
- (23) *Cheolsu-neun [kake-e ka-tolok]_i **Yeonghi-ka** *t_i* seolteukha-eoss-ta
Cheolsu-Top store-to go-Comp **Yeonghi-Nom** persuade-Past-Decl
'Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.'

4.4.2 SOA analysis of scrambling facts

- The SOA predicts the contrast between (24) and (25).
- (24) Cheolsu-neun [kake-e ka-tolok]_i **Yeonghi-leul** *t_i* seolteukha-eoss-ta
Cheolsu-Top store-to go-Comp **Yeonghi-Acc** persuade-Past-Decl
'Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.'
- The nominative *persuadee* DP is a constituent of the embedded clause.
 - The embedded clause is unable to scramble without the nominative *persuadee*.
- (25) *Cheolsu-neun kake-e ka-tolok_i [**Yeonghi-ka** *t_i*] seolteukha-eoss-ta
Cheolsu-Top store-to go-Comp **Yeonghi-Nom** persuade-Past-Decl
'Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.'

4.5 Summary of section 4

- A difference in case equates to a difference in syntactic position.
- When the *persuadee* DP is **accusative**, it is a constituent of the matrix clause, (3).
- When the *persuadee* DP is **nominative**, it is a constituent of the embedded clause, (4).

(3') Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul**; [Δ_i kake-e ka-tolok] seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc** store-to go-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
 'Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.' (ordinary control)

(4') Cheolsu-neun Δ_i [**Yeonghi-ka**; kake-e ka-tolok] seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Nom** store-to go-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
 'Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.' (backward control)

5. Evidence for Δ

- Evidence supporting the existence of Δ in (4) is desired.
- Present evidence for the existence of Δ in the backward control construction with data from quantifier agreement and reflexive binding.

5.1 Quantifier agreement

- Postnominal quantifiers in Korean must agree in case with the head noun (Cho 2000):

(26) **haksaeng-teul-i** **motu-ka/*leul** us-eoss-ta
student-Pl-Nom **all-Nom/*Acc** laugh-Past-Decl
 'All the students laughed.' (Cho 2000:193)

(27) Mary-ka **haksaeng-teul-eul** **motu-leul/*ka** sohwanha-eoss-ta
 Mary-Nom **student-Pl-Acc** **all-Acc/*Nom** call-Past-Decl
 'Mary called all the students.' (Cho 2000:194)

- An accusative quantified DP can appear in post-embedded clause position:

(28) Cheolsu-neun [kake-e ka-tolok] **ai-teul-eul** **motu-leul** seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top store-to go-Comp **child-Pl-Acc** **all-Acc** persuade-Past-Decl
 'Cheolsu persuaded all the children to go to the store.'

- In (29), the quantified DP is nominative and a constituent of the embedded clause.
- The quantifier is accusative and a constituent of the matrix clause.
- This should be illicit.

(29) Cheolsu-neun [**ai-teul-i** kake-e ka-tolok] **motu-leul** seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **child-Pl-Nom** store-to go-Comp **all-Acc** persuade-Past-Decl
 'Cheolsu persuaded all the children to go to the store.'

- The embedded subject is coindexed with Δ in the matrix clause.

(30) Cheolsu-neun [**ai-teul-i** kake-e ka-tolok] Δ_i **motu-leul**; seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **child-Pl-Nom** store-to go-Comp **all-Acc** persuade-Past-Decl
 'Cheolsu persuaded all the children to go to the store.'

5.2 Reflexive binding

- The reflexive anaphor *keunyeojasin* 'herself' is governed by Condition A (JM Yoon 1989).
- In (31), the reflexive is in a matrix VP adjunct and is coindexed with the embedded subject.
- This should be illicit.

(31) % Cheolsu-neun [**Yeonghi-ka**; ka-tolok] [_{PP} **keunyeojasin-eui**; yuik-eul
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Nom** go-Comp **herself-gen** benefit-Acc
 uihae] seolteukha-eoss-ta
 for persuade-Past-Decl
 'Cheolsu for herself's; benefit persuaded Yeonghi; to go.'

- Acceptability is due to Δ in the matrix clause satisfying Condition A.

(32) % Cheolsu-neun [**Yeonghi-ka**; ka-tolok] Δ_i [_{PP} **keunyeojasin-eul**;
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Nom** go-Comp **herself-Acc**
 yuik-eul uihae] seolteukha-eoss-ta
 benefit-Acc for persuade-Past-Decl
 'Cheolsu for herself's; benefit persuaded Yeonghi; to go.'

6. Formal analysis

- Address the identity of Δ .
- PRO is inadequate for reasons discussed in Polinsky and Potsdam 2002.
- Present empirical problems for the *pro*-based analysis offered by Cormack and Smith 2002.
- Show the control-is-movement analysis accounts for the backward control data from Korean.

6.1 *pro*-based account

- The null element in (3) and (4) is *pro*.
- Korean is a null object language.

(33) Cheolsu-ka (Yeonghi-leul) manna-ass-ta
 Cheolsu-nom (Yeonghi-acc) meet-past-decl
 'Cheolsu met Yeonghi.'

- Polinsky and Potsdam 2002 argue for backward subject control in Tsez:
- (34) Δ_i^*k [kidba;_i ziya bišra] yoqsi
 girl-erg cow-abs feed-inf begin-past
 ‘The girl began to feed the cow.’ (backward control; Polinsky and Potsdam 2002)
- Polinsky and Potsdam 2002:fn.17 provide three arguments against a *pro*-based account:
 - 1) *pro* c-commands its antecedent. This is a Condition C violation.
 - 2) *pro* cannot account for the obligatory control relationship.
 - 3) The null element does not alternate with an overt pronoun.
 - Cormack and Smith 2002 provides solutions to two of these three problems.
 - *pro* is generated in a position where it does not c-command *Yeonghi*.
 - This structure is lexically determined.
- (35) [_{TP} Cheolsu [_{VP} [_{CP} *Yeonghi*_i store go] [_{V_U} [_{DP} *pro*_i] persuaded]]]
- A Meaning Postulate obligatorily coindexes the embedded agent with *pro*.
- (36) $\forall s \forall x \forall y$ [PERSUADE.*s.x.y* \rightarrow *x* is an agent in the event given by *s*]
 Where type *x*, *y* = $\langle e \rangle$, type *s* = $\langle t \rangle$

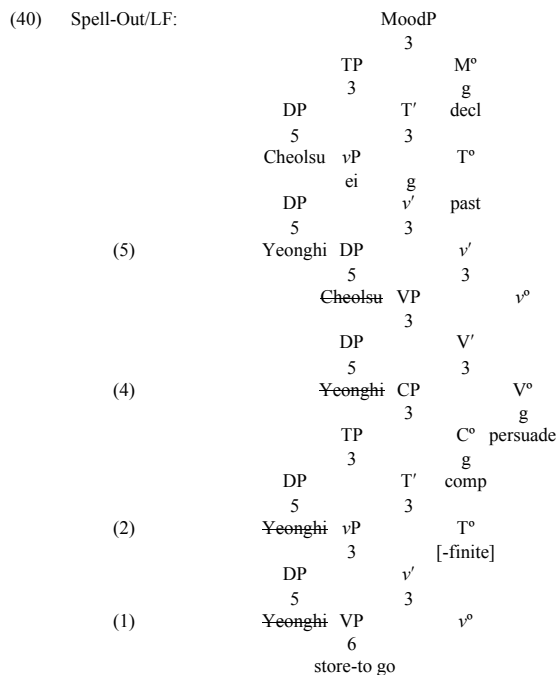
6.2 Problems with the *pro*-based account

- *pro* should be able to alternate with a pronoun.
 - This is not the case:
- (37) *Cheolsu-neun (keunyeo-leul_i) [Yeonghi-ka_i kake-e ka-tolok]
 Cheolsu-top she-acc Yeonghi-nom store-to go-comp
 (keunyeo-leul_i) seolteukha-eoss-ta
 she-acc persuade-past-decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.’
- A distributively quantified DP should be illicit in embedded subject position: no binding configuration.
 - Korean permits a quantified DP.
- (38) Cheolsu-neun [kakkak-eui ai-ka sukjae-leul ha-tolok]
 Cheolsu-top each-gen child-nom homework-acc do-comp
 seolteukha-eoss-ta
 persuade-past-decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded each child to do the homework.’
- The Meaning Postulate incorrectly predicts that *pro* be interpreted with the agent of the passivized embedded clause.

- (8b') Cheolsu-neun **Suyeong-ka** Yeonghi-eke inteophyu pat-tolok
 Cheolsu-Top **Suyeong-Nom** Yeonghi-Dat interview Pass-Comp
 seolteukha-eoss-ta
 persuade-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded **Suyeong** to be interviewed by Yeonghi.’
 ‘*Cheolsu persuaded **Yeonghi**_i that Suyeong interview her_i.’
- Korean licenses both forward and backward control. We are required to posit a lexically marked structure for the backward control (4) and another structure for the forward control.

6.3 Control-is-movement account

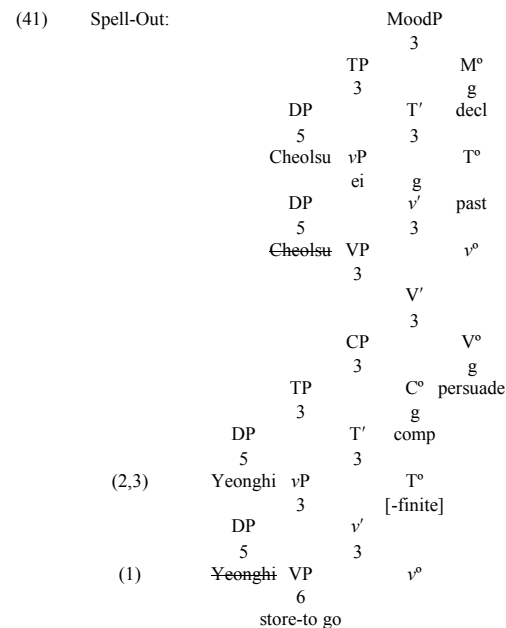
- Polinsky and Potsdam 2002 analyze backward control in Tsez with a control-is-movement approach (Hornstein 1999).
 - A default nominative case (DNC) mechanism is responsible for the case alternation.
- (39) *Default Nominative Case* (DNC; YJ Kim 1990:180)
 Default case marking inserts nominative case on a DP that lacks morphological case.
- In the backward control structure, the DNC marks the DP *Yeonghi*, in spec,T° [-tense] at Spell-Out, with nominative case at PF.
- (4') Cheolsu-neun Δ_i [**Yeonghi-ka**_i kake-e ka-tolok] seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Nom** store-to go-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.’ (backward control)
- I am assuming a case assignment system, metaphorically (actually adopting Chomsky 2000).
 - The **forward control** derivation:
- (3') Cheolsu-neun **Yeonghi-leul** [**Yeonghi** kake-e ka-tolok] seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Acc** store-to go-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.’ (ordinary control)



- The derivation of *Yeonghi* in **forward control**:
 - 1) Merged in embedded spec, v° it ‘absorbs’ the θ-role of the embedded verb.
 - 2) Raises into embedded spec, T° to delete the uninterpretable φ-features of T°.
 - 3) The DNC is not ‘activated’.
 - 4) Raises into matrix spec, V° to ‘absorb’ the θ-role of *persuade*.
 - 5) Raises into matrix spec, v° to delete the uninterpretable φ-features of v°
 - 6) It is assigned accusative case in outer spec, v°.

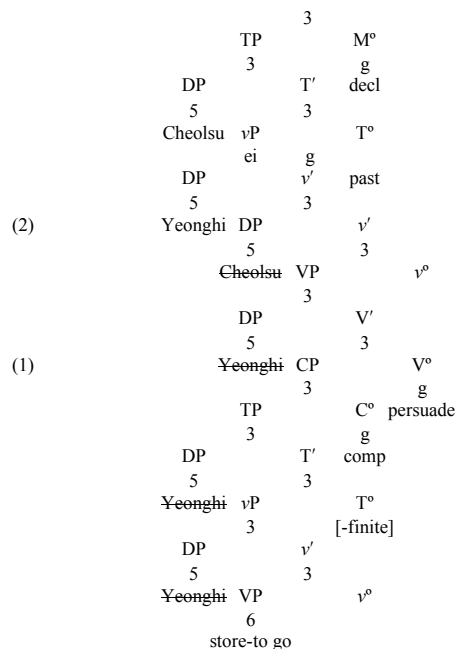
□ The **backward control** derivation:

(4') Cheolsu-neun [**Yeonghi-ka**_i kake-e ka-tolok] seolteukha-eoss-ta
 Cheolsu-Top **Yeonghi-Nom** store-to go-Comp persuade-Past-Decl
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.’ (backward control)



- The derivation of *Yeonghi* in **backward control**:
 - 1) Merged in embedded spec, v° and ‘absorbs’ the θ-role of *go*.
 - 2) Raises into embedded spec, T° and deletes the uninterpretable φ-features of T°.
 - 3) Spell-Out applies and the DNC is activated.
 - 4) *Yeonghi* is marked with nominative at PF.
- *Yeonghi* is still not assigned case in the phrase marker sent to LF.
- The direct object θ-role of *persuade* is still ‘unabsorbed’.
- The uninterpretable φ-features of v° are still not deleted.

(42) LF: MoodP



- *Yeonghi* raises covertly into the matrix clause:
 - 1) Raises into matrix spec, V° to 'absorb' the direct object θ-role of *persuade*.
 - 2) Raises into matrix spec, v° to delete the uninterpretable φ-features of v°.
 - 3) In spec, v°, the DP *Yeonghi* is assigned accusative case.

7. Conclusions

- Presented novel empirical evidence for backward object control configuration in Korean.
- Other predicates that show this configuration in Korean are *kangyohata* 'force', *chungkohata* 'advise' and *jeanhata* 'suggest'.
- Showed that a *pro*-based approach was inadequate both empirically and theoretically.
- Extended the backward subject control analysis (Polinsky and Potsdam 2002) to backward object control.

- Both an 'unabsorbed' θ-role and a case unassigned nominal motivate the covert movement. Covert movement in Polinsky and Potsdam was motivated solely by θ-requirements.
- Proposed that the default nominative case strategy is responsible for the case alternation. Tsez did not have this forward/backward control option, nor did it show a case alternation.

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