

Variations in Predicate Fronting: The role of anti-locality and cyclic linearization

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Goals of the talk.

➤ I discuss **variations in predicate fronting out of non-primary predication structures in Korean**:

- predicate fronting out of two types of small clauses
- predicate fronting out of raising constructions
- predicate fronting out of multiple subject constructions

I argue that otherwise unexpected variations in predicate fronting can be explained by **the interaction of Cyclic Linearization and Anti-Locality**, further supporting the proposal that **predicational structures in general (regardless of its transitivity) undergo cyclic Spell-out**.

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Goals of the talk.

In particular, I argue for the following research programs:

- (1) *Cyclic Linearization* (Fox and Pesetsky 2005)
The linear ordering of syntactic units is affected by Merge and Move within a Spell-out domain, but is fixed once and for all at the end of each Spell-out.
- (2) *Spell-out Domains* (Ko 2011, *to appear*, cf. Den Dikken 2006)
The Spell-out domain is a *predication* (subject-predicate structure).
- (3) *Anti-locality*
Complement cannot merge into the specifier of its own head.
(Abels 2003, Boeckx 2007, Bošković 2005, Doggett 2004, Grohmann 2003, Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, Saito and Murasugi 1999, among others)

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Two Types of Small Clauses in Korean

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Two Types of Small Clauses in Korean

The subject of the small clause is marked by *-lo* 'as' in Korean (cf. *-ni/-to* in Japanese)

➤ One type is selected by an epistemic verb such as *yekita* 'consider'.

- (4) Kim kyoswu-nun [ku cangkwan-ul ceyca-lo] yekiessta.
Kim professor-Top that minister-Acc student-as considered
'Prof. Kim considered that minister (as) his student.'

S SC-subject-ACC SC-predicate-lo Main-V

➤ The other type is selected by an episodic verb such as *poppta* 'hire' type.

- (5) SNU-nun [ku cangkwan-ul kyoswu-lo] ppopassta
SNU-Top that minister-Acc professor-as hired
'SNU hired that minister as (its) professor.'

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Two Types of Small Clauses in Korean

Asymmetries between two types of SC in **predicate fronting**:

➤ Predicate fronting out of epistemic SCs is impossible:

- (6) **Ceyca-lo* Kim kyoswu-nun ku cangkwan-ul yekiessta.
student-as Kim professor-Top that minister-Acc considered
'Prof. Kim considered that minister (as) his student.' [Korean]

➤ By contrast, predicate fronting out of episodic SCs is possible:

- (7) kyoswu-lo SNU-nun ku cangkwan-ul ppopassta
professor-as SNU-Top that minister-Acc hired
'SNU hired that minister as (its) professor.' [Korean]

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Two Types of Small Clauses in Korean

➤ Note that SC-predicates can in principle be separated from the main verb even when the main verb is epistemic in Korean:

- (8) [Ku cangkwan-ul ceyca-lo] Kim kyoswu-nun yekiessta.
that minister-Acc student-as Kim professor-Top considered
'Prof. Kim considered the minister as (his) student.' [Korean]

- (9) *[*Ceyca-lo*] Kim kyoswu-nun ku cangkwan-ul yekiessta.
student-as Kim professor-Top that minister-Acc considered
'Prof. Kim considered that minister (as) his student.' [Korean]

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Two Types of Small Clauses in Korean

Another asymmetries between two types of SC in **predicate omission**:

➤ Predicate omission in epistemic SCs is impossible:

- (10) Kim kyoswu-nun ku cangkwan-ul *(*ceyca-lo*) yekiessta.
Kim professor-Top that minister-Acc student-as considered
'Prof. Kim considered that minister (as) his student.'

➤ By contrast, predicate omission in episodic SCs is perfectly grammatical:

- (11) SNU-nun ku cangkwan-ul (kyoswu-lo) ppopassta
SNU-Top that minister-Acc professor-as hired
'SNU hired that minister as (its) professor.' [Korean]

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Two Types of Small Clauses in Korean

Further asymmetries between two types of SC in **floating NQs**:

➤ **Quantifier floating out of epistemic SCs is impossible (over the SC-predicate):**

- (12) Kim kyoswu-nun sey-myeng-uy cencik cangkwan-ul ceysa-lo yekiessta.
 Kim prof-Top 3-Cl-Gen former minister-Acc student-as considered
 'Prof. Kim considered three former ministers as (his) students.' [Korean]

(NB. slightly degraded if *sey-myeng* follows its host, maybe due to the non-specific reading of *sey-myeng*)

- (13) *Kim kyoswu-nun cencik cangkwan-ul ceysa-lo sey-myeng yekiessta.
 Kim prof-Top former minister-Acc student-as 3-Cl considered
 'Prof. Kim considered three former ministers as (his) students.' [Korean]

➔ This is surprising given the fact that object-oriented NQs are generally acceptable in Korean in other contexts.

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Two Types of Small Clauses in Korean

Further asymmetries between two types of SC in floating NQs:

➤ **By contrast, quantifier floating out of episodic SCs is possible:**

- (14) SNU-nun sey-myeng-uy cencik cangkwan-ul kyoswu-lo ppopassta.
 SNU-TOP 3-Cl-GEN former minister-ACC professor-as hired
 'SNU hired three former ministers as (their) professors.'

- (15) SNU-nun cencik cangkwan-ul kyoswu-lo sey-myeng ppopassta.
 SNU-TOP former minister-ACC professor-as 3-Cl hired
 'SNU hired three former ministers as (their) professors.'

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Two Types of Small Clauses in Korean

	Epistemic Main Verb	Episodic Main Verb
Canonical Word Order	S < SC-Subject-ACC < SC-Predicate < V	
Predicate Fronting	impossible	possible
SC fronting	possible	possible
Predicate Omission	impossible	possible
NQ-float	impossible	possible

➤ **Why do we observe such asymmetries between the two types of SCs?**

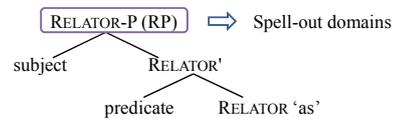
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Baseline Proposal.

➤ I adopt Den Dikken's (2006) claim that small clauses in general are headed by a Relator head, lexicalized *lo* 'as' in Korean (see also Bowers 1993, Aarts 1992 for English 'as').

➤ I propose that the predicational structures in general undergo cyclic Spell-out and linearization regardless of its transitivity (see Ko 2011 for independent evidence; cf. Chomsky 2000 and subsequent works, Legate 2003, Bošković 2012, among others).

- (16) *The syntactic configuration of predication* (Den Dikken 2006: 3)

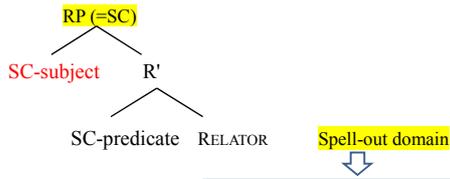


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Baseline Proposal.

➤ Epistemic verbs take a propositional SC as its complement:

(17) Internal structure for epistemic SCs

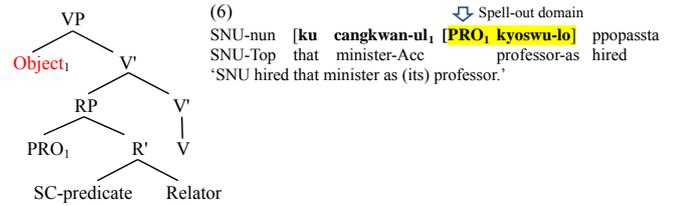


(18) Kim kyoswu-nun [RP ku cangkwan-ul ceyca-lo] yekiessta.
 Kim professor-Top that minister-Acc student-as considered
 'Prof. Kim considered that minister (as) his student.'

Baseline Proposal.

➤ Episodic verbs may take a direct object as its complement (e.g. theme of the event) and the SC contain a null subject PRO controlled by the object.

(19) Internal structure for episodic SCs



Predicate Omission.

➤ Predicate omission in epistemic SCs is impossible:

(20) Kim kyoswu-nun [ku cangkwan-ul *(ceyca-lo)] yekiessta.
 Kim professor-Top that minister-Acc student-as considered
 'Prof. Kim considered that minister (as) his student.'

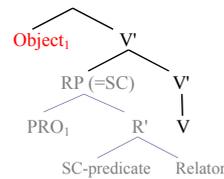
➤ Since epistemic SCs take the proposition as its complement, the SC-subject must be base-generated within the SC, and it cannot stand alone without the support of the SC-predicate. Hence, predicate omission is impossible in (20).

Predicate Omission.

➤ By contrast, predicate omission in episodic SCs is perfectly grammatical:

(21) SNU-nun ku cangkwan-ul (kyoswu-lo) ppopassta
 SNU-Top that minister-Acc professor-as hired
 'SNU hired that minister as (its) professor.' [Korean]

➤ The grammaticality of (21) follows from the proposal in that *ku cangkwan-ul* can be construed as a true object of the verb, independently of the SC-predicate.

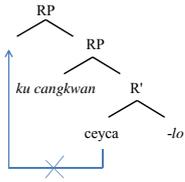


Consequences for Predicate Fronting.

➤ Predicate fronting out of epistemic SCs is impossible:

- (22) **Ceyca-lo* Kim kyoswu-nun **ku cangkwan-ul** yekiessta.
 student-as Kim professor-Top that minister-Acc considered
 'Prof. Kim considered that minister (as) his student.' [Korean]

Neither the SC-subject nor the SC-predicate can move within RP.

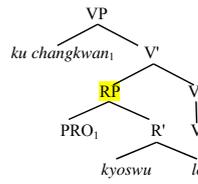


- The SC-subject cannot move under the *probe-goal theory of movement* (Chomsky 2000): there is no probe that can search and agree with the SC-subject on the edge of R (see Ko 2005, 2007 for further evidence) (already on the edge!).
- The SC-predicate cannot move due to *anti-locality*: The SC-predicate cannot move to its own specifier (too local!).
- If RP undergoes CL as a predicational domain, we predict that *SC-Subject < SC-predicate* ordering must be preserved in the higher domains. Hence, no predicate fronting, as in (22).

Consequences for Predicate Fronting.

➤ By contrast, predicate fronting out of episodic SCs is possible:

- (23) [PRO **kyoswu-lo**]_i SNU-nun **ku cangkwan-ul** t_i ppopassta
 professor-as SNU-Top that minister-Acc hired
 'SNU hired that minister as (its) professor.' [Korean]

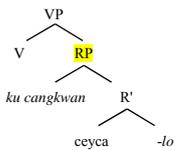


- When the RP is spelled out and linearized, we obtain the linear ordering, PRO < kyoswu-lo. Crucially, the object *ku cangkwan-ul* is merged in a separate domain from the RP.
- Since the matrix object is externally merged in a separate predicational domain from the RP, the RP may be fronted over the object when an SC-external head (say, *v*) triggers such scrambling.
- The movement of RP adds a new ordering in the matrix domain (RP < O), but it does not contradict any ordering established within SC (i.e. PRO < predicate-as). Hence, the grammaticality of “seemingly predicate fronting” in (23).

RP-Fronting.

➤ The grammaticality of RP fronting in epistemic SCs naturally follows:

- (24) [_{RP} **Ku cangkwan-ul ceyca-lo**]_i Kim kyoswu-nun t_i yekiessta.
 that minister-ACC student-as Kim professor-TOP considered
 'Prof. Kim considered the minister as (his) student.' [Korean]

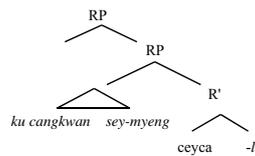


- The analysis for (23) can be extended to (24): The entire RP can be fronted over the matrix subject, and such movement does not cause any ordering contradiction at PF.
- ordering statements at PF:
 - Linearize RP: *ku cangkwan-ul < ceyca-lo*
 - Linearize vP: *RP < kim kyoswu-nun < yekiessta*

NQ-Floating.

Quantifier floating out of epistemic SCs is impossible:

- (25) *Kim kyoswu-nun **cencik cangkwan-ul** ceyca-lo **sey-myeng** yekiessta.
 Kim prof-Top former minister-Acc student-as **3-Cl** considered
 'Prof. Kim considered three former ministers as (his) students.' [Korean]



- This is not a problem with predicate fronting per se. The SC-predicate *ceyca-lo* follows the SC-subject in (25).
- If we assume that *sey-myeng* is adnominal to its host (Ko 2007, 2011), the ungrammaticality of (33) follows from CL. The elements merged on the edge of RP cannot move within RP under the probe-goal theory of movement.
- This leads to the ordering contradiction at PF as follows:
 - Linearize RP: *ku cangkwan-ul < sey-myeng < ceyca-lo*
 - Linearize vP: *ku cangkwan-ul < ceyca-lo < sey-myeng*
ordering contradiction!

NQ-Floating.

Quantifier floating out of epistemic SCs is impossible:

- (26) *Kim kyoswu-nun **cencik cangkwan-ul** ceyca-lo **sey-myeng** yekiessta.
 Kim prof-Top former minister-Acc student-as 3-Cl considered
 'Prof. Kim considered three former ministers as (his) students.' [Korean]

➤ In fact, (26) is ruled out for the same reason that (27) is ruled out. The subject cannot be separated from its domain-mate (e.g. the object) from its adnominal NQ because it leads to ordering contradiction between the vP domain and CP domain (Ko 2005, 2007).

- (27) *Subject<Object<NQ_{SUBJ}

- a. **Gakusei-ga** **san-nin** sake-o nonda.
 student-NOM 3-Cl_{people} sake-ACC drank
 'Three students drank sake.'

- b. ***Gakusei-ga** sake-o **san-nin** nonda.
 student-NOM sake-ACC 3-Cl_{people} drank
 'Three students drank sake.' [Japanese]

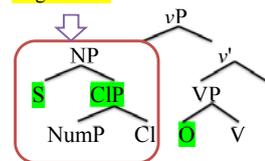
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NQ-Floating.

- (28) *Subject<Object<NQ_{SUBJ}

- b. ***Gakusei-ga** sake-o **san-nin** nonda.
 student-NOM sake-ACC 3-Cl_{people} drank
 'Three students drank sake.' [Japanese]

Edge Effect



The object may precede or follow the subject and its NQ, but cannot intervene between the two within vP. This ordering restriction must be preserved in the higher domains.

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NQ-Floating.

In fact, Q-floating is possible if it does not cause ordering contradictions:

SC-subject < NQ-SC < SC-predicate

- (29) ?**Cencik cangkwan-ul** Kim kyoswu-nun **sey-myeng** ceyca-lo yekiessta.
 former minister-Acc Kim prof-Top 3-Cl student-as considered
 'Prof. Kim considered three former ministers as (his) students.' [Korean]

[it seems to be slightly degraded due to the specificity effect, but (29) is much better than (30)]

cf. SC-subject<SC-predicate < NQ-SC

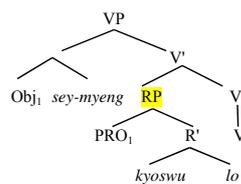
- (30) *Kim kyoswu-nun **cencik cangkwan-ul** ceyca-lo **sey-myeng** yekiessta.
 Kim prof-Top former minister-Acc student-as 3-Cl considered
 'Prof. Kim considered three former ministers as (his) students.' [Korean]

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NQ-Floating.

➤ Finally, Q-floating is grammatical from the episodic SC because the NQ is in fact floated from the direct object of the verb, not from the subject of the SC.

- (31) SNU-nun **cencik cangkwan-ul** kyoswu-lo **sey-myeng** ppopassta.
 SNU-TOP former minister-ACC professor-as 3-CL hired
 'SNU hired three former ministers as (their) professors.'



Both the object and RP may undergo movement when a higher head (say *v*) triggers such movement.

[_{VP} Obj₁ [(_{RP} PRO₁ XP-as)]₂ [_{VP} [_{t₁} NQ_{Obj}] t₂ V] v]

- Linearize RP: PRO < kyoswu-lo
- Linearize vP: S < O < RP < NQ_{obj}

No ordering contradiction!

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Extension to Resultative -lo

Resultative *-lo* clauses in Korean do not allow (e.g. *mantulta* 'bring up'):

- (32) MIT-uy swuep-i **John-ul** **hakca-lo** mantul-ess-ta.
 MIT-GEN class-NOM John-ACC scholar-as make-PAST-DEC
 'The class at MIT made John a scholar.'

➤ predicate omission

- (33) *MIT-uy swuep-i **John-ul** (*hakca-lo*) mantul-ess-ta.
 MIT-GEN class-NOM John-ACC make-PAST-DEC
 'The class at MIT made John.' [omission of the *-lo* predicate]

➤ predicate fronting

- (34) ***Hakca-lo** MIT-uy swuep-i **John-ul** mantul-ess-ta.
 scholar-as MIT-GEN class-NOM John-ACC make-PAST-DEC
 'The class at MIT made John a scholar.' [*-lo* predicate fronting]

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Two Types of Small Clauses in Korean

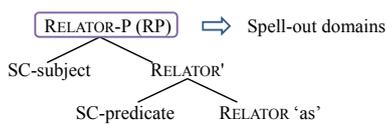
	Epistemic Main Verb	Episodic Main Verb
Canonical Word Order	S < SC-Subject-ACC < SC-Predicate < V	
Predicate Fronting	impossible	possible
SC fronting	possible	possible
Predicate Omission	impossible	possible
NQ-float	impossible	possible

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Interim Summary

- **CL plus anti-locality**: SC is small enough to preserve the relative orderings established within the predication domain even in scrambling languages like Korean.

- (35) *The syntactic configuration of predication* (Den Dikken 2006: 3)



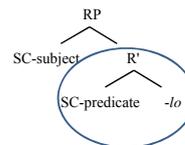
SC-subject cannot strand a floating NQ because it cannot move within the RP
 SC-predicate cannot move within RP because it is merged as a sister to the Relator.

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Challenges to the alternatives

Chung (2007, 2011): constituent approach + R-bar fronting is impossible

- (36) 'predicate-*lo*' cannot precede the SC-subject because R-bar is not a visible constituent (Chung 2007, 2011).



⇒ This approach, however, is too weak to cover the data.

Constraints on R-bar?

If the SC-subject moves out first, and then RP undergoes fronting over the (moved) SC-subject, we would wrongly expect that SC-predicate may linearly precede the SC-subject. One may employ some version of the Proper Binding Condition (Fiengo 1977) to rule this out, but I will argue against the PBC approach (see general discussion).

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Two Types of Complementation in Korean

Given the contrast between the two types of SC constructions seen above, we expect that **the distribution of the subject in other complementation domains will be affected by the types of main predicates as well.**

➤ In the rest of the talk, I show that these predictions are indeed borne out.

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Subject-to-Object Raising (SOR) constructions in Korean

- (37) a. Chelswu-nun **Yenghi-ka** yeppu-ta-ko sayngkakh-a-n-ta.
Chelswu-TOP Yenghi-NOM pretty-DEC-C think-PRES-DEC
'Chelswu thinks that Yenghi is pretty.'
- b. Chelswu-nun **Yenghi-lul** yeppu-ta-ko sayngkakh-a-n-ta.
Chelswu-TOP Yenghi-ACC pretty-DEC-C think-PRES-DEC
'Chelswu thinks that Yenghi is pretty.'

➤ See J H-S Yoon 2007 for a critical review of current studies on this construction; cf. Hiraiwa 2002, Hoji 2005, Oka 1988, Saito 1983, Sells 1990, Takano 2003, Tanaka 2002, among others, for Japanese; K-S Hong 1997, S-m Hong 2005, P-Y Lee 1992 for Korean, among many others.

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Predicate fronting out of SOR verbs

Interestingly, predicate fronting is affected by the choice of Case-marking in Korean.

➤ When the embedded subject is Nom-marked, *Yenghi-ka* in (38)a, predicate fronting is impossible.

- (38) a. ***Yeppu-ta-ko** Chelswu-nun **Yenghi-ka** sayngkakh-a-n-ta.
Pretty-DEC-C Chelswu-TOP Yenghi-NOM think-PRES-DEC
'Chelswu thinks that Yenghi is pretty.' (Chung 2007: 2)

➤ When the subject of the embedded predicate is Acc-marked, *Yenghi-lul* in (38)b, predicate fronting is possible (to varying degrees).

- b. [?]**Yeppu-ta-ko** Chelswu-nun **Yenghi-lul** sayngkakh-a-n-ta.
Pretty-DEC-C Chelswu-TOP Yenghi-ACC think-PRES-DEC
'Chelswu thinks that Yenghi is pretty.' (Ahn and Cho 2008: 58)

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Two Types of Complementation in Korean

➤ Furthermore, not all Acc-marked subject allows predicate fronting:

- (39) Na-nun **yekise-pwuthe-lul** **nay ttang-i-lako** mitnun-ta
I-TOP here-from-ACC my land-COP-C believe
'I believe that my land begins from here.' (Yoon 2007)
- (40) *[**Nay ttang-i-lako**] na-nun **yekise-pwuthe-lul** mitnun-ta
my land-COP-C I-TOP here-from-ACC believe
'I believe that my land begins from here.' (Yoon 2007)

➤ When a non-animate PP is used as the embedded subject, predicate fronting is banned.

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Predicate fronting out of SOR verbs

My proposal for predicate fronting from small clause domains extends to predicate fronting out of SOR verbs.

- In particular, I attempt to present a full-fledged version of the CL analysis for predicate fronting out of SOR (Subject-Object Raising) constructions by coupling J H-S Yoon's (2007) Major Subject analysis with the CL model.

- (41) Chelswu-nun **Yenghi-lul** yeppu-ta-ko sayngkakra-n-ta.
 Chelswu-TOP Yenghi-ACC pretty-DEC-C think-PRES-DEC
 'Chelswu thinks that Yenghi is pretty.'

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Analysis. Predicate fronting out of SOR verbs (SOR-NOM)

When the subject is externally merged within the embedded predicational domain, the predicate cannot precede the embedded subject.

- Under anti-locality, the embedded predicate *yepputako* cannot precede its own subject *Yenghi-ka*. Recall predicate fronting out of epistemic SCs.

- (42) a. ***Yeppu-ta-ko** Chelswu-nun **Yenghi-ka** sayngkakra-n-ta.
 Pretty-DEC-C Chelswu-TOP Yenghi-NOM think-PRES-DEC
 'Chelswu thinks that Yenghi is pretty.' (Chung 2007: 2)

- Linearize embedded vP: *Yenghi-ka* < *yeppu-ta-ko*
- Linearize embedded CP: *yeppu-ta-ka* < *Chelswu-nun* < *Yenghi-ka*

ordering contradiction!

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Two Types of SOR constructions (SOR-ACC)

Type I: Prolepsis.

- (43) I believe *about/regarding* Bill that he is responsible for the failure.

- (44) Chelswu-nun **Yenghi-lul** [*pro*_i yeppu-ta-ko] sayngkakra-n-ta.
 Chelswu-TOP Yenghi-ACC pretty-DEC-C think-PRES-DEC
 'Chelswu thinks that Yenghi is pretty.'

- Under this proleptic parse, the object is interpreted as the topic of the main clause, and is not linked to an element in the embedded clause via syntactic movement.

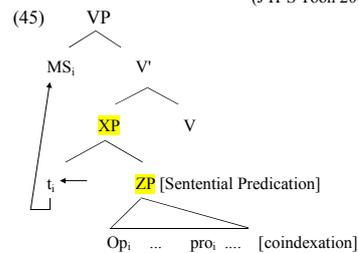
- J H-S Yoon (2007) suggests that the proleptic parse is available only when a DP (preferably animate noun) is employed. See independence evidence for Yoon 2007.

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Two Types of SOR constructions (SOR-ACC)

Type II: Raising of a Major Subject (MS always precedes the ZP)

(J H-S Yoon 2007: 623 with some notational differences)



- SOR-object is generated as a Major Subject of the embedded clause XP, and then raises to derived (a non-thematic/proleptic) object position in the higher VP domain.

- Dual predication within the embedded clause:

- Grammatical Subject and lexical predicate ZP
- Major Subject and Sentential Predication XP

- (46) Chelswu-nun [**Yenghi-lul**] [_{XP} *t*_i [_{ZP} *pro*_i yeppu-ta-ko]] sayngkakra-n-ta.
 Chelswu-TOP Yenghi-ACC pretty-DEC-C think-PRES-DEC
 'Chelswu thinks that Yenghi is pretty.'

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Analysis. Predicate fronting out of SOR verbs

When the subject is Acc-marked, two types of analysis are possible under Yoon (2007):

- Raising of MS (but not allowed under CL)

- (47) [pro_1 **Yeppu-ta-ko**]₂ Chelswu-nun **Yenghi-lul**₁ [_{CP} t_1 t_2] sayngkakha-n-ta.
pretty-DEC-C Chelswu-TOP Yenghi-ACC think-PRES-DEC
'Chelswu thinks that Yenghi is pretty.'

- a. embedded MS domain: *Yenghi-lul* < (*pro*) *yeppu-ta-ko*
b. matrix domain: (*pro*) *yeppu-ta-ko* < *Yenghi-lul* [**ordering contradiction!**]

- Proleptic object (allowed under CL)

- (48) [pro_1 **Yeppu-ta-ko**]₂ Chelswu-nun **Yenghi-lul**₁ t_2 sayngkakha-n-ta.
pretty-DEC-C Chelswu-TOP Yenghi-ACC think-PRES-DEC
'Chelswu thinks of Yenghi that she is pretty.'

- a. embedded domain: *pro* < *yepp-ta-ko*
b. matrix domain: (*pro*) *yeppu-ta-ko* < *Yenghi-lul* [**No contradiction!**]

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Analysis. Predicate fronting out of SOR verbs

➤ A non-animate PP cannot be construed as a proleptic object. Thus the raising analysis is the only possible option, but this leads to an ordering contradiction under CL. **MS must precede the Sentential Predication.**

- (49) *[**Nay ttang-i-lako**] na-nun **yekise-pwuthe-lul** mitnunta
my land-COP-C I-TOP here-from-ACC believe
'I believe that my land begins from here.' (Yoon 2007)

- (50) a. [_{CP} *yekise-pwuthe-lul*₁ [pro_1 *nay ttang-i-lako*]]
Linearize CP: *yekise-pwuthe-lul* < *nay ttang-i-lako*

- b. [_{VP} [**Nay ttang-i-lako**] na-nun *yekise-pwuthe-lul* mitnunta]
Linearize vP: ***nay ttang-i-lako*** < *na-nun* < *yekise-pwuthe-lul*

Ordering contradiction!

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Conclusion.

➤ Variations in predicate fronting out of non-primary predication structures in Korean can be explained by the interaction of CL and anti-locality.

- predicate fronting out of two types of small clauses
- predicate fronting out of raising and control constructions
- predicate fronting out of multiple subject constructions

➤ The data presented here provide further supports for the proposal that predicational structures in general (regardless of its transitivity) undergo cyclic Spell-out.

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Overall Implications.

➤ My arguments imply that there is no genuine case of "predicate fronting" which crosses over its own subject.

- Predicate fronting out of an embedded clause/SC is possible only when the fronted predicate contains a null subject (e.g. *pro* or PRO) co-indexed with a predicate-external noun such as an matrix object or a proleptic object.

➤ Crucially, this is a natural consequence of CL and anti-locality, alongside the claim that predication structures undergo CL.

➤ CL approach to predicate fronting provides a viable explanation for the Proper Binding Condition (PBC: Fiengo 1977) effects in predicate fronting, without resorting to the notion of "trace", which has little, if any, grammatical status in the current syntactic theory (see Takita 2012 for a similar line of approach).

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Remaining Issues.

➤ Extension to English SCs? Predicate Inversion vs. Predicate fronting?

- (51) a. Bob strikes Bill as pompous. [subject-oriented adjunct SC]
b. As pompous, Bob strikes Bill. [SC-predicate fronting]
- (52) a. John considers Bill (as) crazy. [object-oriented complement SC]
b. ??As crazy, John considers Bill. [SC-predicate fronting]

➤ Predicate Inversion via Linker (Phase extension) is necessary:

- (53) a. Brian is considered (to be) the best candidate
b. The best candidate is considered *(to be) Brian.

(Moro 1990, 1997, Heycock and Kroch 1999, Den Dikken 2006, a.o)

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Remaining Issues.

➤ VP-fragments and VP-fronting: repair by ellipsis at PF? reconstruction?

- (54) a. [Broken the vase] <John has >
b. [Washing his car] <John is >
c. [Leave the house] <I made Be >
d. [Left] <he >
- (55) a. [_{t₁} Criticize himself₁], John thinks Bill₁ never will. (Huang 1993)
b. *[_{t₁} Criticize John₂], I think he₂ said Mary₁ did. (Takano 1995)

➤ Right Dislocation in Korean (and Japanese): Bi-clausal analysis?

- (56) Mary-lul ttayli-ess-e. John-i
Mary-Acc hit-Past-Dec. John-Nom
'John hit Mary.' (OVS order in Korean)

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Thank you.

감사합니다!

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Appendix.

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Multiple Nominative Constructions.

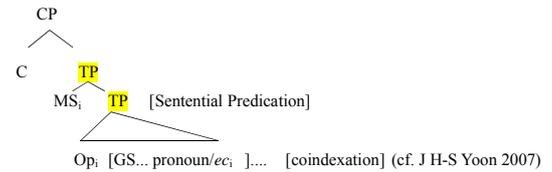
- (57) a. **Cheli-ka** **apeci-ka** pwuca-i-si-ta.
C.-NOM father-NOM rich-COP-HON-DEC
'Cheli's father is rich.'
- b. **John-i** **khi-ka** khu-ta.
J.-NOM height-NOM great-DEC
'As for John, his height is great/tall.'
- c. **I** **hakkyo-ka** **enhakkwa-ka** coh-ta.
this school-NOM linguistics-NOM good-DEC
'The linguistics department at this school is very good.'

➤ The sentence following the Major Subject is already a complete predicational unit, but it turns into a Sentential Predicate which denotes the characteristic property of the Major Subject (Yoon 2007).

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Multiple Nominative Constructions.

(58) Sentential Predication in MNC



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Multiple Nominative Constructions.

➤ Given the claim that the Major Subject is base-generated at the left periphery of the sentence, it is predicted that **even a low adjunct PP or a thematic object must precede the Grammatical Subject when they function as a Major Subject.**

➤ **The relative ordering between MS and GS must be preserved.**

- (59) a. [_{PredP} **ilen** **chayk-i**₁ [_{PredP} **salamtul-i** *pro*₁ culkye ilknunta]].
this.kind book-NOM people-NOM with joy read
'As for this kind of book, people enjoy reading it.' (MS<GS)
- b. *[[_{PredP} **Salamtul-i**₂ **ilen** **chayk-i**₁ [_{PredP} *t*₂ *pro*₁ culkye ilknunta]].
people-NOM this.kind book-NOM with joy read
'As for this kind of book, people enjoy reading it.' (GS<MS)
- c. [_{PredP} **Salamtul-i** **ilen** **chayk-ul** culkye ilknunta].
people-NOM this.kind book-ACC with joy read
'People read this kind of books.'

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Multiple Nominative Constructions.

(60) MNC with habitual predicates: sentential predicate cannot precede MS.

- a. [_{PredP} **John-i** [_{PredP} **apeci-ka** wuphyo-lul mou-si-n-ta.]]
John-NOM father-NOM stamp-ACC collect-HON-PRES-DEC
'John's father collects stamps.'
- b. *[[_{PredP} **Apeci-ka**₁ **John-i** [_{PredP} *t*₁ wuphyo-lul mou-si-n-ta]].
father-NOM John-NOM stamp-ACC collect-HON-PRES-DEC
- c. *[[_{PredP} Wuphyo-lul₁ **John-i** [_{PredP} **apeci-ka** *t*₁ mou-si-n-ta]].
stamp-ACC John-NOM father-NOM collect-HON-PRES-DEC
- d. [_{PredP} Wuphyo-lul₁ [**John-uy** **apeci-ka**] *t*₁ mou-si-n-ta].
stamp-ACC John-GEN father-NOM collect-HON-PRES-DEC

MS must linearly precede the Sentential Predication (scrambling is banned in such contexts under the CL + anti-locality approach)

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