

Postverbal Adjuncts in Korean: Unlabeled but Concatenated

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Outlook. This paper examines the syntax of postverbal adjuncts (PAs) in Korean such as (1) and (2), which represent a postverbal adnominal and adverbial modifier, respectively. The syntax of (1), in particular, has received much attention in recent studies. Some studies argue that the PA in (1) is a fragment which survives clausal ellipsis (e.g. Chung 2009, 2012, Park and Kim 2009). Others claim that a *pro*-predicate (or LF-copying) licenses the PA in (1) (e.g. Lee 2010, Yoon 2013). In this paper, however, I present some empirical evidence against the previous studies, which treat PAs as a consequence of (PF-)ellipsis or LF-copying. Rather, I propose that PAs are unlabeled but concatenated to the host clause, adopting Hornstein and Nunes' (2008) theory of adjunction. I show that this proposal not only explains long-standing puzzles concerning PAs, but also explains the novel fact that the syntax of PAs is regulated by a general constraint on sideward movement, which applies to the unlabeled adjunct domain.

- (1) Na-n [___ han sonyen]-ul manness-e [**acwu ttokttok-hako calsayngki-n**]
 I-Top one boy-Acc met-Dec very smart-and handsome-RC
 'I met a boy who is very smart and handsome.' (adnominal PA)
- (2) Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul ___ manna-ss-e [**ecey**]
 C.-Nom Y.-Acc meet-Past-Dec yesterday
 'Cheli met Yenghi yesterday.' (adverbial PA)

≠ **Fragment.** Park and Kim (2009) argue that (1) contains a bi-clausal structure, and that the PA remains on the second clause after ellipsis, as illustrated in (3). On this view, the PA in (3) is grammatical, just as the fragment, *Yuni-uy* in (4) is acceptable. A thorny problem, however, is that the parallelism between fragments and PAs breaks down in other contexts. As shown in (5), a fragment may modify the NP which is embedded under another NP. By contrast, the PA, *Yuni-uy* in (6), cannot modify the embedded NP, *emma-uy* 'mother-Gen' in (6). If the PA is simply a fragment, the contrast between (5) and (6) would remain a mystery.

- (3) ... & [**acwu ttokttok-hako calsayngki-n**]_i [~~na-n~~ [_i han sonyen] ul ___ manness-e]
- (4) A: Cheli-ka nwukwu-uy cha-ul pilli-ess-ni? B: **Yuni-uy**
 C.-Nom who-Gen car-Acc borrow-Past-Q Y.-Gen
 'Whose car did Cheli borrow?' 'Yuni's.'
- (5) A: Ne-nun [[nwukwu-uy emma-uy] cha-lul] pilli-ess-ni? B: **Yuni-uy.**
 You-Top who-Gen mommy-Gen car-Acc borrow-Past-Q Y.-Gen
 'Whose mother's car did you borrow?' 'Yuni's.'
- (6) *Na-nun [[___ emma-uy] cha-lul] pilli-ess-e **Yuni-uy.**
 I-Top mommy-Gen car-Acc borrow-Past-Dec Y.-Gen
 'I borrowed Yuni's mother's car.'

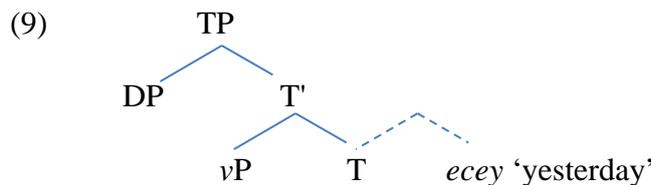
≠ **pro-predicate.** Lee (2010) and Yoon (2013) argue that the PA in (1) is licensed by a null nominal predicate, which co-refers with the NP in the host clause, as in (7). The *pro*-predicate approach may explain the fact that the adnominal PA is possible though adnominal phrases cannot undergo leftward movement in Korean. Crucially, however, the *pro*-predicate analysis cannot explain why examples like (6) is ungrammatical. If the embedded NP, *emma* in (6) can be copied onto the PA, there is no reason to expect that (6) is judged ill-formed. Furthermore, this proposal loses an important generalization that the adnominal PA is object-oriented. This is described in (8). Though the PA is semantically compatible both with the subject *Cheli-ka* or the object *Yenghi-lul*, speakers report that the PA in (8) strongly prefers object-orientation.

If the PA is licensed by LF-copying, we would expect that the subject NP can also be copied in (8), contrary to fact. Note also that the fragment approach cannot explain (8), either, since adnominal fragments can be subject-oriented or object-oriented in Korean.

(7) Na-n han sonyen-ul₁ manness-e [acwu ttokttok-hako calsayngki-n *pro*-NP₁]

(8) Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul manna-ss-e [ppalkah-ko khun moca-lul ssu-n]
 C.-Nom Y.-Acc meet-Past-Dec red-and big hat-Acc wear-RC
 ‘Cheli met Yenghi, who wears a red big hat.’ (who=Yenghi, but not Cheli)

Proposal. Hornstein and Nunes (2008) claim that unlike arguments, adjuncts may be linked to a syntactic projection without labeling, which results in a multi-rooted structure. I extend this claim to the PA. I propose that the PA is base-generated in an independent domain, and combined with the host clause via *concatenation*, notated with ^ (see Hornstein and Nunes 2008). On my proposal, (2) can be represented in (9). I also argue that a part of the PA may undergo *sideward* movement, which results in the adnominal PA, as in (10). This proposal predicts that movement out of the PA domain will be restricted by general constraints on sideward movement, and I show that this explains the aforementioned puzzles in (5)-(8).



(10) Na-n [han sonyen]-ul manness-e] ^ [acwu ttokttok-hako calsayngki-n _] (= (1))

Object-orientation. Nunes and Uriagereka (2000) argues that sideward movement allows extraction out of islands, which results in parasitic gaps, as in (11). Crucially, the target of sideward movement must be the thematic object of the verb, so that the object, but not the subject, licenses the parasitic gap in English. Notice that this is exactly what we have seen in the PA in Korean. As in (8), the adnominal PA modifies the object, but not the subject. If sideward movement occurs from the PA domain into the host clause, it is expected that the subject-object asymmetry in (8) is in fact a consequence of sideward movement.

- (11) a. Which politician did [pictures of *pg*] upset ___ ? (*pg* in *subject island*)
 b. Which paper did you read ___ [before filing *pg*] ? (*pg* in *adjunct island*)

Complex NP. Nunes and Uriagereka (2000) also note that island effects emerge again when the parasitic gap is further embedded under another island, as in (12). This is because sideward movement becomes impossible once the subject/adjunct is spelled-out. I argue that this is what happens in (6). By the time *cha* in (6) is introduced, *Yuni-uy emma* has already undergone linearization, assuming that a nominal projection is a Spell-out domain. Once spelled-out, the ordering that *Yuni-uy* precedes *emma* is registered at PF. Thus, sideward movement such as (6) necessarily results in an ordering contradiction, and thus is ruled out.

- (12) a. *Which politician did you criticize _ [before [pictures of *pg*] upset the voters]?
 b. *Which book did you finally read _ [after leaving the bookstore [without finding *pg*]]?