

Notes on Right Dislocated Constructions in Korean^{*}

Jeong-Shik Lee
(Wonkwang University)

Lee, Jeong-Shik. 2008. Notes on Right Dislocated Constructions in Korean. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 16(2), 47-68. Building on the previous arguments against the SOV hypothesis for Korean, this paper confirms that SVO is a basic underlying word order for Korean by discussing a new paradigm of word order contrasts in right dislocated constructions involving negative polarity items, wh-phrases, and anaphors. The discussion thus suggests in a challenging way some range of theoretical readjustment in accounting for the distributions of the above three items in Korean. The obtained result, most of all, helps maintain more restrictive theory of phrase structure that Kayne (1994) suggests: linearization of phrase structure in terms of asymmetric c-command relation under the universal SVO order.

Key words: SOV, SVO, right dislocated construction, rightward movement, afterthought, NPI licensing, wh-movement, anaphor binding

1. Introduction

Right dislocated construction has received much attention in recent syntax along with the increasing requirement of restrictiveness on the theories of phrase structure. Interestingly, analysis of this construction from Korean has led to the SVO order as a basic order in some recent studies (e.g., Lee 2007a,b, 2008a,b; see also, e.g., Endo 1996, Fukutomi 2005 for Japanese). The obtained results enabled us to harvest bunch of theoretical and empirical benefits that Kayne (1994) aimed for, for

* This paper was fully supported by Wonkwang University in 2007. I thank three anonymous reviewers of this journal for their helpful comments on the initial version of this paper. Any error, however, is mine.

example, linearization of phrase structure in terms of asymmetric c-command relation under the universal SVO order to the exclusion of rightward movement. This paper adds one other new paradigm from right dislocated constructions in Korean in favor of this desirable direction.

Section 2 introduces some basic facts of right dislocated constructions that point to the SVO order as basic in Korean. Section 3 discusses a new paradigm from right dislocated constructions involving negative polarity items, *wh*-phrase, and reflexive anaphors, and confirms that SVO is a basic word order for Korean. Finally, section 4 concludes this paper.

2. Right dislocated construction

Before providing new data for the above purpose, let us consider the following examples from Korean as a preparatory step:

- (1) a. Chelswu-ka pica-lul mek-ass-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom pizza-Acc eat-Past-Dec
 ‘Chelswu ate pizza.’
 b. Chelswu-ka mek-ass-ta pica-lul.
 Chelswu-Nom eat-Past-Dec pizza-Acc
 ‘Chelswu ate pizza.’

It is commonly said that (1a) has a canonical order in Korean. In addition to this order, (1b) is also possible.¹⁾ In (1b) the object appears to have moved to the right edge of the sentence by rightward movement, say, right dislocation (henceforth, RD). If so, this construction may be called right dislocated construction (henceforth, RD construction). But there have been arguments against the RD approach in the recent literature (e.g., Lee 2007a,b, 2008a,b for Korean; see also Endo 1996, Fukutomi 2005 for

1) In fact, further to SOV (1a) and SVO (1b), other word orders are also possible, for instance, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in simple clauses, and thus, Korean is known to display free word order variation (see, e.g., Nam and Ko 1986: 23, 251; Jo 1986: 3; Huh 1988: 263; Lee 2007a,b; see also Lee and Im 1987: 19-20 for a limited view). In this paper, I mainly focus on examples like (1b), known as right dislocated construction.

Japanese).²⁾ The gist of those arguments (though somewhat different in specifics among researchers) is that the postverbal object is base-generated in its place, thus eventually leading to the SVO hypothesis for Korean (and Japanese as well). In the next section, I will consider some other unnoted data in support of this claim.

The following set of data includes a negative polarity item (NPI) like *amwukesto* 'anything.'³⁾ Consider first the contrast below.

- (2) a. Chelswu-ka amwukesto mek-ci anh-ass-ta.
 Chelswu-Nom anything eat-CI not.do-Past-Dec
 'Chelswu did not eat anything.'
 b. Chelswu-ka mek-ci anh-ass-ta amwukesto.
 Chelswu-Nom eat-CI not.do-Past-Dec anything
 'Chelswu did not eat anything.'

It is noticed that the NPI *amwukesto* can appear either in the preverbal position, as seen in (2a), or in the postverbal position, as seen in (2b); that is, the NPI is in the licensing domain of the negation *anh* 'not' in both cases. Under the common view of Korean word order as SOV, the order in (2b) may be derived from (2a) by rightward movement of the NPI.

However, the validity of this RD approach proves doubtful, as evidenced by the following kind of examples (see Lee 2007a,b, 2008a,b; see also Fukutomi 2005 for similar examples in Japanese).

- (3) a. Chelswu-ka sokayha-ess-ta [motun haksayng]_i-ekey
 Chelswu-Nom introduce-Past-Dec every student-Dat
 [ku_i-uy ccak]-lul.

2) I do not intend to duplicate all of them here for space reasons as well as in compliance with the recent research ethics recommended by the academic circles.

3) It is well-known that NPI requires a presence of a negative element in a certain local domain for its licensing (see, e.g., Choe 1988, Kang 1988, Shi 1997, Sohn 2007, among others). Items like *amwuto* 'anyone' and *amwukesto* 'anything' may be viewed as something like negative concord items or universal quantifiers rather than NPIs. This paper does not crucially hinge on a particular choice among these terms. I simply stick to the term NPI, following a wide spread practice.

- he-Gen partner-Acc
 'Chelswu introduced every_i students his_i partner.'
- b. *Chelswu-ka sokayha-ess-ta [ku-uy ccak]-ekey
 Chelswu-Nom introduce-Past-Dec he-Gen partner-Dat
 [motun haksayng]_i-lul.
 every student-Acc

In order to yield the given word order under the SOV hypothesis, the Dative objects will first undergo rightward movement via adjunction to VP, and then the Accusative objects will undergo the same VP-adjunction above the previously adjoined Dative objects. Now in (3a) the binder is structurally lower than the bindee, and thus, the latter cannot be bound by the former. Contrary to this prediction, (3a) is just good. Notice also that exactly the opposite situation is observed in (3b): although the binder can structurally bind its bindee, the sentence is in reality ungrammatical.⁴⁾ Another similar approach that can generate the word order in (3a), for instance, the afterthought analysis, suffers from the same problem under the SOV hypothesis. Notice also that (3a) cannot be derived by leftward head movement of the inflected verb to the sentence medial position under the SOV hypothesis, because there is no head on the left that can host this verb in the head-final structure.⁵⁾

4) In the previous version of this paper, I actually used the following examples to illustrate the point:

- (i) a. Miwoha-ess-e Yenghi-ka caki-lul
 hate-Past-Dec Yenghi-Nom self-Acc
 'Yenghi hated herself.'
- b. Miwoha-ess-e nwukuna_i ku-uy ccak-ul
 hate-Past-Dec everyone he-Gen partner
 'Everyone hated his partner.'

I found out that not all native speakers of Korean like examples like (ia,b) in which verbs particularly precede the subject (see, e.g., Lee and Im 1987: 19). But I certainly believe this order, though not a canonical one, can successfully participate in displaying free word order variation, as has also been observed in the literature (e.g., Nam and Ko 1986: 23, 251; Jo 1986: 3; Lee 2007a,b, among others).

5) Examples from (ia,b) in ft. 4 may illustrate the point in question more clearly: they

In some approaches (e.g., Endo 1996, Tanaka 2001 for Japanese), RD constructions consist of two separate clausal conjuncts, and thus, the apparent right-dislocated material in (2b), for instance, originates from the second conjunct. To be a little more specific, as seen in (4a), the NPI *amwukesto* moves out of the truncated part (indicated by the strikethroughed line) in the second conjunct for Case checking purpose (cf. Endo 1996) or, as seen in (4b), by scrambling (cf. Tanaka 2001).

- (4) a. [Chelswu-ka mek-ci anh-ass-ta pro] [amwukesto;
Chelswu-Nom eat-CI not.do-Past-Dec anything
~~[_{CP} Chelswu-ka mek-ci anh-ass-ta t_i]]].
Chelswu-Nom eat-CI not.do-Past-Dec~~
- b. [Chelswu-ka pro mek-ci anh-ass-ta] [amwukesto;
Chelswu-Nom eat-CI not.do-Past-Dec anything
~~[_{CP} Chelswu-ka t_i mek-ci anh-ass-ta]]].
Chelswu-Nom eat-CI not.do-Past-Dec~~

In (4), the preposed NPI in the second conjunct appears in a separate intonation phrase outside the first conjunct. In reality, however, it seems that the postverbal NPI in (2b) does not necessarily have to be in a separate intonation phrase; in other words, it seems to be licensed by the negated verb within one and the same single clause.⁶⁾

Now the problems with the SOV hypothesis naturally lead us to look for the alternative SVO order. Indeed, if the basic word order is SVO in Korean, the problems noted above disappear. (2a) can simply be derived from (2b) by overt object movement, or Object Shift. Also, (3a,b; (ia,b) in ft. 4) can be simply derived by raising the inflected verb up to a higher head via head movement.

cannot be derived by head movement of the (inflected) verb to the sentence initial position under the SOV hypothesis, either, because there is no head in the front that can host this verb in the head-final structure.

6) It is quite curious why two conjuncts are not be conjoined by any usual conjunction before the deletion operation applies. If any conjunction indeed appears in the base, it is also quite curious how the deletion can affect it.

3. New data

3.1. NPI constructions

Now I provide new data involving the NPI. Consider first the following contrast.

- (5) a. Chelswu-nun [amwuto Yenghi-lul cohaha-n-ta-ko]
 Chelswu-Top anyone Yenghi-Acc like-Pres-Dec-Comp
 mit-ci anha-ess-ta.
 believe did.not-Dec
 'Chelswu did not believe [that anyone likes Yenghi].'
- b. ?*Chelswu-nun [Yenghi-ka amwuto cohaha-n-ta-ko]
 Chelswu-Top Yenghi-Nom anyone like-Pres-Dec-Comp
 mit-ci anha-ess-ta.
 believe did.not-Dec
 'Chelswu did not believe [that Yenghi likes anyone].'

The subject NPI within the preverbal clausal object can be licensed, with its licensing negation in the matrix clause, as seen in (5a) (see, e.g., Kang 1988: 60 for this judgment). But the object NPI within the same preverbal clausal object cannot, as seen in (5b) (cf. (2a)). Next, observe the following.

- (6) a. *Chelswu-nun mit-ci anha-ess-ta [amwuto Yenghi-lul
 Chelswu-Top believe did.not-Dec anyone Yenghi-Acc
 cohaha-n-ta-ko].
 like-Pres-Dec-Comp
 'Chelswu did not believe [that anyone likes Yenghi].'
- b. *Chelswu-nun mit-ci anha-ess-ta [Yenghi-ka amwuto
 Chelswu-Top believe did.not-Dec Yenghi-Nom anyone
 cohaha-n-ta-ko].
 like-Pres-Dec-Comp
 'Chelswu did not believe [that Yenghi likes anyone].'

When the NPI, subject (6a) or object (6b), is within the postverbal clausal object, it cannot be licensed, with its licensing negation in the matrix clause.

Interestingly, (6a) and (6b) contrast with (2b) although the NPI is in the postverbal position in both cases. For this contrast one might resort to a condition like the following (e.g., Choe 1988, Shi 1997).

(7) Clausemate condition on NPI licensing:

An NPI and its licensing negation must appear in the same clause.

This condition is violated in (6a,b), the NPI being in a separate clause from the negation, while it is satisfied in (2b). What about the contrast between (5a) and (5b), then?⁷⁾ The NPI in both of them appears within the preverbal clausal object position separately from the licensing negation, hence in violation of the condition in (7). So the question arises why (5a) is unexpectedly good, contrary to (5b).

Before answering this question, let us observe the contrast between (5a) and (6a). Under the SOV hypothesis (6a) will be derived from (5a) by rightward movement; or it will be derived by generating the postverbal element as an afterthought. In the previous section, however, either

7) Thus, under the condition (7), (5a) will be judged to be bad. But here my judgment agrees with Kang's. I often find in the literature that judgments for the same type of sentences including NPIs are varied among researchers. I should like to point out, though, that one cannot truly falsify other's arguments if (s)he uses different grammatical judgments.

One might claim that the NPI *amwuto* in (5a) has raised to the matrix clause through Raising to Object to be ECMed (ECM: Exceptional Case marking) (see H. Lee 2007 for related discussion), thereby satisfying the condition (7). However, ECM in this context is not actually possible:

(i) *Chelswu-nun Tolswu-lul Yenghi-lul cohaha-n-ta-ko mit-ci anha-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-Top Tolswu-Acc Yenghi-Acc like-Pres-Dec-Comp believe did.not-Dec
 'Chelswu did not believe Tolswu to like Yenghi.' (intended)

In light of this fact, the NPI *amwuto* in (5a) remains in the embedded subject position. In fact, it has been observed in the literature that not all verbs in the embedded clauses allow ECM; that is, only stative verbs, or individual level predicates, or non-Case verbs allow ECM.

analysis proved wrong. Even if both were possible, it would be entirely mysterious why the NPI in (6a) ceases to be licensed in the postverbal position in light of the fact that (2b), which is assumed to be derived from (2a) equally by the same operations, is perfectly good.

Under the SVO hypothesis, however, there is a room for an answer to this problem. That is, (5a) will be derived from (6a), and (5b) from (6b). As an initial attempt, the ungrammaticality of the examples (5b, 6a,b) could be attributed to a violation of the condition (7). What remains to be accounted for would then be the grammaticality of (5a). The current position adopting the SVO hypothesis can provide a reasonable answer; that is, through the movement of the clausal object to the preverbal position, the NPI comes closer to its licensing matrix negated verb in (5a), thereby creating a licensing environment for this NPI. This is illustrated in the following derivations. (Traces are indicated by the strikethroughed lines under the copy theory of movement in Chomsky 1993 and subsequent works.)

- (8) a. [_{CP} -ko [_{IP} amwuto [_{VP} cohaha-n-ta Yenghi-lul]]]
 b. [_{CP} cohaha-n-ta-ko [_{IP} amwuto [_{VP} ~~cohaha-n-ta~~ Yenghi-lul]]]
 c. [_{CP} [_{IP} amwuto [_{VP} ~~cohaha-n-ta~~ Yenghi-lul]] cohaha-n-ta-ko
 [_{IP}]]
 d. mit-ci anha-ess-ta [_{CP} [_{IP} amwuto [_{VP} ~~cohaha-n-ta~~
 Yenghi-lul]] cohaha-n-ta-ko [_{IP}]]
 e. [_{VP} [_{CP} [_{IP} amwuto [_{VP} ~~cohaha-n-ta~~ Yenghi-lul]]
 cohaha-n-ta-ko [_{IP}]] mit-ci anha-ess-ta [_{CP}]]
 f. Chelswu-nun [_{VP} [_{CP} [_{IP} amwuto [_{VP} ~~cohaha-n-ta~~
 Yenghi-lul]] cohaha-n-ta-ko [_{IP}]] mit-ci anha-ess-ta [_{CP}]]
 (=> (5a))

In (8a) the inflected predicate *cohaha-n-ta* 'likes' raises to the C(omp) -*ko*, producing (8b); otherwise this -*ko* will be stranded.⁸⁾ In (8c) the

8) For the purpose of discussion, I assume with Cho and Sells 1995 that in Korean an inflected verb is introduced from the lexicon as it is under the lexicalist hypothesis, adopted in Chomsky 1993 as well.) A similar view is maintained in Choi (1991), in which

whole IP raises to Spec CP, which I think is due to the subcategorization requirement of the Comp *-ko*; that is, the *-ko* requires a clausal material to its left, being a suffix. If IP directly attaches to it, however, morphology won't be pleased. This is because the maximal category IP cannot be directly attached to the head C. The next possible way to pursue will thus be the current movement of IP to Spec CP.⁹⁾ This movement can be well

verbal complexes can be obtained through syntactic X⁰-adjunction. I assume, however, that the Comp *-ko* is not inherently a part of the verbal inflection although it is morphologically suffixed to the inflected verb. In simple and matrix clauses, verbal complexes can only appear without this morpheme. The corresponding Comp *that* in English is never understood to be a part of the verbal complex, for instance, *likes*. The following example also shows that the Comp *-ko* can be actually separated from the inflected verbal complex in Korean:

- (i) Chelswu-nun [[Kim-i SOV kaseul-ul senhoha-ess-0]-umye [Lee-ka
Chelswu-Top Kim-Nom SOV hypothesis-Acc prefer-Past-Dec-And Lee-Nom
SVO kaseul-ul senhoha-ess-ta]-ko] malha-ess-ta.
SVO hypothesis-Acc prefer-Past-Dec-Comp say-Past-Dec
'Chelswu said that Kim preferred the SOV hypothesis and Lee preferred the SVO
hypothesis.'

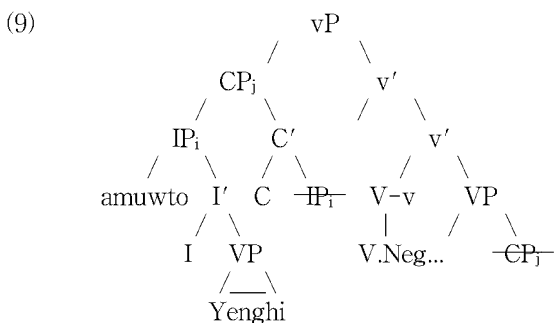
Here the morpheme *-ta* is treated as a separate element from the Comp category in that it indicates mood and thus it can head a MoodP (see ft. 9 below for relevant discussion).

Also, I'd like to mention that the lexicalist hypothesis is not the only one that makes the current discussion going on. The non-lexicalist hypothesis, in which verbal inflections are put under their relevant functional category, can equally derive the sentence (5a), although it requires more, stricter derivations in deriving simple and matrix clauses (see Lee 2008b for this matter in detail).

9) Here one theoretical issue arises in light of the fact that the proposed IP-movement to Spec CP is apparently inconsistent with the so-called anti-locality condition suggested by Abels-Grohmann: the complement of a head cannot be merged again in the Spec of this head. Despite this, Kim (2006) suggests an analysis of IP movement to Spec CP to explain the distribution of null C in Korean (as well as in English); Yang (2006) also offers a similar analysis of clausal movement to Spec CP for Chinese. In addition, it seems that some cross-linguistic empirical facts from languages like Hungarian and French more or less exhibit this kind of movement. Thus, when the complement of a preposition is preposed in Hungarian to the left of this P, some sort of agreement takes place between them, unlike in the original P-Complement structure, thus suggesting that the movement is to the Spec position of P. French participle agreement fact appears to serve as another case in point. All this anti-locality problem may be technically avoided if another functional projection is put above the category in question, for example, AgrPP (or just some FP) for Hungarian, AgrOP (or vP) for French, and MoodP for Korean (between

tied to the postulation of the EPP (Extended Projection Principle) feature in C which requires a phonologically overt material in its Spec (Chomsky 2000), here IP. The resultant CP in (8c) is merged with the matrix negative predicate, as seen in (8d). It further moves to the outer vP Spec of the matrix clause as in (8e), which is triggered by the EPP feature of v (Chomsky 2000).

At this point, the CP and the negative predicate meet in the Spec-head configuration, as roughly shown in (9) below.



Here it is observed that the NPI *amuwto* lies in the Spec domain of the negated verb in that it is in the Spec of IP, which is in the Spec of CP, which is in turn in the Spec of vP headed by the negative verb. Taking this into consideration, let us say that this NPI is in the Spec domains of the negated verb. For the present purpose, then, I assume that in a configuration like (9), the negated verb can have an access to the NPI through Spec domains for the licensing of it. With this background, now I might propose the following condition.¹⁰⁾

CP and TP), which can provide an independent Spec position for the moving material in question. See Lee (2008b) for more details for the Korean case under concern.

10) Indeed, the licensing or agreement that can be accounted for in terms of a configuration like (9) is quite pervasive across languages. For instance, Noonan (1999) reanalyzed Irish successive cyclic phenomena in wh-movement constructions, in which *aL* appears instead of *go/gur* known to be a declarative Comp, as shown in (i) below, in terms of clausal object CP-movement to the matrix Spec vP just like in (9).

(i) Ceard a chreideann Sean a dheanfa

(10) NPI licensing condition:

An NPI is licensed by the negated verb within its Spec domains.

On the other hand, in (5b), the NPI appears as the object within the preverbal clausal object, and thus, it is not in the Spec domains of the negated verb (cf. (9)). The condition (10) not being satisfied, NPI licensing is not allowed here. In (5b), interestingly enough, when the NPI is assigned a strong stress and is followed by a pause marked by #, which is represented in (11) below, the sentence is strikingly improved.

(11) (?)Chelswu-nun [Yenghi-ka AMWUTO # cohaha-n-ta-ko]
 Chelswu-Top Yenghi-Nom anyone like-Pres-Dec-Comp

what aL believes Sean aL would-say-2s
 'What does Sean believe you would say?'

Details aside, Noonan argues that the particle *aL* is a preverbal agreement morpheme that reflects clausal Object Shift of the CP containing a *wh*-phrase, but not a complementizer reflecting successive cyclic *wh*-movement through Spec CP. Boeckx (2003) discussed a special agreement between the verb and its clausal object in Selayarese, a VOS language:

(ii) Ku-isse?-*(i) *(kuko) la-?alle-i doe?-injo i Baso?
 1s-know-3 Comp 3-take-3 money-the h Baso
 'I know that Baso took the money.'

As seen in the embedded and matrix clauses, the verb in this language displays both subject and object agreement. His analysis is that the clausal CP object moves to Spec vP to agree with the matrix verb just like in (9). This agreement requires a presence of a particular Comp, namely, *kuko*. By contrast, in the case of *wh*-movement, the Comp (as well as object agreement) must be absent. See Bošković (in press) for extensive discussion of the topic under consideration.

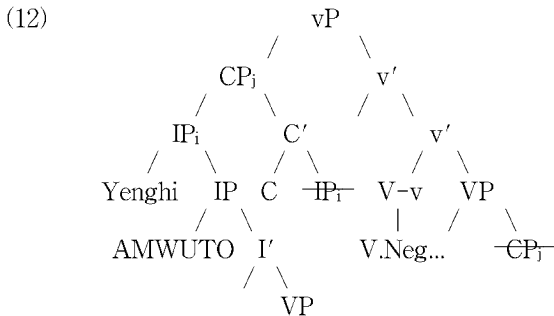
Anaphor binding in the following English examples also shows that the antecedent can have an access down into the anaphor buried inside the Spec position of CP or IP (see section 3.3 for more discussion):

(iii) a. John_i wondered [_{CP} [which pictures of himself_i]_j [_{IP} Bill took t_j]].
 b. John_i believes [_{CP} that [_{IP} [pictures of himself_i]_j [_{IP} Bill will never sell t_j]].

In view of the above discussions, it may be said that the condition in (10) is not as strange as it initially appears to be. See Lee (2008c) for more related discussion for the above facts.

mit-ci anha-ess-ta.
 believe did.not-Dec
 'Chelswu did not believe [that Yenghi likes anyone].'

If the heavy stress on the NPI in question and the pause after it can possibly motivate some kind of overt focus movement of this item, the resulting structure will be like (12) below.



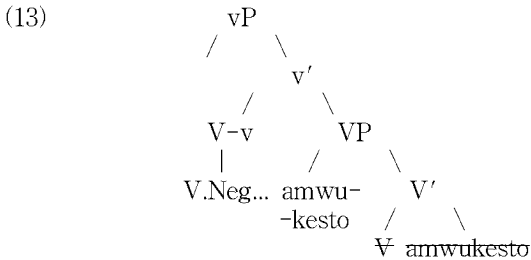
Then the negative verb could have an access down into the NPI *AMWUTO* through Spec positions for licensing if the adjoined IP can be regarded as a kind of Spec in a sense, as seen in (12). This fact, however, cannot be accounted for under the clausemate condition in (7).

In short, the fact observed in (5, 6) finds its plausible explanation under the SVO hypothesis along with the licensing condition (10), but not under the SOV hypothesis. Adopting the condition (10), instead of (7), also offers an immediate account for examples like (11): the NPI, being in the Spec domains, satisfies the licensing condition (10).

However, in (2b), repeated below, the NPI satisfies the condition in (10) although apparently it is not in the Spec domain of the negated complex verb, being the direct object.

- (2) b. Chelswu-ka mek-ci anh-ass-ta amwukesto.
 Chelswu-Nom eat-CI not.do-Past-Dec anything
 'Chelswu did not eat anything.'

This difficulty can be evaded only if the NPI in question is in a Spec position. I suggest that the postverbal NPI moves to the Spec of VP, as illustrated in (13) below, presumably for Case checking reasons.



This movement then creates an environment that could meet the condition (10). The Spec of VP can also be said to be a (lower) Spec domain of the negated verbal complex V-v. On the other hand, in (6a,b) the postverbal clausal object remains in its place since the clausal object does not have to have Case. Now that the NPI in (6a,b) is not in the Spec domain of the negated verb, it does not satisfy the condition (10), thus remaining unlicensed.

3.2. Wh-constructions

Let us first consider the following contrast between (14a) and (14b) cited from Lee (2008a,b) (see also Fukutomi 2005 for the same contrast in similar Japanese examples):

- (14) a. Chelswu-nun mwuess-ul cohaha-ni?
 Chelswu-Top what-Acc like-Q
 'What does Chelswu like?'
- b. *Chelswu-nun cohaha-ni mwuess-ul?
 Chelswu-Top like-Q what-Acc
 'What does Chelswu like?'

- c. Chelswu-nun cohaha-ni mwuess-ul?
 Chelswu-Top like-Q something-Acc
 'Does Chelswu like something?' (in a positive setting)

It is noted that a *wh*-phrase cannot appear in the postverbal position with a rise and fall intonation, as shown in (14b), in contrast with (14a).¹¹⁾ The *wh*-phrase in the postverbal position can only be interpreted as a non-*wh* indefinite, as seen in (14c). This contrast thus tells us that rightward movement approach under the SOV hypothesis is on the wrong track. It is entirely mysterious why the rightward-moved *wh*-phrase loses its *wh*-interpretation.¹²⁾ This kind of thing does not happen when the *wh*-phrase undergoes scrambling to the sentence initial position, as seen in (15):¹³⁾

- (15) Mwuess-ul Chelswu-nun cohaha-ni?
 what-Acc Chelswu-Top like-Q
 'What does Chelswu like?'

On the other hand, under the SVO hypothesis the contrast receives a reasonable account; that is, since as Lee and Im (1987: 20) observe, the focused *wh*-object cannot stay in the base postverbal position, as seen in (14b), it must move to the preverbal position, as seen in (14a), more specifically, to the outer Spec *v*P. So I am led to say that the moved *wh*-phrase is assigned focus interpretation in the outer Spec of *v*. I

11) Lee and Im (1987: 20) offer the following example to illustrate the same point:

- (i) *ne-nun paykhwcem-eye sa-ess-nunya ↗ mwuess-ul ↘
 you-Top department store-at buy-Past-Q what-Acc
 'What did you buy at the department store?'

They said that a focused *wh*-phrase like *mwuess* 'what' cannot come after the verb.

12) Notice also that the same holds true of the base-generation of the right-dislocated material in a separate conjunct under the bi-clausal analysis, entertained by Endo (1996) and Tanaka (2001) (see (4a,b) in section 2).

13) Thus this fact additionally shows that RD constructions cannot be derived by scrambling as proposed in Tanaka (2001). See also Fukutomi (2005) for this point.

suggest that the driving force for this movement is an EPP feature of *v* (Chomsky 2000, 2001).¹⁴ I also suggest that an uninterpretable *wh*-feature of *mwuess-ul* 'what-Acc' in (14a) is checked in this outer Spec of *v* via some kind of agreement relation with an interrogative complementizer (feature) in *C* (Chomsky 2000, 2001), which determines the scope of the *wh*-phrase.

With this in mind, now consider another set of data involving a *wh*-phrase (see also Fukutomi 2005 for the same contrast in similar Japanese sentences):

- (16) a. *ne-nun* [*Yenghi-ka mwuess-ul cohaha-n-ta-ko*]
 you-Top Yenghi-Nom what-Acc like-Pres-Dec-Comp
sayngkakha-ni?
 think-Q
 'What do you think [that Yenghi likes].'
- b. **ne-nun sayngkakha-ni* [*Yenghi-ka mwuess-ul*]
 you-Top think-Q Yenghi-Nom what-Acc
cohaha-n-ta-ko?
 like-Pres-Dec-Comp
 'What do you think [that Yenghi likes].'

Unlike in (16a), the *wh*-phrase contained in the postverbal complement cannot have a wide scope reading, as seen in (16b). Under the SOV hypothesis, (16b) will be derived from (16a) by rightward movement, or it will be generated by afterthought, or in whatever manner. Setting aside the suspicious status of these operations as revealed in section 2, it remains mysterious why they produce a bad result in (16b), as was also observed in (14b).

Under the SVO hypothesis, however, there is at least a way toward a solution to this problem. Recalling that as shown in (14a,b), a focused *wh*-object cannot stay in the base postverbal position and it has to move to the outer Spec *vP*, I have to suggest that *v* should also attract the

¹⁴ Thus, in (14c) the verb moves to *v* to check the EPP feature, thereby carrying a certain focal force with it.

whole postverbal clausal object containing the *wh*-phrase to its Spec as in (16a). Although it is not clear what makes the postverbal clausal object behave like one big focused *wh*-phrase, this is somewhat reminiscent of the pied-piping mechanism proposed to account for the obviation of the complex NP island effects in Choe (1987) (and Nishigauchi 1990 for Japanese):

- (17) Q: ne-n [nwuka ssu-n] pyenci-lul] po-ass-ni?
 you-Top who wrote letter-Acc see-Past-Q
 'You saw the letter who wrote?' (lit.)
 A: Chelswu-ka ssun-kes.
 Chelswu-ka wrote-thing

The answer pattern given in (17) suggested that the whole complex NP, not the *wh*-phrase alone, moves at LF, thereby making the Subjacency effects invisible. In this connection, the *wh*-feature of *mvuess* 'what' could percolate up (Nishigauchi 1990) or be copied (in more recent terms) to make the whole postverbal clause one big *wh*-phrase. According to the original pied-piping analysis, however, *Chelswu-ka* should not be a possible answer to the question in (17) to evade a Subjacency violation, but unfortunately it also constitutes a possible answer. Further, *wh*-feature percolation or copying can undesirably make anything a *wh*-category.

Alternatively, as suggested above, *wh*-phrases in Korean (and Japanese) can be licensed by an interrogative complementizer in terms of Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001) rather than by pied-piping (see also Sohn 2007: 283 for a bit of related discussion). A factual question is then how the whole clause is forced to undergo movement to the preverbal position as in (16a). Along with the discussions made surrounding (5, 6) and in ft. 10, I might suggest that a kind of agreement relation between the matrix interrogative verb and the *wh*-phrase contained in the complement clause in (16) can best be established by the clausal Object Shift to Spec *vP* (see (9)). Then, the clausal object being driven to the outer Spec *vP* by the EPP feature of *v* in (16a), the *wh*-phrase contained within it will be

assigned a focus interpretation. As in (14a), the uninterpretable wh-feature of *mwuess-ul* 'what-Acc' in (16a) will be checked in this outer Spec of v via some kind of agreement relation with an interrogative complementizer (feature) in C, which thereby determines the scope of the wh-phrase.

3.3. Anaphor constructions

The object movement to the preverbal position (i.e., Spec vP) also produces an interesting consequence in long distance anaphor binding in Korean:

- (18) a. *Yenghi_i-nun caki_i-lul cohaha-n-ta.*
 Yenghi-Top herself-Acc love-Pres-Dec
 'Yenghi_i loves herself.'
 b. *Chelswu_i-nun [caki_i-ka Yenghi-lul cohaha-n-ta-ko]*
 Chelswu-Top himself-Nom Yenghi-Acc loves-Pres-Dec-Comp
 malha-ess-ta.
 say-Past-Dec
 '*Chelswu_i said that himself_i loves Yenghi.'
 c. *Chelswu_i-nun [Yenghi-ka caki_i-lul cohaha-n-ta-ko]*
 Chelswu-Top Yenghi-Nom himself-Acc loves-Pres-Dec-Comp
 malha-ess-ta.
 say-Past-Dec
 '*Chelswu_i said that Yenghi loves himself.'

If the embedded clause in (18b) has moved from the postverbal complement position to Spec vP under the SVO hypothesis, the anaphor *caki* 'self' comes closer to its antecedent *Chelswu* for binding, an option unavailable in English, as seen in (19) (see also Uriagereka 1998: 210–213 for related discussion with Japanese data).¹⁵⁾

15) This difference is reduced to the presence vs. absence of the EPP feature of v.

- (19) a. *Chelswu_i [that himself_i loves Yenghi] said.
 b. *Chelswu_i [that Yenghi loves himself_i] said.

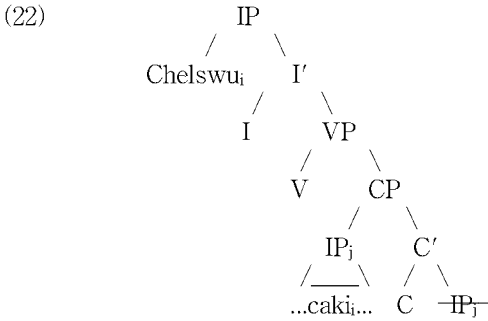
The derivation of the SOV order from the underlying SVO in the embedded clause was illustrated in (8) in section 3.1. As can be seen in the structure (9), in the embedded clause the IP containing the subject and the object ends up in the Spec of CP, into which the antecedent can penetrate to bind the anaphor, as seen in the following contrast from English as well:

- (20) a. *John_i wondered [_{CP} if [_{IP} Bill took [pictures of himself_i]]].
 b. John_i wondered [_{CP} [which pictures of himself_i]_j] [_{IP} Bill took _{t_j}]]. (= ft. 10 (iiia))

Now consider the following examples.

- (21) a. Chelswu_i-nun malha-ess-ta [caki_i-ka Yenghi-lul
 Chelswu-Top say-Past-Dec himself-Nom Yenghi-Acc
 cohaha-n-ta-ko].
 loves-Pres-Dec-Comp
 '*Chelswu_i said that himself_i loves Yenghi.'
 b. Chelswu_i-nun malha-ess-ta [Yenghi-ka caki_i-lul
 Chelswu-Top say-Past-Dec Yenghi-Nom himself-Acc
 cohaha-n-ta-ko].
 loves-Pres-Dec-Comp
 '*Chelswu_i said that Yenghi loves himself_i.'

Unlike the cases of NPIs and *wh*-phrases, here the anaphor *caki* can appear within the postverbal clausal object. The current analysis can extend to account for this apparent counterexamples. Recall that through the IP movement to Spec CP in the embedded clause, the anaphor *caki* ends up being located within Spec CP of the complement clause (cf. (8d)). Thus, the matrix antecedent can have an access to *caki* in Spec CP for binding, just like in (20b). This is roughly shown in (22) below.



This mode of binding is similarly found in another binding fact from English given in (23).

- (23) John_i believes [_{CP} that [_{IP} [pictures of himself_i]; [_{IP} Bill will never sell t_j]]]. (= ft. 10 (iiib))

In short, the current approach enables us to reduce the so-called long distance anaphor binding in Korean, viewed so under the SOV hypothesis, to a local phenomenon, thereby capturing locality (i.e., the nature of syntactic operations), quite similarly to English anaphor binding.

4. Conclusion

This paper analyzed a new paradigm of word order contrasts arising from right dislocated constructions involving NPIs, wh-phrases, and anaphors in Korean. Based on the established arguments against the SOV hypothesis backed up by the failure of analyses involving rightward movement and afterthought and the arguments against the bi-clausal analysis, this paper succeeded in showing that some grammatical aspects of the paradigm can be accounted for only if SVO is assumed to be a basic underlying word order in Korean. As a consequence, the obtained result helps maintain more restrictive theory of phrase structure what Kayne (1994) and others have sought: syntactic phrase structure can be

linearized in PF in terms of asymmetric c-command relation under the universal SVO order to the exclusion of rightward movement. During the discussion, I proposed some challenging analyses involving some range of theoretical readjustment in accounting for the distributions of the above three major items in Korean. These new analyses remain to be further justified and refined upon more untested data.

References

- Boeckx, Cedric. (2003). *Islands and chains: Resumption as stranding*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bošković, Željko. (in press). On the locality and motivation of Move and Agree: An even more minimal theory. *Linguistic Inquiry*.
- Cho, Young-Mee Yu and Peter Sells. (1995). A lexical account of inflectional suffixes in Korean. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*, 4, 119-174.
- Choe, Hyon-Sook. (1988). *Restructuring parameters and complex predicates: A transformational approach*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. MIT. Cambridge, MA.
- Choe, Jae-Woong. (1987). LF movement and pied-piping. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18, 348-353.
- Choi, Ki-Yong. (1991). *A theory of syntactic X^o-subcategorization*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Washington, Seattle.
- Chomsky, Noam. (1993). A minimalist program for linguistic theory, In Noam Chomsky, *The minimalist program* (1995, pp. 167-217). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. (2000). Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka (eds.), *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax* (pp. 89-155). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. (2001). Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language* (pp. 1-52). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Endo, Yoshio. (1996). On right dislocation. In *Formal Approaches to Japanese Linguistics 2, MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 29*, 1-20. Cambridge, MIT.

- Fukutomi, Yasuyuki. (2005). Japanese right dislocation: A minimalist account. In K. Choi and C. Yim (eds.), *Proceedings of the 7th Seoul International Conference on Generative Grammar, Ellipsis in Minimalism*, 155-164. Seoul: Hankuk Publishing.
- Huh, Woong. (1988). *Kukehak* [Korean linguistics]. Seoul: Saymmwunhwasa.
- Jo, Mi-Jeung. (1986). *Fixed word order and the theory of the pre-verbal focus position in Korean*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Washington. Seattle, WA.
- Kang, Myung-Yoon. (1988). *Topics in Korean syntax: Phrase structure, variable binding and movement*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. MIT. Cambridge, MA.
- Kayne, Richard. (1994). *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kim, Sun-Woong. (2006). A C-stranding analysis of null complementizers. *Studies in Modern Grammar* 45, 77-101.
- Lee, Hyeran. (2007). A raising-to-object analysis of Korean ECM constructions. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 17, 363-398.
- Lee, Ik-Sup and Hong-Bin Im. (1987). *Kukemwunpeplon* ('Korean Grammar'). Seoul: Hakyensa.
- Lee, Jeong-Shik. (2007a). Deriving SOV from SVO in Korean. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal* 14, 109-129.
- Lee, Jeong-Shik. (2007b). LCA, linearization, and phasehood. In *Proceedings of the 2007 Fall Joint Conference by The Linguistic Association of Korea, The Society of Modern Grammar, and The English Linguistics Society of Korea*, 102-119.
- Lee, Jeong-Shik. (2008a). Non-vacuous object movement in Korean. *Korean Journal of Linguistics* (to appear).
- Lee, Jeong-Shik. (2008b). Avoiding Spell-Out at the phase. Ms. Wonkwang University. Iksan.
- Lee, Jeong-Shik. (2008c). Evacuation out of phase. Ms. Wonkwang University. Iksan.
- Nam, Ki-Shim and Young-Keun Ko. (1986). *Pyocun kuke munpeplon* ('Standard Korean Grammar'). Seoul: Top Press.

- Nishigauchi, Taisuke. (1990). *Quantification in the theory of grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Noonan, Maire. (1999). Successive cyclic phenomena in wh-movement constructions. In S. Bird, A. Carnie, J. Haugen, P. (eds.), In *Proceedings of WCCFL 18*, 406-419.
- Shi, Chung-Kon. (1997). The licensing condition of negative polarity items in Korean. *Korean Journal of Linguistics 22*, 471-497.
- Sohn, Keun-Won. (2007). What can slang NPs tell us about the nature and typology of NPs. *Studies in Generative Grammar 17*, 271-291.
- Tanaka, Hidekazu. (2001). Right-dislocation as scrambling. *Journal of Linguistics 37*, 551-579.
- Uriagereka, Juan. (1998). *Rhyme and reason: An introduction to minimalist syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Yang, Xiadong. (2006). CP movement: A possible explanation of Chinese modal word *-ne* in wh-question. In *Proceedings of the 2006 Fall Joint Conference, Linguistic Association of Korea and Korea Linguistic Society*. 9-15.

Jeong-Shik Lee
Division of English and Chinese
Wonkwang University
344-2 Shinyong-dong, Iksan
Jeonbuk 570-749, South Korea
Phone: 82-63-850-6873
Email: jslee@wonkwang.ac.kr

Received: 4 March, 2008

Revised: 24 May, 2008

Accepted: 30 May, 2008