

Word Order Variations in Korean Copular Constructions*

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Jo, Jung-Min. 2007. Word Order Variations in Korean Copular Constructions. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 15(3), 209-238. This paper examines three types of copular constructions such as the Predicative Copular Construction (PCC), Equative Copular Construction (ECC), and Toys-R-Us Construction (TRUC), which all employ the copula containing two nominal expressions. In particular, word order variations in those constructions are closely examined with respect to the information status, i.e. Topic and Focus, of nominal expressions. It is claimed that the word order of the pre-copular nominals is relatively free, but the predicate nominal construed as Focus must stay in situ in its base position, which is attributed to the general restriction on the movement of the predicate phrase. The predicate nominal fronting is allowed only when it is construed as having Topic or Topic-like interpretation, confirming the cross-linguistic observation made in Partee (1998). The TRUC is claimed to be just like the ECC syntactically and the implicature arises from the consideration of the Gricean cooperative principle or conversational maxims.

Key Words: scrambling, Topic, Focus, copula, conversational implicature, movement

1. Introduction

This paper closely examines copular constructions in Korean that employ the copula to form sentences. It is assumed that the copula is taken to be a syntactic formative, independently projecting the VP as the head in the syntactic structure, despite its bound nature in terms of morphology (see also J. Yoon 2001). Given this assumption, it is expected that pre-copular nominal expressions may have word order

* I appreciate three anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions.

variation, just like the Subject and Object arguments do with transitive verbs. While the examination of three types of copular constructions in this paper confirms this expectation, some restrictions are observed in word order variation with regard to the information status of the pre-copular nominal expressions. This paper shows how Focus and Topic information have an effect on word order variation in copular constructions.

The first type of copular construction that we will examine is the Predicative Copular Construction (PCC) as shown in (1a). The relation between the two nominal expressions is asymmetric, such that the initial nominal expression functions as an argument of the second nominal expression, which in turn functions as a predicate. The Subject argument typically refers to the individual entity, while the predicate nominal denotes the property of the individual denoted by the Subject. The second type of construction is the Equative (Identificational) Copular Construction (ECC) as shown in (1b). Both nominal expressions in the ECC are referential expressions and hence denote individual entities. The construction expresses the identity relation between the entities denoted by the two nominal expressions. The third type of construction is what I called the 'Toys-R-Us' Construction (TRUC) as shown in (1c). Both nominal expressions denote individual entities. Despite the fact that they apparently denote two different individuals, the identity relation between the two is expressed by employing the copula. Due to the lack of a direct identity relation between the two, some other meaning, which arises from the relationship between the two, must be evoked to properly understand the message conveyed by the TRUC. For instance, in (1c), the Subject nominal refers to the company called 'Samsung' and the pre-copular nominal expression refers to one of the goods this company manufactures. By establishing the equation relation between the company and the product 'semi-conductor', the given sentence implies something like what the company is most famous for is its semi-conductor.¹⁾

¹⁾ The other constructions employing the copula are so-called 'Sluicing' and 'Cleft' constructions, which are involved with complex syntactic processes

- (1) a. Chelswu-ka pwuca-i-ta
 (PCC)
 C-Nom rich.person-Cop-Decl
 'Chelswu is rich.'
- b. Chelswu-ka [ne-ka ecey ttayli-n salam]-i-ta
 (ECC)
 C-Nom you-Nom yesterday hit-Adn person-Cop-Decl
 'Chelswu is the one that you hit yesterday.'
- c. Samsung-i (yeksi) pantochey-i-ta
 (TRUC)
 S-Nom surely semi-conductor-Cop-Decl
 'Samsung is (famous for) its semi-conductor.'

A close examination of these three constructions suggests that there are two major copular constructions, PCC and ECC, while the TRUC is just an instance of ECC. In particular, with regard to word order variations of pre-copular nominal expressions, the PCC behaves differently from the ECC and TRUC in terms of information status of nominal expressions.

This paper examines the above three types of copular constructions, PCC, ECC, and TRUC, and show that they can be collapsed into just two types, PCC and ECC. In particular, while discussing the relative free word order of pre-copular nominals, it is shown that the information status of the nominal expressions matters for restricting word order.

2. Types of Copular Constructions

I assume the widely accepted view that the copula is a syntactic head selecting a Small Clause, following Heggie 1988, Moro 1997, Heycock and Kroch 1998, J. Yoon 2001, etc. The copula is taken to be a syntactic head which projects the VP. Due to its morphological bound nature, the copula is morphologically merged with the preceding element,

fundamentally different from the copular constructions examined in this paper. See J-M Jo (2005) for the detailed analysis of those two constructions.

which is typically a nominal expression. Although there may be variations in the word order of pre-copular nominals, Nom/Acc Case markers are not allowed on the element merged with the copula as shown in (2a-d), while the negative copula requires the Nominative Case for the preceding nominal as shown in (2e-f).

- (2) a. Chelswu-ka pwuca-i-ta
 C-Nom rich.person-Cop-Decl
 b. *Chelswu-ka pwuca-ka-i-ta
 C-Nom rich.person-Nom-Cop-Decl
 c. pwuca-ka Chelswu-i-ta
 rich.person-Nom C-Cop-Decl
 d. *pwuca-ka Chelswu-ka-i-ta
 rich.person-Nom C-Nom-Cop-Decl
 e. Chelswu-ka pwuca-ka ani-ta
 C-Nom rich.person-Nom Neg.Cop-Decl
 f. pwuca-ka Chelswu-ka ani-ta
 rich.person-Nom C-Nom Neg.Cop-Decl

Due to this restriction on the Case marker in the affirmative copula, Cho & Sells (1995) takes the copula to occupy the same morphological slot as the Case markers along with so-called Z-Lim's, which is why they cannot co-occur. For the lack of morphological Case as in (2b & d), it is assumed that the copula assigns a null, or zero, Case to the preceding nominal following J. Yoon (2001).²⁾ In the following subsections, I discuss three types of copular construction and their word order variation with regard to Topic and Focus information.

2.1. Predicative Copular Construction (PCC)

²⁾ Given this assumption, the source of any occurrence of Case particles including Nom/Acc at the pre-copular nominal must be something else. In fact, while it is usually the case that they do not co-occur, there are instances where Case markers can occur in the pre-copular element. As detailed in J. Yoon 2001, other discourse particles (Z-Lim's) which are supposed to occupy the same morphological slot as the copula may occur in the pre-copular element. See J-M Jo (2005) for how these Case markers can be allowed before the copula, which is usually not permitted.

As mentioned in the introduction, the PCC represents an asymmetric relation between the two nominal expressions: one is an argument and the other a one-place predicate. Despite this asymmetry, the word order of these two nominal expressions is relatively free as shown in (3). Hence in (3a), the referential noun marked with Nominative Case precedes the predicate noun, while the word order in (3b) is reversed with the predicate noun marked with the Nominative Case preceding the referential noun. Sentences in (3c) and (3d) are the same as those in (3a) and (3b), respectively, except for the topic marker *-nun* that is attached to the initial nominal expressions, which in turn function as the topic of the sentence, while the pre-copular nominal expressions are construed as the Focus of the sentence. Let us call the sentences like (3a) and (3c) Canonical Predicative Copular Construction (CPCC), in which the referential noun precedes the predicate noun, and those in (3b) and (3d) Inverse Predicative Copular Construction (IPCC), in which the predicate noun precedes the referential noun. Despite this apparent free word order in the PCC, it is interesting to see whether the word order is still free irrespective of the information status of the two nominal expressions.

- (3) a. Chelswu-ka pwuca-i-a (i-a = (i)ya)
 C-Nom rich.person-Cop-Decl
 'Chelswu is rich.'
- b. pwuca-ka Chelswu-i-a
 rich.person-Nom C-Cop-Decl
- c. Chelswu-nun pwuca-i-a
 C-Top rich.person-Cop-Decl
 'As for Chelswu, he is rich.'
- d. pwuca-nun Chelswu-i-a
 rich.person-Top C-Cop-Decl
 'As for being rich, it is Chelswu (who is rich).'

In order to evoke different information status of nominal expressions, I construct conversation fragments between two speakers, which mostly consist of question-answer pairs to elicit Topic and Focus information. Let us start with the context in which the referential noun is construed

as Focus. As shown in (4), the *wh*-question raised by speaker A asks for Focus information corresponding to the referential expression. For the answer to this question, the word order of the PCC seems to be free as before. In (4Ba), the focus referential noun precedes the given/old predicate noun, giving rise to the CPCC. The reversed order is also permitted as in (4Bb) where the given/old predicate noun precedes the focus referential noun, giving rise to the IPCC. In the latter case, the predicate noun may be marked with Nominative Case or Topic particle. Another point worth noting here is that the Cleft construction is also acceptable though slightly marginal, when the referential noun is construed as Focus as in (4Bc).

- (4) A: *nwuka mokswu-i-ni?*
 who-Nom carpenter-Cop-Q
 'Who is a carpenter?'
 B: a. *John_F-i mokswu-i-a*
 J-Nom carpenter-Cop-Decl
 b. *mokswu-ka/-nun John_F-i-a*
 carpenter-Nom/-Top J-Cop-Decl
 c. *?mokswu-i-n ken John_F-i-a*
 carpenter-Cop-Adn KES-Top J-Cop-Decl

Now let us turn to the context where the predicate noun is construed as Focus. As shown in (5), the *wh*-question raised by speaker A asks for the Focus information corresponding to the predicate nominal. The answer (5Ba) given by speaker B is an instance of the CPCC in which the predicate noun is construed as Focus, with the referential noun marked with the Nominative Case or Topic particle as given/old or topic information. In the CPCC, either the referential noun or the pre-copular predicate noun can be construed as Focus, as shown in the comparison of (4Ba) and (5Ba). In the IPCC, however, the predicate noun cannot be construed as Focus. As shown by the answer (5Bb), the predicate noun construed as Focus precedes the referential noun that is given/old information, giving rise to the IPCC, but the sentence is ungrammatical. Also in comparison to the grammaticality of (4Bc)

which is the cleft of the referential noun, the Cleft construction is not permitted with the predicate noun as shown in (5Bc). The contrast between (4Bb) and (5Bb) suggests that the predicate nominal in the IPCC must be construed not as Focus, but as given/old or Topic information.³⁾

- (5) A: John-i cikep-i mwues-i-ni?
 J-Nom job-Nom what-Cop-Q
 'What is John's occupation?'
 B: a. John-i/-un mokswu_F-i-a
 J-Nom/-Top carpenter-Cop-Decl
 b. *mokswu_F-ka John-i-a
 carpenter-Nom J-Cop-Decl
 c. *John-i-n ken mokswu_F-i-a
 J-Cop-Adn KES-Top carpenter-Cop-Decl

The above contrast between CPCC and IPCC can be observed in (6) and (7) again. Both the CPCC and IPCC are allowed in (6), where speaker A asks for the Focus information for the referential noun. On

³⁾ One reviewer questioned the legitimacy about the wh-questions in (4) and (5), noting the fundamental difference between the two that question (4) asks for the identification while question (5) asks for the property. However, that difference is precisely the reason I used those two questions so that I could draw out the corresponding focus information, from which I can examine the word order variation with regard to the given information. The same reviewer also provided the following example, suggesting that Focus predicate nominal may occur initially as in (iBb-c). However, I doubt that the focus information given in the example corresponds to the property-denoting predicate nominal. It functions as a referential nominal denoting the unique entity and hence the given sentences are instances of ECC discussed in the next section. Admittedly, many nominal expressions are ambiguous in their functions as predicate or referential nominals. More examples which contain unambiguously predicate nominals are discussed below.

- (i) A: Venus-ka mwusun pyel-i-ni? 'What/Which star is Venus?'
 B: a. Venus-nun sayspyel-i-ya 'Venus is the morning star'
 b. sayspyel_F-i Venus-ya 'The morning star is Venus'
 c. achim-ey ttu-nun pyel-i Venus-ya
 'The star shining in the morning is Venus'

the other hand, the IPCC is not permitted in (7) which asks for the Focus information for the predicate noun.

- (6) A: *nwuka hoycang-i-ni?*
 who-Nom president-Cop-Decl ‘Who is president?’
 B: a. *Chelswu_F-ka hoycang-i-a*
 C-Nom president-Cop-Decl
 b. *hoycang-i/-un Chelswu_F-i-a*
 president-Nom/-Top C-Cop-Decl
- (7) A: *cikchayk-i Chelswu-ka mwues-i-ni?*
 title/status-Nom C-Nom what-Cop-Q
 ‘As for his status, what is Chelswu?’
 B: a. *Chelswu-ka/-nun hoycang_F-i-a*
 C-Nom/-Top president-Cop-Decl
 b. **hoycang_F-i Chelswu-i-a*
 president-Nom C-Cop-Decl

Due to the contrast in the word order with regard to the information status of the two nominal expressions in the PCC, it is expected that a similar restriction should be found in word order variation in *wh*-questions with regard to the PCC. Given the assumption that *wh*-phrases inherently carry Focus information, it is predicted that the *wh*-phrase of the referential nominal may occur in the form of either the CPCC or IPCC, while the *wh*-phrase of the predicate nominal should occur only in the CPCC. This prediction is borne out as shown by the contrast in (8). Both CPCC (8a) and IPCC (8a’) are impeccable with the *wh*-phrase of the referential noun. However, as shown by the contrast in (8b-b’), the predicate counterpart of the *wh*-phrase must occur right before the copula, which is the CPCC. The corresponding IPCC is ungrammatical.

- (8) a. *nwuka hoycang-i-ni?*
 who-Nom president-Cop-Q
 a’. *hoycang-i nwukwu-i-ni?*
 president-Nom who-Cop-Q
 b. *cikchayk-i Chelswu-ka mwues-i-ni?*
 title-Nom C-Nom what-Cop-Q

- b'. *cikchayk-i mwues-i Chelswu-i-ni?
 title-Nom what-Nom C-Cop-Q

The discussion so far leads to the following generalization: the PCC is classified into the CPCC and IPCC, and either one of the two nominal expressions in the CPCC can be construed as Focus whereas the predicate nominal in the IPCC is never construed as Focus but as the given/old or Topic information.

There is an apparent counterexample to the above generalization. Let us look at the context illustrated in (9). The utterance made by speaker A is a Yes/No-question. The affirmative answers given by speaker B confirm both word orders, which is not surprising since both nominal expressions are given/old information. What is interesting is the word order of the negative answers, which include a focus nominal expression as in (9Bc-d). Apparently both word orders seem to be acceptable, which contrasts to the generalization made above with regard to the PCC.

- (9) A: Chelswu-ka hoycang-i-ni?
 C-Nom president-Cop-Q
 'Is Chelswu the president?'
 B: a. ung, Chelswu-ka/-nun hoycang-i-a
 yes C-Nom/-Top president-Cop-Decl
 b. ung, hoycang-i/-un Chelswu-i-a
 yes president-Nom/-Top C-Cop-Decl
 c. ani, Chelswu-ka/-nun pwuhoycang_F-i-a
 no C-Nom/-Top vice.president-Cop-Decl
 d. ani, pwuhoycang_F-i Chelswu-i-a
 no vice.president-Nom C-Cop-Decl
 'No, Chelswu is the vice president.'

In the face of counter-examples like these, we have two possible positions to take. First, we could treat the focus in (9Bd) as a special kind, e.g. contrastive focus, admitting the existence of the grammatically relevant distinctions of two different foci (Kiss 1998), which is not the assumption taken in this paper (cf. J-M Jo et. al. 2006). Second, we

could argue that the putative counter-example is not really genuine, i.e. it is not an instance of the PCC, but some other type of copular construction. I take the second position. The nominal expressions *hoycang* ‘president’ and *pwuhoycang* ‘vice-president’ may refer to individual entities and hence function as referential nouns. If so, the given copular sentences may be analyzed as Equative Copular Construction (ECC), not as the PCC. The above copular construction conveys the identity/equative relation between individuals denoted by the two nominal expressions. In fact, sentences like (9) can occur freely in both word orders even in the context where both nominal expressions can correspond to Focus information as shown in (10). In this context where the embedded question itself by speaker A is an instance of ECC, the relevant copular constructions in the answer by speaker B clearly establish the equative relation between the two nominal expressions rather than describing a property of the individual denoted by the referential noun.

- (10) A: ku moim-eyse nwuka nwukwu-i-nci kwungkumha-ta
 the meeting-Loc who-Nom who-Cop-Q wonder-Decl
 ‘I wonder who is who in that meeting.’
- B: a. Chelswu-ka hoycang ∙ Tongswu-ka pwuhoycang-i-a
 C-Nom president T-Nom vice.president-Cop-Decl
 ‘Chelswu is the president, ∙ and Tongswu is the vice-president.’
- b. hoycang-i Chelswu ∙ pwuhoycang-i Tongswu-i-a
 president-Nom C vice.president-Nom T-Cop-Decl
 ‘The president is Chelswu, ∙ and the vice-president is Tongswu.’
- c. Chelswu - nun hoycang ∙ Tongswu-nun pwuhoyang-i-a
 C-Top president T-Top vice.president-Cop-Decl
- d. hoycang-un Chelswu ∙ pwuhoycang-un Tongswu-i-a
 president-Top C vice.president-Top T-Cop-Decl

Still, in order for this argument to be tenable, we should find the nominal expressions that unambiguously function as predicates and show that the generalization made with regard to the PCC is also maintained in the same context as in (9). There is no morpho-syntactic way of distinguishing between referential and predicate nominal

expressions in Korean. Hence the distinction is mainly based upon the meaning, i.e. referentiality, which is still not a clear-cut criterion. Some nominal expressions such as proper nouns are clearly referential expressions while other nominal expressions are not so clear and may be either referential or predicative depending on the linguistic context. Good instances of predicate nouns in copular constructions seem to be nominal expressions such as kinship, nationality, marital status, etc. which do not denote individual entities but rather describe the property or state of the individual denoted by the referential noun. For instance, when kinship nouns such as ‘brothers’ occur as pre-copular elements, they clearly function as predicates which require Subject arguments. Using these genuine predicate nouns, we can come up with contexts similar to (9) to see whether the early generalization with regard to the PCC can be maintained. The conversation fragment illustrated in (11) is precisely the context at issue. The negative answer given by speaker B contains Focus information which is contrastive just like the one in (9). As expected, the CPCC is impeccable with the Focus predicate noun occurring right before the copula as in (11Ba). However, the IPCC is ungrammatical when the same predicate carries Focus information as in (11Bb), while it is grammatical with the predicate noun construed as the given/old or Topic information as in (11Bc). This indeed reaffirms the generalization made for word order variation in the PCC while at the same time showing that the postulation of the special kind of Focus, Contrastive Focus, is not relevant to the account of the contrast shown in (11). The same point can be made for the nominal expression denoting nationality in (12).

(11) A: Chelswu-wa Tongswu-ka hyengcey-i-ni?

C-Conj T-Nom brothers-Cop-Q
 ‘Are Chelswu and Tongswu brothers?’

B: a. ani, Chelswu-wa Tongswu-ka/-nun sachon_F-i-a
 no C-Conj T-Nom/-Top cousins-Cop-Decl
 ‘No, Chelswu and Tongswu are cousins.’

b. *ani, sachon_F-i Chelswu-wa Tongswu-i-a
 no cousins-Nom C-Conj T-Cop-Decl

- c. ani, hyengcey-ka/-nun [Tom-kwa Jerry]_F-i-a
 no brothers-Nom/-Top T-Conj J-Cop-Decl
 'No, it is Tom and Jerry who are brothers.'
- (12) A: John-i yengkwukin-i-ni?
 J-Nom British-Cop-Q
 'Is John a British?'
 B: a. ani, John-i/-un mikwukin_F-i-a
 no J-Nom/-Top American-Cop-Decl
 'No, John is an American.'
 b. *ani, mikwukin_F-i John-i-a
 no American-Nom J-Cop-Decl

The best examples to test the generalization come from a pair of predicates in contrastive context, where one predicate is verbal/adjectival and the other one is nominal. In this context, what is in contrast is unambiguously the property, not the individual entity. For instance, in the conversation fragment given in (13), the question raised by speaker A contains an adjectival predicate, and whatever refuting statement given by speaker B should contain the predicate denoting the property. As is predicted, the CPCC in (13Ba) is impeccable, while the IPCC in (13Bb) is ungrammatical with the initial predicate noun construed as Focus information. The same point can be made with regard to (14).

- (13) A: Chelswu-ka kananha-ni?
 C-Nom poverty.do-Q 'Is Chelswu poor?'
 B: a. anya, Chelswu-ka/-nun pwuca_F-i-a
 no C-Nom/-Top rich.person-Cop-Decl
 'No, Chelswu is rich.'
 b. *anya, pwuca_F-ka Chelswu-i-a
 no rich.person-Nom C-Cop-Decl
- (14) A: Yenghi-ka mossayngki-ess-ni?
 Y-Nom ugly-Perf-Q? 'Is Yenghi ugly?'
 B: a. anya, Yenghi-ka/-nun (acwu) miin_F-i-a
 no Y-Nom/-Top very beauty-Cop-Decl
 'No, Yenghi is (very) beautiful.'
 b. *anya, (acwu) miin_F-i Yenghi-i-a
 no very beauty-Nom Y-Cop-Decl

Finally, since the generalization for word order variation in the PCC implies that the initial nominal in the CPCC can be construed as either Topic or Focus, while the one in the IPCC can only be construed as Topic, long distance scrambling of these nominal expressions is expected to have similar interpretation freedoms or restrictions in the CPCC and IPCC, respectively. In the context illustrated in (15), where the *wh*-phrase-including embedded clause corresponds to the PCC, speaker B should provide as part of the answer the focus information corresponding to the referential noun as in (15Ba). The focus referential noun in the CPCC may undergo long-distance scrambling as in (15Bb). Also the predicate nominal may occur initially in the embedded clause as given/old or topic information, giving rise to the IPCC as in (15Bc), and further undergo long-distance scrambling with the same information status as in (15Bd). What is worth noting in (15Bb) and (15Bd) is that the information status of the nominal expressions undergoing long-distance scrambling is already determined in the base position, and scrambling itself doesn't have any effect on the information structure of the sentence.

- (15) A: Yenghi-ka/-nun [nwuka pwuca-i-ta-ko] sayngkakha-ni?
 Y-Nom/-Top who-Nom rich.person-Cop-Decl-Comp think-Q
 'Who does Yenghi think is rich?'
 B: a. Yenghi-ka/-nun [Chelswu_F-ka pwuca-i-ta-ko] sayngkakhay
 Y-Nom/-Top C-Nom rich.person-Cop-Decl-Comp think-Decl
 'Yenghi thinks that Chelswu is rich.'
 b. Chelswu_F-ka_i Yenghi-ka/-nun [t_i pwuca-i-ta-ko] sayngkakhay
 c. Yenghi-ka/-nun [pwuca-ka/-nun Chelswu_F-i-ta-ko] sayngkakhay
 Y-Nom/-Top rich.person-Nom/-Top C-Cop-Decl-Comp think-Decl
 d. pwuca-ka/-nun_iYenghi-ka/-nun [t_iChelswu_F-i-ta-ko] sayngkakhay

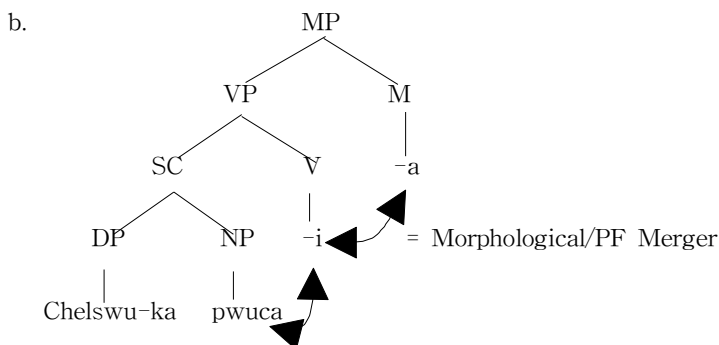
On the other hand, in the context illustrated in (16), the answer (16Ba) by speaker B has the CPCC as an embedded clause in which the predicate is construed as the focus information, with the Subject noun construed as given/old information. The latter referential noun has no problem undergoing long-distance scrambling as shown in (16Bb).

However, the IPCC with the predicate noun construed as the focus information cannot be allowed in the embedded clause as in (16Bc), and the long-distance scrambling as such is also ungrammatical as in (16Bd). The contrast between (15) and (16) again suggests that the predicate noun in the IPCC is never construed as focus information but only as the given/old or topic information.

- (16) A: Yenghi-ka Chelswu-lul ettehkey sayngkakhha-ni?
 Y-Nom C-Acc how think-Q
 ‘What does Yenghi think of Chelswu?’
- B: a. Yenghi-ka/-nun [Chelswu-ka (acwu) pwuca_F-i-ta-ko] sayngkakhay
 Y-Nom/-Top C-Nom very rich.person-Cop-Decl-Comp think-Decl
 ‘Yenghi thinks that Chelswu is (very) rich.’
- b. Chelswu-ka/-nun_i Yenghi-ka/-nun [t_i (acwu)
 pwuca_F-i-ta-ko] sayngkakhay
- c. *Yenghi-ka [pwuca_F-ka Chelswu-i-ta-ko] sayngkakhay
 Y-Nom rich.person-Nom C-Cop-Decl-Comp think-Decl
- d. *pwuca_F-ka_i Yenghi-ka/-nun [t_i Chelswu-i-ta-ko] sayngkakhay

With regard to the syntactic structure of the predicative copular construction (PCC), I take the copula as a syntactic head subcategorized for the Small Clause (Heggie 1988, Moro 1997, Heycock and Kroch 1998, J. Yoon 2001, etc.). That is, the structure for the PCC in (17a) can be represented as in (17b). There are additional functional projections such as Agr and T over VP. Since those functional heads are not directly relevant to the current discussion, I adhere to the simplified structure as in (17b). As with verbal inflectional affixes, which are syntactic formatives despite their morphologically bound nature, the copula, which is a bound form, is morphologically merged with the preceding nominal at the Morphology/PF component (J. Yoon 2001).

- (17) a. Chelswu-ka pwuca-i-a
 C-Nom rich.person-Cop-Decl

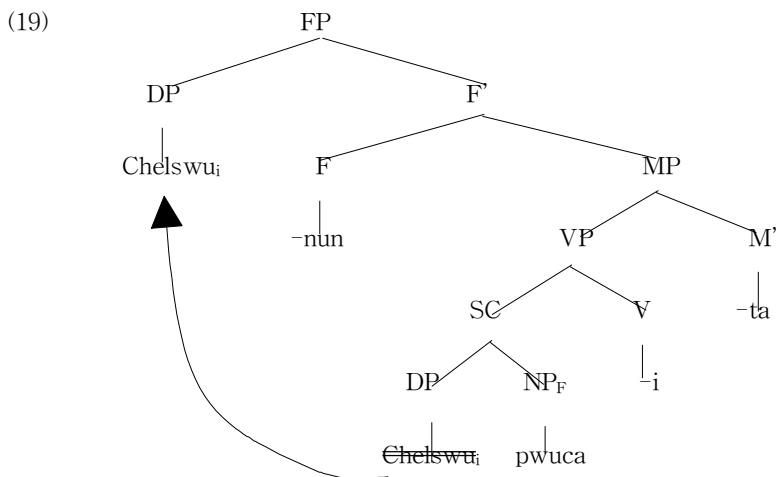


Given this base structure of the PCC, there are two options available to derive the CPCC, in which the DP encodes the topic information while the predicate NP corresponds to the focus information. Under the assumption that the T-feature and F-feature are assigned to the relevant constituent in the process of the syntactic computation (Büring 1997, J-M Jo 2006 *inter alia*), each feature is realized morphologically by the particle *-nun* and phonetically by pitch accent, respectively. Elements with no T/F-feature are assumed to be construed as given/old information. The structure for the CPCC (18a) can be represented as in (18b) with no syntactic movement involved, the T-marked element surfaces with the particle *-nun* attached, and the F-marked element surfaces carrying pitch accent on it. The topic particle *-nun* and Nom/Acc case markers belong to the same morphological slot and cannot occur together. Since grammatical Case markers have no semantic contribution, the topic particle must be realized for the element assigned with the T-feature, which has semantico-pragmatic import.

- (18) a. Chelswu-nun pwuca-i-a
 C-Top rich.person-Cop-Decl
 b. [_{MP} [_{VP} [_{SC} [_{DP} Chelswu-ka]_T [_{NP} pwuca]_F]-i]-a]

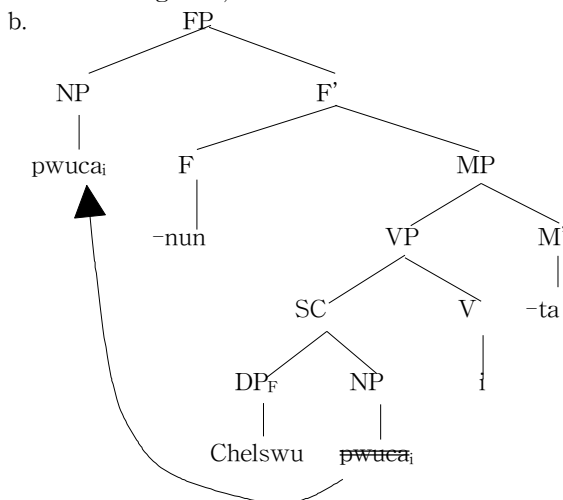
The other option available is topicalization by the process of syntactic movement. As discussed in detail in J-M Jo (2004), there is an independent reason to postulate the left periphery position for the predicate topic, which is identified as the Spec of FP over MP. The

independently existent functional head F can be taken to be responsible for triggering the topicalization of nominal expressions in the copular construction. As shown in (19), the referential DP is moved to the Spec of FP and construed as Topic, while the predicate nominal is construed as Focus due to the F-feature assigned in the syntactic computation. The lower copy of the moved element should be deleted, since no other component of the grammar forces its survival.



The derivation of the IPCC, adapting James Yoon (2001), is claimed to arise by movement of the predicate NP over the referential DP, resulting in the inverse word order of the CPCC. The landing site for the moved predicate NP is taken to be the Spec of FP, which is similar to the movement of the referential DP as above. Given the base structure of the PCC in (17b), the derivation of the IPCC (20a) can be represented as in (20b). The movement of the predicate nominal to the Spec of FP and the subsequent deletion of the lower copy give rise to the IPCC, in which the in-situ F-marked referential DP is construed as Focus. Once the lower copy is deleted, the referential DP ends up being a host for the copula, which is a bound form, accompanied by the Morphological/PF merger.⁴⁾

- (20) a. pwuca-nun Chelswu-i-a
 rich.person-Top C-Cop-Decl
 ‘As for being rich, it is Chelswu.’

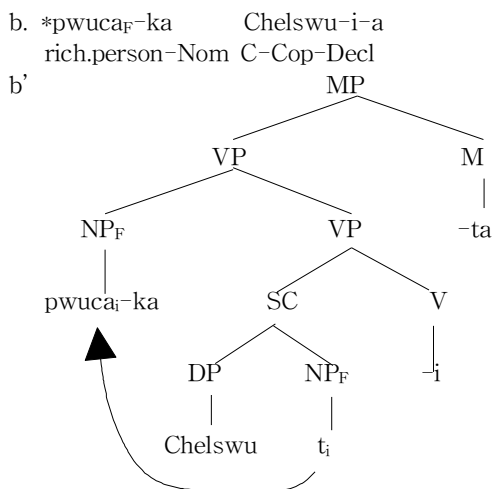


The next question to be addressed is why the F-marked predicate NP cannot scramble over the DP that is construed as given/old information, giving rise to the IPCC as in (21b), the derivation of which can be represented as in (21b').

- (21) a. Chelswu-ka/-nun pwuca_F-i-a
 C-Nom/-Top rich.person-Cop-Decl
 ‘As for Chelswu, he is rich.’

⁴ In the predicate topic construction, the copy of the moved element may survive PF-deletion, resulting in the reduplicative construction as in (i), or be replaced with the dummy verb *ha-*, resulting in the *ha*-construction as in (ii), both of which are morphologically motivated to rescue the verbal inflectional affixes which are otherwise stranded once the copy of the moved element is deleted. See J-M Jo (2004) for the detailed analysis.

- (i) Yenghi-ka yeypu-ki-nun yeyp-ess-ta
 Y-Nom pretty-KI-Top pretty-Past-Decl
 (ii) Yenghi-ka yeypu-ki-nun *ha*-ess-ta
 Y-Nom pretty-KI-Top do-Past-Decl



The ungrammaticality of (21b) is not because the F-marked element cannot move out of its base position. In fact, the element construed as focus information may undergo local or long-distance scrambling. As shown in the following conversation, the F-marked Object argument in the reply given by speaker B in (22) may scramble out of its base position over the Subject argument.

- (22) A: Chelswu-ka nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?
 C-Nom who-Acc meet-Past-Q
 'Who did Chelswu meet?'
 B: a. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul_F manna-ss-e
 C-Nom Y-Acc meet-Past-Decl
 b. Yenghi-lul_F Chelswu-ka manna-ss-e
 Y-Acc C-Nom meet-Past-Decl
 'Chelswu met Yenghi.'

This is also not because the movement of the predicate NP is not allowed. As long as the predicate NP corresponds to topic/given information, it can freely occur before the referential DP, giving rise to the IPCC. We may attribute the ungrammaticality to the dual nature of the predicate NP as nominal and predicate. Due to its nominal nature, it can undergo topicalization by itself, giving rise to the IPCC. Also there

is no restriction on topicalization with regard to its predicate property since the predicate phrase can be topicalized (J-M Jo 2004). On the other hand, due to its predicate nature, the predicate NP is expected to observe the constraints imposed on the other predicate expressions such as verbal/adjectival predicates. The restriction on the movement of the predicate NP construed as Focus can be attributable to the constraint on the movement of the predicate (phrase) in general whether it is nominal or verbal/adjectival. In fact, while the movement of the VP construed as a Topic may occur in English, the movement of the VP construed as Focus is ungrammatical as shown below.

- (23) A: What did you do?
 B: I went to the movies.
 *Go to the movies I did.

Also to the best of my knowledge, there is no (verbal/adjectival) predicate movement that is syntactically motivated by Focus in Korean as well. Taken as a general constraint on the movement of the predicate constituent, it is assumed that the constituent containing the predicate can only be involved with topicalization. The conclusion is that the predicate NP in the inverse copular construction is only construed as Topic or Topic-like interpretation, which we take to be the movement to the Spec of FP. This also reflects the cross-linguistic generalization that the inverse is possible when the predicate has a higher topicality than the referential DP subject (Partee 1998).

2.2. Equative Copular Construction (ECC)

In this section, we examine word order variation with respect to the information status in the ECC, which conveys the identity/equative relation between individuals denoted by the two referential nouns.

As seen in the PCC in the previous section, the referential nominal expressions have relatively free word order, in particular, with respect to the focus information, in contrast to the predicate nouns. The focus referential noun can occur as the Subject marked with the Nominative

Case, giving rise to the CPCC, or as the pre-copular element, giving rise to the IPCC. Since the ECC is involved with the two referential nouns, no word order restriction is expected with regard to the focus information. That is, whatever nominal expression corresponds to the focus information, it can occur either as the Subject or as the pre-copular nominal as shown in (24). Given the sentence (24a) in which the pre-copular nominal conveys the focus information, the same referential noun can also occur sentence-initially as in (24b). The same point also applies to the other nominal and either word order is possible as in (24c-d).

- (24) a. Chelswu-ka/-nun [ne-ka ecey ttayli-n salam]_{F-i-a}
 C-Nom/-Top you-Nom yesterday hit-Adn person-Cop-Decl
 ‘As for Chelswu, he is the one that you hit yesterday.’
- b. [ne-ka ecey ttayli-n salam]_{F-i} Chelswu-i-a
 you-Nom yesterday hit-Adn person-Nom C-Cop-Decl
 ‘It is the one you hit yesterday who Chelswu is.’
- c. [ne-ka ecey ttayli-n salam]-i/-un Chelswu_{F-i-a}
 you-Nom yesterday hit-Adn person-Nom/Top C-Cop-Decl
 ‘As for the one that you hit yesterday, he is Chelswu.’
- d. Chelswu_{aF-ka} [ne-ka ecey ttayli-n salam]-i-a
 C-Nom you-Nom yesterday hit-Adn person-Cop-Decl
 ‘It is Chelswu that is the one you hit yesterday.’

Consequently, in whatever context the sentence (24a) or (24c) can be used, so can the sentences (24b) and (24d), respectively, as confirmed in the conversation fragments illustrated in (25) and (26). Either answer given by speaker B in (25) and (26) is impeccable.

- (25) A: nwuka Chelswu-i-ni? / Chelswu-ka nwukwu-i-ni?
 who-Nom C-Cop-Q C-Nom who-Cop-Q
 ‘Who is Chelswu?’
- B: a. [ne-ka ecey ttayli-n salam]_{F-i} Chelswu-i-a
 ‘It is the one you hit yesterday who Chelswu is.’
 b. Chelswu-nun/-ka [ne-ka ecey ttayli-n salam]_{F-i-a}
 ‘As for Chelswu, he is the one that you hit yesterday.’

- (26) A: [ne-ka ecey ttayli-n salam]-i nwukwu-i-ni?
 you-Nom yesterday hit-Adn person-Nom who-Cop-Q
 'Who is the one that you hit yesterday?'
- B: [nay-ka ecey ttayli-n salam]-un/-i Chelswu_F-i-a
 'As for the one that I hit yesterday, he is Chelswu.'
 Chelswu_F-ka [nay-ka ecey ttayli-n salam]-i-a
 'It is Chelswu that is the one you hit yesterday.'

There is no word order restriction in the ECC with regard to the information status of the nominal expressions. Considering the relative free word order of the referential noun in the PCC irrespective of its information status, the word order freedom observed in the ECC is expected because the nominal expressions found in the ECC are both referential.

2.3. "Toys-R-Us" Construction⁵⁾

The next construction to be examined is what I call "Toys-R-Us" Construction (TRUC). First, in light of the semantics of the TRUC, it will be proposed that there exists a covert argument, i.e. *pro*, in this copular construction. Then on the basis of conceptual and empirical problems, I reject the first analysis and instead claim that the TRUC is simply an instance of the ECC. Finally I will discuss word order variation with regard to the information status of the nominal expressions in this construction.

As briefly described in the introduction, the two nominal expressions occurring in this copular construction denote different individual entities. The first question to be addressed with regard to the TRUC is what kind of copular construction it is. Does it belong to the PCC or the ECC or something else? Clearly it is not the PCC, since both nominal expressions are referential nouns, and one nominal does not describe the property of the other nominal. Also it doesn't seem to be the ECC,

⁵⁾ 'Toys-R-Us' construction is named after the famous toy store chain in the U.S., the name of which comes from the expression 'Toys are us.' This section examines sentences like the latter copular construction in Korean.

since the two nominal expressions as in (27) are not in an equative/identity relation, since the referent denoted by ‘Wulayok’ is not the same as the one denoted by the other nominal ‘cold noodle’. Due to this apparent lack of an identity relation, one may suggest that the initial nominal expressions in (27) are base-generated ‘scene-setting’ topics rather than part of the arguments of the copula. Then it may be suggested that something covert in these constructions may enter into the identity relation with the pre-copular nominal. That is, the covert element may be postulated as the pro Subject as shown in (27c-d) which is in turn co-indexed with the pre-copular nominal. In essence, this proposal amounts to analyzing the TRUC as the ECC with one of the two nominal expressions unrealized.

- (27) a. Wulayok-un nayngmyen-i-a
 Wulayok-Top cold.noodle-Cop-Decl
 ‘As for Wulayok, it’s cold noodle (that it is the most famous for).’
 b. nayngmyen-un Wulayok-i-a
 cold.noodle-Top Wulayok-Cop-Decl
 ‘As for cold noodle, it is Wulayok (that is the most famous).’
 c. Wulayok-un pro_i nayngmyen_i-i-a
 d. nayngmyen-un pro_i Wulayok_i-i-a

Considering the meaning and the context in which these sentences are used, this syntactico-semantic analysis seems to be plausible. In a discourse context where the speaker is talking about the restaurant *Wulayok* and the listeners are assumed to know what *Wulayok* is, uttering just the food name *nayngmyen* ‘cold noodle’ as in (27a) will be implicated to convey something like what is the best or most famous in the restaurant, which has an equative/identity relation to the overt pre-copular argument. Similarly for (27b), in a discourse context where the speaker is talking about the food *nayngmyen* ‘cold noodle’ and the other discourse participants are assumed to know that the speaker of (27b) is talking about food, the utterance of the restaurant name *Wulayok* will imply that it is the best place to go for *nayngmyen* ‘cold

noodle.’ The best place, which is not realized overtly, has the equative/identity relation to the restaurant *Wulayok*. It may be further assumed that the implicit argument is so conventionalized in Korean that most speakers know what it is and often drop it. The content of the pro argument for (27) may be overtly realized as in (28), in which the initial nominal is clearly a base-generated topic, and the bracketed Subject, which is presumably the overt counterpart of pro, is in an equative/identity relation to the pre-copular argument.

- (28) a. *Wulayok-un* [kacang yumyenghan umsik-i] *nayngmyen-i-a*
Wulayok-Top most famous food-Nom cold.noodle-Cop-Decl
 ‘As for *Wulayok*, the most famous food is cold noodle.’
 b. *nayngmyen-un* [kacang yumyenghan kos-i] *Wulayok-i-a*
 cold.noodle-Top most famous place-Nom *Wulayok-Cop-Decl*
 ‘As for cold noodle, the most famous place is *Wulayok*.’

Plausible and interesting as it is, I reject this proposal and instead I claim that the TRUC is simply an instance of the ECC without having to postulate the pro argument. First, positing pro in the TRUC in essence relegates the construction to the idiosyncrasy existent in ‘pro-drop’ languages like Korean. However, this construction is not specific to languages like Korean and can be easily observed in ‘non-pro-drop’ languages like English as well. For instance, consider the sentences in (29). Whoever knows who Tiger Woods is or what golf is should be able to tell the intended meaning by the given sentences. That is, similarly to the Korean instances of TRUC above, the two nominal expressions in (29) are not in an identity relation. Despite the lack of the equative/identity relation between the two nominal expressions, the copula is employed to give rise to the ECC, which roughly means something like ‘as for Tiger Woods, he is the best in golf’ or ‘as for golf, Tiger Woods is the best.’

- (29) a. Tiger Woods is golf.
 b. Golf is Tiger Woods.

Then the question is how such an unexpressed meaning arises. In other words, what makes this unexpressed inference possible? It results from the combination of two factors. First, given the same semantic types of the two nominal expressions, the TRUC should be an instance of the ECC. However, this immediately becomes problematic since the two nominal expressions refer to two different entities and cannot enter into the equative/identity relation that the ECC is supposed to establish. In a literal interpretation, the TRUC is not a true statement because in (29), for instance, the individual denoted by 'Tiger Woods' is not the same as the denotation of 'golf.' This apparently violates one of the Gricean conversational maxims, the maxim of Quality (Grice 1975, 1978). Despite the apparent violation of this maxim, since discourse participants are assumed to adhere to these conversational maxims explicitly or implicitly, they are drawing the best possible inferences relevant to the discourse, in accordance with the maxim of Relevance, once they encounter the breaches of these maxims, so-called flouting or exploitation (Grice 1975, 1978 and also see Levinson 1983: 100–118). This, in essence, attributes the inference drawn in the TRUC to conversational implicature. In order for all discourse participants to succeed in drawing the same inference in the TRUCs such as (27) and (29), first they should be aware of the literal or truth-conditional meaning of the TRUC as an instance of the ECC, along with its falsehood. Second, under the assumption that these utterances are also relevant to the discourse, along with the background assumptions shared among discourse participants, they now make inference appropriate to the discourse context, which should be easily calculable once they know at least what the referent denoted by the proper noun stands for and how it is related to the entity denoted by the other nominal. Consequently the inference drawn in the TRUC is context-dependent.

Some constructions, however, may give rise to 'conventionalized' meaning due to the close relation between the two nominal expressions. For instance, the equative relation between the restaurant *Woolayok* and the food *nayngmyen* 'cold noodle' in (27a) is most likely to convey that the cold noodle is the representative food of the restaurant, giving rise

to the additional meaning implicating ‘the best’ or ‘the most famous’, which is often viewed as the ‘conventional’ meaning associated with these sentences. This ‘conventional’ meaning is typically found in the TRUCs in which the two nominal expressions are in ‘(proto-)agent-theme-like’ relations, e.g. *Wulayok* is the restaurant that serves *nayngmyen* ‘cold noodle’ in (27) and *Tiger Woods* is the person who plays *golf* in (29). Nominal expressions in this relation are often associated with the ‘conventional’ meaning ‘the best’ or ‘the most famous’ in the TRUC. Even though this is often the case, there are other TRUC’s whose relevant implicature must be drawn from the discourse context. For instance, sentences like (30a)⁶ are literally false statements but, by identifying the speaker with the addressee, are intended to convey something else, like ‘I am not different but I am just a common person just like you’ in the context sentence (30) was uttered. In a different context, the same utterance may evoke a different inference. Similarly, sentences like (30b) are literally false statements but are intended to convey something else, which is in essence determined by the relation between the two nominals in the discourse context. For instance, in (30b), John could be the person who ordered a ham sandwich, who promised to bring a ham sandwich to the potluck party, or who is good at fixing ham sandwiches, etc. Sentence (30b) may have not only the implicature similar to (28) and (29) above but also different ones, depending on the discourse context.

- (30) a. I am You.
 b. John is ham sandwich.

In sentences like (30a), the relevant implicature cannot be determined without the discourse context taken into consideration, as is further confirmed in (31), where the two nominal expressions denote two different individual entities. On the surface, these nominals are not obvious in their semantico-pragmatic relations, in contrast to the

⁶ This is taken out of the public statement made by Linda Tripp addressing criticism following Clinton-Lewinsky scandal.

sentences examined above where the two nominal expressions are in the ‘agent-theme-like’ relation.

- (31) a. (ipen senke-eyse) Ichel-un/-i Cenghyengkun_F-i-a
 this election-Loc Ichel-Top/-Nom C-Cop-Decl
 ‘In this election, as for Ichel, it is Cenghyengkun (that he is to
 defeat).’
- b. (ipen senke-eyse) Cenghyengkun_F-i Ichel-i-a
 this election-Loc C-Nom Ichel-Cop-Decl
 ‘In this election, it is Cenghyengkun that Ichel is (to defeat).’

In such cases, there is no inherent or ‘conventional’ implicature associated, and the relevant relation and inference should be calculated from the discourse context. In (31), suppose that these sentences are uttered in a situation where the general election is being held and that the two individuals are candidates from different political parties seeking a parliamentary seat. This background assumption, along with the speaker’s party or candidate preference, enables discourse participants to draw the relevant inference from the given copular construction as exemplified here in English translation. Therefore, although there are instances of the TRUC associated with the ‘conventional’ meaning, the relevant inference is ultimately determined from the discourse context where the utterance is being made. Crucially, one common thread of all these copular constructions to calculate the relevant implicature is discourse context, which suggests that the implicature involved in these constructions is conversational rather than conventional.

From the above discussion, we can conclude that the implicature involved with the TRUC’s independently arises from semantico-pragmatic consideration and the pro argument, which was postulated on the basis of the implicature, is no longer sufficiently motivated. Since the explanation of the implicature in the TRUC is independently available from the consideration of the Gricean cooperative principle or conversational maxims, it is concluded that the TRUC is simply an instance of the equative copular construction (ECC), without having to postulate any invisible elements.

Also the examination of the word order variation in terms of focus and given/topic information confirms that the TRUC behaves just like the ECC. That is, any one of the two nominal expressions may have free word order irrespective of its information status, which is expected since the TRUC is involved with the referential nominals and sensitivity to the information status, Focus, is observed in the predicate nominals as discussed with the PCC and ECC in the previous sections. As shown below, the focus pre-copular nominal in (32a & c) can also occur as the Subject of the sentence as in (32b & d), respectively.

- (32) a. Samsung-un/-i (yeksi) pantoche_F-i-a
 S-Top/-Nom surely semiconductor-Cop-Decl
 ‘As for Samsung, it is semiconductor (that it is famous for)’
 b. pantoche_F-ka (yeksi) Samsung-i-a
 semiconductor-Nom surely S-Cop-Decl
 ‘It is semiconductor that Samsung is (famous for).’
 c. pantoche_F-nun/-ka (yeksi) Samsung_F-i-a
 semiconductor-Top/-Nom surely S-Cop-Decl
 ‘As for semiconductor, it is Samsung (that is famous for it)’
 d. Samsung_F-i (yeksi) pantoche_F-i-a
 S-Nom surely semiconductor-Cop-Decl
 ‘It is Samsung that is (famous for) semiconductor.’

The examination of the discourse context where these sentences occur confirms the free word order of the TRUC irrespective of the information status of nominal expressions. That is, in the context illustrated in (33), speaker B may use the TRUC as an answer to the question raised. S/he may utter the TRUC of Topic and Focus order as in (33Ba) or Focus and given information order as in (33Bb), along with having the choice of taking the given information *Samsung* as a base-generated topic as in (33Bc).

- (33) A: Samsung-i mwue-lo yumyengha-ni?
 ‘What is Samsung famous for?’
 B: a. Samsung-un (yeksi) pantoche_F-i-a (= 32a)
 S-Top surely semiconductor-Cop-Decl
 b. pantoche_F-ka (yeksi) Samsung-i-a (= 32b)

	semiconductor-Nom	S-Cop-Decl
c. Samsung-un (yeksi)	pantochey _F -ka	Samsung-i-a
S-Top	semiconductor-Nom	S-Cop-Decl

Similarly, in (34), speaker B may use the copular construction as an answer to the question raised by speaker A. The focus information may occur as a pre-copular element as in (34Ba) or as a Subject as in (34Bb), along with having the choice of base-generating the given information *pantochey* as the topic of the sentence as in (34Bc).

- (34) A: pantochoy-ka eti-ka yumyengha-ni?
 ‘Which one is famous for semiconductor?’
 B: a. pantochey-nun/-ka (yeksi) Samsung_F-i-a (= 32c)
 b. Samsung_F-i (yeksi) pantochey-i-a (= 32d)
 c. pantochey-nun (yeksi) Samsung_F-i pantochey-i-a

Hence the word order in the TRUC shows exactly the same patterns examined in the ECC, which has no word order restriction with regard to the information status of the nominal expressions. Considering the relative free word order of the referential noun in the PCC irrespective of its information status, the word order freedom observed in the ECC is expected, since nominal expressions found in the ECC are both referential.

3. Conclusion

In this paper, we examined three types of copular constructions such as the Predicative Copular Construction (PCC), Equative Copular Construction (ECC), and Toys-R-Us Construction (TRUC). It is shown that the word order of the pre-copular nominals is relatively free, but the predicate nominal construed as Focus must stay in situ in its base position. While suggesting that the latter property is attributable to the general restriction on the movement of the predicate phrase, it is concluded that the predicate nominal fronting in the IPCC is allowed only when it is construed as having Topic or Topic-like interpretation,

confirming the cross-linguistic observation made in Partee (1998). The TRUC is claimed to be just like the ECC syntactically and the implicature in the former construction arises from the consideration of the Gricean cooperative principle or conversational maxims.

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Received: 25 Jun, 2007
Revised: 3 Sept, 2007
Accepted: 10 Sept, 2007