

A Multi Player in Korean

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1. Introduction

In Korean, the word(or morpheme), *kes*, is used in sentences with diverse functions

(A) Expressions and clauses with *kes* in Korean

- (1) Noun or Pronoun: 이것이 우리 집의 가보이다.
- (2) Noun: 형이 먹는 것은 사과이다. (Lim 1998: 543)
- (3) Pseudo-Cleft: 내가 그를 처음 만난 것은 1990년 가을 동학사에서였다.
- (4) IRHC: 돌이가 컴퓨터가 고장난 것을 고쳤다. (cf. Jhang 1994)
- (5) Kes-Cleft: 드디어 돌이가 돌아온 것이었다/너는 내가 싫은 거지? 그런 거야?
- (6) Comparatives: 돌이가 순이가 키가 큰 것 보다 키가 (더) 크다. (Jhang 1994: 147)
- (7) Complement of factive verbs: 순이는 돌이가 죽은 것을 알고 있다.
- (8) Complement to perception verbs: 그는 아이들이 뛰어가는 것을 보았다.
- (9) Complement to other verbs: 오늘은 비가 올 것 같다. (cf. Yoon 1990)
- (10) Aux(?): 오늘은 비가 올 것이다.

(B) Grammaticalization (Ransom 1988: 365)

Stage A	Stage B	Stage C
(1) and (2)	(3) ~ (6)	(7) ~ (9)
Full Lexical Meaning and Form	Partially Reduced Lexical Meaning and Form	Reduced Lexical Meaning and Form
A Full Noun	An Expletive Noun	A complementizer

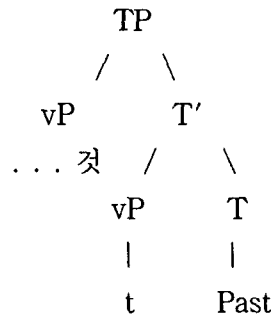
Questions: (i) What are the *kes'* in (4) and (5)? What syntactic category do they represent?

(ii) What are the structures of the construction with the *kes'*?

Proposals: (i) The *kes'* in (4) and (5) are an expletive noun

(ii) (4) [_{NP} [_{CP} OP [컴퓨터가 고장난]] 것]

(5) 드디어 돌이가 돌아온 것이었다



2. Internally Headed Relative Clauses in Korean

(A) Relative Clauses in Korean

(11) 돌이가 고장난 컴퓨터를 고쳤다.

(12) 돌이가 컴퓨터가 고장난 것을 고쳤다.

(13) [_{NP} [_{CP} Op_i [t_i 고장난]] 컴퓨터]

(14) the [_{NP} computer[_{CP} Op_i [c_{that}] [t_i was out of order]]]

Q 1: What is the structure of an IHRC in Korean?

A 1: a. The *kes* is a pronominal(pronoun).

b. The *kes* is not a pronominal; it is a complementizer(cf. Jhang 1994).

(B) *Kes* as a complementizer

(a) *Non-substitutability*

(15) 돌이가 소년이 방에서 나오는 것/*사람/*놈을 잡았다

(16) 돌이가 차가 고장난 것/*물건을 고쳤다

(b) *Condition C violation of the Binding Principle* (cf. S. Lee 1983)

(17) [내가 자기_i/그_i-의 명찰을 떼어버린] 학생_i

(18) *[내가 학생의_i 명찰을 떼어버린] 자기/그_i

(19) 돌이가 [[컴퓨터가 고장난] 것]을 고쳤다

(c) *Kes in certain EHRCs in Korean.*

(20) pro_i [pro_i 어제 t_i 읽은] 거 신문 어디 봤어? (K. Lee 1991: 50)

Proposition 1: The *kes* in (13) is a complementizer and we have the following structure (Jhang 1994: 38).

(21) [_{NP} [_{S'} [컴퓨터가 고장난] [_{Comp} 것]] a null head]

Problem 1: a. The above phenomena do not serve as evidence for the *kes* being a complementizer; it only provides evidence for the *kes* being not a pronoun.

b. There is no overt head noun with its modifier present.

3. An Expletive in Korean

(A) Expletives in English

(22) a. [EXPL/a man [T [be a man/t in the room]]]

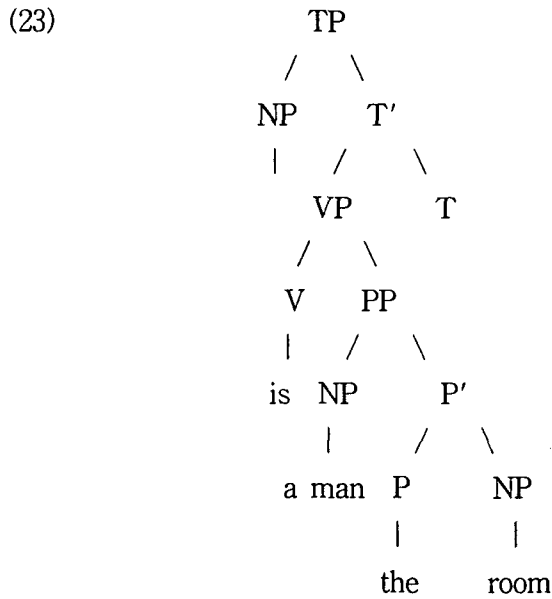
b. there is a man in the room

c. A man is in the room

Q 2: How is the expletives generated ?

A 2: a. When Agree can be achieved without movement (internal merge), they merge into the Spec of TP(=S). (cf. Chomsky 1995, 2000)

b. It is generated within the NP(DP) and moves into the Spec of TP.



- (24) a. [EXPL [T [be obvious [that the world is round]]]]
 b. It is obvious that the world is round.
 c. That the world is round is obvious (cf. Stroik 1996, Yoon 2001, Kim 2001)

Q 3: Why does it occur?

A 3: To meet such morphological requirement as EPP (cf Chomsky 1995)

(B) Morphological requirement

(25=21) [NP [s' [컴퓨터가 고장난] [Comp 것]] Null head]

Q 4: Does Korean allow a noun phrase without a head ?

A 4: Probably not

- (26) a. The not so **poor** there were fat and bald.
 b. Talk of the absent, and he'll come. (Park 1981: 198)

- (27) a. 나간 (*사람) 뭇은 있어도 자는 (*사람) 뭇은 없다
 b. 뛰는 (*놈) 위에 나는 (놈) 있다

- (28) a. 누가 내일 역에 나갈 거야?
 b. 철수가 [pro/(자기가) 가겠다고] 하던데요

Proposition 2: Head noun should be morphologically realized with its modifier (or specifier) present in Korean.

(29) Head should be morphologically realized with its modifier or specifier present.

(C) Kes as an expletive noun

(a) Kes as a noun

(30) 기사가 [[차(가) 세 대가 고장난] 것]을 모두 고쳤다

(31) 기사가 [[차(가) 세 대가 고장난] 것]을 (*모두) 알고 있다

(32) a. 돌이가 [[아무것도 고장난] 것]을 고치지 않았다

b. 경찰이 [[아무도/누구도 공장에서 나오는] 것]을 잡지 않았다

(33) a. *돌이는 [아무것도 고장난 것을] 몰랐다(알지 못했다)

b. *돌이는 [아무도 공장에서 나오는] 것을 몰랐다

(34) a. *돌이는 [순이가 빵을 만든다는 것을] 먹었다

b. 돌이는 [순이가 빵을 만든다는 것을] 알았다 (cf. M. Kim 2004)

(b) Kes as an expletive

(35) a. [That the president will be reelected] and [that he will be impeached] **are/*is** equally likely at this point.

b. It/*They **seems/*seem** equally likely [that the president will be reelected] and [that he will be impeached]. (McClosky 1991: 564-565)

(36) a. 돌이가 [[차(가) 세 대가 고장난] 것](*들)을 모두 고쳤다

b. 돌이가 [[아이들이 방에서 나오는] 것](*들)을 (모두) 잡았다

(37) *a. 우리는 [철수가 자살하였다]에 대하여 이야기하였다

b. 우리는 [철수가 자살한 것]에 대하여 이야기하였다 (Han 1987: 58-66)

(38) Parameters to resolve the Case resistance problem (Han 1987: 68)

I) Avoid the resistance by moving: English

ii) Assume the assigned Case by inserting a dummy N: Korean

(39) The Case Resistance Principle (Stowell 1981: 146)

Case may not be assigned to a category bearing a Case assigning feature.

(D) Review of Jhang's Argument

(a) Non-substitutability

(40=15) 돌이가 소년이 방에서 나오는 것/*사람/*놈을 잡았다

(41=16) 돌이가 차가 고장난 것/*물건을 고쳤다

(b) Condition C violation of the Binding Principle(cf. S. Lee 1983)

(42=17) [내가 자기_i/그_i-의 명찰을 떼어버린] 학생_i;

(43=18) *[내가 학생의_i 명찰을 떼어버린] 자기/그_i

(44=19) 돌이가 [[컴퓨터가 고장난]]것을 고쳤다

(45) a. [that John is guilty]_i bothered the man who knew it_i.

b. * it_i bothered [the man who knew [that John was guilty]_i](Safir 1985:66)

c. it bothered the man that John was guilty

(c) Kes in certain EHRCs in Korean.

(46) pro_i [pro_i 어제 t_i 읽은] 거 신문 어디 뒀어?

(47) *[pro_i 어제 만난] 거 신사 누구야

Proposition 3: *Kes* is an expletive noun

4. A Proposal

(A) Structure of IHRCs¹⁾

(48) [_{NP} [_{CP} Null OP [컴퓨터가 고장난]]] 것

(49) a. Work Station 1: 돌이가 컴퓨터를 고치+Past+Decl

Work Station 2: 컴퓨터가 고장나+Past+Decl

b. Merge: 돌이가 [컴퓨터가 고장나+Past+Decl] 컴퓨터를 고쳤다

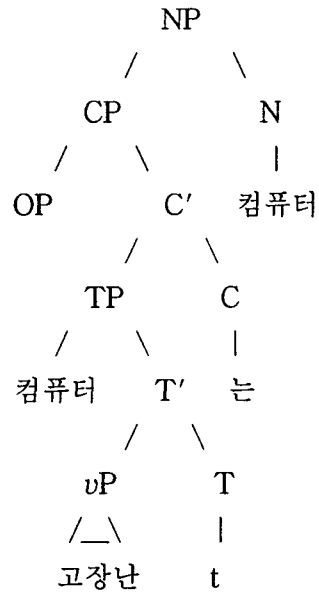
c. Option 1: 돌이가 [컴퓨터가 고장난] 것을 고쳤다

1) Corresponding IHRCs and EHRCs in Korean may not have the same meaning as shown in the following examples in Shin(1996: 95):

(i) ?어부가 낚은 것은 잉어가 펄펄 뛰는 것이었다

(ii) 어부가 낚은 것은 펄펄 뛰는 잉어였다.

d. Option 2: 돌아가 [고장난] 컴퓨터를 고쳤다
 (50)



- (51) 나는 [[돌아가 죽었다]고] 생각했다
 (52) [[돌아가 죽었다]는] 생각에 나는 슬펐다

Q 5: Is any overt movement involved in IHRCs in Korean?
 A 5: Probably not

- (53) *기사가 [[t 세 대가 고장난] 차]를 모두 고쳤다
 (54) 기사가 [[차 세 대가 고장난] 것]을 모두 고쳤다

5. *Kes*-Cleft in Korean

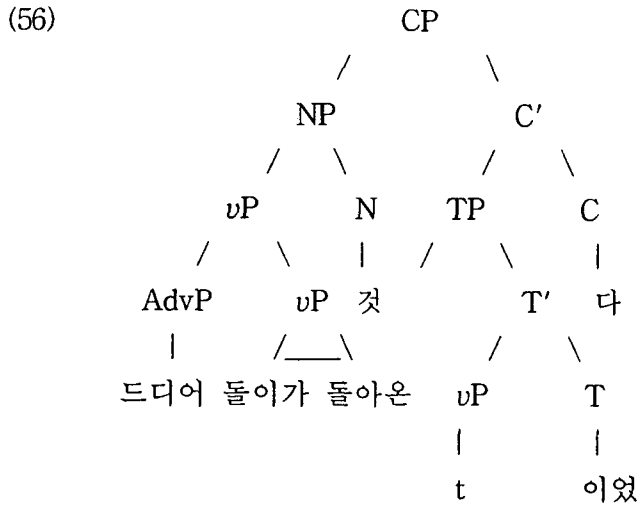
(A) Structure

(55=5) [[드디어 돌아가 돌아온] 것]이었다

Q 6: What is the structure of (54) in which *kes*-cleft is involved?

A 6: Movement is involved in (54)

Proposition 4: *vP*(or *v*P*) is topicalized in (49) and an expletive *kes* merges into *up* to make it a valid subject.



(B) Evidence

(a) Topic marker

(57) [[내가 널 싫어하는] 것]은/??이 아냐

(b) No wh-phrase in the construction

(58) a. 누구야

b. *누군거야

(59) 누가 온 거야?

(60) a. 응, 철수가 왔어 (누가=부정대명사)

b. *철수가 왔어 (누가=의문사)

(c) Island Effect

(61) a. *이방이 [[우리가 처음 만난] 것]이다 (Jhang 1994: 114)

b. 이방이 [[우리가 처음 만난] 곳]이다

(d) Correspondence

(62) Q: 너(는) 내가 싫은 거야? 그런 거야?/??/#그러니?

A1: 응, 그런거야 A2: ??/#응, 그래

6. Consequences and Summary

(A) Expletives in Korean

(63=4) IRHC: 돌이가 컴퓨터가 고장난 것을 고쳤다. (cf. Jhang 1994)

(64=5) Kes-Cleft: 드디어 돌이가 돌아온 것이었다

(B) MOM(Merge over Movement)

(65) Acquisition of Relative Clauses in Korean

(cf. K. Lee 1991, Y. Kim 1987, Murasugi, Keiko and Tomoko Hashimoto. 2004.)

First Stage	Intermediate Stage	Final Stage
Free Relatives including IHRCs	KLHRC (kes + lexical head)	EHRCs(LHRCs):

(66) a. [피아노 땡땡 하는 거] 사줘야 겠다(Lee 1991: 165)

b. [[땡땡 하는 거 피아노] 사줘야 겠다

c. [땡땡하는 피아노] 사줘야 겠다

(B) Summary

- (i) The word *kes* has underwent grammaticalization and is divided into several different grammatical categories.
- (ii) Korean has an expletive in IHRCs and *kes*-cleft constructions.
- (iii) The expletive *kes* merges into the structure due to morphological requirement.

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