The Movement of Non-Focused Relative Clauses[*]

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Linguistic Research 27(2), 357-371. The relative clauses are base-generated within
the scope of determiner, namely, [Spec,AgrP] and the non-focused (nonrestrictive)
relative clauses further move out of the scope of determiner (pre-determiner
position), or [Spec,DP] to receive a proper interpretation. The restrictive relative
clauses remain in their original position without any movement in syntax or at
LF, irrespectively of whether they are Korean or English. On the other hand,
the movement of non-focused relative clauses occurs syntactically in Korean and
it happens in LF in English. The restrictive relative clauses check their focus feature
in [Spec,AgrP], or inside of the scope of determiner, and the non-focused
(nonrestrictive) relative clauses check their non-focus (TOPIC) feature in [Spec,DP],
regardless of whether they are English or Korean. The difference between English
and Korean is whether the non-focused (non-restrictive) relative clauses check
their features in syntax or at LF. The non-focused (non-restrictive) relative clause
in Korean checks in syntax while in English at LF. **(Korean Bible University)**

Key Words relative clause(s), non-focused(non-restrictive), Korean and English,
feature-checking, DP-structure

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the structure of relative clauses in Korean in reference to
English within the framework of the feature-checking theory (Chomsky 1995, Kim
1996, Radford, 2004). I follow Kim (1996) arguing that in Korean the relative
clauses are base-generated in [Spec,AgrP] and the non-restrictive relatives further
move into [Spec,DP] to check the non-focus feature of the determiner. With
respect to the structure of English relative clauses I propose that they are
base-generated (as adjuncts to the head noun) within NP unlike in Korean. Then
the restrictive relative clause moves to [Spec,AgrP] and the nonrestrictive relative
clause further raises into [Spec,DP]. The movement of English relative clauses,

however, is done in LF while that of Korean relative clauses occur syntactically.

Following Cinque (1992) and (Kim 1996) who argue that there is a functional category, Agreement Phrase(AgrP) between DP and NP, I further claim that the restrictive relative clauses check their focus feature in [Spec,AgrP] while the nonrestrictive relative clause moves into [Spec,DP] and checks its non-focus feature.

In Section 2 I will sketch the basic idea of feature-checking configuration advanced by Chomsky (1995). Section 3 is concerned with the structure of DP. In section 4, I will discuss the movement of relative clauses. Section 5 considers the structure of relative clauses in English. Section 6 is the conclusion.
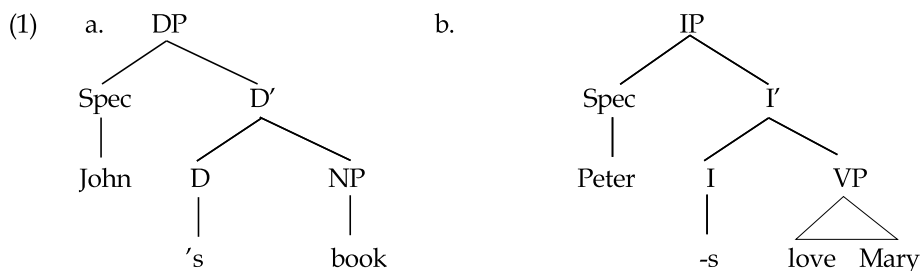

2. Feature-Checking Configuration

The feature-checking theory or the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995) replaces the notion of free movement with that of feature-driven movement. For example, Case features must be checked in a derivation, a DP will move to check a run-on sentence. If the feature-checking does not succeed, the structure would crash. In other words, Case theory reduces to feature-checking theory. Case-marking is assumed to be an instance of feature-checking between a functional category and its Spec. In GB theory, Nominative Case is assigned to the subject into Spec of AGR$_S$P from the position of [Spec,VP]; Accusative Case is assigned by verbs to the object remaining in situ inside VP. In the checking theory, on the other hand, both Nominative and Accusative case are checked in a uniform way; the subject or the object can have one general structural[1]) configuration of checking.

3. The Structure of DP

With respect to the structure of NPs, I adopt the framework of the DP (Determiner Phrase) analysis (Abney 1987), according to which the noun phrase is headed by a functional category, namely, D(eterminer).

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1) Now subject and object both can be assigned case in a common structural way : a functional head (Agreement of Subject in the case of nominative, and Agreement of Object in the case of object) first checks its feature with the subject or object in Spec position and assigns case.

The main point of Abney (1987) is to argue for a parallel structure for noun phrases and clauses. Thus the noun phrase can be headed by a functional category D just as the sentence is headed by a functional category I, as follows:

(1) a.   DP   b.   IP

          Spec   D′   Spec   I′

          John   D   NP   Peter   I   VP

                   's   book   -s   love   Mary

In this analysis, D(eterminer) is similar to the Infl in Inflectional Phrase(IP): the nominal <u>John</u> in [Spec,DP] checks the Case of the -'s morpheme in D just like the subject <u>Peter</u> checks the Nominative Case of Infl -s through specifier-head agreement.

Kim (1996) further assumes that the DP-structure also contains a FOCUS position and a TOPIC (or NON-FOCUS) position. Szabolcsi (1990) argues that Noun Phrases contain a pre-determiner position, observing that in (2) the possessor <u>Mari</u> marked for dative case appears before the determiner. The example in (2) is reproduced from Szabolcsi (1990).

(2) [$_{DP}$ Mari-nak   [$_D$ a   [$_{NP}$ vendeg-e-∅]]]
         Mary-Dat   the   guest-Poss[2]-3Sg

Szabolcsi (1990) proposes that the NP <u>Mari</u> in (2) has moved to [Spec,DP] where it receives Dative Case, and points out that the movement is an instance of A′-movement.

A similar analysis can be applied to Korean[3].

(3) a. [$_{DP}$ ku yeppún   yeca]
          the pretty   woman

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2) Here Poss means 'Possessive,' and 3Sg indicates to third person singular.
3) The word having the symbol ´ means that it is FOCUSed.

b. [$_{DP}$ [yeppun]   [$_{D}^{o}$ ku]   [t$_i$]   [$_{NP}$ yéca]]

An attributive adjective can move to a position preceding its determiner[4], that is [Spec,DP]. Note that the pre-determiner position is an A-bar-position. The interpretation for (3a) is different from that of (3b) in that when the adjective appears in the pre-determiner position, [Spec,DP], the adjective loses FOCAL stress, but when the adjective occurs in [Spec,XP[5]], as in (4a), the FOCAL stress on the adjective is valid[6]. Look at the following structure trees.

(4) a.
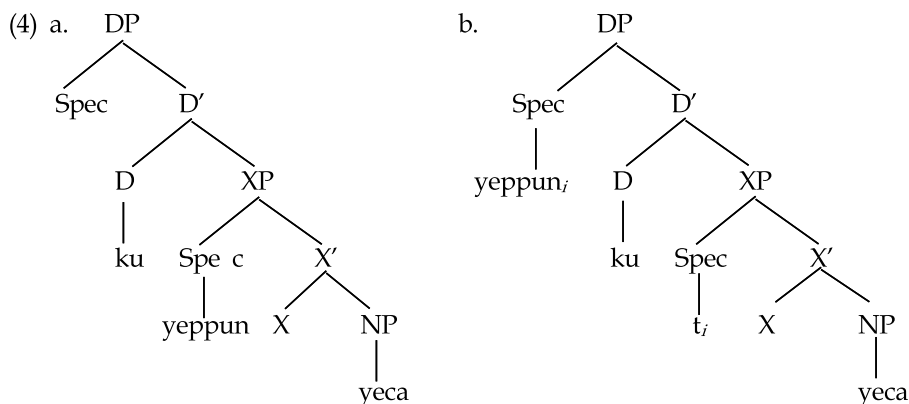
Kim (1996) proposes that [Spec,DP][7] is the position where the de-focused (topic or non-focused) element can appear, while [Spec,XP][8] in the DP-structure (as in (4)) is the position showing contrastive FOCUS.

3.1 Functional Categories in Noun Phrases in Korean

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4) Kim (1996) argues that the movement of an attributive adjective to the pre-determiner position is due to a NON-FOCUS feature.

5) Kim (1996) proposes that Korean adjectives are base-generated in [Spec,XP] in a DP structure like in (4a), and that the XP is a functional category called Agreement Phrase (AgrP).

6) See Kim (1996) for a detailed discussion of this kind of contrast between a focused adjective and a de-focused(non-focused) adjective.

7) Kim (2009) argues that the outside position of N', namely, [Spec,DP] is a place where a topic (a non-focused element) can occur. This means that a topic element must appear in the position at least at LF to be properly interpreted. Therefore, a nonrestrictive relative clause, which is a kind of topic construction, should be present in the [Spec,DP] at LF.

8) An anonymous reviewer suggests that XP in (4) be a focus functional category.

Kim (1996) argues that Korean noun phrases contain two functional categories, namely, D(eterminer) and Agr(eement), as illustrated in (5) below:

(5)

```
            DP
          /    \
        D       AgrP
              /      \
           Agr        NP
```
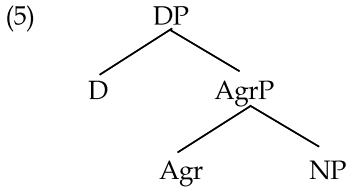
He contends that the pre-modifying adjective and relative clauses in Korean are base-generated in [Spec,AgrP].

When a pre-nominal appears in [Spec,AgrP], the head noun N moves to Agr to check the agreement features between the adjective and the noun. Given the structure for Korean noun phrases presented in (5), there is assumed to be a functional category called AgrP (within DP) mediating the agreement features between pre-nominal adjectives and their head noun; the features of AgrP require the merger of a pre-nominal adjective into the specifier position of AgrP, and the noun in N moves to the Agr position to check its features against the corresponding features occurring in [Spec,AgrP]. The positing of the functional category AgrP between DP and NP makes it possible to have agreement in plural or honorific feature between the adjective in [Spec,AgrP] and the head noun adjoined to Agr. Then the structure for (6) will be (7), as shown below (examples from (Kim (1996)):

(6) ku [$_{AP}$ kunemha-*sin*] imkum-*nim*
    the   dignified-Hon king-Hon]
    'the dignifies king'

(7)

```
                    DP
                  /    \
                 D      AgrP
                 |     /    \
                 ku  Spec    Agr'
                      |      /    \
              kunemha-sin  Agr     NP
                          /  \      |
                        N_i   Agr   N'
                         |          |
                     imkum-nim      t_i
```
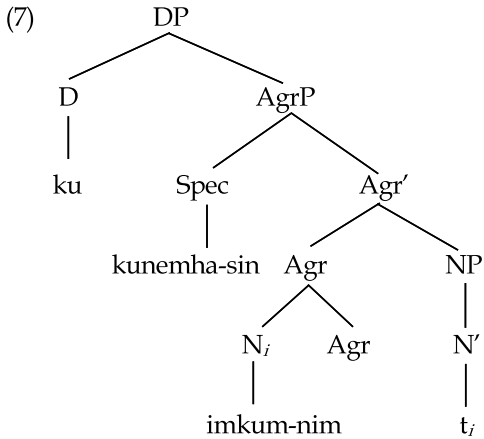
According to (Kim 1996), then N moves to Agr to check the honorific agreement features ('-sin' and '-nim') between the adjectives and the head noun, adjoining to Agr, only when an adjective appears in [Spec,AgrP].

   In the case of the honorific agreement feature, '-nim' or '-sin', and the plural agreement feature '-tul', the feature checking occurs between the pre-modifying phrase and the head noun, as shown in the following examples:

(8) a. sensayng-*nim*-uy   eme-*nim*
       teacher-Hon-Gen   mother-Hon
       'teacher's mother'
    b. *Hain-uy   eme-*nim*
        servant-Gen   mother-Hon
        (Lit.) 'servant's mother
    c. sonim-*tul*-uy   tochakkwangkyeng-*tul*
       guest-Pl-Gen   arrival scene-Pl
       'the scenes of the guests' arrival'
    d. *Han sonnim-uy   tochakkwangkyeng-*tul*
       one guest-Gen   arrival scene-Pl
       ('the scenes of one guest's arrival)   (examples from J-Y. Yoon, 1990)
(9) a. ku   kunemha-*sin*   imkum-*nim*
       the   dignified-Hon   king-Hon
       'the dignified king'

b.

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                  D    AgrP
                  |    /   \
                  ku  Spec   Agr′
                       |     /   \
                  kenemha-sin  Agr    NP
                              /  \     |
                            Nᵢ   Agr   N′
                             |          |
                        imkum-nim       tᵢ
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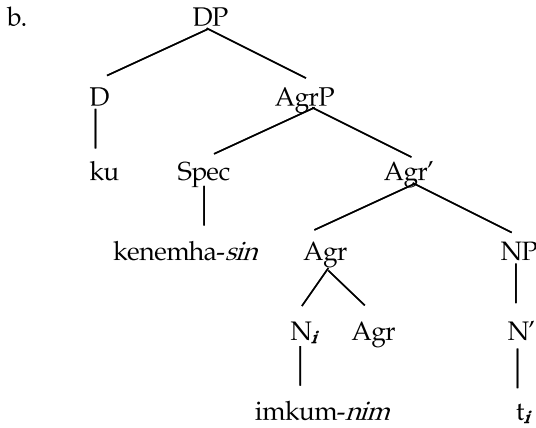
3.2 The Restrictiveness of Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are classified into restrictive relative clauses and non-restrictive relative clauses according to their restrictiveness. The restrictive relative clauses check its Focus feature within the scope of the determiner while the non-relative clauses should occur and check their non-focus feature out of the scope of the determiner.

(10) a. The Chinese who are industrious dominate the economy.
     b. The Chinese, who are industrious, dominate the economy.
(11) a. ku   yeppun   yeca
        the pretty   woman
     b. yeppun ku   yeca
        pretty   the woman
        'the pretty woman'
(12) a. Ano [watashi-ga katta]   hon
        that I-Nom   bought   book
        'that book I bought'
     b. [watashi-ga   katta]   ano   hon
         I-Nom   bought   that   book
        'that book I bought'

(13) a. Wo   sundƏ   phuul   (Hindi)
         that   pretty   flower
      b. SundƏ   wo   phuul
         pretty   that   flower   (examples from Bhattacharya (p.c.))

(14) a. The indústrious Chinese → restrictive interpretation is necessary
      b. The industrious Chínese → non-restrictive interpretation is possible
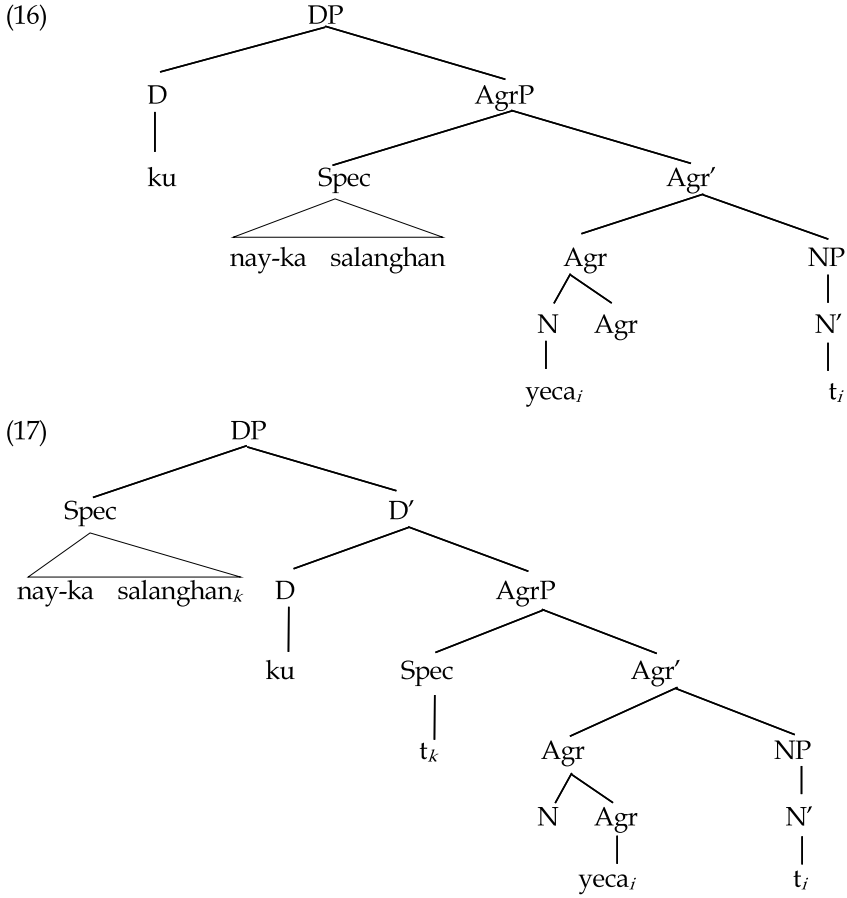
4. The Movement of Relative Clauses

According to Kim (1996), both in Korean and in English the restrictive relative clauses remain in the Specifier position of Agreement Phrase and check a Focus feature while the non-restrictive relative clause moves to [Spec,DP] to check its non-focus feature[9] syntactically or at LF. In Korean, the non-restrictive relative clause moves into [Spec,DP] syntactically and in the case of English, the movement of the non-restrictive relative clauses occurs at LF.

(15) a. ku   nay-ka   salanghan   yeca
         the   I-Nom   love   woman
         'the woman whom I love'
      b. nay-ka   salanghan   ku   yeca
         I-Nom   love   the   woman

---

9) Here I assume that a focus feature means a kind of information used to identify the entity in question. In contrast, a non-focus feature indicates some added information which is not used to identify the entity. With respect to the difference between restrictive relative clauses and nonrestrictive relative clauses, Comrie (1989) says:

"The restrictive clause serves to delimit the potential referents of the man, in 'the man that I saw yesterday left this morning.' The speaker assumes that the sentence the man left this morning does not provide the hearer with sufficient information to identify the man in question (the hearer would probably have to ask which man), so the additional information 'that I saw yesterday' is added to indicate specifically which man is being talked about. Nonrestrictive relative clauses are illustrated by the following examples: the man, who had arrived yesterday left this morning. In this sentence, the speaker seems to assume that the hearer can identify which man is being talked about, and that it is one particular, identifiable 'man' that is being talked about; the relative clause serves merely to give the hearer an added piece of information about an already identified entity, but not to identify that entity."

(16)

```
                          DP
                _____/    _____
               D                      AgrP
               |              _____/    _____
              ku           Spec                    Agr′
                        __/  |  \__          _____/    _____
                   nay-ka  salanghan      Agr                  NP
                                         /  \                  |
                                        N   Agr                N′
                                        |                      |
                                      yecaᵢ                    tᵢ
```

(17)

```
                      DP
              _____/    _____
           Spec                  D′
         __/  |  \__       _____/    \_____
    nay-ka  salanghanₖ   D                 AgrP
                         |          _____/    _____
                        ku       Spec                  Agr′
                                  |             _____/    _____
                                  tₖ         Agr                   NP
                                            /  \                   |
                                           N   Agr                 N′
                                           |                       |
                                         yecaᵢ                     tᵢ
```

However, the problem with Kim (1996) is the position of the relative clauses in English. If, like his argument, the relative clauses in English are base-generated in [Spec,AgrP], the English relative clause and its syntactic structure should be like the following, as illustrated in (18) below:

(18) a. the woman who came from France.

b.

```
                        DP
           _____/  _____
          D                          AgrP
          |                   _____/  _____
         the               Spec                 Agr′
                      ____/____             ____/  \____
                     /_____\           Agr          NP
              who came from France        /  \          |
                                         N    Agr       N′
                                         |              |
                                      womanᵢ            tᵢ
```
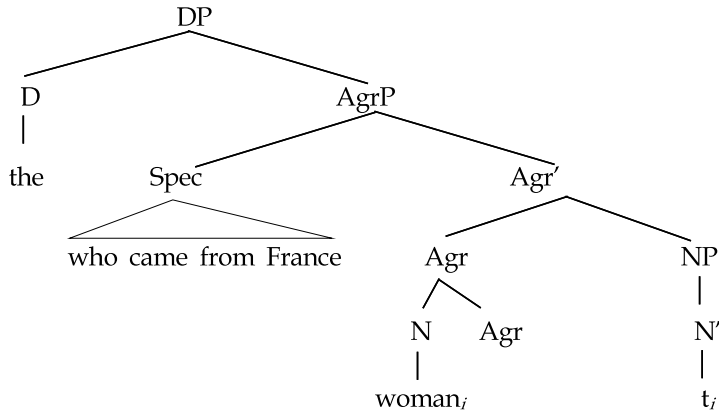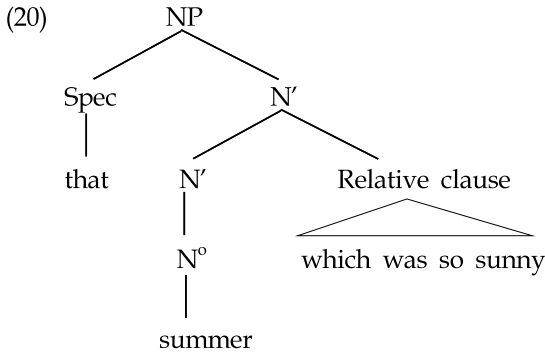
The above syntactic structure (18b) for (18a), however, is unacceptable for English, even though it may be acceptable for Korean. We need another solution.
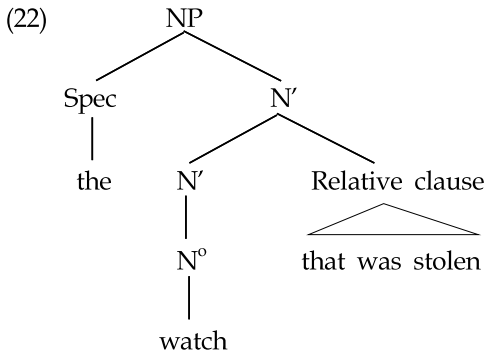

5. The Structure of Relative Clauses in English

In the case of English, the relative clauses are assumed to be base-generated in the adjunct position to the head noun (Aarts 2001, p.139). According to him, both restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses occur as adjuncts of NP[10] (i.e. they are adjoined to N′). Look at the following sentences in (19) and (21). The sentence in (19) is a nonrestrictive relative clause while that in (21) is a restrictive relative clause. With respect the structure of relative clauses in English, the sentence in (19) will have (20) as its structure while the structure for the sentence in (21) will be (22), as illustrated below: (examples from (Aarts 2001))

(19) Do you remember [$_{NP}$ that summer, which was so sunny]?

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10) Also readers are referred to Parker and Riley (2005) for a detailed discussion of the structure of adjuncts and relative clauses.

(20)

```
                NP
         ┌───────┴───────┐
       Spec             N′
        │        ┌───────┴──────────┐
       that     N′          Relative clause
                │           ╱────────────╲
                N°         which was so sunny
                │
              summer
```

(21) I'm worried about [NP the watch that was stolen], not the one on the table.

(22)

```
                NP
         ┌───────┴───────┐
       Spec             N′
        │        ┌───────┴──────────┐
       the      N′          Relative clause
                │           ╱────────────╲
                N°           that was stolen
                │
              watch
```

However, the structures above do not show us that there is a syntactic or semantic difference in structure between a restrictive relative clause and a nonrestrictive relative clause. To show the semantic difference at least, I claim that the nonrestrictive relative clause moves into [Spec,DP] to check its a non-focus feature (a kind of TOPIC feature), and that the restrictive relative clause raises to [Spec,AgrP] to check its any features (focus feature) against those in the head of AgrP into which the head noun is moved. The movement of the relative clauses is done not in syntax but at LF in the case of English. Note that the movement of relative clauses in Korean occurs syntactically.

Another pair of examples can assure us of the difference between restrictive relative clauses and nonrestrictive relative clauses.
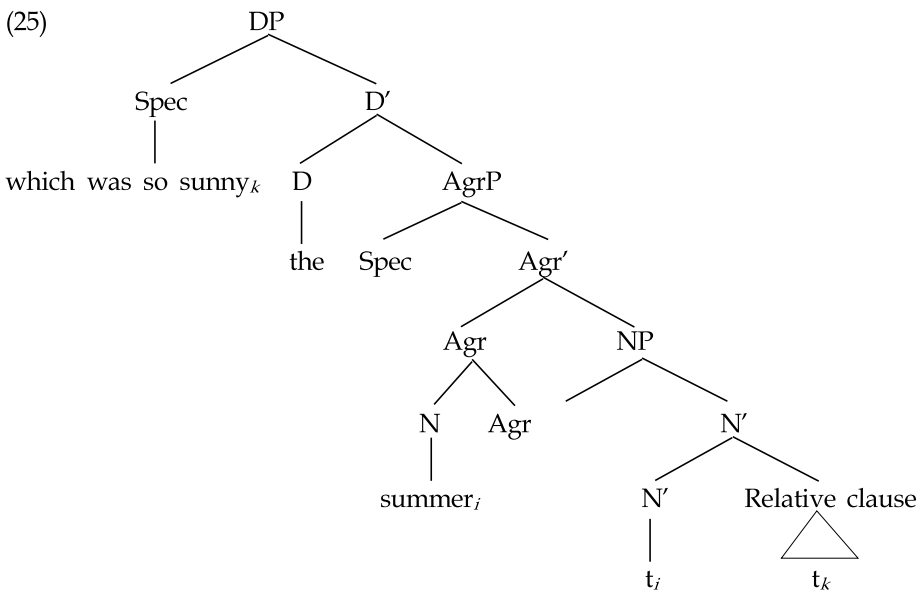
(23) John read any book which Mary bought. → restrictive relative clause
(24) John loved Mary, who is my sister. → nonrestrictive relative clause

The syntactic difference between a restrictive relative clause in (23) and a nonrestrictive relative clause in (24) is that the sentence in (24) is marked by an intonation break while that in (23) is not. Semantically speaking, the reference set for <u>Mary</u> in (24) is totally independent of the appositive relative clause while the reference set for <u>any book</u> in (23) is dependent on the restrictive relative clause.
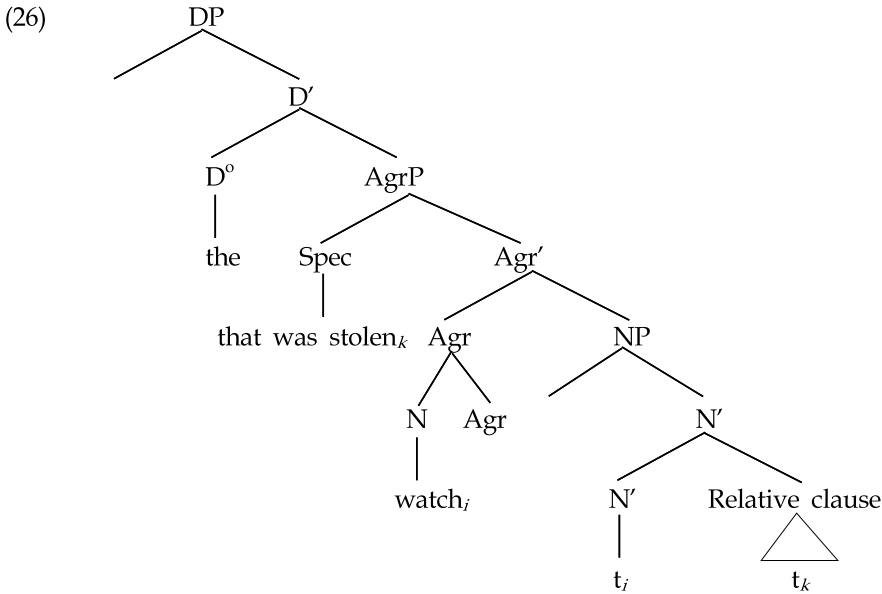
Now assuming that the relative clauses in English remain in situ (N-bar position as an adjunct to the head noun) in syntax regardless of its restrictiveness, I claim that the restrictive relative clause in English moves into [Spec,AgrP] at LF and the head noun raises to Agr between DP and NP while the nonrestrictive clause further LF-moves to [Spec,DP] out of the scope of the determiner, to check its non-focus (TOPIC) feature.

Then the LF structures for (19) and (21) will be different from each other. Within our framework, the sentence in (19) will have (25) as its LF-structure and (21) will be (26) as its LF-structure, as illustrated below[11]:

(25)

```
                        DP
               ┌─────────┴─────────┐
             Spec                  D′
              │             ┌───────┴───────┐
  which was so sunny_k       D             AgrP
                             │         ┌─────┴─────┐
                            the       Spec        Agr′
                                             ┌──────┴──────┐
                                            Agr            NP
                                         ┌───┴───┐     ┌────┴────┐
                                         N      Agr   N′    Relative clause
                                         │            │          △
                                      summer_i        t_i        t_k
```

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(26)

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                      D′
                     /  \
                   D°    AgrP
                   |    /    \
                  the Spec    Agr′
                       |     /    \
              that was stolenₖ Agr   NP
                            /  \    /  \
                           N   Agr N′   N′
                           |      /    /  \
                        watchᵢ   N′  Relative clause
                                 |      △
                                 tᵢ     tₖ
```

In (26), the restrictive relative clause moves to [Spec,AgrP] to check its focus feature against the corresponding feature of the head noun raised(merged) into the head of AgrP. On the other hand, the nonrestrictive relative clause further raises into [Spec,DP] out of the determiner, as in (25) above. Of course, we assume that the nonrestrictive relative clause stops at [Spec,AgrP] during the movement to the [Spec,DP] to check its agreement features against the corresponding features of the head noun merged into the head Agr, if any.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I consider the structures of relative clauses in Korean and in English within the framework of the feature-checking theory (Chomsky 1995, Kim 1996, Radford 2004). In Korean the relative clauses are base-generated in [Spec,AgrP] and the nonrestrictive relative clauses further syntactically move into [Spec,DP]. On the other hand, in English the relative clauses are base-adjoined to the head noun in syntax, and the restrictive relative clause moves into [Spec,AgrP] from the N-bar position at LF while the nonrestrictive relative clause further LF-raises into [Spec,DP].

The restrictive relative clauses check their focus feature in [Spec,AgrP] and

the nonrestrictive relative clauses check their non-focus (TOPIC) feature in [Spec,DP], regardless of whether they are English or Korean. The difference between English and Korean is whether the relative clauses checks their features in syntax or at LF. The relative clause in Korean checks in syntax while in English at LF.

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