On what determines the modification relation in Korean adnominal adjunct RDCs*

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Chung, Daeho. 2016. On what determines the modification relation in Korean adnominal adjunct RDCs. *Linguistic Research* 33(3), 351-370. This work addresses the question of how adnominal appendices in the adjunct right dislocation construction (ADJ-RDC) in Korean resolve their modification relation. The main points made in this paper are: (i) Ko's (2014, 2015) account in terms of assimilating the ADJ-RDC to a parasitic gap construction does not gain much support; (ii) a proximity based approach more adequately describes the facts; (iii) proximity can be overridden by focus information; and (iv) given a designated default focus position in Korean, the role of proximity can be subsumed under the role of focus. Thus, a unified focus based account is provided. **(Hanyang University)**

Keywords right dislocation construction (RDC), adnominal adjunct, modification relation, grammatical function, proximity, focus, default focus

1. Introduction

This work addresses the question of how post-verbal adnominal adjuncts (PV-ADAs in short) resolve their modification relation in Korean adjunct-type right dislocation constructions (ADJ-RDCs). To the best of my knowledge, Ko (2014, 2015) first brought up this issue seriously. She makes two interesting observations that Korean ADJ-RDCs display: They exhibit a subject-object asymmetry and a CED effect[1] when a PV-ADA is associated with the head noun in the host clause. As the

two properties are typically observed in the parasitic gap construction (PGC) as well, she assimilates the ADJ-RDC to a PGC and proposes a sideward movement analysis in which the so-called adjunct domain (composed of an adnominal phrase and its head noun) is concatenated with the host clause and the head noun moves sideward to the host clause. The current work illustrates, however, that the parallelism of ADJ-RDC and PGC is not compelling, neither theoretically nor empirically. Instead, this paper observes that some sort of proximity principle and focus information interplay to resolve the modification relation in the ADJ-RDC involving a PV-ADA. Ultimately, however, a unified focus based approach will be suggested, as proximity has directly to do with default focus in an SOV language like Korean.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly reproduces Ko's (2014, 2015) account in terms of assimilating the ADJ-RDC to a PGC. Section 3 shows that her account is not fully supported, despite apparent similarities between the two constructions. Section 4 tries to account for the restrictions that the ADJ-RDC displays in terms of interplay of a proximity principle and focus information. Section 5 suggests a unified focus based analysis. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Ko's (2014,2015) concatenation and sideward movement analysis

According to Ko (2014, 2015), an ADJ-RDC with a PV-ADA results from a combination of two syntactic processes: concatenation and sideward movement.[2] First, the so-called adjunct domain that consists of an adnominal phrase and its head is concatenated with a host clause, along the lines of Hornstein and Nunes' (2008) analysis of adjunct structures. Then the head of the adjunct domain moves sideward to the host clause, analogously to Nunes' (2004) derivation of the PGC. For example, the ADJ-RDC in (1) has the derivational processes schematically illustrated

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[1]   The CED (Condition on Extraction Domain) states that extraction is possible out of a complement, but not out of a subject or an adjunct (Huang 1982).

[2]   Argument-type RDCs are differently derived in Ko (2014, 2015). They start with a mono-clausal structure and two movement operations apply to them: An argument that will eventually function as an appendix first undergoes a leftward movement to the specifier of a focus phrase, and then the remnant (the host clause) undergoes a leftward movement to the specifier of a topic phrase. Such a hybrid approach to RDCs may face an immediate problem as there exists a mixed form of appendices, as discussed in Chung (2015).

in (2a, b):

(1) na-nun [han sonyen]-ul   manna-ess-e
    I-Top   one boy-Acc   meet-Pst-DE
    [acwu   ttokttok-hako   calsayngki-n]
     very   smart-and   handsome-RC
    'I met a boy who is very smart and handsome.'

(2) a. **Concatenation**
       na-nun manna-ess-e ^ [[acwu ttokttok-hako calsayngki-n][han sonyen]]
    b. **Sideward movement**
       na-nun [han sonyen]ᵢ-ul manna-ess-e ^ [[acwu ttokttok-hako calsayngki-n] eᵢ]

Ko (2014, 2015) observes that ADJ-RDCs, just like PGCs, display a subject-object asymmetry and a CED effect. Based on these observations, she proposes a sideward movement analysis of ADJ-RDCS with a PV-ADA. She takes examples like (3) and (4) to show that ADJ-RDCs are sensitive to the grammatical function. A PV-ADA can be associated with an object, but not with a subject. A similar restriction seems to apply in the licensing of a parasitic gap (PG), as shown in (5) and (6), where a PG can be associated with an object trace, but not with a subject trace.

(3) *Subject-object asymmetry: relative clause* (adapted from Ko 2015, her (61))
    Cheli-ka **Yengi-lul**   manna-ess-e
    C.-Nom   Y.-Acc   meet-Pst-DE
    [RC **ppalkah-ko khun   moca-lul ssu-n.**]
        red-and   big   hat-Acc wear-RC
    'Cheli met Yengi, who wore a big red hat.'
    [who=Yengi; *who=Cheli]

(4) *Subject-object asymmetry: genitive- marked phrase* (adapted from Ko 2015, her (62))
    a. Cheli-ka **apeci-lul**   manna-ess-e **Yengi-uy**
       C.-Nom   father-Acc   meet-Pst-DE Y.-Gen

'Cheli met Yengi's father.'

b. ***Apeci-ka**   Cheli-lul manna-ess-e   **Yengi-uy**
   father-Nom   C.-Acc   meet-Pst-DE   Y.-Gen
   'Yengi's father met Cheli.'

(5)   (=Nunes 2004: 109, his (55a))
       *I wonder [which man]$_i$ e$_i$ called you before you met PG$_i$.

(6)   (=Nunes 2004, 95: his 16a))
       [Which man]$_i$ did you file e$_i$ without reading PG$_i$.

Ko (2014, 2015) also points out that the ADJ-RDC and the PGC behave alike in that they both display a CED effect. A PV-ADA can be associated with a direct object but not with an element embedded under it, as the contrast between (7) and (8) shows, which seems to be analogous to the contrast in PGCs between (9) and (10):

(7)   *Lack of LBC* (adapted from Ko 2015: 33, her (59))
       Na-nun [__ cha]-lul pilliesse   [**Yengi-uy   emma-uy**]
       I-Top   car-Acc borrowed   Y.-Gen   mother-Gen
       'I borrowed Yengi's mother's car.'

(8)   *Emergence of LBC due to embedding* (adapted from Ko 2015: 33, her (60))
       *Na-nun [[__ **emma-uy**]   cha-lul] pilli-ess-e   **Yengi-uy**.
       I-Top   mommy-Gen car-Acc borrow-Pst-DE   Y.-Gen
       'I borrowed Yengi's mother's car.'

(9)   =Ko 2015: 31, her (57)) *PG and lack of CED effects*
   a. PG+subject island
      Which politician did [**pictures of ___**$_{PG}$] upset __ ?
   b. PG+adjunct island
      Which paper did you read __ [**before filing ___**$_{PG}$] ?

(10)   =Ko 2015: 31, her (58)) *Emergence of CED effects with PG*

    a. *Which politician did you criticize __ [before [**pictures of** ___PG] upset the voters]?

    b. *Which book did you finally read __ [after leaving the bookstore **without finding** ___PG]]?

Under Ko's (2014, 2015) system, a PV-ADA in the ADJ-RDC is to be associated with the object head in the host clause. The system works fine with the data up to now. However, it will be shown in the next section that the parallelism between the ADJ-RDC and PGC does not always hold.

3. Evidence against the PV-ADA vs. PG parallelism

This section will show that the parallelism between the ADJ-RDC and PGC claimed in Ko (2014, 2015) does not seem to be fully motivated. The subject-object asymmetry in particular is shown not to be compelling, neither theoretically nor empirically. (The CED effect will be briefly discussed later in Section 4.)

First, subject gaps do license PGs, given an appropriate structural relation. Although there exists a clear contrast between sentences like (5) and those like (6), the contrast may not be based on the grammatical function of the real gap. Notice that, as was observed by Taraldsen (1981) and Engdahl (1983), subject gaps (as well as object gaps) can license PGs, given an appropriate structural relation, as exemplified below:

(11)   (=Engdahl 1983: 21, her (60))
    Which Caesar did Brutus imply ___ was no good while ostensibly praising ___PG?

(12)   (=Engdahl 1983: 21, her (61))
    Who did you say John's criticism of ___PG would make us think ____ was stupid?

In (11), the subject gap in the embedded clause can license the PG in the adjunct

clause, if the *while* clause is regarded as being attached to the matrix VP, not to the embedded VP. Also in (12), the subject gap in the embedded clause can license the PG contained in the subject of a higher clause. Thus the licensing condition does not care about the grammatical function of the real gap. Rather an anti-c-command condition is respected, as was first proposed by Engdahl (1983). The real gaps in (11) and (12) do not c-command the PGs. As far as the PG licensing is not sensitive to the grammatical function of the real gap (at least not to an anti-subject condition), but to a structural (c-command) relation, the presumed parallelism between the ADJ-RDC and the PGC does not sustain.

Second, even if the grammatical function were assumed to be relevant, it would be hard to structurally capture the relevance under Ko's (2014, 2015) own structure. Notice that the structural relation that holds between a real gap and a PG in the PGC does not hold between a PV-ADA and the associated head noun in the host clause, as schematically represented below:

(13) a.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{PGC} \\
\cdots \ *RG_{SUB} \ \cdots \ XP \\
XP \qquad ADJ \\
\cdots \ RG_{OBJ} \ \cdots \qquad \cdots \ PG \ \cdots
\end{array}
$$

b.   ADJ-RDC

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Concatenation} \\
IP \qquad PV\text{-}ADA \\
*DP_{SUB} \quad I' \\
VP \quad DP_{OBJ} \\
V
\end{array}
$$
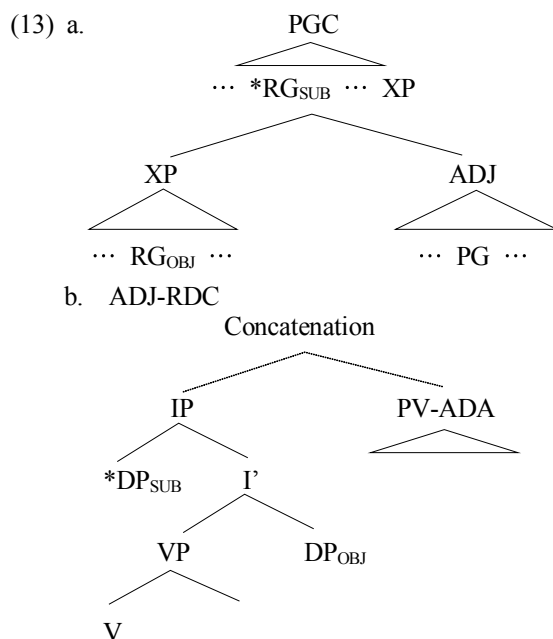
As illustrated in (13a), the 'subject-object asymmetry' in the PGC as observed in the contrast between (5) and (6) can be accounted for in terms of a structural relation,

i.e., by an anti-c-command relation between the real gap and the PG. However, the presumed 'subject-object asymmetry' in the ADJ-RDC as observed in the contrast between (3) and (4) cannot be explained in this way with (13B). Notice that neither the subject nor the object c-commands the PV-ADA in the structure.[3]

Third, empirically, the subject association reading is not absolutely banned. It is readily available, given pragmatically appropriate situations, as in (14) below, which is cited from Chung (2015: 750, his (24)):

(14) **ceysam-uy   senswu-ka**   kummeytal-ul   tta-ess-ta,
     third-Gen   player-Nom   gold;medal-Acc   win-Pst-DE
     [**hwuposenswu   myengtan-ey-to   mos-kki-ten**]
     backup;player   list-to-even   not-belong-PNE
     'A third player, who was not even listed as a backup player, won
     the gold medal.'

The PV-ADA in (14), which is required to be predicated of a human being due to its pragmatic property, can be associated with the subject, but not with the object. In contrast, in sentences like (3), where the PV-ADA is potentially compatible with both subject and object, the PV-ADA tends to be associated with the object. What is clear from the discussion is that the subject association is not absolutely banned, although the subject association is much more difficult when both subject and object can be potentially associated with the PV-ADA.

Fourth, there are cases where the subject association is preferred or even uniquely available. Compare (15a) and (15b). The two are identical to each other, except that the object has undergone scrambling in the latter.

(15) a. Cheli-ka [**Yengi-lul**]   sangtayha-lke-ya, [$_{RC}$ **kacang**
       C.-Nom   Y.-Acc   compete;with-will-DE   most
       kyenghemmanh-un].
       experienced-RC
       'Cheli will compete with Yengi, who is the most experienced.'
                                         [*who=Cheli; who=Yengi]

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3   This relation holds, no matter how 'concatenation' is interpreted, as far as the PV-ADA (or more precisely the so-called adjunct domain) is concatenated with the entire host clause.

b. [Yengi-lul]ᵢ **Cheli-ka** eᵢ sangtayha-lke-ya, [_RC_ **kacang**

   Y.-Acc   C.-Nom   compete;with-will-DE   most

   kyenghemmanh-un].

   experienced-RC

   'Cheli will compete with Yengi, who is the most experienced.'

   [who=Cheli; ??who=Yengi]

In a canonical SOV order, as in (15a), the subject association reading is hardly available. In an OSV order due to scrambling, as in (15b), however, the PV-ADA is more readily associated with the subject: The object association is much more degraded.[4] The contrast shows that the grammatical function does not matter in the modification relation in ADJ-RDCs.

There are even cases where the subject association is uniquely available. Consider the following dialogue:

(16) A: nwu-ka   Yengi-lul   sangtayha-lke-ya?

   who-Nom   Y.-Acc   compete;with-will-QE

   'Who will compete with Yengi?'

   B: **Cheli-ka** eⱼ sangtayha-lke-ya, [_RC_ **kacang kyenghemmanh-un]**.

   C.-Nom   compete;with-will-DE   most   experienced-RC

   'Cheli will compete with Yengi, who is the most experienced.'

   [who=Cheli; *who=Yengi]

Cheli-ka in (16B) will receive information focus as it corresponds to the *WH*-phrase *nwu* 'who' in (16A). The object in (16B) is suppressed as it is given information from (16A).[5] In such a case, the PV-ADA is associated with the subject, but not

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with the suppressed object. Even when the object is overtly realized, the object association reading is hardly available, as shown in (17B) below:

(17) A: (=16A)

B: **Cheli-ka**   Yengi-lul   sangtayha-lke-ya,   [RC **kacang**
　　 C.-Nom   Y.-Acc   compete;with-will-DE   most
　　 kyenghemmanh-un].
　　 experienced-RC
　　 'Cheli will compete with Yengi, who is the most experienced.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[who=Cheli; *?who=Yengi]

To sum up, Ko's (2014, 2015) account of the restrictions that the ADJ-RDC display in terms of assimilating the ADJ-RDC to a PGC does not seem to be fully supported, despite some syntactic similarities between the two constructions. The subject-object asymmetry in particular does not hold, given appropriate structural or pragmatic manipulations, discrediting Ko's (2014, 2015) derivation of the ADJ-RDC in terms of concatenation of a host clause plus an adjunct domain followed by a sideward head noun movement.

4. Proximity and focus

What is then responsible for the facts discussed in the previous sections? It will be shown in this section that some sort of proximity principle plays an active role in the choice of the right element to be associated with the PV-ADA. Another point to be made in this section is that the proximity principle can be overridden by focus.

PV-ADAs in ADJ-RDCs seek to be associated with the closest possible focus element. Let us first consider the interpretation facts in (3), (4), and (15b), repeated below:

(i) ecey-nun   Cheli-ka   o-ess-e,   kacang kongpwu cal   ha-nun
　　 yesterday-Top C.-Nom   come-Pst-DE most   study   well   do-RC
　　 'Yesterday, Cheli, who is the best student, came.'

(3)　　*Subject-object asymmetry: relative clause* (adapted from Ko 2015, her (61))

　　　　Cheli-ka　**Yengi-lul**　　manna-ess-e

　　　　C.-Nom　Y.-Acc　　　meet-Pst-DE

　　　　[RC **ppalkah-ko khun　moca-lul ssu-n.**]

　　　　　　red-and　　big　　hat-Acc　wear-RC

　　　　'Cheli met Yengi, who wore a big red hat.'

　　　　[who=Yengi; *who=Cheli]

(14)　　*Subject-object asymmetry: genitive- marked phrase* (adapted from Ko 2015, her (62))

　　　a. Cheli-ka　　**apeci-lul**　　manna-ess-e **Yengi-uy**

　　　　　C.-Nom　　father-Acc　　meet-Pst-DE Y.-Gen

　　　　　'Cheli met Yengi's father.'

　　　b. ***Apeci-ka**　　　Cheli-lul manna-ess-e　**Yengi-uy**

　　　　　father-Nom　　C.-Acc　meet-Pst-DE　Y.-Gen

　　　　　'Yengi's father met Cheli.'

(15) b. [Yengi-lul]$_i$ **Cheli-ka** e$_i$　　sangtayha-lke-ya,　[RC **kacang**

　　　　　Y.-Acc　　　C.-Nom　　　compete;with-will-DE　most

　　　　kyenghemmanh-un].

　　　　experienced-RC

　　　　'Cheli will compete with Yengi, who is the most experienced.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[who=Cheli; ??who=Yengi]

In (3) and (4), the objects are linearly closer to the PV-ADAs than the subjects are. In contrast, in (15b), where the object has undergone scrambling, the subject becomes closer to the PV-ADA. The PV-ADAs are associated with the closer elements in the host clause. The association of a PV-ADA with a head noun in the host clause is blocked or at least less preferred when another dependent intervenes between the head noun and the predicate. Thus the subject association reading in (3) and (4b) and the object association reading in (15b) are unavailable or drastically degraded.

　　In a similar vein, the strength of association in a dative construction changes

depending on the word order variations. Consider the following examples:

(18)   Cheli-ka Yengi-lul   **Songi-eykey**   sokayha-ess-ta,
        C.-Nom Y.-Acc   S.-Dat   introduce-Pst-DE
        [RC **ppalkah-ko khun   moca-lul ssu-n**].
             red-and   big   hat-Acc wear-RC
        'Cheli introduced Yengi to Songi, who wore a big red hat.'
                                        [who=Songi; ?who=Yengi]

(19)   Cheli-ka Songi-eykey   **Yengi-lul**   sokayha-ess-ta,
        C.-Nom S.-Dat   Y.-Acc   introduce-Pst-DE
        [RC **ppalkah-ko khun   moca-lul ssu-n**].
             red-and   big   hat-Acc wear-RC
        'Cheli introduced Yengi to Songi, who wore a big red hat.'
                                        [?who=Songi ; who=Yengi]

In (18), which has an accusative-dative word order in the host clause, the PV-ADA prefers to be associated with the dative element, which is closer to it. In contrast, in (19), where the order of the internal arguments is reversed, the PV-ADA prefers to be associated with the accusative element, conforming to the proximity principle.

   Also observe that the object association reading in (3) becomes severely degraded when an adjunct is added after the object, as shown in (20) below:

(20)   *? Cheli-ka **Yengi-lul** hakkyo-eyse manna-ess-e
          C.-Nom   Y.-Acc   school-at   meet-Pst-DE
          [RC **ppalkah-ko khun   moca-lul ssu-n**.]
               red-and   big   hat-Acc wear-RC
          'Cheli met Yengi at school, who wore a big red hat.'

When neutrally uttered, (20) hardly produces an object association reading. (As will be discussed later in this section, this reading can reemerge when some manipulation is made as to the focus feature.) The low acceptability of (20) can be attributed to a proximity violation.

   Let us now consider the case where the proximity principle appears to be

violated, as in the examples like (14), (16) and (17), repeated below:

(14)   **ceysam-uy   senswu-ka**   kummeytal-ul   tta-ess-ta,
   third-Gen player-Nom gold;medal-Acc   win-Pst-DE
   [**hwuposenswu myengtan-ey-to mos-kki-ten**]
   backup;player list-to-even   not-belong-PNE
   'A third player, who was not even listed as a backup player, won
   the gold medal.'

(16) A: nwu-ka Yengi-lul sangtayha-lke-ya?
    who-Nom Y.-Acc compete;with-will-QE
    'Who will compete with Yengi?'
  B: **Cheli-ka** e$_j$ sangtayha-lke-ya, [$_{RC}$ **kacang kyenghemmanh-un**].
    C.-Nom compete;with-will-DE most experienced-RC
    'Cheli will compete with Yengi, who is the most experienced.'
             [who=Cheli; *who=Yengi]

(17) A: (=16A)
  B: **Cheli-ka** Yengi-lul sangtayha-lke-ya, [$_{RC}$ **kacang**
    C.-Nom   Y.-Acc compete;with-will-DE most
    kyenghemmanh-un].
    experienced-RC
    'Cheli will compete with Yengi, who is the most experienced.
             [who=Cheli; *?who=Yengi]

In these examples, the PV-ADA appears to be associated with the subject, crossing over the object, violating the proximity principle.

  Then the question that arises is why the violation of the proximity principle is tolerated in such examples. It seems to be the case that focus overrides the proximity principle. In (16B) and (17B), the subject bears an information focus feature, which is clear from the discourse context of a content question and answer pair. Thus, a more distant element can basically be associated with the PV-ADA, when it receives focus.[6]

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6 As pointed out by one of the journal reviewers, (4b) becomes grammatical, when the subject
  receives information focus, as follows:

In sentences like (14) as well, focus seems relevant. The expression *cey sam-uy X* 'a third X' generally receives focus, as it contrasts with the first two X, due to a lexico-pragmatic property that *cey sam* 'a third' conveys. Notice that (14) becomes unacceptable if focus is forced to fall on the object, as shown in (21), which is identical to (14), except that the object receives a pitch accent, indicated by upper case letters:

(21)   *?**ceysam-uy**   **senswu-ka**   KUMMEYTAL-ul tta-ess-ta,
        third-Gen   player-Nom   gold;medal-Acc   win-Pst-DE
        [**hwuposenswu   myengtan-ey-to   mos-kki-ten**]
        backup;player   list-to-even   not-belong-PNE
        'A third player, who was not even listed as a backup player,
        won the gold medal.'

The association of the PV-ADA with the subject becomes impossible when such a focus element intervenes between the two.

Likewise, the proximity principle that used to constrain sentences like (20) can be overridden by focus. Thus, the object or even the subject in (20) can come to be associated with the PV-ADA, when focus falls on appropriate elements. Compare (20), with the dialogues in (22)~(24):

(22)   A: Cheli-ka   Yengi-lul   **eti**-eyse   manna-ess-ni?
            C.-Nom   Y.-Acc   where-at   meet-Pst-QE
        'Where did Cheli meet Yengi?'
        B: #Cheli-ka Yengi-lul   **HAKKYO-eyse** manna-ess-e
            C.-Nom   Y.-Acc   school-at   meet-Pst
            [RC **ppalkah-ko   khun   moca-lul ssu-n**.]
                red-and   big   hat-Acc wear-RC
            'Cheli met Yengi at school, who wore a big red hat.'
                                    [*?who=Cheli, *? Who=Yengi]

_____

(i) A: nwu-ka   Cheli-lul manna-ess-ni?
         who-Nom C.-Acc   meet-Pst-QE
         'Who met Cheli?'
      B: **APECI-ka**   Cheli-lul manna-ess-e **Yengi-uy**
         father-Nom C.-Acc   meet-Pst-DE Y.-Gen
   'Yengi's father met Cheli.'

(23) A: Cheli-ka **nwukwu-lul**   hakkyo-eyse   manna-ess-ni?
　　　C.-Nom who-Acc   school-at   meet-Pst-QE
　　　'Who Cheli meet at school?'

　B: Cheli-ka **YENGI-lul** hakkyo-eyse   manna-ess-e
　　　C.-Nom Y.-Acc   school-at   meet-Pst-DE
　　　[RC **ppalkah-ko khun   moca-lul ssu-n**]
　　　　 red-and   big   hat-Acc wear-RC
　　　'Cheli met Yengi at school, who wore a big red hat.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[*?who=Cheli; Who=Yengi]

(24) A: **nwu-ka**   Yengi-lul   hakkyo-eyse   manna-ess-ni?
　　　Who-Nom Y.-Acc   school-at   meet-Pst-QE
　　　'Who met Yengi at school?'

　B: **CHELI-ka** Yengi-lul hakkyo-eyse   manna-ess-e
　　　C.-Nom   Y.-Acc   school-at   meet-Pst-DE
　　　[RC **ppalkah-ko khun   moca-lul ssu-n**]
　　　　 red-and   big   hat-Acc wear-RC
　　　'Cheli met Yengi at school, who wore a big red hat.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[who=Cheli; *?who=Yengi]

When focus falls on the adjunct, as in (22B), neither the subject nor object association reading is available. However, when focus falls on the object as in (23B) or on the subject as in (24B), the proximity principle can be overridden, producing an object association reading or a subject association reading. These data indicate that a PV-ADA tends to be associated with a focused element, even crossing an intervening non-focus element. Thus, the PV-ADA association shows more respect to focus than to proximity.[7]

7　One of the journal reviewers wonders what happens when focus falls on multiple elements, as in (i) below:

　(i) A: nwu-ka   nwukwu-lul sangtayha-lke-ya?
　　　　who-Nom who-Accm   compete;with-will-QE
　　　　'Who will compete with whom?'
　　B: **Cheli-ka Yengi-lul** sangtayha-lke-ya, [RC **kacang   kyenghemmanh-un**].
　　　　C.-Nom Y.-Acc   compete;with-will-DE most   experienced-RC
　　　　'Cheli will compete with Yengi, who is the most experienced.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[?who=Cheli; who=Yengi]

The CED effect in the contrast between (7) and (8) can be accounted for by the proximity principle, as the closest candidate to be associated with the PV-ADA will be the head noun, rather than the specifier or adjunct, as schematically represented below:[8]

(25) [S ··· [XP YP$_{SPEC/ADJ}$ ... X] ···]   [PV-ADA]

_____
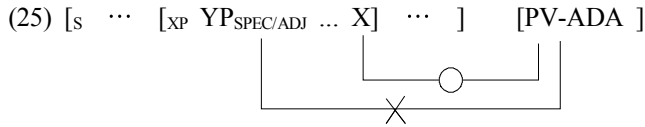
Though both the subject and the object receive information focus, the subject association reading sounds much harder than the object association reading. Nevertheless, the subject association reading is not excluded. Furthermore, when the object association is pragmatically difficult, the subject association is readily available, as follows:

(ii) A: nwu-ka   mwusun kwamok-ul   kaluchi-ni?
        who-Nom   which   subject-Acc   teach-QE?
        'Who teaches which subject?'
     B: **Cheli-ka swuhak-ul** kaluch-e, [RC **kacang kyenghemmanh-un**].
        C.-Nom   math-Acc teach-DE   most   experienced-RC
        'Cheli, who is the most experienced, teaches math.'

The same reviewer also asks what happens when a scrambled element receives focus. The focus overriding effect seems to show up, though the proximity effect does not completely disappear, as in (iii) below:

(iii) A: nwukwu-lul Cheli-ka sangtayha-lke-ya?
         who-Acc   C.-Nom compete;with-will-QE
         'Who will Cheli compete with?'
      B: **Yengi-lul** Cheli-ka sangtayha-lke-ya, [RC **kacang kyenghemmanh-un**].
         Y.-Acc   C.-Nom compete;with-will-DE most   experienced-RC
         'Cheli will compete with Yengi, who is the most experienced.'
                                                    [??who=Cheli; who=Yengi]

The chances of associating the PV-ADA with the proximate element seems to be slightly higher in (iiiB) than in (17B). For the time being I have no explanation about the subtle difference.

8 Chung (2015) also points out that the CED can be violated, taking the following example:

(i) (=Chung 2015: 750, his (23))
    a. [[Kim kyoswu-uy   [ceyca]]-uy   nonmwun]-i LI-ey   silli-ess-ta.
       K.   professor-Gen student-Gen article-Nom LI-in   get;published-Pst-DE
       'Professor Kim's student's article was published in LI.'
    b. [[e$_i$ [ceyca]]-uynonmwun]-i LI-eysilli-ess-ta, [Kim kyoswu-uy]$_i$

Focus falls on *ceyca* 'student' in (ib) to have the relevant reading. When *nonmwun* 'paper' or *LI* receives focus, however, such a CED obviation does not obtain.

As far as XP has a head final structure, X is closer to the PV-ADA than its specifier or adjunct is. Thus, a PV-ADA is more readily associated with the head than with the specifier or adjunct.

However, extra focus on a non-head element, e.g., on the specifier, obviates or at least weakens the CED effect, as exemplified in (26B) below:

(26) A: **nwukwu-uy** yekwen-i   tonantangha-ess-ni?
          who-Gen   passport-Nom   be;stolen-Pst-QE
          'Whose passport was stolen?'
    B: **KIM KYOSWU-uy**   yekwen-i   tonantangha-ess-e,
          K. professor-Gen   passport-Nom be;stolen-Pst-DE
          [nayil   mikwuk-ulo ttena-ki-lo. ha-n]
          tomorrow   US-to   leave-decide-RC
          'Professor Kim's passport was stolen, (the person) who decided to leave for the States tomorrow.'

In (26B), *KIM KYOSWU* 'Professor Kim' is a specifier of the subject DP, but it can be associated with the PV-ADA, as it receives focus. Of course, when focus falls on the head noun, such a CED obviation does not obtain, as shown below:

(27) A: Kim   kyoswu-uy   **etten mwulken**-i tonantangha-ess-ni?
          K.   professor-Gen which thing-Nom   be;stolen-Pst-QE
          'Which thing of Prof. Kim was stolen?'
    B: #Kim   kyoswu-uy   **yekwen**-i   tonantangha-ess-e,
          K.   professor-Gen passport-Nom be;stolen-Pst-DE
          [nayil   mikwuk-ulo   ttena-ki-lo. ha-n]
          tomorrow   US-to   leave-decide-RC
          'Professor Kim's passport was stolen, (the person) who decided to leave for the States tomorrow.'

The focused head noun *YEKWEN* 'passport' blocks the association of the PV-ADA with the specifier *Kim kyoswu* 'Prof. Kim'.[9]

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9   One of the journal reviewers observes that no CED obviation effect shows up for Ko's (2015) example in (8) even when focus falls on the relevant element, contra the proposed analysis in this

This section has observed the following two. First, in a neutral situation, proximity plays an active role in locating the associated head noun of the PV-ADA in Korean ADJ-RDCs. The proximity based approach more adequately describes the modification relation than the grammatical function based approach. Second, proximity can be overridden by focus information such that a PV-ADA can be associated with a more distant element when the latter receives focus.

5. A unified focus based explanation

It is worth asking whether there is any way to unify the proximity principle and the focus overriding effect. If there is any possibility to unify the two at all, the former has to be subsumed under the latter for the obvious reason that the proximity principle can be obviated. Then the question is whether the data covered by the proximity principle can be subsumed under the focus based approach. The answer seems to be positive, if it is assumed, basically following Kim (1985), Jo (1986), Lee (1992), and Park (2003), that there is a default focus position in Korean, i.e., the position that immediately precedes the verb.

In fact, it is widely held that in SOV languages the immediately pre-verbal element tends to have the greatest focus. According to Kim (1988), there are various SOV languages extensively distributed from Asia Minor through the Far Eastern region of the Eurasian Continent that follow this pattern: Dravidian languages (Telugu, Laccadive Malayalam, and Tamil), Indo-Aryan languages (Dogri, Bengali, Gujarati, and Hind-Urdu), Sino-Tibetan languages (Sherpa), Altaic languages (Turkish and Mongolian);

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work:

(i) A: ne-nun   nwukwu-uy cha-lul   pilli-ess-ni?
       you-Top who-Gen   car-Acc   borrow-Pst-QE
       'Whose care did you borrow?'
   B: *Na-nun [[__ **emma-uy**]   cha-lul] pilli-ess-e   **Yengi-uy**.
       I-Top   mommy-Gen car-Acc borrow-Pst-DE   Y.-Gen
       'I borrowed Yengi's mother's car.'

I have no definite answer to the question for the moment but it seems that colloquial kinship terms like *emma* 'Mother' tend to be associated with the closest possible informal expression, *na* in (iB). The CED can be obviated, given appropriate pragmatic changes, e.g., if the subject is deleted or replaced by a formal expression, for example, *ku kyengchalkwan* 'that police officer', that does not well match with *emma*.

and Altai-like languages (Japanese and Korean). (See also discussions made in Kuno 1978; Hankamer 1979; Erguvanlɨ 1984; Givón 1984; Comrie 1984; Herring and Paolillo 1995; among others.) Kim (1988) generalizes this tendency as the follows:[10]

(28)   Linear Order Focus Hypothesis
       If L is a rigid head-final language in its basic word order, the rhematic focus of a sentence of L is most likely in the position immediately preceding the finite verb. (Kim 1988: 150)

With the default focus position in mind, let us consider the following schematic structure that Korean ADJ-RDCs will take:

(29)   [⋯ α ⋯ β ⋯ ɣ Pred], [Appendix]

In a neutral situation, only ɣ will receive focus. Thus the PV-ADA in the appendix position will be associated with ɣ. The facts described under the proximity principle in Section 4 will be dealt with in this way. When extra focus falls on α or β, however, the appendix can be associated with these focused elements, covering the focus overriding data discussed in Section 4.

6. Summary and concluding remarks

This work has illustrated that the ADJ-RDC/PGC parallelism is not compelling, weakening Ko's (2014, 2015) analysis of the Korean ADJ-RDC, i.e., a concatenation-followed-by-sideward-head-movement analysis. Instead, proximity and focus are shown to play more active roles in the resolution of the modification relation in the ADJ-RDC. Furthermore, given the designated default focus theory

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10 At the latter part of the same article, Kim (1988) does not distinguish rigid and non-rigid head-final languages, as far as they are 'harmoniously head-final' languages of Greenberg's (1966) Type XXIII, and proposes a more neutral hypothesis, as follows:

   (i) If a language has a harmoniously head-final property, the   information   flow   principle will not apply beyond the verbal head of the sentence. (Kim 1988: 162)

According to (i), the default (primary) focus in SOV languages falls on the immediately pre-verbal position, while post-verbal elements are predicted not to bear focus.

proposed in Kim (1985) and Jo (1986) among others, the role of proximity can be subsumed under the role of focus.

Various issues remain unaddressed in this paper. In particular, this work has not provided an exact syntactic structure of the ADJ-RDC, except pointing out that Ko's (2014, 2015) derivation based on the presumed parallelism between the ADJ-RDC and the PGC does not gain much support. Definitely further research needs to be conducted to decide whether all the facts described in this paper fit into one of the syntactic structures proposed thus far in the literature (See Ko 2015 for an excellent summary and references cited there) or if a new syntactic structure has to be provided.

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