

The New Perspective on the Syntactic Status of Demonstratives in Korean Nominal Phrases*

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Park, Hyunjung. “The New Perspective on the Syntactic Status of Demonstratives in Korean Nominal Phrases.” *Studies in English Language & Literature* 49.4 (2023): 227-248. This paper discusses the intriguing syntactic property concerning the distribution of demonstratives as the pronominal element in Korean nominal phrases. More specifically, this study proposes that Korean demonstratives show the identical distributional behavior with DP-modifiers inflected by suffix *-n* when they modify the head noun within noun phrases: the flexibility in word order. Basically following Park (2019), the current study represents the novel syntactic structure that the demonstrative is realized as the DP-modifier in Korean on the basis of a variety of empirical evidence and the relevant discussion. The proposed structure in this study also has significant implications in that the demonstrative does not need to occur in the left-most position in Korean unlike English and that the demonstrative and the pronoun, which belong to Determiner, appear together syntactically. The current analysis shows the new perspective that Korean demonstratives result in being the DP-modifier syntactically. (Songwon University)

Key Words: demonstrative, word order, flexibility, DP-modifier, Pronoun-Noun Construction

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I. Introduction

In many languages including English, it is well-known that demonstratives play a role as modifiers as well as that as pronouns, as illustrated in (1) below.

- (1) a. **This** is pretty.
 b. **That** boy is smart.

The examples in (1) show the demonstratives, *this* and *that* of English. *this* in (1a) functions as a pronoun that replaces a noun and stands on its own. On the other hand, *that* in (1b) functions as a modifier that modifies a noun. The demonstratives in Korean behave exactly the same way as those in English above, as shown in (2).

- (2) a. **ikes-un** yeppu-ta.
 this -top pretty-Dc.
 ‘This is pretty.’
 b. **ce sonyen-un** ttoktokha-ta.
 that boy -top smart-Dc.
 ‘That boy is smart.’

The examples in (2) are Korean counterparts of English sentences shown in (1) and as seen, Korean demonstratives also play a part as the modifier along with the role of pronoun.

Interestingly, when the demonstratives, *i* ‘this’, *ku* ‘the’, *ce* ‘that’ in Korean appear as the modifiers that modify the noun in nominal phrases, their word order seems very flexible in relation to adjectives that come before the noun as shown below.

- (3) a. **i** yeppu-n caku-n cip
 this pretty-n small-n house

- b. yeypu-n i caku-n cip
pretty-n this small-n house
- c. yeypu-n caku-n i cip
pretty-n small-n this house
'This pretty small house'
- (4) a. ce chincelha-n khikhu-n sensayngnim
that kind-n tall-n teacher
- b. chincelha-n ce khikhu-n sensayngnim
kind-n that tall-n teacher
- c. chincelha-n khikhu-n ce sensayngnim
kind-n tall-n that teacher
'That kind tall teacher'

We can observe that the demonstratives, *i* 'this', *ce* 'that' in (3) and (4) display the considerable flexibility in a linear ordering with respect to other adjectives before the final head noun. More intriguingly, in Korean this phenomenon occurs in PNCs (Pronoun-Noun Constructions) identically as well.

- (5) a. i yeypu-n caku-n wuli cip
this pretty-n small-n we house
- b. yeypu-n i caku-n wuli cip
pretty-n this small-n we house
- c. yeypu-n caku-n i wuli cip
pretty-n small-n this we house
'This pretty small house of ours'
- (6) a. ce chincelha-n khikhu-n wuli sensayngnim
that kind-n tall-n we teacher
- b. chincelha-n ce khikhu-n wuli sensayngnim
kind-n that tall-n we teacher
- c. chincelha-n khikhu-n ce wuli sensayngnim
kind-n tall-n that we teacher
'That kind tall teacher of ours'

In the PNCs of (5) and (6), we can notice that demonstratives, *i* ‘this’, *ce* ‘that’ as the modifier exhibit a range of free word order with other adjectives before the head noun.¹

In this paper, concentrating on the fact that Korean demonstratives, *i* ‘this’, *ku* ‘the’, *ce* ‘that’ as modifiers appear very freely with respect to word ordering in the nominal structure, coupled with PNCs, I attempt to explain the demonstratives as the DP-modifier. More specifically, I argue that such a peculiar behavior of demonstratives in the word order in Korean unlike English derives from the fact that they behave like DP-modifiers that exhibit the free sequencing before the head noun.

Following Park’s (2019) analysis, the current study suggests that the demonstratives as modifiers within the nominal phrases in Korean can be realized like DP-modifiers, based on a great deal of empirical evidence. Furthermore, this study presents the new syntactic structure that Korean demonstratives occupy the place of DP-modifier in the nominal phrase. Consequently, this result seems to make us consider a new syntactic status in regard to the demonstratives as the modifier in Korean and moreover, the result also may provide a new syntactic perspective in that the demonstratives occur in the position of DP-modifier in the proposed structure, but not in the left-most position like English.

This paper is organized as follows. In Chapter 2, I briefly introduce the theoretical assumptions that can be the basis of the subsequent discussion. In Chapter 3, I show a variety of empirical evidence that can corroborate the status of Korean demonstratives as DP-modifiers. In Chapter 4, I propose the novel syntactic structure that the demonstratives that modify the noun are realized as the DP-modifier in Korean noun phrase, which, to the best of my knowledge, has never been explored by any Korean linguists in the literature. In Chapter 5, I conclude the discussion.

¹ The reason that the pronoun *wuli* ‘we’ of PNCs in (5) and (6) is translated into the possessive meaning ‘ours’ in English is addressed in detail in the main text that follows later.

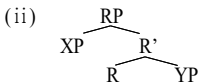
II. Theoretical Background

Park (2019) suggests the new noun phrase structure involving Korean PNCs that include the two types of modifier, i.e., DP-modifier and NP-modifier. Following Furuya’s (2008) analysis based on Campbell (1996, 1998), Park assumes that Korean PNCs form a small clause between the pronoun and the noun and proposes that such PNCs project the RP (Relator Phrase) structure of predication relationship between the pronoun and the noun in the sense of Den Dikken (2006).² Particularly, in accordance with the syntactic and semantic properties that each R head features, Park divides Korean PNCs into the three types of RP structure: RP1, RP2, and RP3. Below is the summary concerning each R head (Park 2019: 62).

² Following Campbell’s (1996, 1998) proposal of small clause analysis for English definite noun phrases, Furuya (2008) assumes that in Japanese the personal pronoun and the noun have a predication relationship and suggests the following structure (Furuya 2008: 154).

(i) [sc pronoun NP]

The structure of (i) shows a small clause that the pronoun and the noun play a role as a subject and as a predicate, respectively. Also, concerning the predication relationship, Den Dikken (2006) proposes the structure shown in (ii) below (Den Dikken 2006: 11).



In (ii), the head R is a crucial element that always mediates predication and here, XP and YP stand for a subject and for a predicate, respectively. Den Dikken argues that all predication relationships are syntactically represented as in (ii) above. Adopting Furuya’s (2008) and Den Dikken’s (2006) analyses, Park (2019) assumes that the pronoun occurs in the specifier position as a subject and the noun occupies the complement position as a predicate with respect to Relator phrase of Korean PNC, as shown in (iii) (Park 2019: 18).

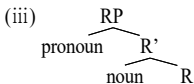


Table 1. Restriction in Selection of the Subject and its Predicate of Each R Head

	R1 Head	R2 Head	R3 Head
Subject	first/third person plural pronoun	first/third person plural pronoun (partially, second person singular pronoun/the third person feminine singular pronoun)	PNC
Predicate	[+animate], [+plural], [+specific]	[±animate], [±plural], [+specific]	NumP

As seen in Table 1, the pronoun that functions as the subject in the RP structure of Korean PNCs selects the noun as its predicate and such selections require some restrictions. First, in case of R1 head, the semantics between the pronoun and the noun within PNCs is *predicative relationship* as shown in (7) (Park 2019: .21).³

- (7) [wuli haksayng(tul)]-un yelsimhi kongpwu hayyahan-ta.
 we student (Pl.) -Top hard study should -Dc
 ‘We students should study hard.’

The R1 head has the constraints that the pronominal subject must be the first/third person plural and its NP predicate must be plural, human/animal, and specific.

Next, the R2 head shows the property that the semantics between the pronoun and the noun within PNCs is *predicate of possession* as shown below (Park 2019: 27).

- (8) a. [wuli/kutul swuhak sensayngnim]-un kwuke sensayngnim -pota khi -ka te khu -ta.
 we/they math teacher -Top Korean teacher than height -Nom taller -Dc

³ In (7), the PNC in bracket, *wuli haksayng(tul)* ‘we students’ shows a subject-predicate relation semantically as represented in (i) below (Park 2019: 11).

- (i) a. wuli haksayng(tul) → b. wuli -nun haksayng(tul)-i-ta
 we student (Pl.) we -Top student (Pl.)-Cop-Dc
 ‘We students’ ‘We are students.’

‘Our/Their math teacher is taller than the Korean teacher.’

- b. thakca wiew [wuli/kutul chayk] -i nohyeiss - ta.
 table on we/they book -Nom lie - Dc
 ‘On the table our/their book lies.’

According to Park (2019), the genitives have the meaning of *predicate of possession*, and this fact allows us to postulate that the PNCs in (8a-b) have a predication relationship between the pronoun and the noun. Hence, Park assumes that the R2 head bears the possessive feature, [poss] in realizing the RP structure.⁴

Lastly, the R3 head has the same predicative relationship as the R1 head (Park 2019: 43).⁵

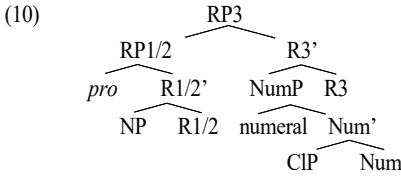
- (9) a. [wuli haksayng(tul)] sey myeng
 we student (Pl.) three Cl
 ‘We three students’
 b. [wuli chayk] twu kwen
 we book two Cl
 ‘Our two books’

Consequently, Park proposes the following RP structure with regard to Korean PNCs (Park 2019: 40).⁶

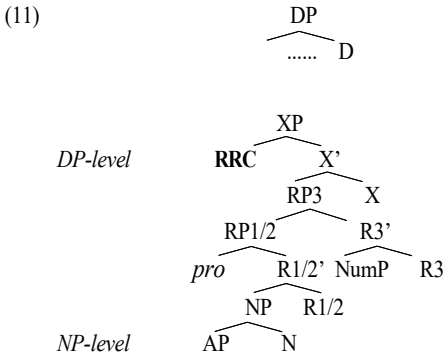
⁴ Concerning the R2 head, Park reveals the interesting facts that the NP predicate in the structure can be objects or animals as well as human and also can be non-plural contrary to the PNCs in other languages such as English and Japanese.

⁵ In RP3 structure, NumP serves for a predicate and the PNC of RP1/2 for its subject. The semantics between the PNC and the NumP in (9) is identical with that of the R1 head, as verified below (Park 2019: 43).

- (i) a. [wuli haksayng(tul)]-i sey myeng -i-ta
 we student (Pl.) -Nom three Cl -Cop-Dc
 ‘We students are three’
 b. [wuli chayk]-i twu kwen -i -ta
 we book -Nom two Cl -Cop-Dc
 ‘Our books are two’



Park (2019) further develops the syntactic structure of RP structure of (10) in relation to modifiers that can emerge within this Korean nominal phrase and ultimately proposes the following structure (Park 2019: 67).



⁶ It seems to be one significant fact that we should note in the representation of (11). We can observe ‘*pro*’ positioned as the pronominal subject of PNCs. Let us consider the following examples (Park 2019: 22, 35).

- (i) a. [*pro* *haksayng(tul)*]-un ecey yel si -kkaci kyosil -ey tulekaya-hayss -ta.
 student (Pl.) -Top yesterday ten o'clock by classroom in enter should past -Dc
 ‘(We) Students had to enter the classroom by 10 o'clock yesterday.’
- b. [*pro* *swuhak sensayngnim*] -un yeppusi -ta.
 math teacher -Top pretty -Dc
 ‘(Our) Math teacher is pretty.’

Park demonstrates that *haksayng(tul)* ‘students’ and *swuhak sensayngnim* ‘math teacher’ in PNCs of (i) are all specific in the given context. Likewise, this fact is true for NP predicates of PNCs of (7) and (8) in the main text. This implies that the pronominal element in PNCs can be either pronounced overtly or unpronounced covertly. Therefore, Park assumes “*pro*” as an element that occupies a specifier position in both RP1 and RP2 structure.

I briefly introduce here Park's (2019) discussion concerning the two types of modifier, i.e., RRC and AP, represented in (11), which provides the crucial idea regarding the syntactic property of Korean demonstratives as the modifier pursued in the current study.

Following Cinque's (2010), Larson's (1998), and Truswell's (2009) analyses, Park introduces a functional head "X" shown in (11) which is regarded as an adjective head that makes DP-modifiers/RRC come in its specifier. Hence, as seen in (11), RRC occurs in the specifier of XP and AP occurs in the position which is closer to the head noun syntactically.⁷ Also, Park adopts Byun's (2014) discussion regarding Korean modifiers. Byun claims that Korean has two types of adjective, i.e., RRC and AP, as well. In particular, the point to note is as follows. First, in Korean the RRC enters higher position than the AP as in the previous studies above. These two modifiers are distinguishable through morphological realizations. NP-modifiers do not show any inflections whereas DP-modifiers should be inflected by suffix-*n*.^{8,9} Second, NP-modifiers are three categories of color, nationality, and material adjectives in Korean under Scott's (2002) hierarchy.¹⁰ These NP-modifiers that are closest to the head noun are strongly restricted in order.¹¹ On the other

⁷ According to Cinque (2010), Larson (1998), and Truswell (2009), there exist two different sources in the pronominal modification: one is reduced relative clauses (RRC)/DP-modifiers and the other is attributive adjectives (AP)/NP-modifiers. Syntactically, DP-modifiers always dominate NP-modifiers. In other words, RRC which is DP-modifiers is base-generated into higher position over than AP which is NP-modifiers.

⁸ For instance, in Korean nominal phrases such as *chakhan haksayng* 'good student', *khikhun sensayngnim* 'tall teacher', *cwungkwuk chinkwu* 'Chinese friend', and *namwu uyca* 'wooden chair', the pronominal modifiers inflected by suffix-*n*, *chakhan* 'good' and *khikhun* 'tall' are classified as the DP-modifier. On the other hand, the pronominal modifiers, *cwungkwuk* 'Chinese' and *namwu* 'wooden' that do not show any inflections are regarded as the NP-modifier.

⁹ However, according to An (2014), *-l* and *-uy* as well as *-n* can be a word-final morpheme that serves for the DP-modifier in Korean.

¹⁰ Scott's Adjective Ordering Restriction (AOR) (Scott 2002:114)

Determiner > ordinal number > cardinal number > subjective comment > evidential > size > length > height > speed > depth > width > weight > temperature > wetness > age > shape > colour > nationality/origin > material > compound element > noun

hand, in case of DP-modifiers, the ordering restriction does not occur, and relatively a number of DP-modifiers are allowed in the prenominal position compared to NP-modifiers.

Finally, concerning the merge position of RRC and AP represented in (11), Park (2019) proposes the significant fact that the pronoun plays a role as a boundary between the two types of modifier.¹²

Fundamentally following Park's (2019) proposal that has been reviewed in this chapter, I discuss the syntactic properties of Korean demonstratives *i* 'this', *ku* 'the', and *ce* 'that' as DP-modifiers that the current study explores, providing ample empirical evidence in the subsequent chapter.

III. Korean Demonstratives as DP-Modifiers

Let us first consider some relevant examples concerning DP-modifiers and NP-modifiers combined with Korean PNCs from the perspective of Park's proposal reviewed in the previous chapter (Park 2019: 76, 77).

¹¹ The relevant examples are given below (Byun 2014: 39-40).

- (i) a. polasayk pitan sinpal / *pitan polasayk sinpal
 purple silk shoe / silk purple shoe
 'purple silk shoes'
- b. hoysayk khaynata kom-tul / *khaynata hoysayk kom-tul
 grey Canadian bear (Pl.) / Canadian grey bear (Pl.)
 'grey Canadian bears'

The adjectives in (i a-b) are NP-modifiers of color, nationality, and material. The data shows that the strict ordering restriction exists among these three categories of adjectives, corresponding to Scott's AOR.

¹² Showing a great deal of empirical data, Park suggests that the left side of pronoun corresponds to DP-modifier domain and the right side of pronoun to NP-modifier domain in Korean PNCs, resulting in the fact that the pronoun within Korean PNCs functions as a boundary between DP-modifier and NP-modifier. The reasoning on the pronoun as a boundary between DP-modifier and NP-modifier in Korean PNCs is addressed in more detail along with a variety of relevant examples in Chapter 3 that follows.

- (12) a. ttokttokha-n [*wuli* cwungkwuk chinkwu]
 smart-RRC we Chinese-AP friend
- b. *ttokttokha-n cwungkwuk [*wuli* chinkwu]
 smart-RRC Chinese-AP we friend
 ‘Our smart Chinese friend’
- c. thunthunha-n [*wuli* phalan yengkwuk namwu uyca]
 strong-RRC we blue-AP British-AP wooden-AP chair
- d. thunthunha-n phalan [*wuli* yengkwuk namwu uyca]
 strong-RRC blue-AP we British-AP wooden-AP chair
- e. *thunthunha-n phalan yengkwuk [*wuli* namwu uyca]
 strong-RRC blue-AP British-AP we wooden-AP chair
- f. *thunthunha-n phalan yengkwuk namwu [*wuli* uyca]
 strong-RRC blue-AP British-AP wooden-AP we chair
 ‘Our strong blue British wooden chair’

The examples in (12a-f) represent the linear sequence of DP and NP modifiers that surface in Korean PNCs proposed by Park (2019). (12a,c) and (12d) are all grammatical. On the contrary, (12b,e) and (12f) are ungrammatical. In light of Park’s suggestion that the pronoun plays a role as a boundary between DP-modifier and NP-modifier, the reason that (12b,e) and (12f) are ungrammatical can be derived from the fact that NP-modifiers, *cwungkwuk* ‘Chinese’, *yengkwuk* ‘British’, and *namwu* ‘wooden’, are all on the left side of the pronoun. However, it seems necessary to explain that the sequence in (12d) is well-formed. As observed here, contrary to Byun’s (2014) analysis, color adjective *phalan* ‘blue’ is inflected by suffix *-n* and can appear on the left side of the pronoun.¹³ Park (2019) draws the

¹³ In (12d), even when color adjective *phalan* ‘blue’ comes before *thunthunhan* ‘strong’ which is the DP-modifier, the expression is also grammatical as shown below.

- (i) phalan thunthunha-n [*wuli* yengkwuk namwu uyca]
 blue-AP strong-RRC we British-AP wooden-AP chair
 ‘Our strong blue British wooden chair’

Here, color adjective *phalan* ‘blue’ does not show the ordering restriction which is the property of

critical fact in motivating the merge position of DP and NP modifier from this observation that can be the counterexample against Byun's argument. That is, Park ultimately proposes that the pronoun in Korean PNCs plays a role as the boundary across which color adjectives that can be either DP-modifier or NP-modifier can move. This conclusion implies that the left side of the pronoun corresponds to the DP-modifier domain and the right side of the pronoun to the NP-modifier domain in Korean PNCs.

Intriguingly, when Korean demonstratives, *i* 'this', *ku* 'the', and *ce* 'that', serve as the prenominal element that modifies the head noun in noun phrase structure, these elements behave just like RRC/DP-modifiers in word order patterns in the Korean DP of (11) by Park (2019) addressed so far. Consider the following examples.

- (13) a. *i/ku/ce khikhu-n chincelha-n [kutul ilpon haksayng-tul]*
 this/the/that tall-RRC kind-RRC they Japanese-AP student (Pl.)
 b. *khikhu-n i/ku/ce chincelha-n [kutul ilpon haksayng-tul]*
 tall-RRC this/the/that kind-RRC they Japanese-AP student (Pl.)
 c. *chincelha-n i/ku/ce khikhu-n [kutul ilpon haksayng-tul]*
 kind-RRC this/the/that tall-RRC they Japanese-AP student (Pl.)

NP-modifier and behaves like DP-modifiers which do not order strictly. If color adjective *pwunhong* 'pink' moves in the above linear sequence, the expression is ruled out as shown in (ii).

- (ii) a. *thunthunha-n [wuli pwunhong yengkwuk namwu uyca]*
 strong-RRC we pink-AP British-AP wooden-AP chair
 b. **thunthunha-n pwunhong [wuli yengkwuk namwu uyca]*
 strong-RRC pink-AP we British-AP wooden-AP chair
 c. **pwunhong thunthunha-n [wuli yengkwuk namwu uyca]*
 pink-AP strong-RRC we British-AP wooden-AP chair
 'Our strong pink British wooden chair'

The expressions in (iib) and (iic) are ungrammatical since color adjective *pwunhong* 'pink' does not comply with the ordering restriction. Consequently, this finding tells us that such color adjectives affixed with suffix *-n* such as *nolan* 'yellow' and *ppalkan* 'red' can occur in both right and left of the pronoun in Korean PNCs, not ordering strictly.

- d. *khikhu-n i/ku/ce chincelha-n ilpon [kutul haksayng-tul]
 tall-RRC this/the/that kind-RRC Japanese-AP they student (Pl.)
 ‘These/The/Those they kind tall Japanese students’¹⁴
- (14) a. i/ku/ce pappu-n yumyengha-n [wuli hankwuk kaswu-tul]
 this/the/that busy-RRC famous-RRC we Korean-AP singer (Pl.)
 b. pappu-n i/ku/ce yumyengha-n [wuli hankwuk kaswu-tul]
 busy-RRC this/the/that famous-RRC we Korean-AP singer (Pl.)
 c. yumyengha-n i/ku/ce pappu-n [wuli hankwuk kaswu-tul]
 famous-RRC this/the/that busy-RRC we Korean-AP singer (Pl.)
 d. *i/ku/ce pappu-n yumyengha-n hankwuk [wuli kaswu-tul]
 this/the/that busy-RRC famous-RRC Korean-AP we singer (Pl.)
 ‘These/The/Those busy famous Korean singers of ours’

The examples in (13) and (14) indicate that Korean demonstratives, *i* ‘this’, *ku* ‘the’, and *ce* ‘that’, exhibit a range of free word order possibilities in serving for the modifier in nominal phrases. The examples in (13) show the RP1 structure of Korean PNC proposed by Park (2019) semantically and surface along with DP-modifier and NP-modifier. As noticed, in (13a-c) demonstratives, *i* ‘this’, *ku* ‘the’, and *ce* ‘that’, display free word order patterns among other adjectives in DP-modifier domain and such expressions obtain the grammaticality. The fact that in Korean, demonstratives as the modifier order freely like DP-modifiers inflected by suffix-*n* has the implication that these elements can be classified as a member of DP-modifier.

Furthermore, interestingly, this finding suggests that Korean demonstratives behave differently from those of English syntactically. In general, it has been almost assumed that the demonstrative is a sort of determiner and thus occurs in the left-most

¹⁴ In fact, the English translation of (13) is ungrammatical since two elements, i.e., demonstratives and pronoun, regarded as the determiner universally appear together in the linear sequence. However, ironically, this point implies that demonstratives and pronouns in Korean that are dealt with in the current study show the different behavior from those in English in syntactic properties. See the main text that follows for further discussion on this point.

position in many languages including English. Therefore, it is hard to easily move this element in the syntactic structure. However, the current analysis seems to tell us a different story. As observed in (13), when demonstratives modify the head noun in noun phrase structure in Korean, they order freely just like DP-modifiers and thus it is not necessary to occur in the left-most position in the nominal structure. This argumentation causes us to draw the fact that the demonstrative which is qualified for DP-modifier can occur with the pronoun at the same time in the structure represented in (11). In addition, two elements do not necessarily occur in the left-most position in the structure. Actually, under the traditional view that two elements of demonstrative and pronoun are members of D (Abney, 1987; Postal, 1966; among others), the sequence like this is ruled out. However, the current analysis makes us advocate this newly proposed view on the basis of empirical evidence.

In case of (13d), nationality adjective *ilpon* ‘Japanese’ that is NP-modifier, which is strongly restricted in order, is located in the left side of pronoun and thus violates the ordering restriction and finally results in ungrammaticality.

The examples in (14) show the RP2 structure in semantics in Korean PNCs of Park (2019). In (14a-c), demonstratives, *i* ‘this’, *ku* ‘the’, and *ce* ‘that’, show the considerable flexibility in their internal word order along with other DP-modifiers as in (13a-c). On the contrary, the sequencing in (14d) is ungrammatical since nationality adjective *hankwuk* ‘Korean’ that is NP-modifier, which shows the rigidity in order, is located in the left side of the pronoun like (13d). The grammaticality/ungrammaticality addressed in examples of (13) and (14) applies to the RP3 structure combined with the NumP (numeral + classifier) identically.

- (15) a. *i/ku/ce khikhu-n chincelha-n [kutul ilpon haksayng-tul] twu myeng*
 this/the/that tall-RRC kind-RRC they Japanese-AP student (Pl.) two Cl.
 b. *khikhu-n i/ku/ce chincelha-n [kutul ilpon haksayng-tul] twu myeng*
 tall-RRC this/the/that kind-RRC they Japanese-AP student (Pl.) two Cl.
 c. *chincelha-n i/ku/ce khikhu-n [kutul ilpon haksayng-tul] twu myeng*
 kind-RRC this/the/that tall-RRC they Japanese-AP student (Pl.) two Cl.

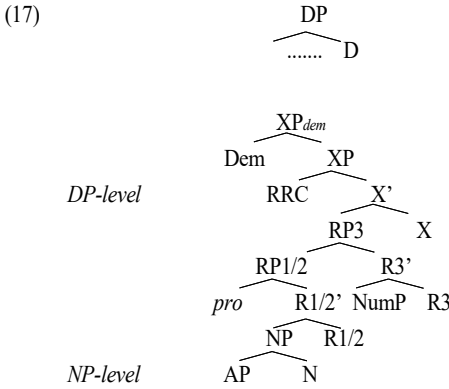
- d. *khikhu-n i/ku/ce chincelha-n ilpon [*kutul* haksayng-tul] twu myeng
tall-RRC this/the/that kind-RRC Japanese-AP they student (Pl.) two Cl.
'These/The/Those they two kind tall Japanese students'
- (16) a. i/ku/ce pappu-n yumyengha-n [*wuli* hankwuk kaswu-tul] sey myeng
this/the/that busy-RRC famous-RRC we Korean-AP singer (Pl.) three Cl.
b. pappu-n i/ku/ce yumyengha-n [*wuli* hankwuk kaswu-tul] sey myeng
busy-RRC this/the/that famous-RRC we Korean-AP singer (Pl.) three Cl.
c. yumyengha-n i/ku/ce pappu-n [*wuli* hankwuk kaswu-tul] sey myeng
famous-RRC this/the/that busy-RRC we Korean-AP singer (Pl.) three Cl.
d. *i/ku/ce pappu-n yumyengha-n hankwuk [*wuli* kaswu-tul] sey myeng
this/the/that busy-RRC famous-RRC Korean-AP we singer (Pl.) three Cl.
'These/The/Those three busy famous Korean singers of ours'

The examples in (15) and (16) are the RP3 structure that is the combination of RP1/2 and NumP, and here it seems that the sequencing except for (15d) and (16d) is totally acceptable in Korean under the same reasoning discussed in (13) and (14).

Based on the discussion so far, the current analysis that Korean demonstratives, *i* 'this', *ku* 'the', and *ce* 'that', can be classified as the DP-modifier when they modify the head noun seems to be a working hypothesis. In the subsequent chapter, building on the syntactic structure of (11) proposed by Park (2019), I assume the novel syntactic structure concerning Korean demonstratives serving for the DP-modifier, showing the relevant data in the structure.

IV. The Syntactic Structure

I propose the structure in (17) as the syntactic structure for demonstratives that show a range of free word order patterns like DP-modifier/RRC in Korean.



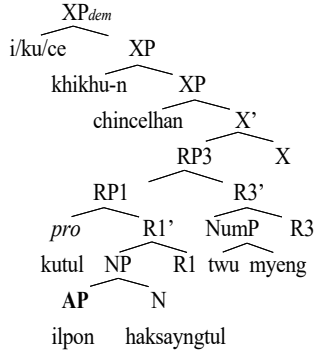
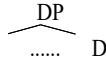
In (17), I label the functional phrase that introduces Korean demonstratives in its specifier as XP_{dem} .¹⁵ In the derivation process, the XP_{dem} is base-generated in the domain of DP-modifier, i.e., the left side of pronoun like the XP. The demonstrative that comes before the head noun occurs in the specifier of XP_{dem} like the case of XP, which has a functional head that hosts DP-modifier/RRC in its specifier. In brief, the XP_{dem} is base-generated along with other XPs in the domain of DP-modifier in accordance with the surface order. On the assumption that relatively a number of DP-modifiers are allowed in prenominal position contrary to NP-modifiers, it is shown that XP_{dem} and XPs adjoin in the derivation process whenever the DP-modifier occurs in the prenominal position.

In case of NP-modifiers/AP which show the strict ordering, they are adjoined to the NP that is colser to the head noun, occupying a fixed position.

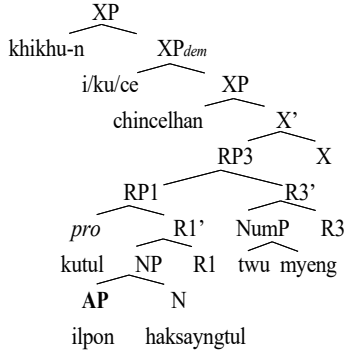
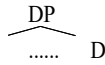
Based on the structure proposed in (17), I show representations for the examples in (15) and (16) above.

¹⁵ XP_{dem} is indexed with subscript letter *dem* in order to distinguish from the existing label XP.

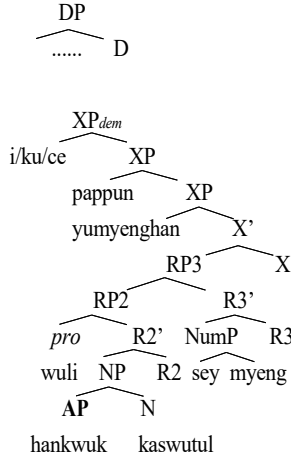
(18) a.



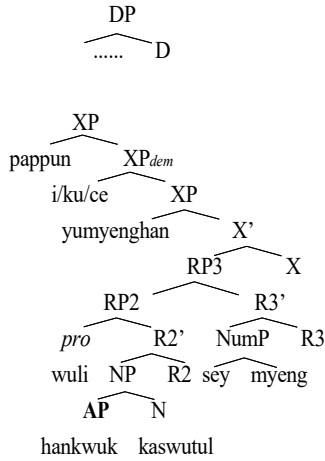
b.



(19) a.



b.



(18a, b) exhibit the syntactic structures that correspond to each example in (15a, b). In (18a), the XP_{dem} that introduces the demonstrative, *i* ‘this’, *ku* ‘the’, or *ce* ‘that’, in its specifier is base-generated in the left side of pronoun along with other XPs and at this time, it is attached to the position next above the XP that introduces

DP-modifier, *khikhun* ‘tall’ in its specifier in accordance with the sequencing. NP-modifier, *ilpon* ‘Japanese’ is generated in the right side of pronoun, i.e., the domain of NP-modifier, and is adjoined to the NP that is closer to the head noun, *haksayngtul* ‘students’, complying with the ordering restriction. In (18b), the XP_{dem} is base-generated in the domain of DP-modifier that is in higher position than that of NP-modifier/AP. This functional phrase that introduces the demonstrative is situated between two XPs that introduce DP-modifiers, *khikhun* ‘tall’ and *chincelhan* ‘kind’, respectively. The structure in (18b) shows the different distributional behavior of the demonstrative compared to that in (18a). That is, the ordering of demonstrative becomes flexible, reflecting the syntactic property of DP-modifier that orders freely. NP-modifier, *ilpon* ‘Japanese’ is attached to the NP as in (18a).

The structures in (19a,b) correspond to each example in (16a,b). It is expected that the analyses on each structure in (19a,b) can be identical with those on each structure in (18a,b). In both structures, each XP_{dem} is base-generated in company with other XPs in the domain of DP-modifier depending on the sequencing of pronominal elements. NP-modifier, *hankwuk* ‘Korean’ is adjoined to the head noun, *kaswutul* ‘singers’, undergoing the same derivation process as the NP-modifier in (18a,b).

Consequently, in the proposed structure the XP_{dem} that introduces the demonstrative, *i* ‘this’, *ku* ‘the’, or *ce* ‘that’, can occur with XPs together depending on the surface order in the domain of DP-modifier, based on the syntactic property that these two functional phrases, i.e., XP_{dem} and XP, have in common with respect to the distributional behavior within the relevant structure: the flexibility in ordering.

More significantly, in light of the examination so far, it seems necessary to reconsider on the syntactic status of Korean demonstratives that show the different aspects from other languages such as English. On the basis of discussion of the current study, it seems conceivable that Korean demonstratives can qualify as the DP-modifier thanks to the flexibility of distribution when they are used as the modifier that appears before the head noun in noun phrase structure. More

intriguingly, such a distributional property of Korean demonstratives leads us to the conclusion that these elements need not occur in the left-most position in nominal phrases. Moreover, as shown in the proposed structure of (17), in Korean, the demonstrative and the pronoun can surface together within the DP structure. Co-occurrence of the two elements is a very peculiar phenomenon that has been rarely reported in other languages and this finding seems to imply that the demonstrative and the pronoun in Korean bear something that is different from other languages regarding the syntactic properties. The detailed examination seems to be required on this issue. I will leave this issue for future research.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that Korean demonstratives which serve for the modifier that modifies the head noun in noun phrase structure can be regarded as the DP-modifier based on the discussion and a variety of empirical evidence in the current study.

V. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I examined the intriguing syntactic properties of Korean demonstratives as the modifier. More specifically, I showed the peculiar distributional behavior of demonstratives that emerge just like DP-modifiers, which exhibit the considerable flexibility in their word order, in Korean nominal phrases, providing plenty of concrete data. Also, such a distributional property of demonstratives causes us to conclude that these elements need not occur in the left-most position in Korean nominal phrases. These peculiar facts concerning the distribution of demonstratives in Korean seem to have not been found in other languages including English until now.

Thus far, *demonstrative* is the research area that has been received much attention in the literature (Bernstein, 1997; Bowdle & Ward, 1995; Diessel, 1999; Guardiano, 2012; Panagiotidis, 2000; among others), and also *Korean noun phrase structure* has

been the popular topic explored by many Korean linguists (An, 2014, 2018; Hong, 2010; Jo, 2000; Kim, 2009; Shu, 2005; among others). However, the distributional property of demonstratives in Korean that the current study analyzes seems to be the particular findings that have not been examined in the previous studies. In this sense, the current analysis sheds a new insight into the nature of Korean demonstratives that play a role as the modifier in noun phrases.

Under the new perspective concerning the demonstrative in Korean, it seems possible to assume that the syntactic status of DP-modifier can be granted to the demonstrative used as the prenominal element in Korean.

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