

# KOREAN ADVERBS

Ju-Eun LEE

## 1. Introduction

In this paper, I will examine certain aspects of the distribution of Korean adverbs, in the light of Cinque (1999). Cinque (1999) shows that different classes of AdvPs in Romance languages enter into a fixed order, and argues that this ordering holds universally across languages, despite certain apparent counterexamples. He also shows that each class of AdvP is located in the unique specifier position of distinct maximal (functional) projection. In this paper, I will consider the ordering and distribution of Korean AdvPs, which appear to support the existence of universal fixed ordering of AdvPs (their rather free distribution in a clause can be shown to be due to different types of movement). The paper is organized as follows: in section 2, I consider Korean lower AdvPs, and in section 3, higher AdvPs. This paper will be more a descriptive study of Korean adverbs than a theoretical analysis of them.

## 2. Lower AdvPs in Korean

### 2.1. Order

Cinque (1999) shows that there is a rigidly fixed ordering of AdvPs in Romance by considering the relative order of any two pairs of them. His order of lower AdvPs is as the following (1).

(1) *solitamente* (usually) > *mica* (negative adverb) > *già* (already) > *più* (any longer) > *sempre* (always) > *completamente* (completely) > *tutto* (everything) > *bene* (well)

Now, let's consider those lower AdvPs which have traditionally been classified as VP adverbs in Korean. I will simply list the pairs of sentences that show a rigid order between two adverbs, although it might be boring. Habitual adverbs like 'taykay, potong (usually)' should precede frequentative adverbs 'cacwu, congcong (often)':

- (2) a. Yelumey, Celswu-ka *potong cacwu* padaey kanta.  
In the summer, Celswu usually often to the sea go.

- b. \*Yelumey, Celswu-ka *cacwu potong* padaey kanta.

In the summer, Celswu often usually to the sea go.

(‘taykay, potong (usually)’ > ‘cacwu, congcong (often)’)

The adverbs ‘cacwu, congcong (often)’ precede the adverbs ‘imi, pelsse (already)’:

- (3) a. Mayil 8si kyengimyen, Celswu-ka *cacwu imi* pap-ul mekessessta.

Everyday 8 o’clock-around, Celswu often already meal has eaten.

- b. \*Mayil 8si kyengimyen, Celswu-ka *imi cacwu* pap-ul mekessessta.<sup>1</sup>

Everyday 8 o’clock-around, Celswu already often meal has eaten.

(‘cacwu, congcong (often)’ > ‘imi, pelsse (already)’)

Given that ‘taykay, potong (usually)’ precede ‘cacwu, congcong (often)’ and ‘cacwu, congcong (often)’ precede ‘imi, pelsse (already)’, we would expect ‘taykay, potong (usually)’ to appear before ‘imi, pelsse (already)’ by transitivity, which is a correct expectation:

- (4) a. 8 shimyen, Celswu-ka *potong imi* il-ul sicakhayssta.

At 8, Celswu usually already work has begun.

- b. \*8 shimyen, Celswu-ka *imi potong* il-ul sicakhayssta.

At 8, Celswu already usually work has begun.

Now, the adverb ‘imi, pelsse (already)’ necessarily come before ‘te isang (any longer)’:

- (5) a. Ku-ka *imi te isang* kenye-lul an<sup>2</sup> kuliwehanta.

He already any longer her not misses.

- b. \*Ku-ka *te isang imi* kenye-lul an kuliwehanta.

He any longer already her not misses

(‘imi, pelsse (already)’ > ‘te isang (any longer)’)

The adverb ‘hangsang (always)’ follows ‘te isang (any longer)’, ‘imi, pelsse (already)’, and ‘taykay, potong (usually)’ as can be seen in (6)-(8).

- (6) a. Ke ihwulo, Celswu-ka *te isnag hangsang* mos ikinta.

Since then, Celswu any longer always cannot win.

- b. \*Ke ihwulo, Celswu-ka *hangsang te isang* mos ikinta.

Since then, Celswu always any longer cannot win.

(‘te isang (any longer)’ > ‘hangsang (always)’)

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<sup>1</sup> This order might be possible in the following reading: Every morning at 8, Celswu already has eaten his meal pretty often, e.g. three or four times (every morning).

<sup>2</sup> The negative adverb ‘an’ will be discussed below.

- (7) a. Mwunce-ka sayngkimyen, Celswu-ka *imi hangsang* tatcehanun pep-ul alkoissta.  
A problem arises, Celswu already always how-to-act knows.
- b. \*Mwunce-ka sayngkimyen, Celswu-ka *hangsang imi* tatcehanun pep-ul alkoissta.  
A problem arises, Celswu always already how-to-act knows.  
(‘imi, pelsse (already)’ > ‘hangsang (always)’ )

- (8) a. Celswu-ka *potong hangsang* olhta.  
Celswu usually always right.
- b. \*Celswu-ka *hangsang potong* olhta.  
Celswu always usually right.  
(‘potong, taykay (usually)’ > ‘hangsang (always)’ )

So far, the relative order of AdvPs is as the following (9).

- (9) potong (usually) > cacwu (often) > imi (already) > te isang (any longer) > hangsang (always)

Now, let’s consider the position of the adverb ‘pangkum, kumbang (just)’. The adverb ‘pangkum(just)’ follows the adverb ‘hangsang (always)’:

- (10) a. Nay-ka ke-lul mannalttaymata, ke-nun *hangsang pangkum* oykwukeyse tolawassta.  
I him meet-whenever, he always just abroad-from returned.
- b. \*Nay-ka ke-lul mannalttaymata, ke-nun *pangkum hangsang* oykwukeyse tolawassta.  
I him meet-whenever, he just always abroad-from returned.  
(‘hangsang (always)’ > ‘pangkum (just)’ )

The adverb ‘pangkum (just)’ precedes the adverb ‘wancenhi (completely)’:

- (11) a. Celswu-ka *pangkum wancenhi* keuy cwuso-lul icepelyessta.  
Celswu just completely his address forgot.
- b. \*/??Celswu-ka *wancenhi pangkum* keuy cwuso-lul icepelyessta.  
Celswu completely just his address forgot.  
(‘pangkum (just)’ > ‘wancenhi (completely)’ )

By transitivity, the adverb ‘hangsang (always)’ necessarily precedes the adverb ‘wancenhi (completely)’ as can be seen in (12):

- (12) a. Celswu-ka *hangsang wancenhi* caki maum-ul Swuni-eykey ppayasskyessta.  
Celswu always completely self’s mind Swuni-to lost.

- b. \*/??Celswu-ka *wancenhi hangsang* caki maum-ul Swuni-eykey ppa-yasskyessta.<sup>3</sup>

Celswu completely always self's mind Swuni-to lost.  
(‘hangsang (always)’ > ‘wancenhi (completely)’)

Consider now the position of (unstressed) manner adverbial ‘cal (well)’ and ‘calmos (poorly)’. They seem to follow the adverb ‘wancenhi (completely)’.

- (13) a. Celswu-ka ke cayk-ul *wancenhi acu cal* ihayhayssta.  
Celswu the book completely very well understood.  
b. \*/??Celswu-ka ke cayk-ul *acu cal wancenhi* ihayhayssta.  
Celswu the book very well completely understood.  
(‘wancenhi (completely)’ > ‘cal (well)’)

Finally, let’s consider the relative order of negative adverb ‘an’<sup>4</sup>. In Italian, a negative adverb like ‘mica’ comes between ‘usually’ and ‘already’ (cf. Cinque (1999)). However, in Korean, the negative adverb has to appear very low. See examples in (14)-(16).

- (14) a. Twusiey, Celswu-ka *potong acik an* mekessessta.  
2 o'clock-at, Celswu usually yet not has-eaten.  
b. i. \*Twusiey, Celswu-ka *an potong* mekessessta.  
2 o'clock-at, Celswu yet not usually has-eaten.  
ii. \*Twusiey, Celswu-ka *an acik potong* mekessessta.  
2 o'clock-at, Celswu not yet usually has-eaten.

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<sup>3</sup> The order in (12b) sometimes sounds OK. However, in this case, I think that ‘wancenhi (completely)’ is in the specifier position of AdvP headed by ‘hangsang (always)’, because there is a reading that can be noticed from ‘keuy hangsang (almost always)’ vs. ‘wancenhi hangsang (completely always)’ in this case.

<sup>4</sup> Korean has two types of negation. One is the preverbal or short form negation and it is constituent negation ((i)). The other is the postverbal or long form negation and it is sentential negation ((ii)).

(i) John-i ppang-ul an mekessta (John bread not eat-Tense-Mood)

(ii) John-i ppang-ul mek-ci an haessta (John bread eat not do-Tense-Mood)

These two types of negation show different scopal behaviour, suggesting that they occur in two hierarchically different NegPs. It is argued in Lee (1999) that only short form negation related ‘an’ is XP, i.e. adverbial NegP. The negative adverb ‘an’ discussed below is the short form negation related one. For details on Korean negation, see Hagstrom (1997) and Lee (1999).

- (15) a. \*Pap-ul *an imi(pelsee)* mekessumyen, kekes mekela.  
Meal not already has-eaten-if, it eat.  
b. Pap-ul *imi(pelsse) an* mekessumyen, kekes mekela.  
Meal already not has-eaten-if, it eat.
- (16) a. \*Celswu-ka ke cayk-ul *an wencenhi* ilkessta.  
Celswu the book not completely read.  
b. Celswu-ka ke cayk-ul *wencenhi an* ilkessta.  
Celswu the book completely not read.

As can be seen in (15) and (16), the Korean negative adverb ‘an’, unlike Italian, cannot precede ‘imi (already)’ and ‘wencenhi (completely)’. Now, what might be the relative ordering between ‘cal (well), calmos (poorly)’ and ‘an (not)’? Consider the examples in (17).

- (17) a. \*Celswu-ka swul-ul *an (or mos<sup>5</sup>) cal* masinta.  
Celswu alcohol not well drinks.  
b. Celswu-ka swul-ul *cal an (mos)* masinta.  
Celswu alcohol well not drinks.  
(‘cal (well)’ > ‘an (not)’)

The sentences in (17) show that negative adverb ‘an’ is located lower than manner adverbial ‘cal (well)’. That is, Korean negative adverb is placed very low, unlike Italian ‘mica’. Cinque (1999) mentions the possibility of two or more NegPs in a phrase structure. I suggest that Korean negative adverb occupies the hierarchically different position from ‘mica’ in Italian, and it is located in a lower NegP.

We now have the following relative order of lower AdvPs in Korean, which is almost completely the same as that found in Romance languages.

- (18) potong (usually) > cacwu (often) > imi (already) > te isang (any longer) > hangsang (always) > pangkum (just) > wancenhi (completely) > cal (well), calmos (poorly) > an(i) (not)

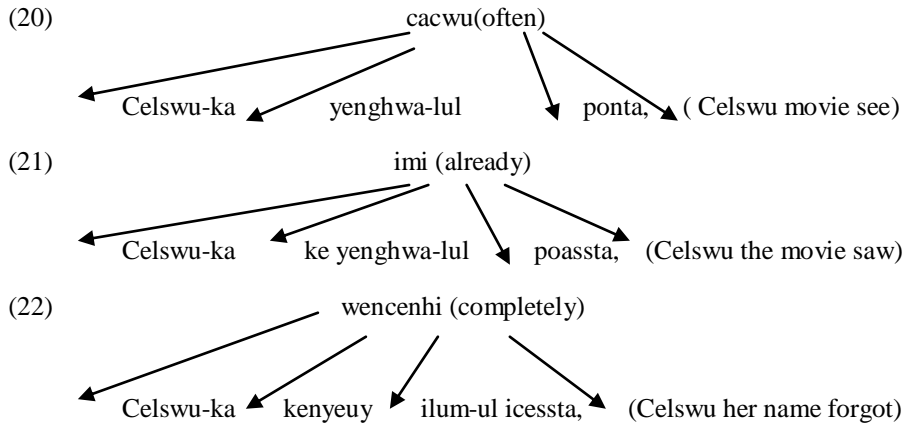
## 2.2. Distribution

In this section, I will consider the distribution of lower AdvPs in Korean. In fact, Korean lower AdvPs show quite free distribution. They can appear sentence initially, sentence finally, before object and verb, and between object and verb as in (19).

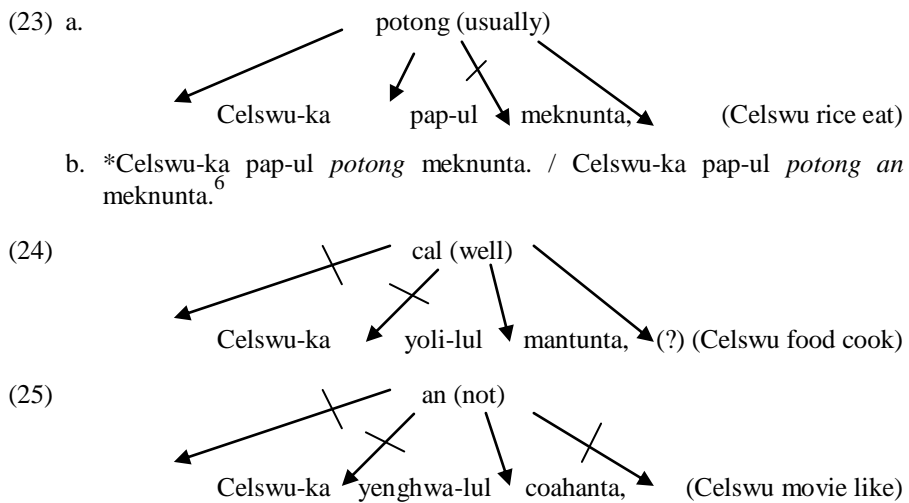
<sup>5</sup> The negative adverb ‘mos’ can appear in the same context as ‘an’, with more restricted meaning ‘unable’.

(19) 3 subject 3 object 3 verb , 3

Some of the relevant examples are in (20)-(22).



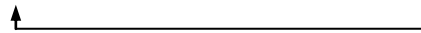
However, the adverbs ‘potong (usually)’, ‘cal (well)’, and ‘an (not)’ show more restricted distribution.



<sup>6</sup> The first sentence in (23b) shows that the object does not move past ‘potong (usually)’. But, then, what about the second sentence in (23b)? See below where it is suggested that ‘potong (usually)’ directly modifies (i.e. is the specifier of) ‘an (not)’.

First of all, the AdvPs that appear in sentence final position require the presence of comma. That is, only when these AdvPs are deaccented, they can appear sentence finally. Second, sentence-initial distribution of lower AdvPs can be analyzed as an instance of movement (maybe focus movement in some cases). Cinque (1999) shows that adverb order can be subverted when there is a focus movement. (26) demonstrates that lower adverb ‘te isang (any longer)’ can precede higher adverb ‘tahayngghi (fortunately)’ when it appears sentence-initially. That is, there is order subversion by moving ‘te isang (any longer)’ to [Spec, CP] and there is thus comma between two adverbs ((26a) vs. (26b))

(26) a. *Te isang, tahayngghi* Celswu-ka kenye-lul t an keliwehanta.



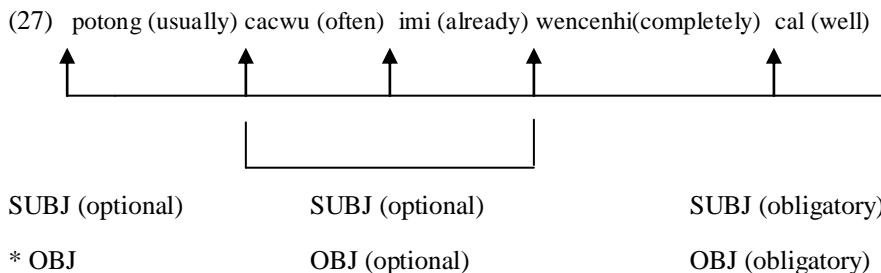
Any longer, fortunately Celswu her not miss.

b. \**Te isang tahayngghi* Celswu-ka kenye-lul an keliwehanta.

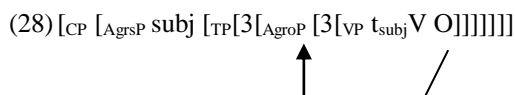
Any longer fortunately Celswu her not miss

One might wonder why ‘tahayngghi (fortunately)’ does not prevent the movement of ‘te isang (any longer)’ across it by Relativized Minimality. It might be the case that functional projections where AdvPs are specifiers are of different type from the ordinary functional categories such as CP, hence the difference between AdvPs positions and [Spec, CP]. For the cases where the lower AdvP occurs before subject but after higher AdvP (e.g. *Tahayngghi te isang* Celswu-ka kenye-lul an keliwehanta), it might be argued that lower AdvP moves to specifier position of some functional projection which is in the left of [Spec, AgrsP] and in the right of positions for higher AdvPs (In this analysis, there is a problem of needing some empty functional projections to allow movement, one of the problems Kayne’s (1994) antisymmetry system has).

Or alternatively (and more promisingly), it could be that subject remains lower (than the position that ‘te isang (any longer)’ occupies). If this is the right track to follow, then the multiple positions of the most lower adverbs as shown in (20) – (22) and the more restricted distribution of some other lower adverbs as shown in (23) – (25) seem to be a function of the movement of SUBJ and OBJ DPs along a fixed grid of adverbs which do not move. The pattern is such that only SUBJs but not OBJs can raise past ‘potong (usually)’, SUBJs and OBJs must raise past ‘cal (well)’, and SUBs and OBJs optionally raise past the other adverbs in between.



The movement pattern of SUBJs and OBJs in (27) makes sense of the distributional difference among lower adverbs. In this paper, I assume, following Kayne (1994), that every language has SVO order underlyingly. In his system, the SOV order of Korean can be analyzed as the result of obligatory object shift out of VP to a position like [Spec, AgroP] as can be seen in (28).



We saw above in (17) that ‘cal (well)’ precedes ‘an (not)’, and the pattern in (27) shows that OBJs move past ‘cal (well)’ obligatorily. All these seem to suggest that (i) Korean has obligatory object shift for Case checking, (ii) ‘cal (well)’ is located below AgroP where accusative case is checked (hence, always raised over by OBJs), (iii) other lower adverbs in between ‘cal (well)’ and ‘potong (usually)’ are base-generated above AgroP, and (iv) ‘potong (usually)’ is placed higher in a phrase structure. As already mentioned in footnote 6, the first sentence in (23b) shows that OBJs cannot move past the highest lower adverb ‘potong (usually)’, but then, we can ask why the second sentence in (23b) OK. I analyze it as the following: the adverb ‘potong (usually)’ directly modifies ‘an (not)’ in the specifier position of it.

Finally, let’s consider an example like (29) in the light of the analysis presented above.

- (29) a. Celswu-ka imi kenye-lul te isang an keliwehanta.  
           Celswu already her any longer not miss.  
       b. \*Celswu-ka te isang kenye-lul imi an keliwehanta.  
           Celswu any longer her already not miss.

Adverbs ‘imi (already)’, ‘te isang (any longer)’, and ‘an (not)’ appear in a fixed order in a phrase structure. In (29a), object ‘kenye-lul (her)’ obligatorily raises past ‘an (not)’ and then it undergoes further optional movement past ‘te isang (any longer)’ but not past ‘imi (already)’. In (29b), we cannot derive the right word order



by any means: the movement of part of phrase structure (i.e. from ‘te isang (any longer)’ to ‘keney-lul (her)’ in [Spec, AgroP]) does not make sense. And it is not desirable to say that ‘imi (already)’ undergoes lowering to a position below AgroP, either, etc. Hence, the ungrammaticality of (29b) follows.

### 3. Higher AdvPs in Korean

#### 3.1. Order

In this section, I will consider the relative order of higher AdvPs which have traditionally been classified as sentence adverbs in Korean. I will again simply list the pairs of sentences that show a rigid order between two adverbs, although it might be boring. It will be shown that Korean higher adverbs enter into Cinque’s (1999) order with a minor exception of the adverb ‘cikum, icy (now)’. Cinque’s (1999) order is as the following (30):

- (30) *francam* (frankly) > *fortunatam* (fortunately) > *evidentem* (evidently) > *probabilm* (probably) > *ora* (now) > *forse* (perhaps) > *intelligentem* (intelligently)

Now, consider Korean adverbs. First, pragmatic adverb ‘*solcikli* (frankly)’ precedes evaluative adverb ‘*pwulhayngi* (unfortunately)’:

- (31) a. *Solcikli Pwulhayngi* Celswu-ka neey tayhay pyenkyen-ul kaciko issta.  
Frankly unfortunately Celswu you-about prejudice have.  
b. \**Pwulhayngi Solcikli* Celswu-ka neey tayhay pyenkyen-ul kaciko issta.  
Unfortunately frankly Celswu you-about prejudice have.

Next, evaluative adverb ‘*pwulhayngi* (unfortunately)’ is followed by evidential adverb ‘*pwunmyenghi* (clearly)’:

- (32) a. Celswu-ka *pwulhayngi pwunmyenghi* hepwungchiessta.  
Celswu unfortunately clearly exaggerated.  
b. \*Celswu-ka *pwunmyenghi pwulhayngi* hepwungchiessta.  
Celswu clearly unfortunately exaggerated.

The evaluative adverb ‘*pwulhayngi*’ also precedes modal adverb ‘*sipcwunpalkwu*, ama (probably)’:

- (33) a. Celswu-ka *pwulhayngi sipcwunpalkwu* pyengtun kes kaytha.  
Celswu unfortunately probably sick-seem.  
b. \*/(?)Celswu-ka *sipcwunpalkwu pwulhayngi* pyengtun kes kaytha.  
Celswu probably unfortunately sick-seem.

And evidential adverb ‘pwunmeyngghi (clearly)’ comes before modal adverb ‘sipcwunpalkwu, ama (probably)’:

- (34) a. Celswu-ka *pwunmeyngghi sipcwunpalkwu* yenge-lul wanpyekhi paywul kesita.  
Celswu clearly probably English perfectly will-learn.  
b. *??Celswu-ka sipcwunpalkwu pwunmeyngghi* yenge-lul wanpyekhi paywul kesita.  
Celswu probably clearly English perfectly will-learn.

Irrealis adverbs ‘hoksi, eccemyen (perhaps)’ follow modal adverb ‘sipcwunpalkwu, ama (probably)’:

- (35) a. Celswu-ka *sipcwunpalkwu hoksi* wuli-lul towul swu issulcito molunta.  
Celswu probably perhaps us help-will-be able.  
b. *\*/?(?)Celswu-ka hoksi sipcwunpalkwu* wuli-lul towul swu issulcito molunta.  
Celswu perhaps probably us help-will-be able.

This irrealis adverb seems to be followed by subject-oriented adverb like ‘hyenmyenghakey (wisely)’:

- (36) a. Celswu-ka *hoksi hyenmyenghakey* ttenassnuncito molunta.  
Celswu perhaps wisely left.  
b. *??/?Celswu-ka hyenmyenghakey hoksi* ttenassnuncito molunta.  
Celswu wisely perhaps left.

So far, the relative order is as the following (37) (although it is not as clear as lower AdvPs case) which is exactly the same as the Romance cases.

- (37) *solcikhi* (frankly) > *pwulhayngghi* (unfortunately) > *pwunmeyngghi* (clearly) > *sipcwunpalkwu, ama* (probably) > *eccemyen, hoksi* (perhaps) > *hyenmyenghakey* (wisely)

Now, let’s consider temporal AdvPs anchored to speech time such as ‘cikum, icyey (now)’ and ‘ke ttey (then)’. As is the case in Romance, this class of AdvPs shows quite free ordering:

- (38) a. Celswu-ka *sipcwunpalkwu icyey* wuli mal-ul tululketa.  
Celswu probably now our advice listen.  
b. Celswu-ka *icyey sipcwunpalkwu* wuli mal-ul tululketa.  
Celswu now probably our advice listen.
- (39) a. *Pwunmeyngghi icyey* ne ttenayya hanta.  
Clearly now you leave-should.  
b. *Icyey pwunmeyngghi* ne ttenayya hanta.  
Now clearly you leave-should

- (40) a. *Wuncohkey icey(cikum)* ne-nun wuliwa haymkkey issta.  
 Luckily now you us-with together be.  
 b. *Icey(cikum) wuncohkey* ne-nun wuliwa haymkkey issta.  
 Now luckily you us-with together be.
- (41) a. *Solcikhi cikum* ne nay-lul hwanakey hayssta.  
 Frankly now you me angry-made.  
 b. *Cikum solcikhi* ne nay-lul hwanakey hayssta.  
 Now frankly you me angry-made.

The adverbs ‘icey, cikum (now)’ can follow ‘solcikhi (frankly)’, ‘wuncohkey (luckily)’, ‘pwunmyenghi (clearly)’, and ‘sipcwunpalkwu, ama (probably)’. And they can also precede these adverbs. The position where ‘icey, cikum (now)’ appear preceding all these adverbs may be a Topic position to the left of all higher AdvPs as Cinque (1999) proposes. And the position where ‘ice, cikum (now)’ follow all these adverbs may be a position right to modal adverb ‘sipcwunpalkwu, ama (probably)’ as is the case in Romance and other languages (e.g. *now*, higher AdvPs, ... lower AdvPs (= ... probably, *now*...)). Let’s now consider whether it is really so.

- (42) a. *Celswu-ka cikum hoksi* ttenayssnuncito molunta.  
 Celswu now perhaps left.  
 b. *Celswu-ka hoksi cikum* ttenayssnuncito molunta.  
 Celswu perhaps now left.
- (43) a. *Celswu-ka cikum hyenmyenghaykey* hangpokhayssta.  
 Celswu now wisely surrendered.  
 b. *Celswu-ka hyenmyenghaykey cikum* hangpokhayssta.  
 Celswu wisely now surrendered.

As we can see from (42) and (43) above, Korean does not show the evidence for Cinque’s (1999) claim that ‘icey, cikum (now)’ are generated to the left of ‘hoksi, eccemyen (perhaps)’ and subject-oriented adverbs like ‘hyenmyenghaykey (wisely)’. Rather, it seems to show that ‘icey, cikum (now)’ are generated between ‘hoksi, eccemyen (perhaps)’ and ‘hyenmyenghaykey (wisely)’. Then what about the cases like (43b) where ‘icey, cikum (now)’ follows ‘hyenmyenghaykey (wisely)’? Perhaps ‘icey, cikum (now)’ in Korean in this position can be treated as a circumstantial AdvP, which comes at the end of VP, and so necessarily follows all the higher AdvPs. Now, see (44).

- (44) a. *Celswu-ka hoksi cikum hyenmyenghakey* hangpokhayssnuncito molunta.  
 Celswu perhaps now wisely surrendered.

- b. Celswu-ka *cikum hoksi hyenmyenghakey* hangpokhayssnuncito molunta.  
Celswu now perhaps wisely surrendered.
- c. Celswu-ka *hoksi hyenmyenghakey cikum* hangpokhayssnuncito molunta.  
Celswu perhaps wisely now surrendered.

We just mentioned the possibility that ‘icy, cikum (now)’ in Korean are generated to the right of ‘hoksi, eccemyen (perhaps)’ and to the left of ‘hyenmyenghaykey (wisely)’. Or alternatively we might derive the order in (44a) by movement as in (45), assuming Cinque’s (1999) order found in other languages, which does not seem very likely in that we have to posit a kind of empty functional category insertion or presence of various functional categories between categories we can see only for movement’s sake, and most importantly there is a problem of moving part of phrase structure as we can see in (45a).

- (45) a. Celswu-ka *cikum [hoksi hyenmyenghakey]* hangpokhayssnuncito molunta
- 
- b. Celswu-ka [*hoksi hyenmyenghakey*]<sub>i</sub> [*cikum t<sub>i</sub> hangpokhayssnuncito molunta*]
- 
- c. Celswu-ka [*hoksi [cikum t<sub>i</sub> hangpokhayssnuncito molunta]*]<sub>j</sub> [*hyenmyenghakey*]<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>.
- 

To sum up, Korean higher AdvPs seem to show the following order:

- (46) (icy, cikum (now) ) > solcikli (frankly) > pwulhayngghi (unfortunately) > pwunmyengghi (clearly) > sipcwunpalkwu, ama (probably) > eccemyen, hoksi (perhaps) > icy, cikum (now) > hyenmyenghakey (wisely) > (icy, cikum (now))

Finally, let’s see one example which shows that higher AdvPs necessarily precedes lower AdvPs.

- (47) a. Celswu-ka *hyenmyenhakye potong* hwakyakhaci ani hanta.  
Celswu wisely usually not-commit-himself.
- b. \*/?Celswu-ka *potong hyenmyenhakye* hwakyakhaci ani hanta.  
Celswu usually wisely not-commit-himself.

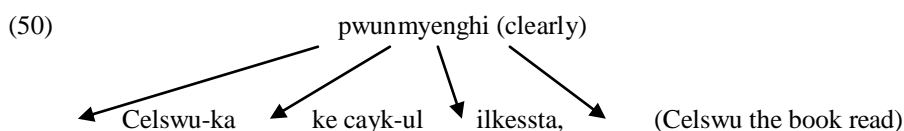
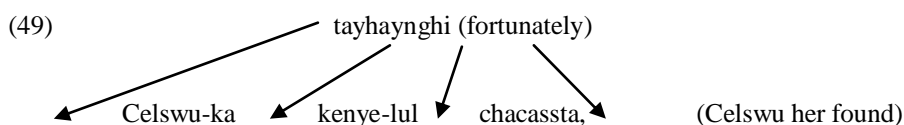
### 3.2. Distribution

In this section, I will discuss where higher AdvPs can appear in Korean. Korean higher AdvPs also show quite free distribution as lower ones. They can appear sen-

tence initially, sentence finally (with comma intonation), before object and verb, and between object and verb as in (48).

(48) 3 subject 3 object 3 verb , 3

Some of the relevant examples are in (49) and (50).



First of all, they can appear in sentence final position only when they are deaccented, as the obligatory comma shows. Second, all orders can be derived by movement. For example, the position of higher AdvP between subject and object (e.g. ‘Celswu-ka tayhayngghi kenye-lul chacassta (Celswu fortunately her found)’ can be derived from the underlying order in (51) by movement as in (52).

(51) [FP [FP *Tayhayngghi* [AgrSP Celswu-ka [AgrOP kenye-lul [VP t<sub>subj</sub> chacassta t<sub>obj</sub>]]]]]

(52) [FP Celswu-ka [FP *Tayhayngghi* [AgrSP t [AgrOP kenye-lul [VP t<sub>subj</sub> chacassta t<sub>obj</sub>]]]]]

The position of higher AdvP between object and verb might be a case of ‘parenthetical’ usage of adverbs because the higher AdvP here seems to be set off by comma intonation from the rest of the sentence. Or alternatively, it might be the case that subject moves, object moves, and then subject moves once more to the highest position for some reason. Finally, the appearance of higher AdvP in sentence final position might also be the result of movement (maybe a focus movement to [Spec, CP]).

(53) [FP [FP *Tayhayngghi* [AgrSP **Celswu-ka** [AgrOP **kenye-lul** [VP t<sub>subj</sub> **chacassta** t<sub>obj</sub>]]]]]

Now, I briefly turn my attention to the circumstantial adverbials of “place, time, manner, etc.”. It is generally assumed that those circumstantial adverbials are within the VP. So, we might expect that circumstantial adverbials always follow higher and lower AdvPs, and this expectation is indeed borne out.

- (54) Celswu-ka haykkyoeyse yelsimhi kongpwuhanta<sup>7</sup>. (Celswu at school with the great zeal study)  
↑ ↑  
potong (usually) \*potong (usually)  
tayhayngghi (fortunately) \*tayhayngghi (fortunately)

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper, I showed that Korean lower AdvPs and higher AdvPs follow Cinque's (1999) relative order of AdvPs, supporting his argument. The freer distribution of Korean adverbs can also be analyzed as the result of movement of DPs. However, there remain some problems we have to explain in future study. First, we need to find motivation for all these movements. Second, it is necessary to justify the presence of empty functional categories in various positions within phrase structure for movements to take place.

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<sup>7</sup> It seems that higher and lower AdvPs can also appear between these two circumstantial adverbials, but in this case, I think lower and higher AdvPs modify 'yelsimhi (with great zeal)' in its specifier position.