

THE TWO FORMS OF THE ADJECTIVE IN KOREAN*

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1. Introduction

In Kang (2005) I discussed non-predicative adjectives like *ceon* ‘former’ in Korean arguing against the analysis that denies the existence of adjectives in Korean, given that they have been placed under the rubric of “attributive determinatives or adnominal modifiers” in the traditional grammar of Korean: limited in number, only used in attributive position (cf. Kim 2002). However I’ve proposed that these adjectives should be considered as attributive adjectives that have a direct modification source in the nominal phrase. In this paper, furthermore, I will show that they have other indirect modification counterparts, assuming the two typologies of the adjectives proposed by Cinque (2005b).

The paper is organized as follows: in section 1, I will give a short overview of the properties of Korean attributive adjectives, which led some traditional Korean linguists to consider them as nouns. Section 2 shows that Korean attributive adjectives have their morphological counterparts and Section 3 discusses the distinction between adverbial and subject-oriented interpretations, attributive and predicative adjectives, assuming the proposal of Cinque (1994). In section 4, I will propose that some affixes are responsible for adjectival modification in the noun phrase in Korean. Section 5 demonstrates the contrasts between two types of adjectival modification in the NP, based on the Cinque (2005b)’s proposal for two origins of adjectives in the extended nominal projection.

2. Some properties of Korean attributive adjectives: the traditional criteria

Traditionally, attributive adjectives have been distinguished in two groups, depending on their ability to take the adverbial suffix, as illustrated in (1) (cf. Sohn 1999, Mok 2002, among others).

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- (1) a. **sun-lo*
pure-ly
b. *cwu-lo*
principal-ly
c. *chak-(u)lo*
book-with

This shows that *cwu* ‘principal’ in (1b) can be inflected with the adverbial suffix *-lo* like the noun in (1c), contrary to *sun* ‘pure’ in (1a). According to this criteria, the lexical elements pertaining to the category of non-predicative adjectives as in (1a) are *say* ‘new’, *hen* ‘old, used’, *yeys* ‘old, antique’, while *hyen* ‘present’, *ceon* ‘precedent’, *cwucencek* ‘alleged’ do not belong to this category. In fact, they are often classified as nouns, even if both are used only attributively as in (2).¹

- (2) a. *ku sun sakykkwun*
That pure swindle
‘Lit.: that pure swindle’
b. **sakykkwun-i sun-i-ta.*
Swindle-NOM pure-COP-DCL
‘Lit.: a swindle is pure’
c. *ku cen taytongreyng*
That former president
‘That former president’
d. **ku taytongreyng-i cen-i-ta.*
That president-NOM former-COP-DCL
‘Lit.: that president is a former’

However, this criterion is not fundamental in order to distinguish the two categories, since the adjective *say* ‘new’, considered as a non-predicative adjective, can be inflected with the adverbial suffix *-lo*, while *hyen* ‘present’ is not able to bear this suffix even if considered a noun.²

¹ Abbreviations used in glosses: NOM ‘nominative’, ACC ‘accusative’, PST ‘past tense’, PRES ‘present tense’, PASS ‘passive marker’, AFF ‘affix’, COP ‘copular’, DCL ‘declarative’, GEN ‘genitive’, TOP ‘topic maker’. PLU ‘plural’, COM ‘complementizer’, REL ‘relative clause marker’.

² The adjective *present* in English, can appear both in prenominal position and in postnominal position with a different meaning:

- (i) a. the *present* editors
b. the editors *present*
(Cinque 2005b,11)

- (3) a. *say-lo ciun cip*
new-ly constructed house
'A house constructed newly'
b. **hyen-lo*
present-ly
'presently'

Present in prenominal position possesses only a temporal meaning whereas in postnominal position it has only a locative value. The corresponding relative clause with *present* in predicate position has only one meaning, that of *present* in postnominal position, i.e., the locative one (see Cinque 2005b,11). The examples corresponding to (i) in Korean are realized with two different adjectives; one has a temporal meaning and the other has a locative value, both placed in prenominal position:

- (ii) a. *hyen peyncipcatul*
present editors
'the present editors'
b. **peyncipcatul-i hyen-ta.*
editors -NOM present-DCL
'Lit.: the editors are present (temporal value)'
c. *chamsekhan peyncipcatul*
present editors
'the editors present'
d. *peyncipcatul-i chamsekha-ta.*
editors-NOM present-DCL
'The editors are present'

This is similar to the case of '*live* and *alive*' in English, since *live* can be used in prenominal position as an attributive adjective, whereas *alive* only in postnominal position as a predicative one:

- (iii) a. The *live*/**alive* animals
b. The animals **live/alive* (cf. the animals which are **live/alive*)
(Ibid.,11)

Also the Korean corresponding adjectives *nal* 'live' e *salaisnun* 'alive' show the same pattern to the previous case:

- (iv) a. *nal cymsungtul*
live animals
'The live animals'
b. *salaisnun cymsungtul*
alive animals
'The animals alive'

Secondly, these adjectives have been considered to be prefixes (cf. Yu 1997, Lee 2004).³ Since they cannot be used alone, they are always in adjacent position to the nouns that follow them. However, this analysis does not seem to be correct, because other elements can be preceded by these attributive adjectives, for example, individual-level adjectives:

³ In fact, Lee (2004, 3-11) inserts some lexical elements to the inside of the non-predicative adjectives in Korean such as *woy* 'only', *peyng* 'ordinary', *am* 'female', *sus* 'male'. Other material cannot be intervened between these elements and the noun:

- (i) a. *nay chakhan woy ttal*
my good only daughter
- b. **nay woy chakhan ttal*
my only good daughter
'My good only daughter'
- (ii) a. *kwunmeynhan peyng koysu*
diligent ordinary professor
- b. **peyng kwunmeynhan koysu*
ordinary diligent professor
'A/the diligent ordinary professor'
- (iii) a. *sanawun sus saca*
ferocious male lion
- b. **sus sanawun saca*
male ferocious lion
'A/the ferocious male lion'

Kang (2005, 7 fn.9) suggests that the attributive adjectives cannot be followed by the non-intersective adjectives, considering them like a prefix, and for this reason the phrase (iv)b is considered ungrammatical:

- (iv) a. *wytayhan cen tatongryung*
great former president
- b. **cen wytayhan tatongryung*
former great president
'??A/the great former president'

However I think that this analysis is not correct. Indeed, (iv)b is not ungrammatical. Therefore the hierarchy (v) for Korean adjectives proposed by Kang (2005) is not correct:

- (v) intersective adjectives > non-intersective adjectives > non-predicative adjectives > N

One may claim that the basic order is (iv)b and the adjective *wytayhan* 'great' in (iv)a is in higher position in the SpecFocus. This would mean that the adjective *wytayhan* 'great' in (iv)a is not more non-intersective adjective. Indeed, in (iv)a, *wytayhan* 'great' can be arranged with the past morpheme -*ess*, contrary to that in (iv)b:

- (vi) a. *wytayha-ess-ten cen tatongryung*
great-PST-REL former president
- b. *cen wytayhan>(*-ess-ten) tatongryung*
former great /(-PST-REL) president
'Lit.: A/the former president that has been a great'

- (4) a. ?say *ppalgan* cha (cf. *ppalgan* say cha)
new red car
'A/the new red car'
b. ?say *kun* cha (cf. *kun* say cha)
new big car
'A/the new big car'

Therefore, it would seem to be more coherent to consider all adjectives mentioned above as attributive ones like in other languages such as Italian and English.

3. Introductory observations: another form of some attributive adjectives

Another property of Korean non-predicative adjectives is that some of them have another form, depending on their typology of modification. For instance, there are two forms of the adjective corresponding to *new* in English: *say* and *sayroun*. These two forms can appear prenominal, but the only one, which can be found in predicative position, is a *say-ro-un*, in certain contexts. See the following example (the semantic difference between these two forms is shown in the English glosses):

- (5) a. *say* cha
new car
'A new car; that has just been produced'
b. *say-rou-n* cha
new car
'A new car; that it is a newer model with respect to the previous one'
c. i cha-ka *design-eyse* cen kes pota **say/say-rop*-ta
this car-NOM design-in former one more new-DCL
'This car is new with respect to the previous one in the design'

In (5b) and (5c), *say-ro-u-n* and *say-rop* are identical. It is only for phonetic reasons that the consonant *-p* is transformed into the vowel *-u* and then *-n* is added in attributive position. The example (5c) shows that only *sayroun* can appear in predicative position. Because of this, *sayroun* in (5b) could be considered as an indirect modification adjective deriving from a relative clause, contrary to *say* which has a direct modification source, since this form cannot appear in predicative position.⁴

⁴ A similar example for the adjective *new* can be found in Serbian/ Croatian/ Bosnian. These languages have two types of adjectives: short-form and long-form adjectives. Long-form adjectives have a direct modification origin, but short-form adjectives have a relative clause origin (indirect modification) since syntactically both types can appear prenominal as in (i),

However, it is more complicated to determine the origin of an adjective from its form, for example, in the case of adjectives like *chwucengcek* ‘alleged’, *sun* ‘pure’, *cwu* ‘principal’ which have another form: *chwucengcek-i-n*,⁵ *sun-cen-ha-n* ‘mere, lit.: pure and complete’,⁶ *dansun-ha-n* ‘simple’, lit.: ‘only and pure’, *cwuyo-ha-n* ‘principal’, lit.: ‘principal and important’ respectively.⁷

Consider two forms of these adjectives:

- (6) a. *chwucengcek/chwucengcek-i-n* cangkowan
alleged/alleged-COP-N minister
‘A/the alleged minister’
b. **ku cangkowan-un chwucengcek/chwucengcek-i—ta*
that minister-TOP alleged/alleged-COP-DCL
‘Lit.: that minister is alleged’
- (7) a. *sun/dansun-ha-n* wuyen
pure/simple-AFF-N coincidence
‘A pure coincidence’
b. **wuyen-un sun/dansun-ha-ta*
coincidence-TOP pure/simple-AFF-DCL
‘Lit.: A/the coincidence is pure’

but in predicate position, only the short-form adjectives can appear, as in (ii). (in Cinque 2005b,18):

- (i) a. *nov/ novi kaput*
new (short)/new (long) coat
‘A/the new coat’
(ii) a. *Njegov kaput je nov/*novi*
his coat is new (short)/*new (long)

⁵ This form is formulated by adding the Korean copular *-i* and the attributive adjective marker *-n* to the basic form.

⁶ *-ha* is an affix and *-n* is an attributive maker.

⁷ According to Alexiadou (2005,5), if a language has two adjectival patterns, such adjectives are banned from one of these patterns, as illustrated in (i):

- (i) a. **o ipurgos o proin* (Greek)
the former the minister
b. **z bylyn rozmawialan slawnyn aktorem* (Polish)
with former talked famous actor
c. **qian-de zongtong* (Chinese)
former-DE president

Across languages adjectives such as *alleged*, *former*, *mere* cannot appear in predicative position (also see Cinque (2005b)).

Even if these adjectives have different forms, their typologies of modification do not vary, since both forms only appear in attributive position. How could the differences between the forms of these adjectives be defined? In the next section I will continue to characterize their syntactic and semantic properties, introducing the distinction between attributive adjectives and predicative adjectives formulated by Cinque (1994), and between two sources of adjectival modifications in the extended nominal phrase proposed by Cinque (2005b).

4. Distinction between two types of adjectives

4.1. Attributive: adverbial vs. subject-oriented

First of all, let me consider the adjective *chwucengcek* and *chwucengcek-i-n*, both corresponding to *alleged* in English⁸. In the same way, also the adjective *yamancek* ‘brutal’ can have another form: *yamancek-i-n*. Both can appear in prenominal position:

- (8) *yamancek/yamancek-i-n* kongkeyk
brutal/brutal-COP-N aggression
‘A/the brutal aggression’

In order to explain this phenomenon, we can introduce the adjective *brutale* ‘brutal’ in Italian, which can appear before as well as after the noun, but not after the complement as in (9).

⁸ In fact, Kim (2002, 35 fn.10) notes that modal adjectives (e.g., *alleged*) in Korean are absent and illustrates this with the following example:

- (i) [salinca-lo hyemuy(-lul) pat]-nun salam
murder-as suspicion (-ACC) received-REL person
‘A person alleged to be a murder’ (*Lit.*: ‘A murderer who received suspicion’)

According to Kim, the adjective corresponding to *alleged* in (i) is a relative clause with a clausal predicate inside. However, we can also say as in (ii).

- (ii) *chwucengcek salinca*
alleged murder
‘A/the alleged murder’

The difference between (i) and (ii) can be detected if we compare them with the two uses of *alleged* in (iii).

- (iii)a. The *alleged* murderer was deported.
b. The murderer *alleged* to have killed his own parents was deported.

(Cinque 2005b,45)

Alleged in prenominal position in (iii)a has a non-intersective value, but in postnominal position with a phrasal complement, it becomes intersective (see Cinque 2005b,45 for the further discussion). The same is true for Korean.

- (9) a. La loro *brutale* aggressione all'Albania (subject-oriented)
 b. La loro aggressione *brutale* all'Albania (manner)
 c. *La loro aggressione all'Albania *brutale*
 'Their brutal aggression against Albania'

(Cinque 1994, 88-89)

According to Cinque, the prenominal and postnominal positions of attributive adjectives receive two different interpretations: the postnominal position receives a strict "manner" interpretation like (9b), whereas the prenominal one has a "subject oriented" interpretation as in (9a). Cinque proposes the partial structure containing a speaker-oriented adjective as in (10).

- (10) a. La probabile(sp-or) goffa(subj-or) reazione immediata (manner)
 alla tua lettera
 'The probable clumsy reaction immediate to your letter'
 b. [_{XP} AP_{sp-or} _ [_{YP} AP_{subj-or}[__{ZP} AP_{manner/themat} _ [_{NP} N ...]]]]
 (Ibid.,92)

Assuming the distinction between manner adjectives and subject-oriented adjectives let me consider *yamancek* and *yamancek-i-n* 'brutal' in Korean. Both forms can appear between the subjective genitive and the noun as in (11). But their interpretations are different, in that the one in (11a) receive the manner value, whereas the one in (11b) receive subject-oriented value.

- (11) a. kutul-uy *yamancek* kongkeyk
 they-GEN brutal aggression
 b. kutul-uy *yamancek-i-n* kongkeyk
 they -GEN brutal-COP-N aggression
 'Their brutal aggression'

In addition, they do not appear in the left peripheral position of NP, since they cannot modify the nominal head.⁹

- (12) a. **yamancek* kutul-uy kongkeyk
 brutal they -GEN aggression
 b. **yamancek-i-n* kutul-uy kongkeyk
 brutal-COP-N they -GEN aggression
 'Their brutal aggression'

⁹ In (11), it is not important that *yamancek* and *yamancek-i-n* 'brutal' modify *kutuluy* 'loro'.

This distinction between subject-oriented and manner interpretation for the two forms of the adjective *brutal* in Korean is supported by the fact that the mutual order between these two types of adjectives follows that of Italian. That is, the manner adjective *yamancek* ‘brutal’ can only follow the subject-oriented adjective such as *erisekun* ‘stupid’. The examples (14) are parallel to (13) in Italian:

- (13) a. *L’aggressione *stupida brutale/italiana* all’Albania
the aggression stupid brutal/Italian against Albania
b. *La stupida* aggressione *brutale/italiana* all’Albania
the stupid aggression brutal/Italian against Albania
‘The stupid brutal Italian aggression against Albania’
(Ibid., 91)
- (14) a. Albania-eytayhan kuyul-uy *erisekun yamancek* kongkeyk
Albania-against they-GEN stupid brutal aggression
‘The stupid brutal Italian aggression against Albania’
b. *Albania-eytayhan kutul-uy *yamancek erisekun* kongkeyk
Albania-against they-GEN brutal stupid aggression
‘The stupid brutal Italian aggression against Albania’

This evidence suggests that in Korean, the manner adjectives and the subject-oriented adjectives are distinguished morphologically. Moreover the speaker-oriented adjectives cannot be preceded by subject-oriented adjectives in the way illustrated in example (15). Therefore, the hierarchy between these adjectives would be that of Cinque in (10b):

- (15) a. *yesangkanunghan eykeyun* panwung
probable clumsy reaction
‘The probable clumsy reaction’
b. **eykeyun yesangkanunghan* panwung
clumsy probable reaction
‘The probable clumsy reaction’
c. ne-uy peyn-ci-ey *yesangkanunghan erisekun cwkkakcek-(*-n)* pangung
you-GEN letter-to probable clumsy immediate-(COP-N) reaction
‘The probable clumsy immediate reaction to your letter’
- (16) [Xp APsp-or _ [Yp APsubj-or _ [Zp APmanner/themat _ [Np N ...]]]]

4.2. Predicative

According to Cinque (1994,92), the attributive adjectives in the Romance languages precede a noun or appear between the noun and its complement, not after the complement (cf. 9c). However, they become grammatical if there is a sharp intonational break between the complement and the AP, with the AP bearing stress (17a), or coordinated (17b), or modified by a specifier (17c) or a complement (17d):

- (17) a. La loro aggressione all'Albania, BRUTALE
loro aggressione all'Albania, improvvisa e brutale
La loro aggressione all'Albania, assai poco brutale
La loro aggressione all'Albania, brutale nei suoi effetti
(Ibid.,92)

Assuming this analysis, let me consider the adjective *yamancek*, *yamancek-in* which both correspond to *brutal* in English. The construction (18) is parallel to (17).

- (18) a. *AMANCEK*-(*I-N*), kutul-uy Albania-eytayhan kongkeyk
brutal-COP-N they-GEN Albania-against aggression
'Lit.: Their aggression against Albania, BRUTAL'
b. *yamncek*-(*i*)-ko *kapcaksure-n* kutul-uy Albania-eytayhan kongkeyk
brutal-COP-and unexpected-N they-GEN Albania-against aggression
'Lit.: Their aggression against Albania, brutal and unexpected'
c. maywu *yamancek*-(*i-n*) kutul-uy Albania-eytayhan kongkeyk
very brutal-COP-N they-GEN Albania-against aggression
'Lit.: Their aggression against Albania, very little brutal'
d. hwoykwoa-eyse *yamancek*-(*i-n*) kutul-uy Albania-eytayhan kongkeyk
effects -in brutal-COP-N they-GEN Albania-against aggression
'Lit.: Their aggression against Albania, brutal in its effects'

This demonstrates the contrast between the two forms of the adjective *brutal* in Korean. When it is preceded by a pause and emphasized in the left peripheral position (18a), coordinated (18b), or modified by a specifier (18c) or a complement (18d), it only becomes grammatical with the adjective containing the copula *-i*. For the attributive adjectives, not only the distinction between adverbial and subject-oriented value, but also the distinction between attributive and predicative is of a morphological nature.¹⁰

¹⁰ This is limited to the adjectives that have the suffix *-cek*. Adjectives that do not have the suffix *-cek*, for example *yengakhan* 'clever' and *suncynhan* 'naïve', are subject to interpretations determined by their structural positions (ii), as in the Italian phrase (i):

Therefore we would say that *yamancek* ‘brutal’ can be adverbial or attributive, and that *yamancek-i-n*, which contains the copula *-i*, can be subject-oriented or predicative.

And this analysis could be applied to other adjectives such as *sun* ‘pure’ and *cwu* ‘principal’ that both have another form added *-ha*: *sun-cen-ha-n*, *dansun-ha-n*, and *cwuyo-ha-n* respectively.

In Cinque (2005b,43), some adjectives that are found exclusively in prenominal position can appear after a complement in predicative position if they are coordinated with other adjectives:

- (19) a. *una coincidenza *pura* (cf. una *pura* coincidenza)
a coincidence pure
‘a pure coincidence’
b. una coincidenza *pura e semplice*
a coincidence pure and simple
‘a coincidence pure and simple’

According to Cinque, when coordinated, the adjectives count as “heavy” and can thus Access the Spec of a higher FocP, ending up in postnominal position.

Assuming this analysis of Cinque’s, we can apply it to the adjectives in Korean. The adjectives *sun* ‘pure’ and *cwu* ‘principal’ for themselves cannot be coordinated with other adjectives, similar to the fact that only the form containing the copula *-i*, *yamancek-i-n*, can be coordinated with other adjectives such as *yamancek-i-ko kapcakswuren* ‘brutal and unexpected’ (cf. 18b). Similarly, the forms of compounds *dan-sun* ‘only and pure’ and *cwu-yo* ‘principal and important’ can bear a affix as *-ha*, that has the same function of the copula *-i*, contrary to *sun* ‘pure’ and *cwu* ‘principal’.

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- (i) a. L’*astuta* risposta *ingenua* di Gianni
the clever answer naïve of John
‘John’s clever naïve answer’
L’*ingenua* risposta *astuta* di Gianni
The naïve answer clever of John
‘John’s naïve clever answer’
(Crisma 1996, 65)
- (ii) a. John-uy *yengakhan suncynhan* taytap
John-GEN clever naïve answer
‘John’s clever naïve answer’
b. John-uy *suncynhan yengakhan* taytap
John-GEN naïve clever answer
‘John’s naïve clever answer’

However, if there is an intonational break and an emphasis in left peripheral position (20), or a modification by a specifier (21), only the forms with *-ha* can appear:

- (20) a. **SUN/DAN-SUN-HA-N*, ku wuyen
pure/only e pure-HA-N that coincidence
'Lit.: That coincidence, only and pure'
b. **CWU/CWU-YO-HA-N*, ku dongki
principal/principal e important-HA-N that motive
'Lit.: That motive, principal and important'
- (21) a. nemwu **sun/dan-sun-ha-n* wuyen
very much pure/ only e pure-HA-N coincidence
'Lit.: A/the coincidence, very much only and pure'
b. nemwu **cwul/cwuyo-ha-n* dongki
very much principal e important-HA-N motive
'Lit.: A/the motive, very much principal and important'

5. Implication: two types of affix

5.1. Direct modification: -CEK

In the previous section, I have shown the presence of the adverbial adjectives in Korean: *chwucengcek* 'alleged', *yamancek* 'brutal'. These adjectives have the morphological similarity, that is, they have the suffix *-cek*, which is obligatorily added to the elements that precede the nouns:

- (22) a. *chwuceng-cek*/**chwuceng* cangkwon
alleged/allegation minister
'A/the alleged minister'
b. *yaman-cek*/**yaman* kongkeyk
brutal/brutality aggression
'A/the brutal aggression'

In effects, there are some adjectives that share this suffix *-cek*, as shown in (23):

- (23) a. *kwahak*-*(*cek*) selmyung¹¹
science-CEK explanation

¹¹ Without *-cek*, the noun *kwahak* 'science' would be a internal argument of a head noun *selmyung* 'explanation'.

- b. 'A/the scientific explanation'
cwusang-*(*cek*) sayngkak
 abstraction-CEK idea
 'A/the abstract idea'
 c. *kensel*-*(*cek*) mannam
 construction-CEK encounter
 'A/the constructive encounter'

The adjectives of the example (23) cannot appear in predicative position, as seen in the example (24).

- (24) a. *selmyung-I *kwahak-cek-i-ta*.
 explanation-NOM science-CEK-COP-DCL
 'A/the explanation is scientific'
 b. *sayngkak-i *chwsang-cek-i-ta*
 idea-NOM abstraction-CEK-COP-DCL
 'A/the idea is abstract'
 c. *mannam-i *kensel-cek-i-ta*
 encounter-NOM construction-CEK-COP-DCL
 'A/the encounter is constructive'

As I have suggested before with respect to the adjective *yaman-cek* 'brutal', the adjectives in (24) are adverbial or non-predicative, since they cannot appear in a predicative position. Furthermore, they cannot have a FOCUS feature (25a), nor can they be found in a left peripheral position with the pause emphasized (25b). Moreover they cannot be coordinated with other adjectives (25c), and in case they are followed by a specifier (25d) or a complement (25e), they also become ungrammatical:

- (25) a. *ku-uy *kwahák-cek* selmyung
 he-GEN science-CEK explanation
 'His scientific explanation'
 b. *KWAHAK-CEK ku-uy selmyung
 science-CEK he-GEN explanation
 'Lit.: his explanation, SCIENTIFIC'
 c. *ku-uy *kwahakcek-ko sylcaycek* selmyung
 he-Gen science-CEK-and logical explanation
 'Lit.: the explanation, scientific and logical'
 d. *maywu *chwsang-cek* sayngkak
 very abstraction-CEK idea

- e. 'Lit.: the idea, very abstract'
* keylkwoa-meyneyse *kenselcek* mannam
effects-in construction-CEK encounter
'Lit.: the encounter, constructive in its effects'

Therefore, summarising the properties of the adjectives with the suffix *-cek*:

1. They have an adverbial interpretation.
 2. They are not able to bear the focus feature.
 3. They cannot appear in the left peripheral position, even if there is an intonational break and they bear stress.
 4. They cannot be modified by a specifier or a complement.
 5. They can only be attributive.
- They have a direct modification source.

5.2. Indirect modification: -I and -HA

5.2.1. -I

All the adjectives with *-cek* can have other forms containing the copula *-i* in attributive position, such as the adjective *chwucengcek*, *chwucengcek-i-n* 'alleged'. Therefore also the adjectives in (23) such as *kwahakcek* 'scientific', *chwusancek* 'abstract' and *kenselcek* 'constructive', have another form with the copula *-i* in attributive position (26). Despite the presence of the copular *-i*, they do not appear predicatively as shown in (27):

- (26) a. kwahakcek-(*i-n*) selmyung
scientific-COP-N explanation
'A/the scientific explanation'
b. chwusancek-(*i-n*) sayngkak
abstract-COP-N idea
'A/the abstract idea'
c. kenselcek-(*i-n*) mannam
construction-COP-N encounter
'A/the constructive encounter'
- (27) a. * selmyung-i kwahakcek-i-ta.
explanation-NOM scientific-COP-DCL
'A/the explanation is scientific'
b. *sayngkak-i chwusancek-i-ta
idea-NOM abstract-COP-DCL

- c. 'A/the idea is abstract'
 *mannam-i *kenselcek-i-ta*
 encounter-NOM constructive-COP-DCL
 'A/the constructive encounter'

This would suggest that the adjectives with the copula *-i* are not derived from relative clauses, since their predicative use turns out to be ungrammatical. However, they can have a subject-oriented interpretation, contrary to the forms without the copular *-i* as apparent from the semantic contrast of the adjective *yamancek*, *yamancek-i-n* 'brutal' seen in 3.1. In other words, the distinction between adverbial adjectives and subject-oriented ones in Korean is morphological. For this reason, the adjectives in (27) can appear in predicative position, having a subject-oriented value:

- (28) a. ku-uy selmyung-un *kwahakcek-i-ess-ta*.
 he-GEN explanation-TOP scientific-COP-PST-DCL
 'Lit.: His explanation has been scientific'
- b. Ku-uy sayngkak-un *chwsangcek-i-ess-ta*.
 he-Gen idea-TOP abstract-COP-PST-DCL
 'His idea has been abstract'
- c. Kutul-uy mannam-un *kensel-cek-i-ess-ta*.
 they-GEN encounter-TOP constructive-COP-PST-DCL
 'Their encounter has been constructive'

Moreover, this type of adjective would be predicative, given their possibility of bearing elements that render them heavy: focus (29a), coordination (29b), pause and emphasis (29c), and finally modification by a specifier (29d) or a complement (29e):

- (29) a. ku-uy *kwahakcek-i-n* selmyung
 he-GEN scientific-COP-N explanation
 'His scientific explanation'
- b. *kwahakcek-i-ko* nonrycek-*i-n* ku-uy selmyung
 scientific-COP-and logical-COP-N he-GEN explanation
 'Lit.: His explanation, scientific and logical'
- c. *KWAHAKCEK-I-N ku-uy selmyung
 scientific-COP-N he-GEN explanation
 'Lit.: His explanation, SCIENTIFIC'
- d. ku-uy maywu *chwsangcek-i-n* sayngkak
 he-GEN very abstract-COP-N idea
 'Lit.: His idea, very abstract'
- e. keylkwoa-meyneyse *kenselcek-i-n* mannam

effects-in constructive-COP-N encounter
'Lit.: the constructive encounter in effects'

This shows the contrast between the adjectives which share the suffix *-cek* with or without the copular *-i*. In the next section, I would like to characterize the properties of the affix *-ha*.

5.2.2. -HA

Let us consider the status of *-ha*, which is present in adjectives such as *dansun-ha-n/suncen-ha-n* and *cwuyo-ha-n* (derived from the adjectives *sun* 'pure' and *cwu* 'principal' respectively). First of all, the affix *-ha* is in complementary distribution with the copular *-i*:

- (30) a. *dansun-ha/*i-ta*
simple (only and pure)-HA-DCL
'Lit.: is simple'
- b. *yamancek-i/*ha-ta*
brutal-COP-DCL
'Lit.: is brutal'

This suggests that *-ha* has the same function as the copular affix *-i*. Indeed, there are some adjectives such as *kinkup/kinkup-ha-n* 'urgent', *yumyeng/yumyeng-ha-n* 'famous'.¹² In attributive position, the presence of *-ha* is optional, as in (31). In predicative position, on the other hand, *-ha* is obligatory, as shown in (32).¹³

- (31) a. *kinkwup-(ha-n) sanghwang*
urgent-HA-N situation
'A/the urgent situation'
- b. *yumyeng-(ha-n) paywu*
famous-HA-N actor
'A/the famous actor'
- (32) a. *ku sanghwang-un kinkwup-*(ha)-ta.*
that situation-TOP urgent-HA-DCL
'That urgent situation'
- b. *ku paywu-nun yumyeng-*(ha)-ta.*

¹² Originally, this idea has been proposed by Mok (2002,15).

¹³ This type of adjectives are *cwungyo/cwungyo-ha-n* 'important', *ketay/ketatay-ha-n* 'enormous', *kangryek/kangrye-ha-n* 'strong'... etc.

that actor-TOP famous-HA-DCL
 ‘That actor is famous’

One characteristic of the affix *-ha* is that it makes the adjective predicative. This means that the coordination, focus, the modification by a specifier and emphasis are admitted with adjectives containing *-ha*:

- (33) a. ku kinkwup-*há-n* sanghwang
 that urgent-HA-N situation
 ‘A/the urgent situation’
 b. KINKWUP-*(HA-N) ku sanghwang
 urgent-HA-N that situation
 ‘Lit.: a/the situation, URGENT’
 c. ku maywu yumyeng-*(*ha-n*) paywu
 that very famous-HA-N actor
 ‘That very famous actor’

This contrast between the adjectives with or without *-ha* could be supported by the fact that the positions of generation of the two forms of the adjective *famous* in Korean could be revealed through their relative ordering with respect to another adjective (for example, *celmun* ‘young’):

- (34) a. ku-nun maywu *celmun yumyung*-(**ha-n*) cakka-i-ta.
 he-TOP very young famous-HA-N writer-COP-DCL
 ‘He is a very young famous writer’
 b. ku-nun maywu *yumyung*-(*ha-n*) *celmun* cakka-i-ta.
 he-TOP very famous-HA-N young riter-COP-DCL
 ‘He is a very famous young writer’

This example demonstrates that the adjective with *-ha*, *yumyeng-ha-n* ‘famous’ can only appear in the higher position relative to the adjective *celmun* ‘young’, contrary to its counterpart without *-ha*, as in (34a). On the other hand, in the lower position relative to the adjective *celmun* ‘young’, only the form without *-ha* can appear.

To summarize, in section 4.2, I have argued that the adjectives which occur with the copular *-i* or the affix *-ha* can be predicative and also have an indirect modification origin.

6. Contrasts between two types of modification

In the present section, I would like to discuss some evidence supporting the conclusion that Korean adjectives are of two types giving rise to two types of

interpretations. I will illustrate the contrasts between stage-level and individual-level, between absolute and relative, between specificity-inducing and non-specificity-inducing with reference to the theory of the two origins of adjectival modification proposed in Cinque (2005b).

6.1. Individual-level vs. stage-level

In Larson (2000b) and Cinque (2005b), adjectives that have a direct modification origin are taken to possess a characteristic or enduring (individual-level) property, whereas those that have an indirect modification origin are taken to manifest a temporary (stage-level) property. According to Cinque, this difference between the two origins of the adjectives is systematic in the Germanic and Romance languages: that is, it depends on their pre- and postnominal position, as illustrated in (35) and (36).

- (35) a. The *visible* stars include Aldebaran and Sirius. (ambiguous)
b. The stars *visible* include Aldebaran and Sirius. (S-level)
- (36) a. Le *invisibili* stelle di Andromeda sono molto distanti. (I-level)
'A's stars, which are generally invisible, are very far'
b. Le stelle *invisibili* di Andromeda sono molto distanti. (ambiguous)
'A's stars, which are generally invisible, are very far' (I-level)
'or A's stars, which are generally visible, but which happen to be
invisible now...'
(S-level)
(Cinque 2005b,4-5)

This shows that in the prenominal position English adjectives introduce ambiguity between individual-level and stage-level as in (35a), while in the postnominal position they are not ambiguous, they denote only stage-level property as in (35b). And in Italian, contrary to English, adjectives in prenominal position can have only an individual-level interpretation (36a), while in the postnominal position both readings are available (36b). In the case of Korean, the corresponding adjective *kasicek* 'visible', which contains *-cek*, is a direct modification marker for adjectives. Therefore, an individual-level reading is available in (37a), while the temporal property or the stage-level value can be expressed by another form; *kasicek-i-n* 'visible' containing the copula *-i*, as shown in (37).¹⁴

¹⁴ There is another possibility to express both individual-level and stage-level reading with the adjective *poinun* 'visible', containing the present tense marker *-nun*. This adjective *poinun* 'visible' would be identical to the reduced relative clause with the temporary property as in (ib), while the enduring property expressed with a support of an adverbial *hangsang* 'always' as in (ic).

- (37) a. Andromeda-nun *kasicek* pyel-i-ta. (I-level)
 Aldebaran-TOP visible stras-COP-DCL
 ‘The Aldebaran is a visible star’
 b. Andromeda-nun *kasicek-i-n* pyel-i-ta. (S-level)
 Aldebaran-TOP visible-COP-N star-COP-DCL
 ‘The Aldebaran is a star, which is visible’

In addition, these two types of adjective *visible* in Korean respect the order “S-level > I-level > N” or “indirect modification > direct modification > N” as in (38b). And *pikasycek-i-n* ‘invisible’, the type of S-level adjective, can only be followed by *modun* ‘every’ through a focus (or emphasis) movement as in (38c):¹⁵

- (38) a. **modun kasicek pikasycek-i-n* peyl-tul
 every visible invisible-COP-N stars-PUL
 ‘Every visible star invisible’
 b. *modun pikasicek-i-n kasicek* peyl-tul
 every invisible-COP-N visible stars-PLU
 ‘every visible stars invisible’
 c. *pikasicek-*(i-n) modun* peyl-tul
 invisible-COP-N every stars-PLU
 ‘Every visible stars, INVISIBLE’

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- (i) a. Tosekwoan-eyse *kongpuha-nun* haksayng
 library-in student-PRES student
 ‘A/the student who is studying in the library’
 b. (hanwl-ey) *po-i-nun* peyl-tul
 sky-in see-PASS-PRES star-PLU
 ‘The stars which are seen in the sky now’
 c. **hangsang** *po-i-nun* peyl-tul
 always see-PASS-PRES star-PLU.
 ‘The stars which are always seen’

¹⁵ It is also possible to see the order “S-level > I-level > N” with the adjective *poinun* ‘visible’, derived from the reduced relative clauses:

- (i) a. (cikum) *an-po-i-nun* hangsang *po-i-nun* peyl-tul
 now not-see-PASS-PRES always see-PASS-PRES star-PLU
 ‘The stars that are visible always, invisible’
 b. * *hangsang poinun an-po-i-nun* peyl-tul
 always see-PASS-PRES not-see-PASS-PRES star-PLU
 ‘Lit.: The stars that are invisible, always invisible’

With regard to the order between the relative clauses, see Larson and Takahashi (2004), also Cinque (2005b).

6.2. Absolute vs. relative

In Cinque (Ibid., 16), an adjective like *enormous* in English is ambiguous between relative absolute as in (39): ‘an elephant which was an enormous hing, in absolute terms’ (in absolute terms) or ‘an elephant which was enormous with respect to other individuals of the same class’:

(39) (She saw) an elephant which was enormous

The adjective that corresponds to *enormous* in Korean is *ketay-ha-n* and it can also introduce ambiguity between these two types of interpretations, as in the example (40a), however its counterpart without *-ha*: *ketay* ‘enormous’, can have only absolute value as in (40b), similarly to the analysis of Cinque. That is, the adjectives that have a direct modification source, can have only one absolute value:

- (40) a. kuney-nun *ketay-ha-n* kokkyri-lul po-ass-ta. (ambiguous)
She-Top enormous-HA-N elephant-ACC see-PST-DCL
‘She saw an elephant which was enormous’
b. kuney-nun *ketay* kokkyri-lul po-ass-ta. (absolute)
She-Top enormous elephant-ACC see-PST-DCL
‘She saw an elephant which was enormous thing’

6.3. Specificity-inducing vs. non-specificity-inducing

Also in Cinque (Ibid., 8-9), the adjectives with origin of indirect modification possess ambiguous interpretations between specific and not-specific, as in the example (41), on the other hand, those with origin of direct modification can have only a specific interpretation, as in (41b):¹⁶

- (41) a. Mi hanno detto che alla festa interverrà un attore *famoso* (ambiguous)
‘They told me that a certain famous actor will come to the party’
‘They told me that some famous actor or other will come to the party’
b. Mi hanno detto che alla festa interverrà un *famoso* attore (specific)
‘They told me that a certain famous actor will come to the party’

This property that distinguishes between the origins of the adjectival modifications can also be found in Korean in the contrast between the types of adjectives with or without *-ha*, for an adjective *yumyenglyumyeng-ha-n* ‘famous’:¹⁷

¹⁶ According to Cinque, the prenominal position of the adjective renders an indefinite DP specific, which implies the existence of a particular actor that will come to the party, whether or not the speaker knows his identity.

¹⁷ This property can be found also with the adjectives *ius/ius-ha-n* ‘nearby’:

- (42) a. etten *yumeng-ha-n* paywu-ka party-ey on-ta-ko tul-ess-ta. (ambiguous)
certain famous-HA-Nactor-Nom party-to come-DCL-Com hear-
PST-DCL
'I heard that a certain famous actor will come to the party'
'I heard that some famous actor or other will come to the party'
- b. etten *yumeng* paywu-ka party-ey on-ta-ko tul-ess-ta. (specific)
certain famoso attore-Nom party-to come-DCL-COM hear-PST-DCL
'I heard that a certain famous actor will come to the party'

7. Concluding remarks

Differently from other types adjectives (i.e., the qualitative adjectives), these non-predicative adjectives have not been considered to be a part of the adjectives that are present in the traditional grammar of Korean.

In this paper, however, in reviewing the Korean non-predicative adjectives and their counterparts containing the copular *-i* and the affix *-ha*, I've argued that they can be distinguished between adverbial and subject-oriented, attributive and predicative, origin of direct modification and that of indirect modification with regard to the possibility to supply explanations more deepened on the category of the adjectives and the adjectival modifications in the nouns phrase in Korean, based on the proposals of Cinque (1994) and Cinque (2005b).

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- (i) John-un *ius-ha-n* cyp-ul panghwaha-ko sypehan-ta (ambiguous)
J. -Top neaby-HA-N house-ACC burn-to want-DCL
a. 'John wants to burn some specific house which is near his' (specific)
b. 'John wants to burn some house or other among those which are near his'
(non-specific)
- (ii) John-un *ius* cyp-ul panghwaha-ko sypeha-n-ta (specific)
J. -Top neaby-HA-N house-ACC burn-to want-DCL
'John wants to burn some specific house which is near his'

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