

Restriction and Apposition

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Restrictive relative clauses and non-restrictive (=appositive) relative clauses are distinguished in Korean phonologically and syntactically as well as semantically. In an appositive relative clause, the head noun is stressed whereas it can't be stressed in a restrictive relative clause. Also, restrictives and appositives are different in their syntactic positions: restrictives are inside the NP which is under the DP, and appositives are at a DP-adjoined position. The distinction between restriction and apposition is not due to the nature of the relative clause; rather, the distinction is due to different positions that a prenominal element can take. Depending upon the position that it takes, the prenominal element is interpreted either restrictively or appositively.

0. Introduction

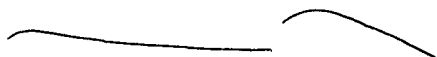
It has been claimed by some linguists that there is no restrictive vs. non-restrictive (=appositive) distinction in Korean relative clauses (Lee & Ihm 1983). This paper aims to show that the distinction does show up in Korean. I also argue that the distinction is not due to the nature of the relative clause; rather, any prenominal element except determiners can in principle be interpreted either restrictively or appositively, depending upon the position in which it occurs in the nominal structure.

1. Phonological Markings of the Distinction

In English, the appositive relative clause can be distinguished from the restrictive relative clause by the presence of the pause (represented by a comma in writing), among other things. Korean also provides phonological markings for the distinction: restrictive relatives and appositive relatives are different in terms of stress pattern, intonation, and pause. The follow-

ing nominal phrase¹ with a relative clause is interpreted appositively, and the head of the relative clause bears a heavy stress with the first syllable of the head in high pitch. Also, there is a slight pause between the relative clause and the head. I will clear up the semantics later. All I mean here by “appositively” is that the Korean phrase corresponds to the English appositive phrase. The stressed element is written in bold, and the change of pitch is indicated by lines. Discontinuation of lines indicates pauses.

1. wuelnam-eyse tolao-n Kim sangsa



[t_i Vietnam-from come+back]-COMP Kim officer_i
 “Officer Kim, who came back from Vietnam”

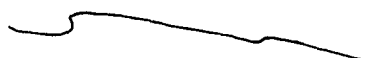
The head of a restrictive relative clause can't bear the primary stress, however. The stress can occur anywhere except on the head, depending where the focus of the relative clause falls. The intonation of the phrase drops toward the head, and there is no pause between the relative and the head.

2-a. nay-ka salangha-nun namca



[I-NOM t_i love]-COMP man_i
 “the man who I love”

2-b. nay-ka **salangha-nun** namca



[I-NOM t_i love]-COMP man_i
 “the man who I **Love**”

Whether a restrictive relative clause takes the pattern of 2-a or 2-b, the distinction between an appositive and a restrictive is clear. The head of the relative clause is stressed, in high pitch and separated by a pause when the clause is an appositive, and it is not when the clause is a restrictive. Therefore, when a phrase is not clear between the appositive reading and the restrictive reading, Korean speakers seem to help themselves by exaggerat-

¹ While I assume the so-called DP-hypothesis in this paper, “nominal phrase” is used as a theory-neutral term in referring to the phrase which has been called NP in generative grammar.

ing this phonological pattern. In fact, phrase 2 is ambiguous between the two readings when without the stress/intonation/pause: “men (men in general) who I love” and “the man who I love”. It is true that these patterns are not easily detectable in most cases; however, I find that they do employ these stress/intonation/pause patterns and that the patterns are exaggerated for disambiguation to the detectable degree whenever the context does not disambiguate between the two interpretations.

2. Syntactic Positions of Restrictives and Appositives

Appositives and restrictives are positionally different, too. If the relative clause occurs before a demonstrative, the stress/intonation pattern of the restrictive is illicit, unless you provide the phrase with an unusual interpretation (which I will explain in the following semantic discussion). To simplify matters, I will leave out the representation of the intonation pattern for most of the cases and indicate the phonological pattern by typing the stressed words in boldface.

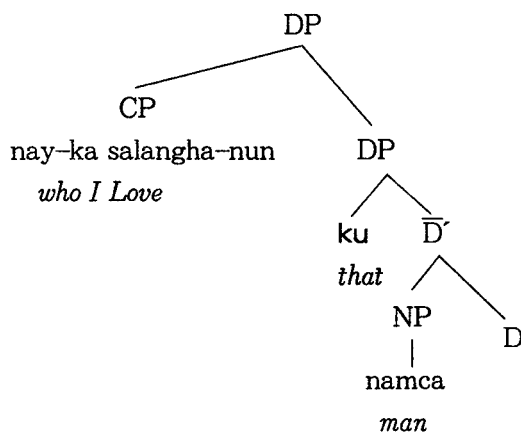
3-a. ***hangul**-ul palmyengha-n ku salam-ul a-si-mnikka?
 [t₁ Korean Writing-ACC invent]-COMP that man₁-ACC
 know-HON-Q
 “Do you know that man who invented the Korean writing system?”

3-b. ku **hangul**-ul palmyengha-n salam-ul a-si-mnikka?
 [t₁ Korean Writing-ACC invent]-COMP that man₁-ACC
 know-HON-Q
 “Do you know that man who invented the Korean writing system?”

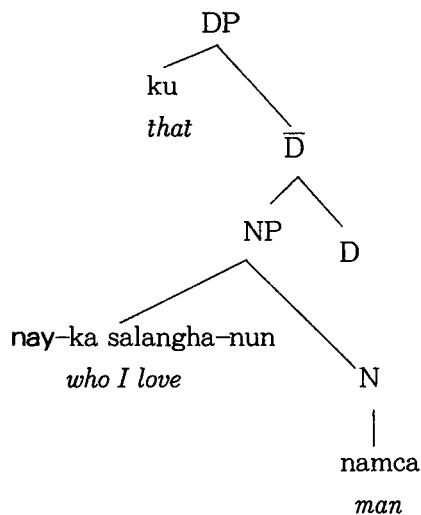
When a relative clause is followed by a demonstrative, the stress/intonation pattern of the restrictive is not allowed as you see in 3-a. Compare 3-a with the grammatical 3-b, where the relative clause is preceded by a demonstrative. The left-most position of the relative clause indicates that it is located further outside than the demonstrative in the nominal phrase. What data like 3 are essentially telling us is that when a relative clause occurs further outside than a demonstrative, it cannot be a restrictive. When a relative clause is located in this position, the restrictive interpretation is not allowed. Thus, the phrase 3-a, with the stress pattern of the restrictive, is ungrammatical.

Demonstratives and articles occur at the foremost boundary of a nominal phrase in English and other languages. The null hypothesis is, then, that they occur at the boundary of a nominal phrase in Korean, too. If we assume this, then, it follows that the appositive occurs at the outside of a nominal phrase, which I assume to be DP, and the restrictive occurs inside a nominal phrase. 5-a and b are DPs with an appositive and with a restrictive, respectively.

5-a. “That man, who I love”



5-b. “That man who I love”



In fact, it is not only before a demonstrative that a restrictive cannot occur. A restrictive cannot usually occur before names (See 6) and pronouns (See 7) and possessives (See 8) as well as demonstratives.

6. **hangul-ul palmyengha-n seongtaywang-ul a-si-mnikka?*
 [_{t_i} Korean Writing-ACC invent]-COMP King Sejong_i-ACC
 know-HON-Q
 "Do you know King Sejong who invented the Korean Writing System?"
7. **hangul-ul palmyengha-n ku-lul a-si-mnikka?*
 [_{t_i} Korean Writing-ACC invent]-COMP he_i-ACC know-HON-Q
 "Do you know he who invented the Korean Writing System?"
8. ?**hangul-lo nao-n nay chayk-ul po-si-ess-ssumnikka?*
 [_{t_i} Korean Writing-in come-out]-COMP my book_i-ACC
 see-HON-PST-Q
 "Did you see my book which is published in Korean?"

To explain the phenomena shown by 3 and 6–8, we need to look at the case of English. Names and pronouns cannot occur together with restrictive relative clauses in English as you can verify with the sentences in 9 and 10.

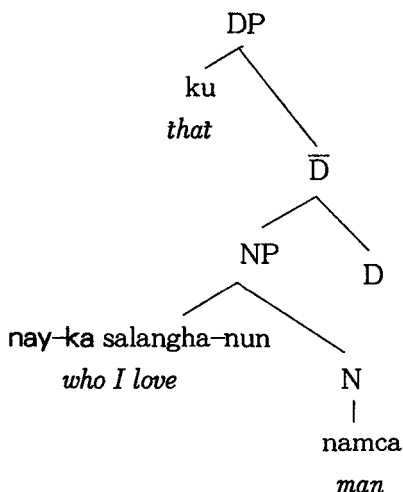
9. *She who I love showed up in the class.
 cf. She, who I love, showed up in the class.
10. *May who I love showed up in the class.
 cf. Mary, who I love, showed up in the class.

If we assume that names and pronouns are D-heads and restrictives are inside NP, as was suggested with the structure in 6, then we can easily make sense out of the fact that names and pronouns cannot be modified by a restrictive relative clause: these elements constitute a DP by themselves and don't have an NP complement. Therefore, there is no position for a restrictive to fit in. The English cases suggest that the same thing happens with 6 and 7. Because each of the name *King Sejong* and the pronoun *he* forms a DP by itself and doesn't have an NP complement, restrictive clauses cannot occur together with them.

What about the sentence 8 (possessive case)? The same explanation that was made for 3 (demonstrative case) can apply here. Demonstratives and possessives occupy the topmost position of a nominal phrase in English, and that means that they are either the DP specifier or the D head. If we assume that they occupy more or less the same position in Korean and English, then, the Korean word order of demonstrative-common noun (*ku namca, that man*) and possessive-common noun (*nay namca, my man*) indi-

cates that they are in the SPEC of DP position. The fact that Korean is head-final excludes the possibility that they are in the D position: if they were D heads, they would be found after common nouns (NPs). Assuming that they are in the SPEC of DP, a relative clause positioned after them must be inside the NP complement (see 6, repeated here as 11).²

11. "That man who I love"



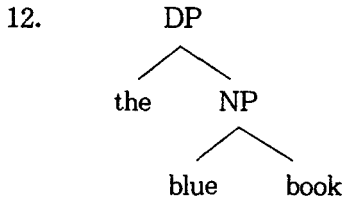
Now that we have a clearer picture of a Korean nominal phrase we can account for the phenomena by assuming the different positions for restrictives and appositives. Restrictives occur further down than a DP and, hence, a relative clause positioned before the specifier of a DP, either a possessive or a demonstrative, cannot be a restrictive relative clause. It has to be an appositive; however, those in 8 and 3-a bear the phonological pattern of a restrictive. Therefore, the sentences are ungrammatical.

3. Semantics of Restriction and Apposition

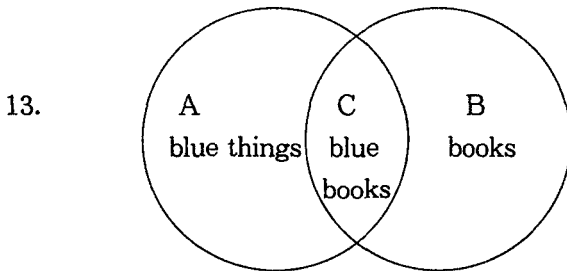
Then, how are restrictives and appositives different in terms of semantics? I will begin by looking into the semantics of nominal phrases in general using the set theory.³ Let's look at a simple DP in English.

² I will assume that Korean has a phonetically null D-head. Because functional heads are often phonetically null (such as INFL and COMP), I think this is a plausible assumption.

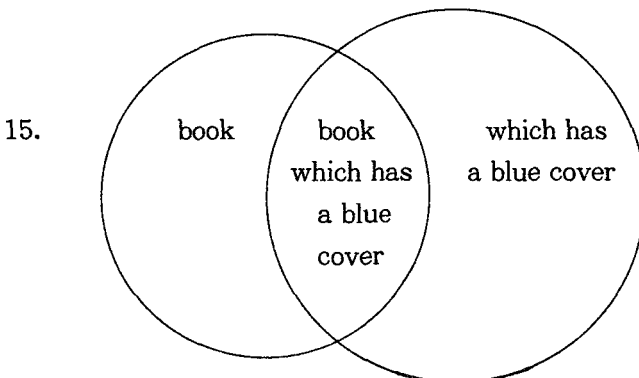
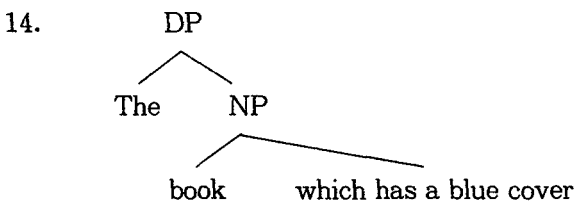
³ I am not here claiming that set theory is the only relevant way to compute the semantics of nominal phrases. I use set theory for my own convenience.



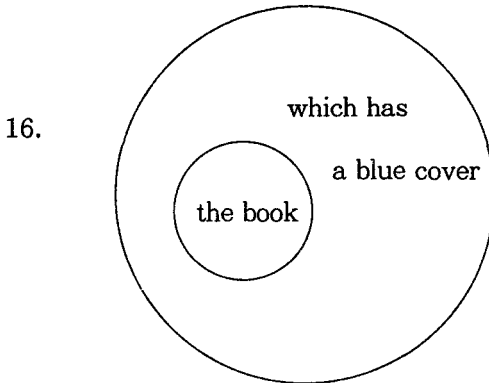
The denotation of the common noun phrase *blue book* can be represented by the intersection of two sets, “blue” and “book”. While the denotation is only the intersection C in the diagram 13, the CNP crucially implies that there are things that are blue but not books (A), and that there are things that are books but not blue (B). The sets A and B truly intersect each other.



If you replace the adjective *blue* with a relative clause, you find the same semantic relation, the intersection relation:



Appositives do not get into the intersection relation with the head DP, though. For a phrase like *The book, which has a blue cover*, meaning of this phrase is not in any way the intersection of *the book* and *which has a blue cover*. If it were, it should imply there are things that are called the book but don't have a blue cover. Rather, the relationship of the two involved sets is the inclusion relation. See 16.



While elements in NP and DP contribute to fixing the set, the appositive doesn't. It simply adds extra information to the fixed set. At the NP and DP level, information is provided for the purpose of fixing the set; however, the appositive at the DP adjoined position simply adds information to the already fixed set.

As you may have noticed, the distinction of restriction and apposition does not arise from the nature of relatives. Rather, the distinction comes from the fact that relatives can occur either at the NP modifier position or at the DP adjoined position. A DP is an appositive element (17) when it occurs at the DP adjoined position. Further more, an AP is a restrictive element when it occurs prenominally (13, repeated here as 18). DPs and APs don't show the distinction of restrictives and appositives just because their distribution is somehow restricted to either position.

17. John, a nice fellow, sent flowers to his sick friend

18. The blue book

4. Problem Cases?

Some might object to the basic claim of the paper (Restrictives and ap-

positives are distinguished in Korean) by pointing out data like the following:

- 19-a. *nay-ka salangha-nun John*
 [I-NOM t_1 love]-COMP John₁
 "John who I love"
- 19-b. *nay-ka salangha-nun ku*
 [I-NOM t_1 love]-COMP he₁
 "He who I love"
- 19-c. *nay-ka salangha-nun ku salam*
 [I-NOM t_1 love]-COMP that person₁
 "That person who I love"
- 19-d. *nay-ka salangha-nun ku-uy ttal*
 [I-NOM t_1 love]-COMP his daughter₁
 "His daughter who I love"

In 19 a-d, the relatives occur either with no-complement DP_s (the name and the pronoun) or before DP specifiers, and the relatives have the phonological pattern of the restrictive. The phrases 19 a-d are predicted to be ungrammatical according to the analysis argued in the previous section of the paper because the position of the relatives indicates that they are appositives, while the phonological marking indicates the opposite. However, the phrases can be grammatical under unusual interpretations. For example, 19 -a can be embedded in a sentence like the following:

20. *nay-ka salangha-nun John-un*
ney-ka a-nun John-kwa dalu-ta.
 [I-NOM t_1 love]-COMP John₁-TOP
 [you-NOM t_1 know]-COMP John-from be + different-DECL
 "John who I love is different from John you know"

The speaker is crucially assuming there are two different aspects of John: John I love is virtually different from John you know even though they constitute one physical person. This kind of special interpretation seems to be allowed only with intensional verbs. Verbs like *love*, *know*, *like*, *hate*, etc. are classified as intensional verbs while verbs like *kill*, *hit*, *destroy*,

etc. are called extensional verbs. The theme of intensional verbs doesn't have to be a physical extension of the DP. For example, you can love John in a way (say, as a brother) but hate him in another way (say, as a roommate). Extensional verbs, however, take the physical extension of the DP as its theme. Thus, if you kill John, you kill John as a brother as well as as a roommate. Compare 21 with 20.

21. John I killed is different from John you killed.

I believe, both in English and in Korean, 21 is grammatical only in the situation that there is more than one person called by the name of John.

This possibility, that there is in fact more than one person referred to by the same DP (names, pronouns, demonstrative-CNP, and possessive-CNP) accounts for 22.

22. *ney-ka malha-nun John/ku/ku salam/ku-uy ttal-un*

ney-ka malha-nun John/ku/ku salam/ku-uy ttal-kwa dalun salam-i-ta.

[I-NOM t talk about]-COMP John/he/that person/his daughter-TOP

[you-NOM t talk about]-COMP John/he/that person/his daughter-from different person-be-DECL

"John/he/that person/his daughter who I am talking about is a different person from John/he/that person/his daughter you are talking about"

In this case, the person "I" am talking about is (extensionally) different from the person "you" are talking about. There is more than one John, he, that person, and his daughter. Please note that those names, pronouns, dem-NPs, and poss-NPs are not purely referential terms anymore under this interpretation. They are rather descriptive terms, like common nouns, with denotations like "individuals called John", "individuals who are referred to by the word *he* in our conversation", etc. If they in fact turn into a common noun and stopped being a referential term, then, the proposed analysis has no problem because the relative clause can be a restrictive modifying the common noun.

5. Conclusion

I argued that the distinction of restrictive and appositive does exist in Korean and they are formally distinguished on the contrary to the claim by some linguists. The argument also showed that the distinction comes from the different positions that an element can take in a nominal phrase. Apparently the paper suffers from a lot of vagueness about the internal structure of DPs and related semantics. I hope further research will fill the gap that I left in this paper.

References

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