

**The temporal interpretation of the *-ko* construction in Korean: Toward an adjunction analysis of clausal “coordination”**

**Introduction:** This paper argues for an adjunction analysis of the *-ko* (‘and’) clausal coordinate construction in Korean, exemplified in (1). In this structure, the non-final verb may be morphologically unspecified for tense, in which case it depends on the (fully inflected) final verb for temporal interpretation.

**Previous analyses:** The *-ko* coordinate structure, with its optional tense marker omission, has traditionally been taken to support VP coordination analyses, which assume that a uniquely projected  $T^\circ$  takes semantic scope over two coordinated VPs (cf. Yoon, J. H.-S. (1997), Yoon, J.-M. (1996), and Kato (2006) for Japanese). However, VP analyses fail to account for the fact that the two verbs may: (i) have distinct temporal interpretations in the presence of an independent temporal adverb in the first conjunct (2) and (ii) the conjuncts may contain elements that are licensed by VP-external functional categories, e.g., NPIs, Nominative Case, quantifiers, sentential modifiers (3 & 4 show, e.g., that conjuncts must be minimally NegP and IP, respectively). Moreover, accepting such analyses requires that one also posit a distinct TP coordinate structure in order to account for the additional possibility of *overt* tense realization in the first conjunct.

**Proposal:** I argue that a single structure is sufficient to capture the two variants in (1), i.e., the optionality of the tense marker in the first conjunct. I propose an adjunction structure à la Munn (1993), shown in (5): here, *koP* is a CP headed by *-ko* selecting TP as its complement, and it is left adjoined to the final TP conjunct. Under this analysis, the entire coordinated phrase is a projection of the final TP conjunct.

Crucially, (5) is superior to an alternative TP *conjunction* analysis à la Johannessen (1998), which may be represented as in (6). (6) cannot derive the correct word order without stipulating Spec *koP* to be on the right—*contrary* to all other specifiers in head-final languages—and also fails to capture the following facts.

First, the syntactic properties of *-ko* closely parallel those of sentence-ending mood markers occupying  $C^0$ : Not only are they in complementary distribution, but *-ko* can also stand alone as an utterance-final discourse-bound anaphoric mood marker (i.e., *koP* can be extraposed). Thus, it is better analyzed as a C head than as a conjunction head. Second, the availability of Spec *koP* accounts for reconstruction asymmetries between the first and second conjuncts in Across-the-Board movement: It functions as an A'-position which is free to host a wh-phrase, while the higher Spec *CP* hosts the null operator binding the second ATB gap. The two distinct A'-chains parallel those found in parasitic gap constructions, which underlie an adjunction structure. In fact, the two constructions behave identically with respect to anaphor reconstruction and the licensing of resumptive pronouns. In both constructions, the anaphor *caki* ‘self’ reconstructs into the leftmost gap (7) and only the second conjunct licenses a resumptive pronoun (8).

It must be made explicit that in (7), *caki* reconstructs into a *parasitic* gap, which precedes and is hierarchically lower than the trace. This is contrasted with English and other head-initial languages, in which an anaphor reconstructs into the trace, which precedes and is hierarchically higher than the parasitic gap. This cross-linguistic difference follows straightforwardly from the current proposal. Specifically, in Korean, the adjoined *koP* in (5) is able to license an overt wh-phrase in its specifier, which binds its closest gap, the parasitic gap. Thus, by introducing adjunction in the analysis, I show that both multi-gap constructions—the clausal coordinate construction and the parasitic gap construction—have a uniform syntax.

**Examples:**

- (1) John-i sakwa-lul **mek-(ess)**-ko Mary-ka cha-lul masy-ess-ta.  
John-NOM apple-ACC eat-(PST)-and Mary-NOM tea-ACC drink-PST-DECL  
‘John ate/\*eats apples and Mary drank tea.’
- (2) a. Motwu **ecey** yehayng ttena-ko na-man honca (cikum/\*ecey) cip-ul cikhi-n-ta.  
All yesterday trip leave-and I-only alone (now/\*yesterday) home-ACC keep-PRES-DECL  
‘All others left on a trip yesterday and I am staying home alone (now).’  
b. Na-man honca **cikum** cip-ul cikhi-ko motwu (ecey/\*cikum) yehayng ttena-ess-ta.  
I-only alone now home-ACC keep-ko all (yesterday/\*now) trip leave-PST-DECL  
‘Only I am staying home now and all others left on a trip (yesterday)’
- (3) a. \*John-un amuto ttayli-ko Mary-to amuto honnay-ci-**anh**-ass-ta.  
John-top anyone hit-and Mary-also anyone punish-CI-NEG-PST-DECL  
‘John did not hit anyone and Mary also did not punish anyone.’ (intended)