On focus within ClPs in Korean
Jungmin Kang (*Washington University in St. Louis*)

This paper investigates two types of classifier phrases (ClPs) in Korean, Pre-nominal ClPs (1a) and Post-nominal ClPs (1b), based on focus patterns within ClPs.

(1)   a. [CLP han-mari-uy so] **PreClP**   b [CLP so   han-mali] **PostClP**
             one-cl-gen cow   cow   one-cl
        'one cow'   'one cow'

Lee (2000) observes that a sentence can give rise to an implicature when a focus particle such as *-to* 'even' attaches to a PostClP in the sentence. E.g., (2) with a PostClP implicates that there is no trace of humans. According to Lee, the scope of focus is associated with a ClP containing the NP *kaemi* 'ant', and this triggers a quantificational scale on which the lowest is the existence of the noun 'ant', such that the sentence implies that 'if even such a small and trivial animal such as an ant cannot be found, then a large and important creature like a human cannot be found either'.

(2)   [CLP kaemi han   mari]-to   ep-ta   PostClP
            ant   **one**   **cl-even**   not.exist-decl
        'There is not even an ant (meaning there is no trace of humans)'   (Lee 2000)

However, such an implicature does not obtain in a sentence with a PreClP (3). A similar contrast is found with the focus marker *man* 'only'. (4a) with a PostClP receives only the reading 'two sweaters are the only things Mary bought' while (4b) with a PreClP can receive the reading 'Mary bought only two sweaters, not three or four', i.e. (4b) does not admit any implicature regarding other things, just as in (3).

(3)   [CLP han-mari-uy kaemi]-to   ep-ta   PreClP
            one-cl-gen   ant-even   not.exist-decl
        'There is not even a single ant (meaning there is no ants)'

(4)   a. Mary-un   [CLP   suweythe   twu   cang]-man   sa-ko   PostClP
            Mary-top   **sweater**   **two**   **cl-only**   buy-conj
            #(taysin)   paci-lul   twu   pel   sa-ss-ta
            instead   pant-acc   two   cl   buy-perf-decl
            'lit. #Mary bought two sweaters (meaning two sweaters are the only things Mary bought) and bought two pairs of pants'
            b. Mary-un   [CLP   twu   chang-uy   suweythe]-man   sa-ko   PreClP
            Mary-top   **two**   **cl-gen**   **sweater-only** buy-conj
            (taysin)   paci-lul   twu pel   sa-ss-ta.
            instead   pant-acc   two cl   buy-perf-decl
            'lit. Mary bought two sweaters (meaning Mary bought only two sweaters, not three or four) and bought two pairs of paints'
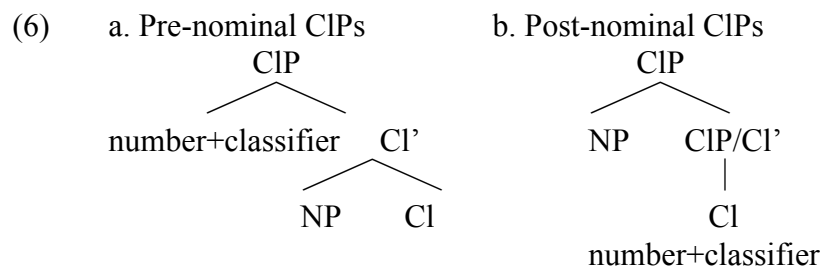
Furthermore, focus within NPs in Korean exhibits a similar restriction. Consider the context in (5). The alternative set in (5) consists of {John's book, John's desk, John's radio}. In this case it is unnatural to say *John-uy chayk-man* 'John's book-only' in Korean, (5a); crucially, if *chayk* 'book' is focused, the sentence sounds even worse. I interpret this as indicating that it is not possible for *book* in *John's book* to receive focus and to exclude John's other things from the alternative set, i.e. the head of the NP cannot receive focus on its own in Korean. That is, in Korean only the highest element (the edge element) of NP (or the whole NP) can receive focus.

(5)   Context: Mary heard Bill went to John's garage sale. The garage sale included John's book, John's desk, and John's radio. Mary asked Bill whether he bought many things:

a. Bill: #ani, [John-uy   chayk]-man sa-ss-e   b. Bill: ani, [chayk]-man sa-ss-e
      no,   John-gen book-only   buy-perf-decl   no, book-only buy-perf-decl
      'lit. I bought John's book only'   'lit. I bought book only'

Following Lee (2004), I assume focus particles in Korean project their own phrase, i.e. FocusP, outside of vP. Departing from Lee (2004), though, I argue that only the element within the scope of focus moves to FocusP. That is, when the highest element of the NP receives focus, the highest element moves to FocusP. I also assume that NP is a phase (cf. Svenonius 2004, Bošković 2005, a.o. for DP/NP as a phase). Now we can account for the focus restriction within NPs in Korean: If NP is a phase, only the element in the edge of the phase, i.e. the highest element, can move out of the phase, given the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) (cf. Chomsky 2000). When the whole NP receives focus, on the other hand, the whole NP undergoes movement to FocP.

Returning to ClPs, I suggest that a classifier can be generated in the head of ClP or in the specifier position of ClP with a null head. Depending on the location of the classifier, the associated noun phrase can have either a post-nominal ClP or a pre-nominal ClP. I argue that the associated NP adjoins to the ClP (or is located in the specifier position of ClP) in the case of post-nominal ClPs (6b). In the case of pre-nominal ClPs, the associated NP occupies the complement position of ClP (6a). I also argue that number and classifier first start off together, given that they are never detached from each other; nothing can intervene between the number and the classifier.

(6)   a. Pre-nominal ClPs   b. Post-nominal ClPs

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        ClP                              ClP
       /   \                            /   \
number+classifier   Cl'            NP        ClP/Cl'
                   /   \                         |
                  NP    Cl                       Cl
                                         number+classifier
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Given the structures above, consider the contrast between (2) and (3). Assuming a contextual (dynamic) approach to phasehood, according to which the highest extended projection of major categories becomes a phase (cf. Bošković 2014 a.o.), ClP is a phase as the highest extended projection of NP. Given this, in (2) with a PostClP the NP *kaemi* 'ant' is the highest element (the edge element) of the ClP*,* as shown in (6b), hence this element receives focus from *-to* 'even', resulting in the reading 'There is no trace of humans, not even an ant'. In (3) with a PreClP, on the other hand, the highest element (the edge element) is the number + classifier in the specifier position of the ClP, hence this element receives focus from *-to* 'even', resulting in the reading 'I couldn't see an ant, not even one'. The same holds for the examples in (4).

In sum, this paper shows that focus within NP/ClP exhibits an edge effect regarding the scope of focus, and such an effect is straightforwardly accounted for on the assumption that NP/ClP is a phase in Korean, given the PIC. Two different structures for Pre- and PostClPs are proposed based on the scope of focus.

Selected References: Bošković 2005. On the locality of left branch extraction and the structure of NP. *Studia Linguistica*. Bošković 2014. Now I'm a phase, now I'm not a phase: On the variability of phases with extraction and ellipsis, LI. Chomsky 2000. Minimalist inquiries, In *Step* by *Step*. Lee 2000 Numeral Classifiers, (In-)Definites and Incremental Theme in Korean. Lee 2004 The syntax and semantics of focus particles, PhD diss. MIT. Svenonius 2004 On the edge, In Peripheries: Syntactic edges and their effects.