https://doi.org/10.24303/lakdoi.2023.31.4.113

Bound Noun *pep* in Korean*

Tae Sik Kim
(Seoul National University of Science and Technology)

Kim, Tae Sik. (2023). Bound noun *pep* in Korean. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal, 31*(4), 113-136. This paper discusses the syntactic analysis of a bound noun *pep* in Korean. Song and Kim (2014) categorize four different meanings of *pep* – 'law', 'way/how.to', 'conjecture/speculation' and 'naturalness'. They assume that the latter two meanings form a "bound-noun-complex" with the following restricted verbs (e.g., a copular verb *i* and a light verb *ha*). However, the seemingly morphological and syntactic characteristics of the target structures are not due to the bound noun *pep* but due to the following verbs (the copular and the light verb). Also, the restrictions are not limited to the bound noun *pep*. In this paper, I argue that there are three different structures with the bound noun *pep* based on its different meanings: i) it merges in N like normal nouns; ii) it also merges in N, subsequently moves to small *n*, and ultimately moves to Mod_{EPIS}; iii) it can be a head of C. Given that grammaticalization tends to go upward in a syntactic tree (Roberts and Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004), the proposal leads us to conclude that the bound noun *pep* is highly grammaticalized compared to other bound nouns.

Key Words: bound noun, grammaticalization, pep, nominal, complementizer

1. Introduction

In Korean, bound nouns require some words/phrases to be grammatical. Consider the following examples.

* This study was supported by the Research Program funded by the SeoulTech(Seoul National University of Science and Technology). I thank anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments. All remaining errors are mine.

(1) a. *kes kath-ta
BN seem-DECL
b. chencay-i-n kes kath-ta.
Genius-COP-ADN BN seem-DECL
'(*pro*) seems to be a genius.'
c. *cwung-i-ta.
BN-COP-DECL
d. John-un wuncen-ul ha-nun cwung-i-ta.
John-TOP drive-ACC do-ADN BN-COP-DECL
'John is driving.'

As shown in (1), the bound noun *kes* and *cwung* need to have some preceding words/phrases to be grammatical. *Pep* is traditionally categorized as a bound noun since we find the same behavior.

(2) a. *pep ha-ta.
BN do-DECL
b. pi-ka o-l pep-ha-ta.
rain-NOM come-ADN BN-do-DECL
'It is possible that it will rain.'

When the bound noun *pep* is not preceded by any words or phrases (e.g., adjuncts or complements), the sentence is ungrammatical. Song and Kim (2014) argue that the bound noun *pep* is grammaticalized from a lexical noun which means 'law' to a sentence-final ending. I, basically, am in line with the grammaticalized nature of the bound noun *pep*, but unlike Song and Kim (2014), I claim that the bound noun *pep* shows N-to-*n* movement with a nominal layer and subsequently moves to $Mod_{EPIS}P$. In addition to this structure, I also assume that the bound noun *pep* can merge in C directly.

The roadmap of this paper is as follows: I will review and criticize Song and Kim (2014) in the next section; in section 3, I will propose another syntactic account of the bound noun *pep*; I will discuss related issues with the proposed claim in section 4; finally, I will conclude this paper in the last section.

2. Song and Kim (2014)

Song and Kim (2014) argue that there are four different types of *pep*.

(3) a. pep-ul cikhi-n taswu-uy kwukmintul saieyse
law-ACC abide-ADN majority-GEN people among
hyengphyengseng nonlan-i...
fairness controversy-NOM
'Among the majority of people who abided by a law, there is a controversy about fairness...'

b. "ilen pep-i eti-iss-nya"ko tallyetul-ciman...
this BN-NOM where-exist-Q-Comp tackle-even.though
(Lit.) 'Even though (*pro*) tackles by saying "where does this kind of way exist?"...'

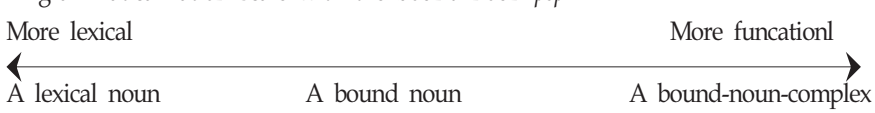
c. alayssalam-un cincengulo wissalam-ul semki-nun pep-ipni-ta.
subordinate-TOP truly superior-ACC serve-ADN BN-COP-DECL
'It is natural that subordinates truly serve superiors.'

d. cikumccumun ku-ka o-l pep-ha-ta.
now he-NOM come-ADN BN-do-DECL
'now, it is possible that he will come.'

(Song & Kim, 2014, p. 176)

In (3a), *pep* is a normal lexical noun, which means 'law' and we do not find anything to aid *pep*. In (3b), *pep* is used as a bound noun because without the aiding phrase *ilen* 'this', the sentence is ungrammatical. Song and Kim (2014) argue that the bound noun *pep* forms a "boun-noun-complex" in (3c) and (3d). In (3c), the meaning of the bound noun *pep* is 'naturalness' and, with this meaning, the bound noun *pep* only co-occurs with a copular verb *i* 'be'. Also, in (3d), the bound noun *pep* can be only accompanied by a light verb *ha* with the meaning of 'conjecture/speculation'. Basically, Song and Kim (2014) assume three different stages of grammaticalization with the bound noun *pep*.

(4) A grammaticalization scale with the bound noun *pep*



The categorization of the lexical and bound noun does not differ much from the traditional categorization (c.f., Ahn, 2001, Kim, 2016, *inter alia*), but an interesting argumentation is the category of the "bound-noun-complex". Song and Kim (2014) argue that the *pep* + *i* complex (e.g., (3c)) occurs in Morphology, but the *pep* + *ha* complex (e.g., ((3d)) involves a syntactic derivation. In terms of the degree of grammaticalization, *pep* + *i* is more grammaticalized than *pep* + *ha*. Song and Kim (2014) further claim that a syntactic object (e.g., a lexical noun) is grammaticalized into a sentence-final ending.

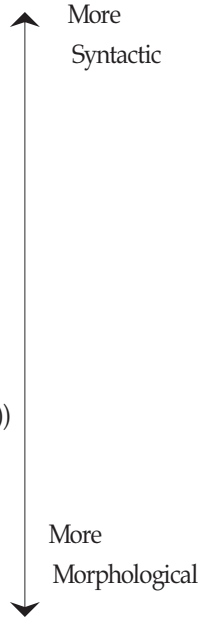
(5) The degree of grammaticalization with the bound noun *pep*

a. A lexical noun
   Meaning: 'law'
   Form: [pep] (e.g., (3a))
   Restriction: no restriction

b. A bound noun
   Meaning: 'way/how.to'
   Form: [pep] (e.g., (3b))
   Restriction: it should be aided by some words or phrases

c. A bound-noun-complex
   Meaning: 'conjecture/speculation'
   Form: [[Adnominal form (e.g., -(n)un) # pep]-ha] (e.g., (3d))
   Restriction: it only co-occurs with the light verb *ha*

d. A bound-noun-complex
   Meaning: 'naturalness'
   Form: [Adnominal form (e.g., -(n)un) # pep-i] (e.g., (3c))
   Restriction: it only co-occurs with the couplar verb *i*



Note that *pep-i* is assumed to be a morphological complex and *pep-ha* is derived in Syntax.

However, some of their claims are a little bit doubtful. First, they argue that *pep* + *i* can also be analyzed as [[adnominal form # pep]-i] (i.e., syntactic), but speakers analyze it as [adnominal form # pep-i] (i.e., morphological); they further mention that this shows *pep* + *i* becomes grammaticalized into a sentence-final ending (Song & Kim, 2014, p. 188). The problem is that they provide no concrete evidence for this claim. It is unclear why speakrs assume *pep* + *i* is a (morphological) complex. Furthermore, [adnominal form # pep-i] does not necessarily mean that the bound noun *pep* is grammaticalized into a

sentence-final ending. It is equally plausible to assume that [adnominal form # pep-i] is a syntactic object instead of a morphological complex.

Second, another reason for the morphological complex analysis of *pep* + *i* is that nothing can be between the adnominal *-(n)un* and the bound noun *pep* (Song & Kim, 2014, p. 188). Consider the following examples.

(6) a. pap-ul mek-ci anhu-myen, paykoph-un pep-i-ta.
meal-ACC eat-ci not-if be.hungry-ADN BN-COP-DECL
'If you do not eat, it is natural that you are hungry.'
b. *pap-ul mek-ci anhu-myen, paykoph-un cohun pep-i-ta.
meal-ACC eat-ci not-if be.hungry-ADN good BN-COP-DECL

In (6b), we find an adjective *cohun* 'good' between the adnominal clause and the bound noun *pep*, and the sentence is ungrammatical. However, this restriction is not unique to the bound noun *pep*.

(7) a. chencay-i-n kes kath-ta.
genius-COP-ADN BN seem-DECL
'(*pro*) seems to be a genius.'
b. *chencay-i-n cohun kes kath-ta.
genius-COP-ADN good BN seem-DECL
(8) a. yehayngha-nun cwung, John-un Mary-lul manna-ss-ta.
tour-ADN BN John-TOP Mary-ACC meet-PAST-DECL
'John met Mary while he was on tour.'
b. *yehayngha-nun culkewun cwung, John-un Mary-lul manna-ss-ta.
tour-ADN merry BN John-TOP Mary-ACC meet-PAST-DECL

We find modifying phrases between the bound nouns (e.g., *kes* and *cwung*) and the preceding adnominal clauses in (7b) and (8b), and the sentences are ungrammatical. What we can assume is that there is a strong bond between the adnominal clause and the bound noun. The strong bond may be attributed to grammaticalization. However, simply because nothing can be between two phrases, that does not always mean that the construction is morphological.

Third, Song and Kim (2014) argue that *pep* + *i* is more morphological and *pep* + *ha* is more syntactic, based on an insertion test between the bound noun and the following

verb (e.g., *i* or *ha*).

(9) a. nwun-i nayli-l pep ha-ta.
snow-NOM drop-ADN BN do-DECL
'It is possible that it will snow.'
b. nwun-i nayli-l pep-un/to/man ha-ta.
snow-NOM drop-ADN BN-TOP/too/only do-DECL
'(As for snowing), it is possible that it will (only) snow (too).'
(Song & Kim, 2014, p. 190)

Observe that focus markers (or focus nouns) such as *un*, *to*, and *man* can be between the bound noun *pep* and the verb *ha*. On the other hand, the focus markers (or focus nouns) cannot be between the bound noun *pep* and the verb *i*.

(10) a. nolyek-ul ha-myen sengkongha-nun pep-i-ta.
effort-ACC do-if succeed-ADN BN-COP-DECL
'If (you) work hard, you will succeed.'
b. *nolyek-ul ha-myen sengkongha-nun pep-un/to/man-i-ta.
effort-ACC do-if succeed-ADN BN-TOP/too/only-COP-DECL

Song and Kim (2014) argue that *pep* + *i* is more grammaticalized than *pep* + *ha* because of "more restrictions, more grammaticalization". However, this restriction does not seem to be the characteristic of the bound noun *pep*, but it is due to the following verb *i* or *h*a. Consider the following examples.

(11) a. John-i kongpwu ha-n-ta.
John-NOM study do-PRES-DECL.
'John studies.'
b. John-i kongpwu-nun/to/man ha-n-ta.
John-NOM study-TOP/too/only do-PRES-DECL.
'(As for studying), John (only) studies (too).'
(12) a. John-i chencay-i-ta.
John-NOM genius-COP-DECL
'John is a genius.'

b. *John-i chencay-nun/to/man-i-ta.
John-NOM genius-TOP/too/only-COP-DECL

In (11) and (12), there is no bound noun at all. Based on (11), the fact that focus markers (or focus nouns) can be between the verb *ha* and the complement noun (e.g., *kongpu* 'study') is because of the light verb *ha*. Also, it is the characteristic of the verb *i* that does not allow anything between the verb and its noun complement (e.g., *chencay* 'genius') as in (12). Then, this observation cannot be related to the degree of grammaticalization of the bound noun *pep*.

In sum, Song and Kim (2014) argue for the different grammaticalization stages with the bound noun *pep*. However, the empirical evidence does not seem to support the morphological and syntactic division, and the additional explanation appears to be required.

3. Different Meanings and Different Structures

In this section, I will provide an analysis that accounts for the different behaviors of the bound noun *pep*. As argued in Song and Kim (2014), *pep* is grammaticalized from a lexical noun *pep*, which means 'law'. The bound noun *pep* basically has the meaning of 'way/how.to'.

(13) a. cha-lul wuncen-ha-nun pep
car-ACC drive-ADN BN
'how to drive'
b. cha-lul wuncen-ha-nun pangpep
car-ACC drive-ADN way/how.to
'how to drive'

In (13), we find that the bound noun *pep* is interchangeable with the lexical noun *pangpe*p 'way/how.to'. Unlike the lexical noun *pangpep* 'way/how.to', the bound noun *pep* requires the aid of some words or phrases.

(14) a. ku kyengwu-nun pangpep-i calmostoy-ess-ta.
that case-TOP way/how.to be.wrong-PAST-DECL
'In that case, the way is wrong.'

b. *ku kyengwu-nun pep-i calmostoy-ess-ta.
that case-TOP BN be.wrong-PAST-DECL

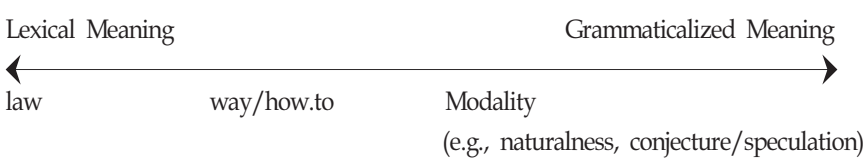
However, in the case of *pep* + *i* and *pep* + *ha*, the bound noun *pep* cannot be replaced by the lexical noun *pangpep*.

(15) a. totwukcil-ul ha-myen kamok-ey ka-nun pep-i-ta.
stealing-ACC do-if prison-in go-ADN BN-COP-DECL
'If you steal something, you will be locked in prison.'
b. *totwukcil-ul ha-myen kamok-ey ka-nun pangpep-i-ta.
stealing-ACC do-if prison-in go-ADN way/how.to-COP-DECL

(16) a. pi-ka o-l pep-ha-ta.
rain-NOM come-ADN BN-do-DECL
'It is possible that it will rain.'
b. *pi-ka o-l pangpep-ha-ta.
rain-NOM come-ADN way/how.to-do-DECL

It is clear that *pep* + *i* and *pep* + *ha* have different meanings from 'way/how.to'. As mentioned above, the meanings of the bound noun *pep* have extended to modality such as 'naturalness' and 'conjecture/speculation' (Song and Kim, 2014). Thus, I assume that the bound noun *pep* has gone through the following meaning extension, which is in line with Song and Kim (2014).

(17) Semantic Extension



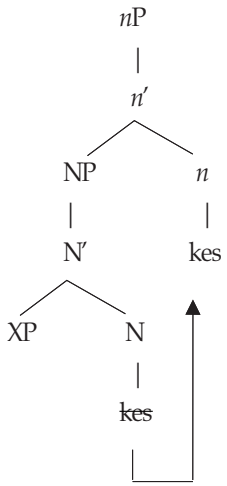
As for the initial stage of the grammaticalization (e.g., the 'way/how.to' meaning), the bound noun *pep* can be replaced by a bound noun *kes*.

(18) a. cha-lul wuncenha-nun pep
car-ACC drive-ADN BN
'how to drive a car'

b. cha-lul wuncenha-nun kes
car-ACC drive-ADN BN
'To drive/driving a car'

Though the meaning is a bit different (e.g., we find more generic meaning with the bound noun *kes*), we might assume a similar analysis to the bound noun *kes*. Kim (2016) argues that the bound noun *kes* merges in a lexical N position and moves to a functional small *n* position.

(19) N-to-*n* movement



In Kim (2016), the movement is motivated by the functional meaning of the bound noun *kes* (e.g., the bound noun *kes* has a lexical meaning 'thing' and a functional meaning as a pro-form, see Kim (2016) for more discussion). However, the following data suggest that we cannot assume the same analysis with the bound noun *pep*.

(20) a. cha-lul wuncenha-nun swiwun pep
car-ACC drive-ADN easy BN
'An easy way to drive a car'
b. ?swiwun cha-lul wuncenha-nun pep
easy car-ACC drive-ADN BN
'An easy way to drive a car'

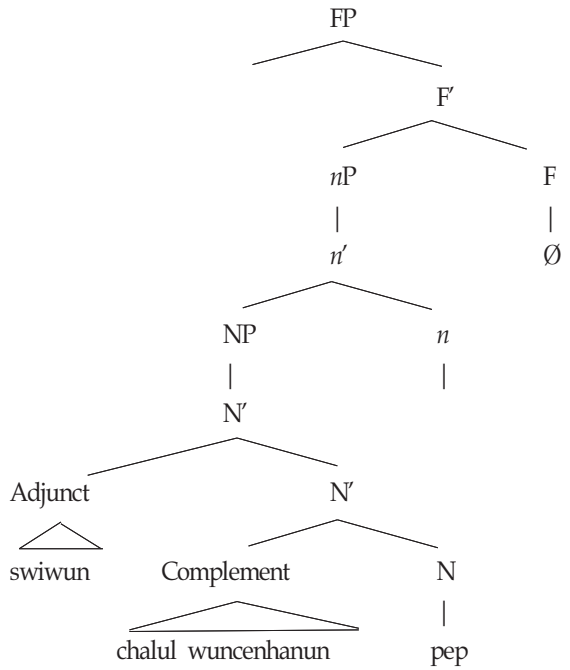
(21) a. *cha-lul wuncenha-nun swiwun kes
car-ACC drive-ADN easy BN
b. *swiwun cha-lul wuncenha-nun kes
easy car-ACC drive-ADN BN

Note that the adjunct *swiwun* 'easy' can modify the bound noun *pep*, but not the bound noun *kes*. We cannot say that an adjunct cannot modify the bound noun *kes* in general, given the following example.

(22) wuncen-un swiwun kes-i ani-ta.
driving-TOP easy BN-NOM not-DECL
'Driving is not easy.'

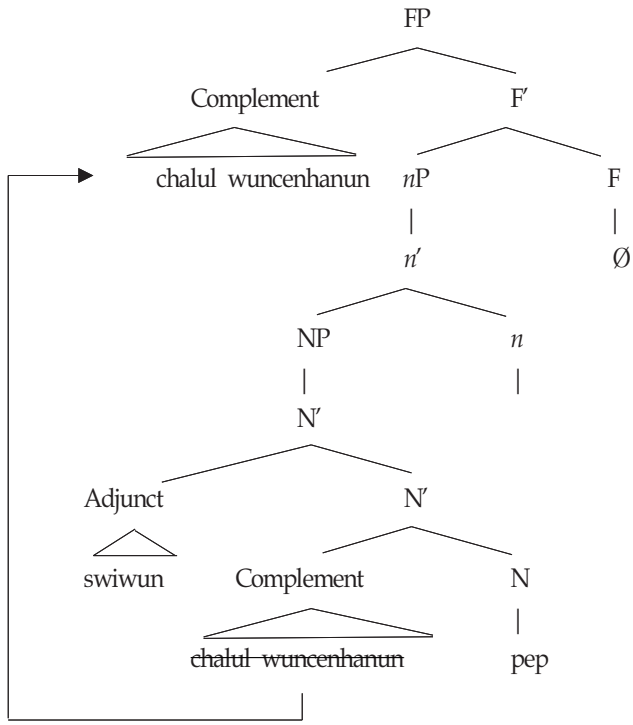
To account for the contrast above, I assume that the bound noun *pep* stays in the lexical N position unlike the bound noun *kes*, which moves to the functional small *n* position. Furthermore, to account for the scrambled patterns in (20) and (21), I assume the following structure.

(23) The structure of (20b)



The structure in (23) explains the linear order of (20b). The FP is a functional projection above *n*P, and it hosts a phrase for scrambling in [Spec, FP].

(24) The structure of (20a)



(24) shows the word order in (20a).[1)]

1) One reviewer questions the scrambling mechanism based on the following sentence.

(i) *[cha-lul wuncenha-nun]$_i$ ecey (John-un) [FP t_i′ [*n*P swiwun t_i pep]]-ul payw-ess-ta.
car-ACC drive-ADN yesterday John-TOP easy BN-ACC learn-PAST-DECL

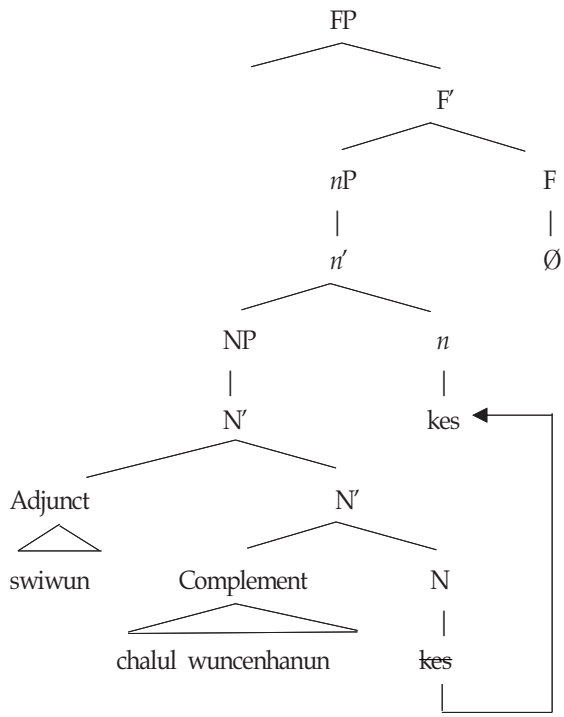
In (i), the complement of the bound noun *pep* moves to [Spec, FP] within the nominal projection first. The reviewer wonders what blocks the further scrambling of the complement to the sentence initial position. However the scrambling that I assumed is within a noun phrase. The scrambling of a nominal complement is generally not allowed as shown below.

(ii) *[cha-lul wuncenha-nun]$_i$ ecey (John-un) [FP t_i′ [*n*P swiwun t_i pangpep]]-ul payw-ess-ta.
car-ACC drive-ADN yesterday John-TOP easy way/how.to-ACC learn-PAST-DECL

Note that the complement of the lexical noun *pangpep* in (ii) cannot be out of the nominal projection.

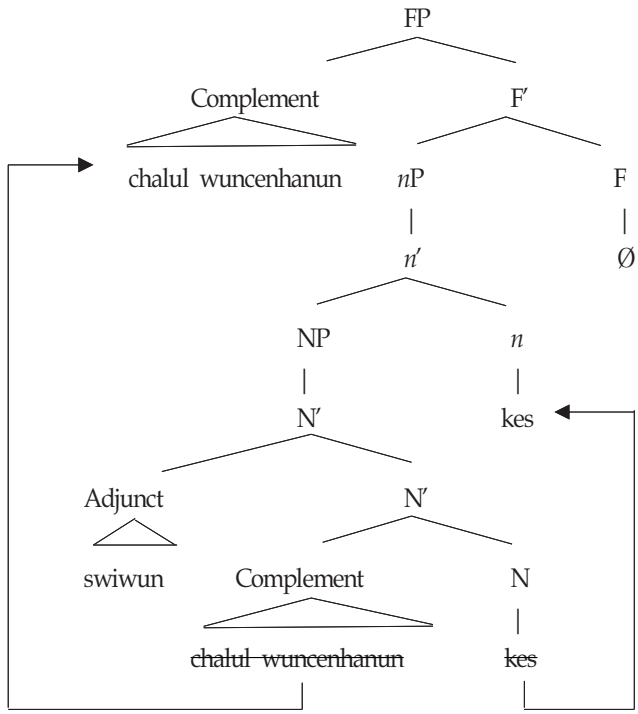
Then, why are (21a) and (21b) ungrammatical? I assume that an adjunct should c-command the head that it modifies in (Overt) Syntax.

(25) The structure of (21b)



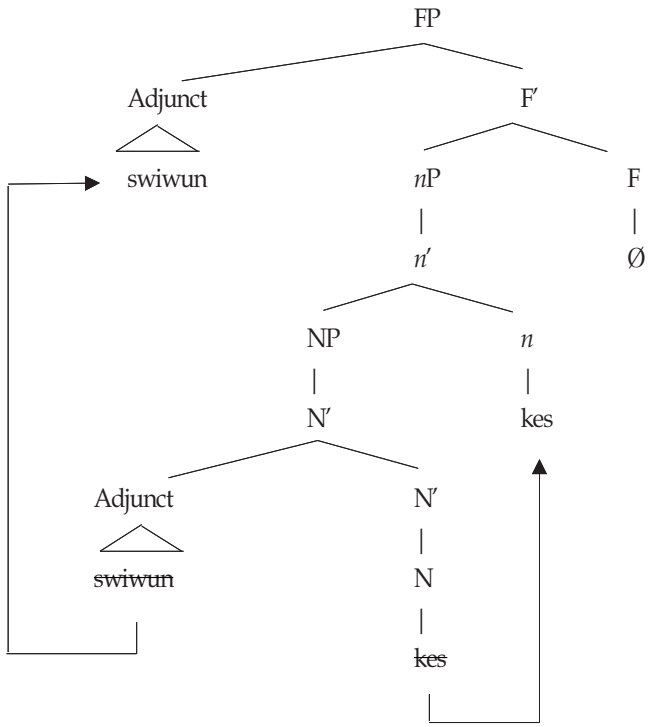
In (25), due to the movement of the bound noun *kes*, the adjunct, *swiwun* 'easy', does not c-command the bound noun *kes* in (Overt) Syntax (even though it c-commands the trace or deleted copy of the bound noun *kes*), and I assume that this is why (21b) is ungrammatical. In a similar vein, the bound noun *kes* is not c-commanded by the adjunct, *swiwun* 'easy' in (21a), and this leads to the ungrammaticality.

(26) The structure of (21a)



However, (22) can be accounted for by the following structure.

(27) The structure of (22)



Note that the bound noun *kes* is c-commanded by the adjunct, *swiwun* 'easy'.

Next let's move onto *pep* + *ha* with the meaning of 'conjecture/speculation'. One of the issues of the bound nouns in Korean is whether they are inside or outisde a nominal projection (i.e., whether they project CP or not) (Ha, 2007, Kim, 2021, *inter alia*). In Korean, a clause-mate condition is observed with regard to an NPI licensing pattern (Choe, 1988, Sohn, 1996, *inter alia*). Consider the following examples.

(28) a. John-un Mary-ka amwukesto mek-ci anh-ass-tako sayngkakha-yss-ta.
John-TOP Mary-NOM anything eat-ci not-PAST-COMP think-PAST-DECL
'John thought that Mary did not eat anything.'
b. *John-un Mary-ka amwukesto mek-ess-tako sayngkakha-ci anh-ass-ta.
John-TOP Mary-NOM anything eat-PAST-COMP think-ci not-PAST-DECL

In (28a), the NPI, *amwukesto* 'anything', and the negator are within the same clause.

However, in (28b), the negator is outside the clause that contains the NPI. Thus, an NPI should be in the same clause (e.g., CP) with a licensor (e.g., negator) in Korean. Based on this, we find that the bound noun *pep* + *ha* does not have any CP boundary.

(29) a. i cip-ey-nun kwisin-i iss-ul pep-ha-ta.
this house-in-TOP ghost-NOM exist-ADN BN-do-DECL
'In this house, it is possible that ghosts will exist
b. i cip-ey-nun amwukesto iss-ci anh-ul pep-ha-ta.
this hose-in-TOP anything exist-ci not-ADN BN-do-DECL
'(Lit.) In this house, it is possible that anything will not exist.'
c. i cip-ey-nun amwukesto iss-ul pep-ha-ci anh-ta.
this houst-in-TOP anything exist-ADN BN-do-ci not-DECL
'(Lit.) In this house, it is possible that anything will not exist.'

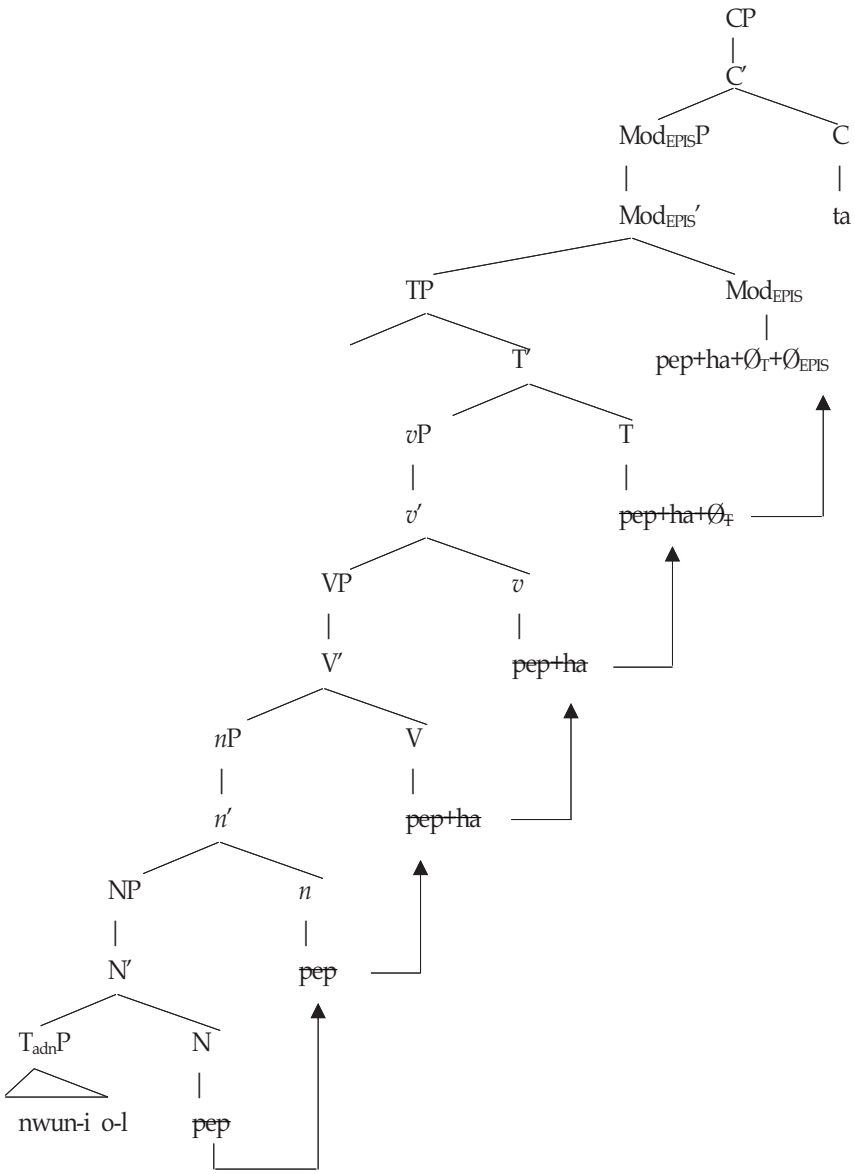
Note that the bound noun *pep* does not block the negator to license the NPI, *amwukesto* 'anything', in (29c). Thus, it appears that the bound noun *pep* with the light verb *ha* does not project its own CP.

Another evidence that the bound noun *pep* with the light verb *ha* is not a C head is that it cannot be at the sentence-final position.

(30) a. nwun-i o-l pep-ha-ta.
snow-NOM come-ADN BN-do-DECL
'It is possible that it will snow.'
b. *nwun-i o-l pep
snow-NOM come-ADN BN

When the bound noun *pep* is at the end of a sentence, the sentence is ungrammatical as shown in (30b). Thus, I assume the following analysis for the sentence (30a).

(31) The sturcutre of (30a)

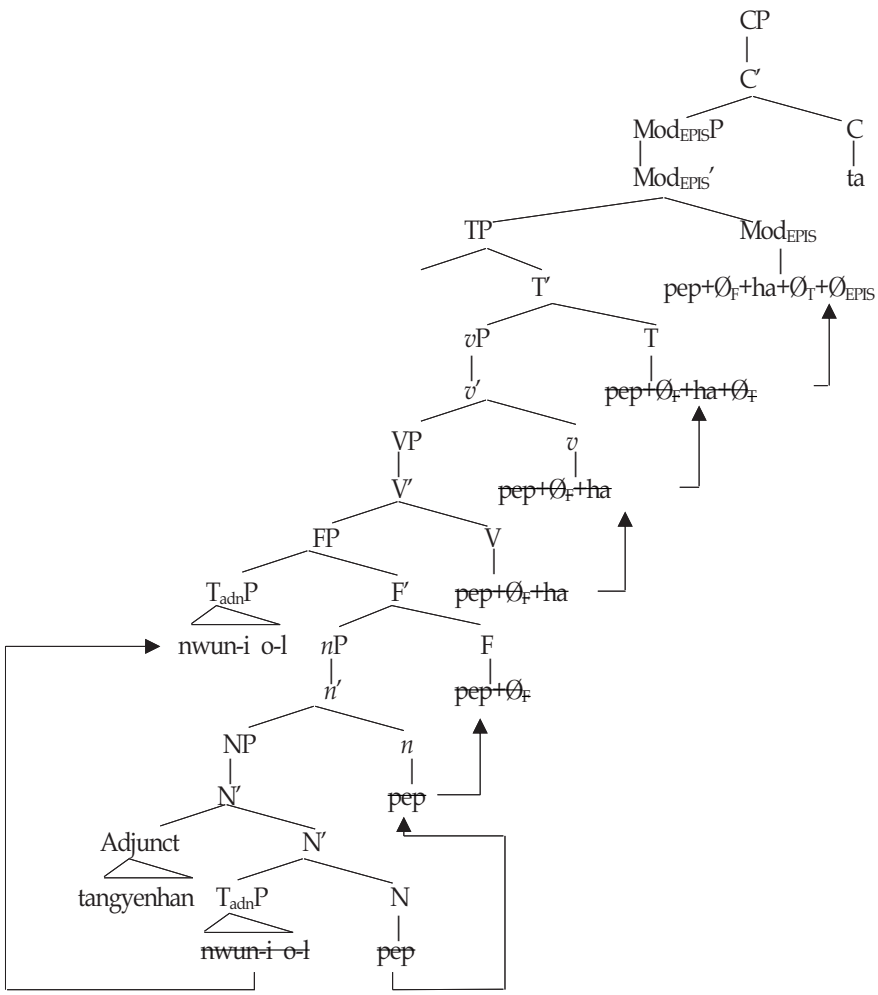


Due to its functional meaning (e.g., the modal meaning), the bound noun *pep* moves from the lexical N position to the functional small *n* position. Since the verb *ha* is semantically light, it needs the aid from the complement noun. I assume that the light verb *ha* is

affixal, since it needs to acquire a predicate meaning from a complement noun phrase. Thus, it attracts the bound noun *pep* in the small *n*. The *pep* + *ha* complex moves to the T head position as usual. The null Mod head attracts the *pep* + *ha* + $Ø_T$ complex, since it contains the modal meaning. This analysis readily explains the ungrammaticality of the following sentence.

(32) *nwun-i o-l tangyenhan pep-ha-ta.
snow-NOM come-ADN natural BN-do-DECL

(33) The sturcture of (32)



In this structure, the adjunct, *tangyenhan* 'natural', does not c-command the bound noun *pep* in Overt Syntax, and thus it is ungrammatical.

In the case of *pep* + *i*, we find different syntatic behaviors. Consider the following examples.

(34) a. kongpwu-lul ha-ci anhu-myen, amwukesto poi-ci anh-nun pep-i-ta.
study-ACC do-ci not-if anything see-ci not-ADN BN-COP-DECL
'If you do not study, it is natural that you do not see anything.'
b. *kongpwu-lul ha-ci anhu-myen, amwukesto poi-nun pep-i ani-ta.
study-ACC do-ci not-if anything see-ADN BN-NOM be.not-DECL

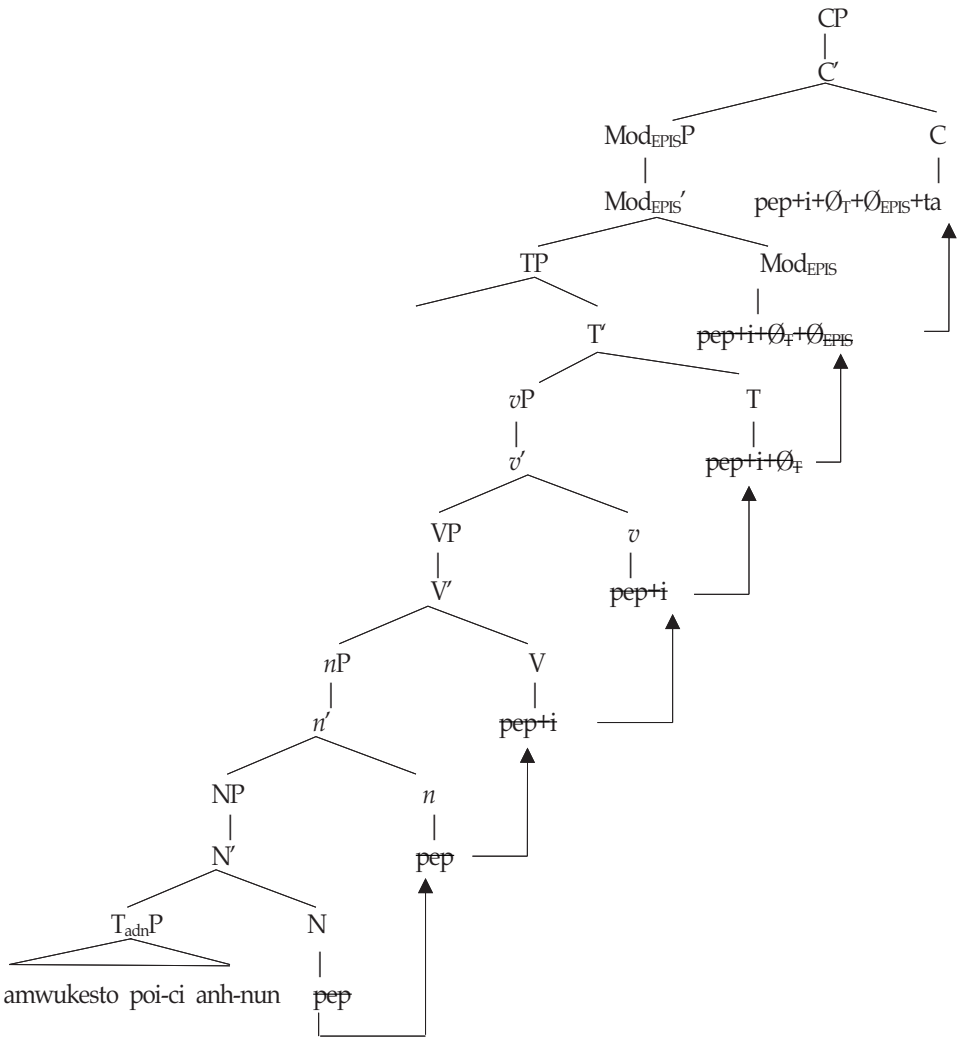
(34b) shows that we need to assume a CP boundary with the bound noun *pep*, since the negator outside the bound noun phrase cannot license the NPI, *amwukesto* 'anything' which is inside the bound noun phrase (c.f., (29)).

In addition, unlike *pep* + *ha*, *pep* + *i* can be at the sentence-final position (c.f., (30)).

(35) a. pap-ul mek-ci anhu-myen, paykoph-un pep-i-ta.
meal-ACC eat-ci not-if be.hungry-ADN BN-COP-DECL
'If you do not eat, it is natural that you are hungry.'
b. pap-ul mek-ci anhu-myen, paykoph-un pep
meal-ACC eat-ci not-if be.hungry-ADN BN
'If you do not eat, it is natural that you are hungry.'

Thus, I assume the following structure for (34a).

(36) The partial structure of (34a)



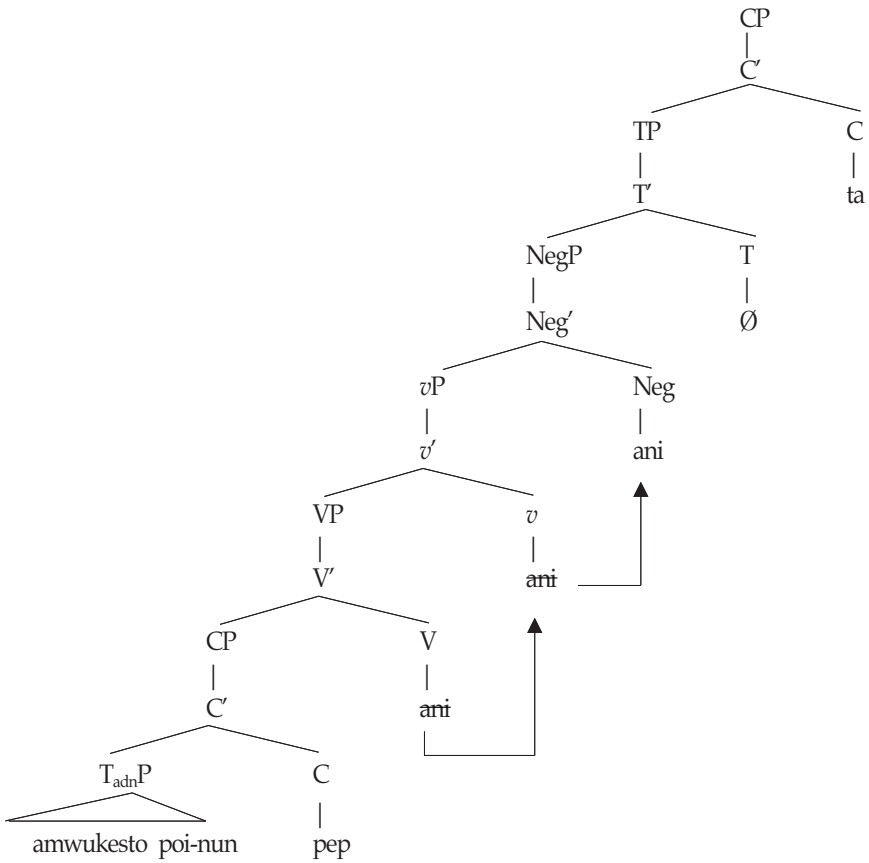
This structure is similar to *pep* + *ha* in (31). The bound noun *pep* merges in N and moves to *n* because of its functional meaning. The copular *i* is semantically null (similar to the light verb *ha*), and it needs to be aided by the complement *n*P (i.e., the predicate meaning is from the complement). The copular *i*, thus, attracts the bound noun. *Pep* + *i* further moves to the head position of Mod$_{EPIS}$P due to its modal meaning. Ultimately, the complex moves to the C head position because the bound noun *pep* can function as a

complementizer (e.g., (35b)). Because of the movement of the bound noun *pep*, the analysis given also expects the following sentence to be ungrammatical in which the adjunct *tangyenhan* does not c-command the bound noun *pep*.

(37) *pap-ul mek-ci anhu-myen, paykoph-un tangyenhan pep-i-ta.
meal-ACC eat-ci not-if be.hungry.TOP natural BN-COP-DECL

However, as for (34b), I assume a fully different structure.

(38) The partial structure of (34b)

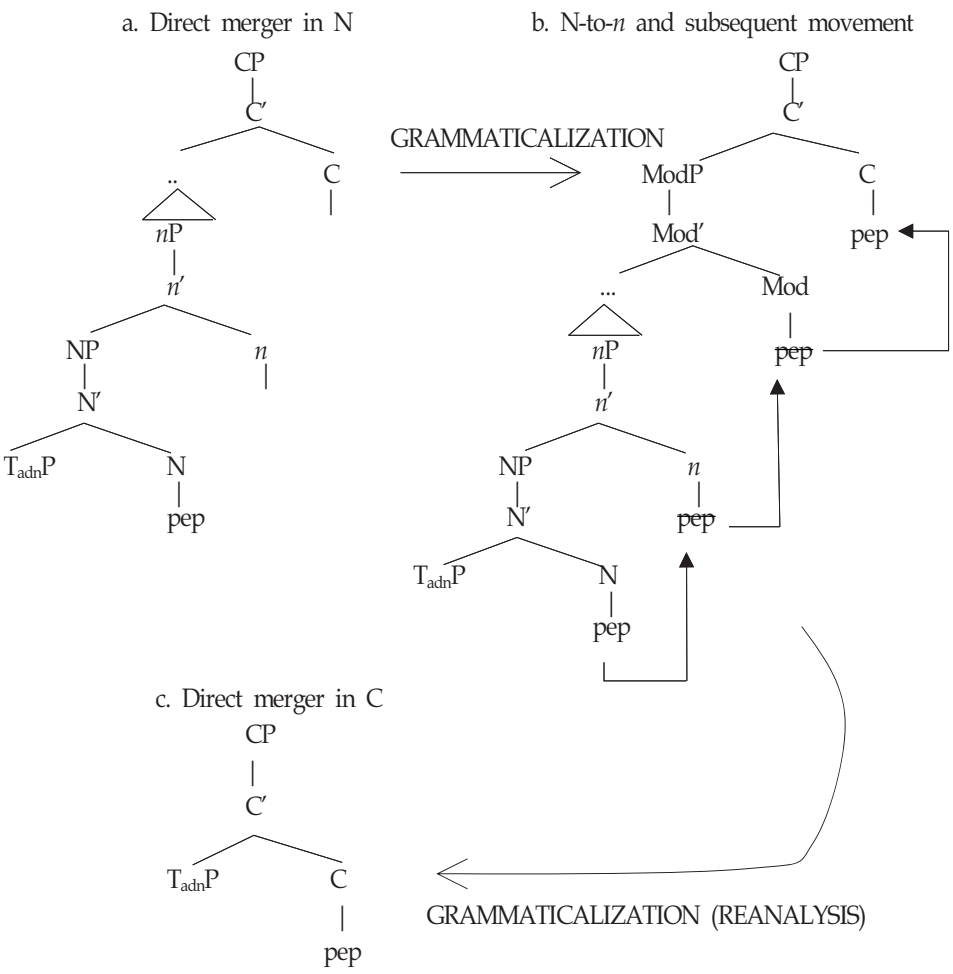


The negative copular, *ani*, merges in the V head position and moves to Neg due to its negative meaning. The bound noun *pep* directly merges in C position and takes an adnominal TP as its complement. In this structure, the NPI and the negator cannot be in

the same clasue, which leads to the ungrammaticality. In this analysis, the bound noun *pep* does not merge in a nominal layer anymore, but it directly merges outside a nominal projection. Thus, *pep* + *i* can have two different structures: i) the N-to-*n* and subsequent movment to C (e.g., (36)); ii) the direct merger in C (e.g., (38)).

As a link bewteen N and C (i.e., the two different initial merge points of the bound noun *pep*), I assume that the bound noun *pep* has undergone a diachronic reanlysis initially from (23) to (31)/(36) and subsequently from (31)/(36) to (38). The schematic representation is as follows.

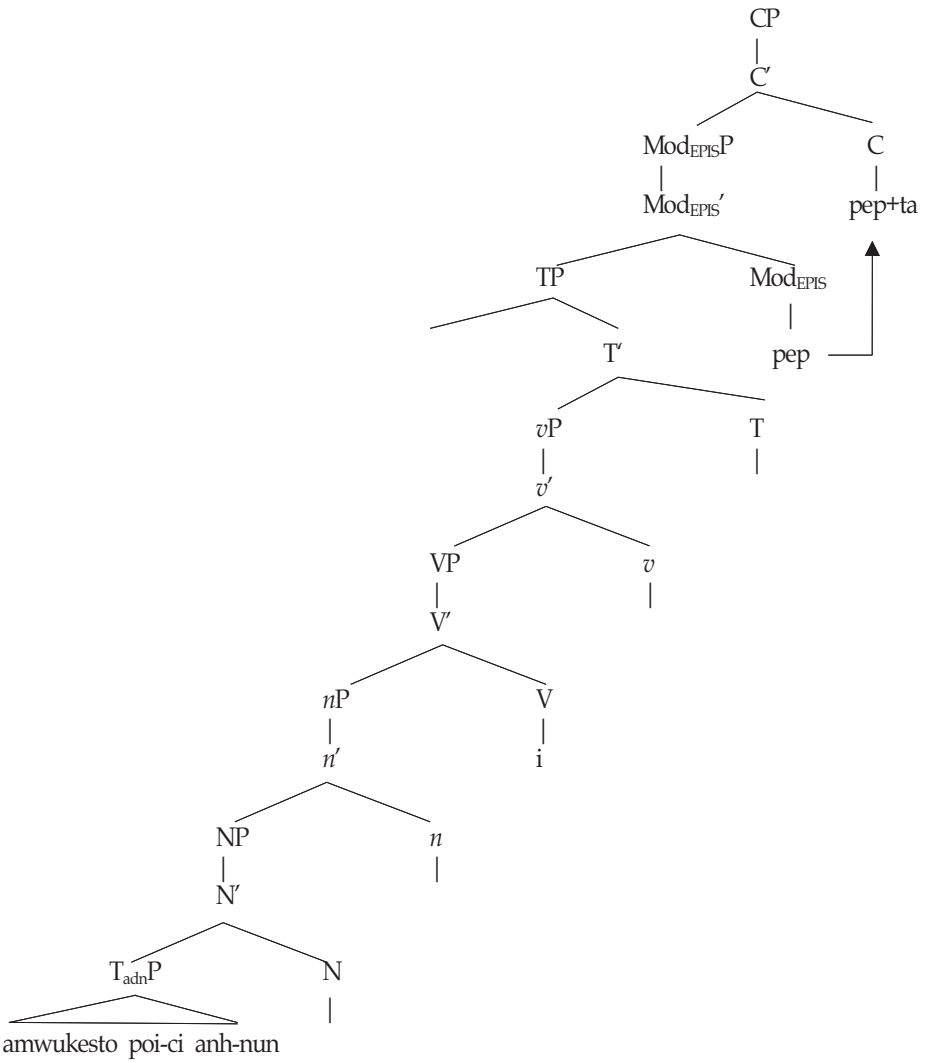
(39) A diachronic reanalysis



4. Discussion

One plausible alternative to the analysis in (36) is to assume that the bound noun *pep* directly merges in $Mod_{EPIS}P$ and subseuently moves to C.

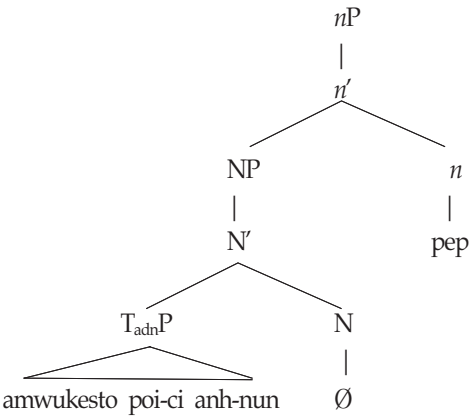
(40) The alternative partial structure of (34a)



However, due to the linear order of *pep* + *i*, this analysis is not tenable.

(41) *amwukesto poi-ci anh-nun i-pep-ta.
anything see-ci not-ADN COP-BN-DECL

Another possibility is to assume that the bound noun *pep* directly merges in the small *n* position instead of N-to-*n* movement. The burden is that we have to assume some null noun in the lexical N position.



It is not implausible to assume a null noun, but we cannot find any proper motivation at this point. Thus, I reject this analysis and endorse the N-to-*n* movement.

5. Conclusion

In a nutshell, we find three different structures with the bound noun *pep*. First, it merges in N (e.g., the meaning of 'law' and 'way/how.to'). Second, it merges in N, but moves to *n*, and subsequently, it moves to $Mod_{EPIS}P$ (e.g., the meaning of 'conjecture/speculation' and 'naturalness'). Thrid, it can also directly merges in C (e.g., the meaning of 'naturalness'). Due to its highly grammaticalized nature, it can merge outside a nominal layer and, in Contemporary Korean, it is assumed to be reanalyzed as C.

References

Ahn, H.-K. (2001). *Hyentaykwukeuy uyconmyengsa yenkwu* ('A study on bound nouns in Present-Day Korean'). Seoul: Youkrack Pblishing.

Choe, H.-S. (1988). Restructuring Parameters and Comlex Predicates; A Transformational Approach. *Doctoral Dissertation*. MIT.

Ha, I.-J. (2007). NPI Licensing in Korean Modal Constructions. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics, 15*, 312-323

Hopper, P. J., & Traugott, E. (2003). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kim, T.-S. (2016). Bound Nouns, Ellipsis or Pro-form?. *Studies in Generative Grammar 26*(1), 1-14.

Kim, T.-S. (2017). The Relationship between Semantic Bleaching and Syntax: A Case from Bound Noun *cwung* in Korean. *Studies in Generative Grammar 27*(3), 565-589.

Kim, T.-S. (2021). Bound Noun kes in Korean, revisited. *Studies in Generative Grammar*, *31*(3), 357-379.

Palmer, F. R. (2001). *Mood and modality* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roberts, I., & Roussou, A. (2003). *Syntactic Change: A Minimalist Approach to Grammaticalization*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Sohn, K.-W. (1996). *Negative Polarity items, Scope, and Economy*. Seoul: Thayhaksa.

Song, D.-H., & Kim, H.-S. (2014). Hancae myengsa 'pep'uy mwunpephwa yangsang yenkwu ('A Study on the Aspects of Grammaticalization of Sino-Korean Noun 'Beop''). *Studies in Linguistics, 33*, 175-195.

van Gelderen, E. (2004). *Grammaticalization as Economy*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tae Sik Kim
Associate Professor
Department of English Language and Literature
College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Seoul National University of Science and Technology
232 Gongneung-ro, Nowon-gu, Seoul 01811, South Korea
Phone: +82-2-970-6267
Email: taesikkim@seoultech.ac.kr

Received on October 13, 2023
Revised version received on December 21, 2023
Accepted on December 31, 2023