

Adversative Corrective Coordination in Korean*

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Song, Jina. (2023). Adversative corrective coordination in Korean. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 31(3), 139-156. This study presents a comprehensive exploration of the syntax and semantics of corrective coordination in Korean. I introduce a new adversative coordinator in Korean, *-la*, which exclusively conveys a corrective reading. In terms of its syntactic structure, I argue that the corrective coordination in Korean operates at the sub-clause level rather than the clause level, drawing on various syntactic and semantic evidence. Additionally, this paper uncovers that the negation *ani* within the corrective coordination is consistent with the short-form negation in Korean. A potential challenge can emerge when considering the subclausal coordinate structure's semantic interpretation because negation typically takes a sentence, denoting a truth value, as its argument (i.e., $\neg p \wedge q$). Building on Toosarvandani's (2010, 2013) analysis, the coordinator *-la* is posited as a meet operator, accommodating not just truth values but also functional constructs. This analysis shows how subclausal constituents can align with the conventions of truth-functional conjunction. In conclusion, this study offers new insights into the Korean adversative coordinator, *-la*, and its associated syntactic and semantic structures in Korean.

Key Words: corrective coordination, adversative coordination, *-la*, Korean

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1. Introduction

This study investigates the syntactic and semantic structures of adversative corrective coordination in Korean. Adversative coordination, denoting oppositional relations, has been divided into two distinct semantic categories: *counter-expectational* and *corrective* (e.g., Anscombe & Ducrot, 1977; Foolen, 1991; Lang, 1984; Vincente, 2010; Winter & Rimon, 1994).

Initially, the corrective form of the coordination contrasts a denied first conjunct with an asserted second conjunct. It denotes that the proposition of the first conjunct is negated, while the second conjunct provides the appropriate rectification. In such coordination, the negation is overtly expressed, taking scope solely over the first conjunct and not the second. For instance, in example (1), what is expressed in the first conjunct *John eats an apple* is false, whereas what is expressed in the second conjunct *John eats a banana* is true, leading to the corrective reading.

- (1) a. John doesn't eat an apple, **but** a banana.
 a'. John eats **not** an apple, **but** a banana.
 b. = $\neg \text{eat}(\text{apple})(\text{John}) \wedge \text{eat}(\text{banana})(\text{John})$

Conversely, the *counter-expectational* form does not necessitate the negation of the conjuncts. Instead, it elicits an implicature where the proposition of the second conjunct appears unexpected, given the implicit expectations aroused by the proposition in the first conjunct. For instance, in example (2), the proposition of the first conjunct establishes an expectation: *if John eats an apple, then he likes it*. However, this expectation is denied by the statement made in the second conjunct. With this form, the presence of negation is not obligatory.

- (2) a. John eats an apple **but** hates it.
 b. = $\text{eat}(\text{apple})(\text{John}) \wedge \text{hate}(\text{apple})(\text{John})$
 Expectation: $\text{eat}(\text{apple})(\text{John}) \rightarrow \neg \text{hate}(\text{apple})(\text{John})$

While English does not distinguish between the two readings of adversative coordination using different coordinators (i.e., it uses *but* for both counter-expectational and corrective meanings), many languages lexically differentiate this semantic distinction

with unique adversative coordinators. For instance, in German, *sondern* is a corrective coordinator, while *aber* is counter-expectational; in Spanish, *sino* is corrective and *pero* is counter-expectational. In this paper, I introduce a new adversative coordinator in Korean, *-la*, which exclusively conveys the corrective reading. Previous studies have focused on other Korean adversative coordinators such as *-ciman*, *-(u)na*, and *-nuntey*. These have been argued to convey counter-expectational and contrastive meanings (e.g., Lee, 1996; Lim, 2009).¹⁾

- (3) a. John-i sakwa-ka **ani-la** panana-lul mek-ess-ta.
 John-Nom apple-Nom **Neg-but** banana-Acc eat-Pst-Dec
 'John ate not an apple, but a banana.'
 b. = $\neg \text{eat}(\text{apple})(\text{John}) \wedge \text{eat}(\text{banana})(\text{John})$
- (4) a. John-i sakwa-lul mekunkes-i **ani-la** kukes-ul cohahay-ss-ta²⁾
 John-Nom apple-Acc eating-Nom **Neg-but** it-Acc like-Pst-Dec
 b. John-i sakwa-lul an-mek-ess-{**ciman/una/nuntey**} kukes-ul cohahay-ss-ta
 John-Nom apple-Acc Neg-eat-Pst-but it-Acc like-Pst-Dec
 'John did not eat an apple but liked it.'
 c. = $\neg \text{eat}(\text{apple})(\text{John}) \wedge \text{like}(\text{apple})(\text{John})$
 Expectation: $\neg \text{eat}(\text{apple})(\text{John}) \rightarrow \neg \text{like}(\text{apple})(\text{John})$

1) The previous studies on Korean adversative coordinators distinguished between the contrast and counter-expectational meaning and argued that the coordinators *ciman*, *una*, and *nuntey* express both of the meanings. However, according to the classification of Anscombe and Ducrot (1977), the contrast meaning is considered as only a pragmatic realization of counter-expectational meaning.

2) As an anonymous reviewer noted, I acknowledge that when *-la* coordinates VP conjuncts, it can also convey a counter-expectational reading, contingent on the meanings of the verbs involved. As shown in (i), when the verb of the second conjunct changes to *throw away* from *like*, it can express the counter-expectational reading as well as the corrective reading.

(i) John-i sakwa-lul mekunkes-i ani-la kukes-ul pely-ess-ta
 John-Nom apple-Acc eating-Nom Neg-but it-Acc throw.away-Pst-Dec
 'John did not eat an apple but threw it away.'

According to Shitrit (2015) and Greenberg (2017), the counter-expectational reading holds when "*a but b* asserts the conjunction of *a* and *b* and presupposes that there is a cancellable implication of *a*, ('*r* ') that *b* rejects (i.e. implies or entails its negation)" (Greenberg 2017:277). In this context, (i) asserts that there is a proposition *r* (e.g. *John had an apple*) which is implied by the first conjunct (i.e., *John ate an apple*) and is rejected by the second conjunct (i.e., *John threw it away*). Thus, I assume that when *-la* coordinates the VP conjuncts, it can optionally convey the counter-expectational reading depending on the second conjunct's verb negating the implication of the first.

As shown in example (3), the coordinator *-la*³ can convey the corrective reading by combining with the negation *ani*, which only scopes over the first conjunct. However, as seen in (4a), the coordinator *-la* cannot express the counter-expectational reading. This reading can be captured using other adversative coordinators, *-ciman*, *-(u)na*, and *-nuntey*, as shown in (4b), because the implicit expectation isn't generated by *-la*. In following, I will delve into the corrective coordination in Korean, examining its syntactic and semantic structure.

2. Syntactic Structure – Clausal vs. Sub-Clausal Coordination

Before delving into the syntactic structure of Korean corrective coordination, it is essential to review previous perspectives on the corrective coordination structure. Concerning the structure of adversative corrective coordination, two primary approaches have been identified — clausal and sub-clausal coordination.

Vicente (2010) posited that the corrective coordinator invariably demands its conjuncts to be full clauses, based on data from both English and Spanish, as exemplified in (5). He further proposed that, to achieve the surface form, the remnant of the second conjunct undergoes movement to a left-peripheral position (e.g., Spec CP). Subsequently, the TP is deleted at PF under identity with TP of the first conjunct (i.e., Merchant, 2001: eGIVENness identity constraint), as illustrated in (6).

- (5) a. Gabriel **didn't** drink beer **but** champagne.
 b. Gabriel **no** bebió cerveza **sino** champán.
 'Gabriel not drank beer but champagne.' (Vicente, 2010, p. 386)
- (6) [_{CP} Gabriel didn't drink beer] but [_{CP} champagne_i [_{TP} ~~Gabriel drank t_i]].~~

Vicente's clause-level coordination is rooted in the semantic scope of negation, which only takes scope over the first conjunct, not the second (i.e., $[(\neg p) \wedge q]$). In essence, the scope of negation can only be confined within the first conjunct when clause-level

3) As an anonymous reviewer noted, I assume that the conjunction *-ko* can essentially have an adversative function along with negation, similar to *-la*. This is because *-ko* is known to serve a contrastive function as well as temporal, causal, and listing functions (see Choi 2020, Kim 1992). A further study is needed to thoroughly examine the distinctions between the two conjunctions.

conjuncts are employed. This is because, if corrective coordination were to allow sub-clausal conjuncts and the negation positioned outside the coordination structure, the negation would then c-command the entire coordination structure, resulting in $[\neg(p \wedge q)]$ interpretation. Moreover, this clausal coordination approach also corresponds to the view of the truth-functional logic because negation is typically treated as a truth-functional sentence operator.

Conversely, Toosarvandani (2010, 2013) argued that English corrective coordination featuring *constituent negation*, as illustrated in (7), takes sub-clausal conjuncts without following TP-ellipsis. Nonetheless, he concurred with Vicente (2010) on the clausal coordination approach concerning corrective coordination with *sentential negation*, as seen in (5a) and (6).

(7) John eats $[_{DP} \text{not } [_{DP} \text{a pear}]]$, **but** $[_{DP} \text{an apple}]$.

He argued for the sub-clausal coordination primarily based on syntactic properties. Given that the corrective coordination structure together with constituent negation always functions as a single constituent (8a) and does not obey island constraints (8b), he argued that the corrective coordination must take two sub-clausal conjuncts. Furthermore, the observation that quantifiers in the subject position can outscope the corrective *but*, as demonstrated in (8c), further supports the sub-clausal analysis. This is because only within this sub-clausal analysis can it be explained that the subject quantifier (i.e., *no*) is in a c-commanding position of the coordinator *but*.

- (8) a. ... it's not wordplay but weaponplay that's needed. (Toosarvandani, 2010, p. 29)
 b. Jasper choked when he saw not Sally but John. (Toosarvandani, 2010, p. 32)
 c. No child ate not chard but spinach. ($no > \wedge$) (Toosarvandani, 2013, p. 838)
 'There was no child who did not eat chard and who ate spinach.'

Therefore, it can be suggested that at least in English, there exist two distinct underlying structures for corrective coordination. This is because English features two syntactically different types of corrective coordination – one with sentential negation and the other with constituent negation. In the following sections, the syntactic and semantic characteristics of Korean corrective coordination will be scrutinized for its underlying structure.

3. Structure of Adversative Corrective Coordination in Korean

3.1. Corrective Construction as Coordination

In the preceding section, I suggested that *-la* serves as a distinct adversative coordinator in Korean, denoting a corrective reading. Before accepting this proposal, however, it's essential to determine whether the corrective construction operates as a type of coordination led by the corrective coordinator *-la*, rather than as subordination or any other form. The evidence presented below suggests that the adversative corrective construction in Korean should be recognized as a coordinate construction.

Firstly, only coordination is subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC), unlike subordination (e.g., Ross, 1967). As illustrated in (9), no conjunct can be extracted from the corrective coordination, in adherence to the CSC.

- (9) a. * sakwa-ka_i John-i t_i ani-la panana-lul mek-ess-ta
 apple-Nom John-Nom Neg-but banana-Acc eat-Pst-Dec
 b. * panana-lul_i John-i sakwa-ka ani-la t_i mek-ess-ta
 banana-Acc John-Nom apple-Nom Neg-but eat-Pst-Dec
 'John ate not an apple but a banana.' (Intended)

Secondly, the entire coordinate structure demonstrates the same distribution as its conjuncts (i.e., endocentricity). In contrast, the subordinate structure doesn't maintain the same distributional properties as its conjuncts (e.g., Hudson, 1984; Lyons 1968). As illustrated in (10), the entire coordinate structure can be placed in any environment where its DP conjuncts are found (e.g., the subject and the indirect object position), reflecting the same distributional characteristics as its conjuncts.

- (10) a. [_{DP} Mary-ka ani-la Sarah-ka] John-eykey kong-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 Mary-Nom Neg-but Sarah-Nom John-Dat ball-Acc give-Pst-Dec
 'Not Mary but Sarah gave a ball to John.'
 b. John-i [_{DP} Mary-ka ani-la Sarah-eykey] kong-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Nom Neg-but Sarah-Dat ball-Acc give-Pst-Dec
 'John gave not Mary but Sarah a ball.'

Thirdly, according to the Law of Coordination of Likes (e.g., Chomsky, 1957; Williams, 1978), two elements from the same syntactic category can be coordinated. As seen in (11), a broad range of syntactic categories such as DP, PP, TP, and AdvP can be conjoined. However, elements from different categories cannot be combined. Moreover, since subordination is generally restricted to the combination of clauses, the fact that the corrective construction allows the combination of various types of phrases as well as clauses provides further supporting evidence for the coordination analysis.

- (11) a. John-i [DP **sakwa-ka**] ani-la [DP **panana-lul**] mek-ess-ta
 John-Nom **apple-Nom** Neg-but **banana-Acc** eat-Pst-Dec
'John ate not an apple but a banana.'
- b. John-i [PP **cip-eyse-ka**] ani-la [PP **hakkyo-eyse**] ca-ss-ta
 John-Nom **home-at-Nom** Neg-but **school-at** sleep-Pst-Dec
'John slept not at home but at school.'
- c. John-un [TP **Mary-ka kong-ul cha-se-ka**] ani-la
 John-Top Mary-Nom ball-Acc kick-because-Nom Neg-but
 [TP **Jenny-ka kong-ul cha-se**] noll-ass-ta
 Jenny-Nom ball-Acc kick-because surprised
'John was surprised not because Mary kicked a ball but because Jenny kicked a ball.'
- d. John-i phiano-lul [AdvP **seykey-ka**] ani-la [AdvP **yakhakey**] chy-ess-ta.
 John-Nom piano-Acc loudly-Nom Neg-but softly play-Pst-Dec
'John played the piano not loudly but softly.'

Lastly, Right Node Raising (RNR) is commonly identified in coordinate structures, not in subordinate ones. As demonstrated in (12), a shared constituent between the preceding and following elements of *-la* can undergo RNR, surfacing at the right periphery.

- (12) a. [kimkyoswu-ka t_i] ani-la [pakkyoswu-uy t_i] kanguy-ka; caymiiss-ess-ta
 Prof.Kim-Nom eg-but Prof.Park-Gen lecture-Nom fun-Pst-Dec
'Not Prof. Kim's but Prof. Park's lecture was fun.'
- b. [hwaka-ka t_i] ani-la [cakka-ka t_i] twu-myeng-i_i salacy-ess-ta
 artist-Nom Neg-but writer-Nom two-CL-Nom disappear-Pst-Dec
'Not two artists but two writers disappeared.'

In summary, the evidence presented indicates that the corrective construction in Korean aligns more closely with canonical coordination structures than with subordinate structures. Therefore, I suggest that the Korean corrective construction with *-la* should be characterized as coordination⁴).

3.2. Corrective Construction as Sub-Clausal Coordination

Recall that two competing approaches exist regarding the underlying structure of corrective coordination: clausal and sub-clausal coordination. In this section, I will demonstrate that Korean corrective coordination joins sub-clause level conjuncts.

Firstly, the corrective coordination, when paired with the negative element *ani*, forms a single constituent. As illustrated in (13), they can be positioned in the focal point of a pseudo-cleft and can also be topicalized.

- (13) a. John-i mekun-kes-un [sakwa-ka ani-la panana] i-ta.
 John-Nom ate-what-Top apple-Nom Neg-but banana Cop-Dec
 ‘What John ate is not an apple but a banana.’ (Pseudo-cleft)

4) As anonymous reviewers have pointed out, the examples illustrated in (9)-(12) might not serve as direct evidence for the coordination analysis. In particular, the first conjunct along with *-la*, when fronted to the sentence-initial position as in (i), raises the possibility that it may act as a subordinator.

- (i) [sakwa-ka ani-la]_i John-i t_i panana-lul mek-ess-ta
 apple-Nom Neg-but John-Nom banana-Acc eat-Pst-Dec
 ‘John ate not an apple but a banana.’

Nevertheless, I think that the adversative corrective construction in Korean can be treated as a coordinate construction. This is because backward pronominalization is not possible in the corrective construction in Korean. It has been argued that subordinate structures allow backward pronominalization, while coordinate structures do not. This is because the backward pronominal serves as a marker of subordination (Mittwoch 1983, Reinhart 1986). As seen in (ii), the anaphora *caki* cannot be co-referenced with its antecedent, *John*, in the corrective construction.

- (ii) na-nun caki_{s_i/j}-uy chayk-i ani-la John_i-uy kongchayk-ul ilhpepy-ess-ta.
 I-Top self_{s_i/j} -Gen book-Nom Neg-but John-Gen notebook-acc lose-Pst-Dec
 ‘I lost not self_{s_i/j} book but John_{s_i} notebook.’

While I acknowledge that there’s a possibility for *-la* to function as something other than a coordinator, the evidence in section 3.1 and (ii) of this footnote supports the coordination approach. Further investigation on this matter is needed.

- b. [sakwa-ka ani-la panana]_i -nun John-i t_i mek-ess-ta.
 apple-Nom Neg-but banana-Top John-Nom eat-Pst-Dec
 ‘Not an apple but a banana, John ate.’ (Topicalization)

Secondly, a quantifier in the subject position takes scope over the corrective coordinator *-la*. As shown in (14), the subject quantifier *kikkethayya han* ‘at most one’ outscopes the coordinator, leading to the interpretation that the statement holds true in scenarios where *there was at most one friend who did not eat an apple and who ate a banana*. This reading would not be possible under the clausal coordination since the subject quantifier wouldn’t be able to c-command the coordinator *-la*. Given that sentence (14) does not present a stronger interpretation that is elicited from the clausal coordinate structure – namely, that *at most one friend did not eat an apple and at most one friend ate a banana* – this favors the sub-clausal coordinate structure interpretation.

- (14) *kikkethayya han chinkwu-ka sakwa-ka ani-la panana-lul mek-ess-ta*
 at most one friend-Nom apple-Nom Neg-but banana-Acc eat-Pst-Dec
 ‘There was at most one friend who did not eat an apple and who ate a banana.’
 # ‘At most one friend did not eat an apple and at most one friend ate a banana.’
 (at most one > &)

Finally, the corrective coordination is insensitive to islands. As illustrated in (15), sentences with corrective coordination are not sensitive to the Complex NP-island, *wh*-island, and adjunct island. The insensitivity to these island constraints corresponds to an underlying sub-clause level coordinate structure. If the underlying structure were composed of conjoined clausal conjuncts, remnants originating from inside an island would yield ungrammatical sentences, obeying the island constraints.

- (15) a. [_{DP} Kim-i ani-la Li-ka]_i na-nun [_{NP} [_{CP} t_i piano-lul yencwuha-n-ta-nun]
 Kim-Nom Neg-but Li-Nom I-Top piano-Acc play-Pres-Dec-C
 somwun-ul] tul-ess-ta
 rumor-Acc hear-Pst-Dec
 ‘I heard the rumor that not Kim but Li played the piano.’ (Complex NP)
- b. [_{DP} Kim-i ani-la Li-ka]_i Jo-nun [_{CP} t_i sushi-lul cohahanun-ci] alko-siphehanta.
 Kim-Nom Neg-but Li-Nom Jo-Top sushi-Acc like-whether know-want
 ‘Jo wants to know whether not Kim but Li likes sushi.’ (*wh*-island)

- c. [DP Kim-i ani-la Li-ka]_i Jo-nun [CP t_i chayk-ul san hwue] pap-ul mek-ess-ta
 Kim-Nom Neg-but Li-Nom Jo-Top book-Acc buying after rice-Acc eat-Pst-Dec
 ‘After not John but Mary bought a book, Jo ate rice.’ (Adjunct island)

Therefore, based on the evidence presented, I propose that the corrective coordination in Korean does not require its conjuncts to always be clause-level; rather, it allows it them to be at the sub-clause level.

3.3. *ani* as Short-From Negation

Now, let us examine the type and structure of the negation *ani*. It is well-established that there are two types of negation in Korean (e.g., Cho, 1994; Han, et al., 2005; Song, 1988) – Short-From Negation (SFN) and Long-From Negation (LFN). Given that these two types of negation have distinct structures, it is essential to identify which type the negation *ani* in the corrective coordination aligns with.

The distinction between these two types of negation is primarily based on their formal differences. SFN is constructed using the short-form negator *an(i)*, which precedes the negated element, as shown in (16a). In contrast, LFN is formed using the long-form negator *an(i) ha*, a combination of the negation *ani* and a light verb *ha*, with the negated element attached with the morpheme *ci* preceding the long-form negator *an(i) ha*, as shown in (16b).

- (16) a. Sakwa-lul **an(i)** mek-ess-ta.
 apple-Acc Neg eat-Pst-Dec
 b. Sakwa-lul mek-ci **ani ha**-yess-ta.
 apple-Acc eat-ci Neg do-Pst-Dec
 ‘(I) didn’t eat the apple’

In terms of their negation scope, SFN and LFN do not differ in simple sentences. Both types can negate entire sentences, functioning as sentential negation as shown in (16). Alternatively, they can also solely negate a constituent, thus operating as constituent negation, as demonstrated in (17).

- (17) a. Joe-ka **an(i)**-nuc-key ca-ss-ta.
 Joe-Nom Neg-late-Adv sleep- Pst-Dec
- b. Joe-ka nuc-ci-**an(i)**-**ha**-key ca-ss-ta.
 Joe-Nom late-ci-Neg-do-Adv sleep- Pst-Dec
- 'Joe slept not late.'*
 '# It is not the case that Joe slept late.'

However, in coordinate structures, the scope of negation diverges between SFN and LFN (e.g., Cho, 1994; Yoon, 1990). Specifically, SFN acts like constituent negation, negating only the conjunct to which it is attached, as in (18a). In contrast, LFN can function as either sentential or constituent negation, given that it can negate the particular conjunct it is combined with or span across conjuncts, as in (18b).

- (18) a. John-i [swul-ul masi]-ko [tampay-lul **an(i)**-phiw]-ess-tta
 John-Nom alcohol-Acc drink-and cigarettes-Acc Neg-smoke- Pst-Dec
 'John drank alcohol but did not smoke cigarettes.'
 '# John did not drink alcohol and smoke cigarettes.'
- b. John-i [swul-ul masi]- ko [tampay-lul phiw-**ci ani-ha**]-ess-tta
 John-Nom alcohol-Acc drink-and cigarettes-Acc smoke-ci-Neg-do-Pst-Dec
 'John did not drink alcohol and smoke cigarettes.'
 'John drank alcohol but did not smoke cigarettes.' (Cho, 1994, p. 244)

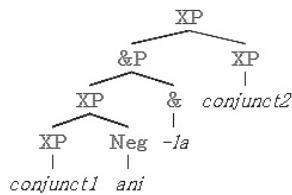
Given the scope of negation in corrective coordination being restricted solely to the first conjunct (i.e., $[(-p) \wedge q]$) and its formal similarity with SFN, I posit that the negation *ani* within the corrective coordination aligns with SFN. Additionally, I assume that the negation *ani* attaches to the first conjunct since SFN exclusively governs the conjunct it combines with as well as Korean is a typologically language of postpositive coordinators (i.e., A-co B: Haspelmath 2007, Park 2016) – the negation *ani* immediately precedes the corrective coordinator *-la*.

In terms of the structure, the two types of negation differ: SFN (i.e., Neg) adjoins to the constituent it negates, while LFN projects to NegP as a functional head (e.g., Cho 1994; Han et al., 2005; Song, 1988). The previous studies have argued for these distinct structures because SFN and LFN co-occur in double negation sentences, and the obligatory light verb *ha*-support of LFN suggests that the negation functions as a head of

NegP, blocking a verb from being raised to the T-head. Based on these prior arguments, I assume that the *ani* in the corrective coordination adjoins to any constituent it negates, just the same as other SFN instances.⁵⁾

Therefore, I propose the syntactic structure for the corrective coordination in Korean as illustrated in (19)⁶⁾. The corrective coordinator *-la* coordinates constituents of different categories and sizes (i.e., XP) and the negation *ani* is adjoined to the first conjunct, taking scope over only the first conjunct. In line with the previous studies (e.g., Iatridou 1990, Kim and Sag see also Cho 1994), I assume that the first conjunct adjoined to the constituent negation *ani* takes the category of the first conjunct as “constituent negation is generated, in some sense, on the constituent it negate” (Iatridou 1990:574).

(19) Corrective coordination structure in Korean



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- 5) Since the previous studies focused on the SFN/LFN that negates verbs, they argued that SFN was adjoined to VP. However, in this study I assume that SFN can be adjoined to any categories because it can function as not only sentential but also constituent negation as well.
- 6) An anonymous reviewer has pointed out the necessity to explain how the first conjunct can take a nominative marker. As this study initiates an exploration into corrective coordination analysis, I propose two possibilities. Firstly, the nominative case could potentially be assigned by default case marking. Schütze (2001) posits that default case is assigned to nominal expressions when their case feature cannot be determined by syntactic mechanisms for Spell-Out. In the context of Korean, previous studies on Multiple Nominative Constructions (MNC) have suggested that all nominals, lacking an available syntactic head for case marking within the MNC, are assigned the nominative case by default (e.g., Lee 2008, Kang 1986, Kim 1990, 1991). Applying this logic to corrective coordination construction, the nominative case could be assigned to the first conjunct in the absence of an available syntactic head for case assignment. Secondly, should all cases be considered structurally assigned, Feature Sharing (e.g., Ko 2009, Pesetsky and Torrego 2004, 2007) emerges as an alternative approach. Feature Sharing essentially enables the presence of the same feature in multiple locations, by an unvalued feature probing another unvalued feature in its search domain and subsequently being linked together. When one feature is valued, the other is consequently valued as well. Given that the case on DPs is an unvalued feature, it opens the possibility for multiple DPs to share the same case feature (e.g., Nominative case). While a more elaborate analysis and conditions are required, the feature sharing approach permits not just the subject but also the conjunct of the corrective coordination construction to have the nominative case.

3.4. Semantic Structure of Corrective Coordination in Korean

In the preceding section, I advocated for a sub-clause level coordination for the Korean corrective coordinate structure, as opposed to a clause-level one. However, this subclausal coordinate structure might present a semantic interpretation challenge, given that from the classical perspective of truth-functional logic, negation is treated as a truth-functional sentence operator. Since negation takes a sentence, which denotes a truth value as its argument, it appears implausible for the underlying subclausal coordination to be interpreted as $[(\neg p) \wedge q]$.

However, by adopting Partee and Rooth's (1983) proposition of treating the coordinator *-la* as a meet operator (\sqcap)⁷, it becomes plausible for negation to take non-sentential subclausal conjuncts of various categories as its arguments while maintaining scope solely within the first conjunct. This is attributed to the fact that the meet operator enables the truth conditions of the coordinator, such as *-la*, to be identical to those of classical truth-functional conjunction even with the subclausal conjuncts. To be specific, this operator's arguments can encompass not only truth values but also functions, as demonstrated in (20).

$$(20) X \wedge Y = \begin{cases} X \wedge Y, & \text{if } X \text{ and } Y \text{ are truth values} \\ \lambda Z(X(Z) \sqcap Y(Z)), & \text{if } X \text{ and } Y \text{ are functions} \end{cases} \quad (\text{Toosarvandani, 2013, p. 20})$$

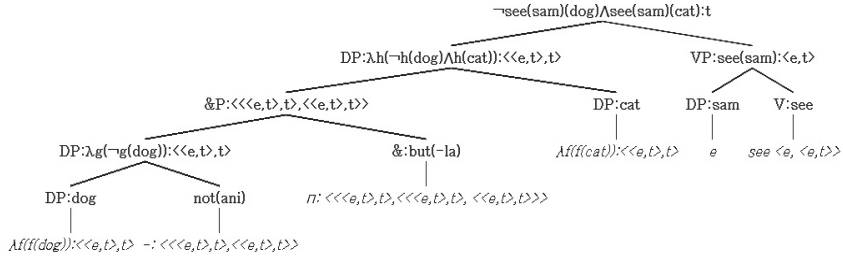
When functions act as the arguments of the meet operator, it returns a function, the range of which constitutes the intersection of the input functions' ranges, and can be applicable to functions whose range is the domain of truth values. Consequently, even when subclausal constituents are coordinated, the meet operator essentially aligns with the conventional truth-functional conjunction and allows diverse categories to be combined with.

In alignment with Toosarvandani's (2010, 2013) analysis, which employs the meet operator, I propose that the coordinator *-la* be treated as a meet operator (\sqcap), which takes various subclausal categories as its arguments. As illustrated in (22), the semantic interpretation of the corrective coordination (i.e., $(\neg p) \wedge q$) can be captured through the analysis above. Note that indefinite DPs are treated as generalized quantifiers (i.e., type $\langle\langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$) (e.g., Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 2000).

7) The meet operator analysis is widely used in the study of various types of coordination across multiple languages, including Korean, English, and Basque (e.g., Kim 2018, Vela-Plo 2018, 2023).

- (21) kay-ka ani-la koyangi-ka Sam-ul pon-ta
 dog-Nom Neg-but cat-Nom Sam-Acc see-Dec
 ‘Not a dog but a cat sees Sam.’

(22)



Two DPs *kay* ‘a dog’ and *koyangi* ‘a cat’ are interpreted as generalized quantifiers, which denote the set of sets containing a dog or that of a cat. The negation is adjoined to the first DP *kay* ‘a dog’ and represents the set of sets that do not contain a dog. When these two DPs are coordinated by the meet operator *-la*, they denote another generalized quantifier: a set of sets that do not contain a dog and that do contain a cat. This generalized quantifier then takes the VP (e.g., ‘see Sam’) as its argument, leading to the corrective coordination meaning: *it is not the case that a dog sees Sam and it is the case that a cat sees Sam*.

Thus, this analysis captures the semantic interpretation of the corrective coordination where negation takes scope solely within the first conjunct, even though, syntactically, it adjoins to subclausal conjuncts (e.g., DP).

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I investigated the syntax and semantics of corrective coordination in Korean. I presented novel evidence that Korean features an additional type of adversative coordinator, *-la*, which conveys a corrective reading. Furthermore, the negation *ani* within the corrective coordination aligns with the short-form negation, and Korean corrective coordination permits a sub-clausal coordinate structure.

By investigating the under-explored expression such as *-la*, this study contributes to broadening the understanding of Korean expressions that convey corrective meaning, including *taysin* construction used for corrective and compensatory concessive semantics

(e.g., Kwon 2017, Lee 2017). However, further investigation is required to explore these expressions in greater depth, particularly in relation to the categorial status of *-la* coordination⁸), building on the foundations established here.

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8) As an anonymous reviewer noted, I acknowledge that from a typological perspective, there is a significant difference in syntactic behavior between Korean and English negation. While 'not' in English can combine with a wide range of parts of speech, Korean negation typically associate exclusively with predicates. Thus, further research is needed on whether DP/NP coordination is possible with predicate negation in Korean.

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