

Embedded Root Phenomena: evidence from Korean and Japanese  
Suwon Yoon  
Cornell University

In this talk, I explore the embedded root phenomena (ERPs) in Korean and Japanese that are compared to Germanic languages. Such constructions include: (i) unintegrated (Reis 1997 for free *dass*-clauses in German) or peripheral (Haegeman 2004) adjunct clauses and adverbs; (ii) appositive (non-restrictive) relatives (Ross 1967, Emonds 1979, Fabb 1990, de Vries 2006, Citko 2008); (iii) subordinate clauses with matrix verbs that typically embed indicative mood in Romance; (iv) Germanic EV2 constructions (Reis 1997, Bentzen et al. 2007) in subjunctive in German; and (v) topic phrases with non-contrastive topic markers 'nun' and 'wa' in Korean and Japanese (Whitman 1989; Poltner and Yabushita 1998). Here I further identify two cases of embedded root phenomena in Korean and Japanese: embedded clauses in subjunctive mood, and embedded clauses with evaluative negation which is also a subspecies of subjunctive clauses (Yoon 2010). I establish the following properties of embedded root clauses: (a) unlike Romance, root properties in embedded clauses crucially depend on subjunctive mood and modality, as shown in subordinate subjunctive clauses, subordinate clauses with evaluative negation, topic phrases in Korean and Japanese, as well as EV2 clauses in German; and (b) subordinate subjunctive clauses and subordinate clauses with evaluative negation are structurally ambiguous in the sense that they are shown to be either hypotactically or paratactically connected to their matrix clauses in Korean (and potentially in Japanese). These findings have the following theoretical implications. First, it is necessary to acknowledge another case of ERPs where Hooper & Thompson's 'assertion' analysis fails and 'mood' plays a role. Second, the newfound structural ambiguity suggests that overt or covert promotion to the root can be parameterized. Finally, I show how the CP structure with ERPs can be captured in the syntactic derivation within the minimalist framework.