Mapping Hypothesis and the Korean DP

Hyeson Park (Keimyung University)

Hyeson Park. 2007. Mapping Hypothesis and the Korean DP. Studies in Modern Grammar 48, 197-215. In a Korean DP, a numeral quantifier (NL) can precede or follow a noun phrase (NP) it modifies, and when the NL precedes the NP, the DP tends to have a specific reading, while the [NP+NL] order yields a non-specific reading (Chae, 1983; Kim, 1984; Ahn, 1990; Woo, 1998).
This paper explores an explanation for the specificity effect of the Korean DPs utilizing Diesing's (1992) Mapping Hypothesis, which proposes that the ambiguity of an indefinite subject between a cardinal and presuppositional reading results from its position within a sentence. I propose that the mapping algorithm applies at the DP level as well. Within the Korean DP, the NP and NL are in a predication relation, forming a small clause. From this base order the [NL+NP] order is derived by the movement of NL to the spec of DP, a movement similar to predicate raising in the copular construction proposed by Moro (1997) and Heycock (1994). By analogy to the mapping process in IP, materials in the small clause are mapped into the nuclear scope and materials above the small clause are mapped into the restrictive clause, resulting in the specificity effect in the Korean DP.

Key words: Mapping Hypothesis, Korean DP, specificity, restrictive clause, nuclear scope

1. Introduction

In a Korean DP\(^1\) a numeral quantifier (NL) can precede or follow a noun phrase (NP) it modifies, and when the NL precedes the NP, the DP

\(^1\) Though Korean does not have determiners corresponding to English articles, I will assume that Korean noun phrases are DPs, with a covert head D.
tends to have a specific reading, while the [NP+ NL] order results in a non-specific reading (Chae, 1983; Kim, 1984; Ahn, 1990, Woo, 1998). This pattern is consistent with Greenberg's (1978) generalization on numeral systems #44, which states: "The order noun-numeral is favored in indefinite and approximative constructions." This paper attempts to find an explanatory principle behind this descriptive generalization using the Korean DP structure as an example. The principle that will be examined is Diesing's (1992) Mapping Hypothesis, which has been successful in accounting for diverse syntactic and semantic phenomena, including the ambiguity of indefinite noun phrases between a cardinal reading and a presuppositional reading, restrictions on the extraction from a picture noun phrase, and the effect of object scrambling in German and Yiddish (Diesing & Jelinek, 1995).

All the phenomena discussed by Diesing involved the mapping of noun phrases within a sentence: a noun phrase which is mapped to the IP level obtains a presuppositional meaning, while a noun phrase which is mapped to the VP level results in a cardinal reading. Our examination of the Mapping Hypothesis in relation to the Korean DP will show that the Mapping Hypothesis is applicable at the DP level as well. Our proposal thus does not agree with Zamparelli (2005), who states that there is no direct connection between the Mapping Hypothesis and the internal structure of the DP.

This paper is structured as follows: Section 2 briefly reviews Diesing's Mapping Hypothesis. In section 3, we examine how the mapping algorithm results in the different interpretations of the Korean DP. A brief summary in the last section concludes the paper.

2. Diesing's Mapping Hypothesis

Diesing's Mapping Hypothesis states:

Materials from VP are mapped into the nuclear scope.