THE RESUMPTIVE HEAD IN THE KOREAN RELATIVE CLAUSE
AN OPTIMALITY THEORETIC APPROACH*

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0. Introduction

I have found that, besides the regular relative clauses, another type must be recognized in Korean The regular type displays the head outside of the clause which modifies it This type involves movement of the head NP Another type keeps the head in the base position inside the relative clause, and the outside otherwise head position (i e , the antecedent position in the regular type) is occupied by a non-human bound pronominal *kas* 'thing' [1] The former type is typologically classified as the 'externally headed' relative clause (EXR), and the latter type belongs to the 'internally headed' relative clause (INR) [2] Korean is an SOV, head-last language, and thus the two relative clause types display the following structures

1a   Saul-esa   o-n   phyanci-ka issayo
       Seoul-from come-Rel letter-Subj exist
       'There is a letter which has come from Seoul '
1b   [[[Saul-esa t_i o $_{IP}$]-n $_{C'}$] $\emptyset_i$ $_{CP}$] phyanci$_i$-ka issayo

2a   Saul-esa   phyanci(-ka) o-n   kas-i   issayo
       Seoul-from letter$_i$(-Subj) come-Rel thing$_i$-Subj exist
       'There is a letter which has come from Seoul '
       (Lit There is a thing$_i$ that a letter$_i$ came from Seoul)
2b   [[[Saul-esa phyanci$_i$(-ka) o $_{IP}$]-n $_{C'}$] $_{CP}$] kas$_i$-i issayo

The EXR in (1) represents typical relative clauses in Korean The INR clause in (2) represents the relative clauses which will be attested in this paper To my knowledge, the Korean INR has not been quoted in the literature on typology of relative clauses (cf Keenan

[1] The word *kas* is one of the so-called defective nouns It must always be bound to a real pronominal form such as *i* 'this' and *ki* 'that' Justification will be made for calling the resumptive head a pronominal in Section 2

[2] The abbreviations EXR and INR will be used in this paper to refer to either clause types or types of relativization (i e , external relative clause formation and internal or resumptive relative clause formation)

and Comrie 1977, Comrie 1981, Keenan 1985, Lehman 1986) It has not been attested even among Korean linguists For instance, the INR is not listed in Sohn (1994), which is the most comprehensive and up-to-date descriptive grammar of Korean currently available [3] The necessity for the INR to be recognized as a separate construction will be justified by its syntactic behavior which systematically differs from that of the EXR

Another goal of this paper is to apply Optimality Theory (OT) to analyze the Korean relativization phenomena Specifically, I will apply the optimality theoretic constraint system for relative clauses advanced by Pesetsky (1994) and Broihier (1995) to the two types of Korean relative clauses I will argue that their constraint set must be revised and expanded The Pesetskian system has been irrelevant to the head or antecedent position which is outside of the relative clause (i e , CP), but the revised constraint set will require extending its scope of application from CP to the head position to cover the Korean resumptive relative clause

1. The Pesetskian OT Approach to Relative Clauses[4]

In this section, I will only give the constraint set built in the Pesetskian theory of relative clauses, without showing their actual applications to real data they collected (see Pesetsky and Broihier for details)

The constraint set directly relevant to the evaluation of relative clauses consists of the following four constraints

> 1 RCV Deleted (i e , +silent) material must be recoverable (Recoverability)

> 2 LE(C) A complementizer must be pronounced at the left edge of CP
> (Left Edge (Comp))

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[3] Sohn (1994 62) implies that the INR belongs to the so-called 'appositive adjectival clause', in which the head *kəs* may render such interpretation as 'fact', 'sight', etc , as in

(1) næ-ka næmsæ-lɨl math-ɨn sasɨl/kəs
I-Subj smell-Obj smell-Rel fact/thing
'the fact that I smelt the smell'

[4] The discussions about the Pesetskian theory in this paper are largely based on Broihier (1995) A copy of Pesetsky's Fall 1994 lecture handouts has been accessible, but it is skeletal, as handouts usually are, and no details are available, although it is worth looking at The reference to Pesetsky will be to Pesetsky's Fall 1994 lecture handouts, the reference to Broihier is Broihier (1995) The reference to 'Pesetsky and Broihier' will be to the two, respectively

3   TEL   A function (or telegraphable) morpheme must be unpronounced (Telegraph)

4   MinT Provide traces with minimal pronunciation --- [+silent] where possible,
          [+pronominal] elsewhere (Minimize Trace)

Recoverability is defined as a property of chains 'either [reduced] or [-silent] pronunciation of any link in the chain is enough to ensure that RCV is satisfied by every link in the chain' (Broihier 15) This constraint will be slightly revised to handle the recoverability of the resumptive head in Korean

LEC is actually a combination of two constraints 'A complementizer must be pronounced, and must be pronounced at the left edge of CP' (Pesetsky 9) Thus, LEC is violated both when the complementizer is not pronounced and when it does not occur in the left edge position This constraint will be incorporated into the constraint Edge Most Complementizer (EMC) by adapting Anderson (1994)

As far as (finite) relative clauses are concerned, a function morpheme can in practice be equated with a complementizer TEL, therefore, severely conflicts with LEC, because, as pointed out just above, LEC requires a complementizer to be pronounced Different orderings of LEC and TEL will result in typologically different languages

The constraint MinT ensures that there are languages in which traces are obligatorily or optionally realized as a resumptive pronoun To state deductively, to posit this constraint means to assume that the resumptive relative clauses in languages like Arabic, Polish, Hebrew, etc , are viewed as involving movement of an NP (see Demirdache 1991 for a non-movement theory of resumptive pronouns, see also Martohardjono 1993 for a non-movement view of Indonesian relative clauses) As in the Principles and Parameters framework, movement is taken as a last resort, which takes place in order not to violate Island Conditions (cf Shlonsky 1992) MinT entails a distinction of three levels of pronunciation [+silent], [-silent], and [reduced] (= [+pronominal]), and thus also entails that the input to GEN consists of forms not at S-structure but at LF A [reduced] or [+pronominal] pronunciation is understood as the pronunciation of the minimal ϕ-features of the antecedent, and a trace assigned a [reduced] pronunciation will be phonetically realized as a resumptive pronoun [5]
As seen from the Korean data above and will be shown in more detail below, a resumptive pronoun does not always originate from a trace left by a certain movement It also can come

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[5] As a matter of fact, the notion of reduced pronunciation is a reconciliation of the Shadow Pronoun Hypothesis advanced by Perlmutter (date not given in Pesetsky) with the copy theory of movement in the Minimalist Program In the Shadow Pronoun Hypothesis, movement leaves behind a shadow 'pronoun', whereas it leaves 'a copy (of a full NP)' in the copy theory The two theories, therefore, conflict with each other Pesetsky suggests that a pronoun is a 'pronunciation of some (but not all) of the ϕ-features of a DP', and then resumptive pronouns can be viewed as 'the copy in the base position *pronounced minimally*', maintaining the copy theory of movement (Pesetsky 22)

from a base-generated empty position without movement involved Thus, we need another mechanism or constraint that will ensure this way of producing a resumptive pronoun This constraint will roughly read 'Provide a base-generated empty position, with [+pronominal]', which will be elaborated upon in Section 3

2. Characteristics of the Korean Relative Clause

In both EXRs and INRs, neither Postposition Stranding nor Pied-Piping is allowed, the relevant postposition must be deleted But they differ in their distribution in several ways

First, the EXR allows a wide range of grammatical functions to be relativized In fact, the EXR relativization can be performed virtually on any grammatical function

3   Subject
   a   John-in   Soul-lo   ka-t-ta
      John-Subj Seoul-to go-Pst-Decl
        'John went to Seoul'
   b   Soul-lo   ka-n   John
      Seoul-to go-Rel John
        'John who went to Seoul'

4   Direct Object
   a   John-in   yulichang-il k'æ-t-ta
      John-Subj window-Obj break-Pst-Decl
        'John broke the window'
   b   John-i   k'æ-n   yulichang
      John-Subj break-Rel window
        'the window which John broke'

5   Indirect Object
   a   John-in   Bill-eke chæk-il   cu-ot-ta
      John-Subj Bill-to   book-Obj give-Pst-Decl
        'John gave a book to Bill'
   b   John-i   chæk-il   cu-n   Bill
      John-Subj book-Obj give-Rel Bill
        'Bill whom John gave a book to'

6   Genitive
   a   John-iy   os-i   tolop-ta
      John-Gen clothe-Subj dirty-Decl
        'John's clothes are dirty'

  b (cakı) os-ı   tələu-n John
   (self) dress-Subj dırty-Rel John
    'John whose dress ıs dırty'

7 Topıc
  a John-ın cha-ka əps-ta
   John-Top car-Subj absent-Decl
    'John does not have a car '

  b cha-ka əps-nın John
   car-Subj absent-Rel John
    'John who does not have a car'

8 Instrument
  a John-ın yəlswe-lo mun-ıl yəl-ət-ta
   John-Subj key-Instr door-Obj open-Pst-Decl
    'John opened the door wıth a key '
  b John-ı mun-ıl yə-n yəlswe
   John-Subj door-Obj open-Rel key
    'the key wıth whıch John opened the door'

9 Locatıve
  a John-ın chæk-ıl chæksang wı-e əncənoh-at-ta
   John-Subj book-Obj table   on-Loc put=upon-Pst-Decl
    'John put the book on the table '
  b John-ı chæk-ıl əncənoh-ın chæksang
   John-Subj book-Obj put=upon-Rel table
    'the table whıch John put the book on'

10 Source
  a John-ın kɨ salam-hante ton-ıl pat-at-ta
   John-Subj the person-from money-Obj receıve-Pst-Decl
    'John receıved money from the person '
  b John-ı ton-ıl pat-ın salam
   John-Subj money-Obj receıve-Rel person
    'the person who John receıved money from'

In all cases, the trace left by the movement of the head ıs recoverable, although Postposıtıon Strandıng and Pıed-Pıpıng are not allowed, as mentıoned above [6]

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[6] In languages lıke Arabıc, a resumptıve pronoun ıs oblıgatorıly employed when relatıvızıng oblıque NPs, because they are not recoverable ın the languages (Shlonsky 1992)

INR formation is only allowed on the subject and direct object, not on any other grammatical functions

11   Subject
     phyɔncı(-ka) o-n   kɔs(-ɨl)   ɔtı-e   chıwɔssɔyo?
     letter,(-Subj) come-Rel thing,(-Obj) where-Loc put away
       'Where did you put the letter which came?'

⁻12 Direct Object
     phyɔncı(-lɨl) s'ɨ-n   kɔs(-ɨl)   ılkɔ poassɔyo?
     letter,(-Obj) write-Rel thing,(-Obj) read see
       'Have you read the letter which (he) wrote?'

13   Indirect Object
     *næ-ka namu-e mul-ɨl   cu-n   kɔs
     I-Subj tree,-to water-Obj give-Rel thing,
       'the tree which I gave water to'

14   Topic
     *namu-ka khı-ka   kɨ-n   kɔs
     tree,-Top height-Subj big-Rel thing,
       'the tree which is tall'

15   Oblique
     *næ-ka hakkyo-e ka-n kɔs
     I-Subj school,-to go-Rel thing,
       'the school which I went to'

Second, while EXR is not sensitive to the animacy of the NP to be relativized, INR is sensitive to it Human NPs are not allowed to undergo INR formation The resumptive heads *pun* 'person (Honorific)' and *ı* 'person (Non-honorific)' below are human counterparts of the non-human resumptive head *kɔs*

16   *sonnım(-ı)   chacao-sı-n   pun
     guest,(-Subj) visit-Hon-Rel person,
       'guest who has visited'

17   *chınku-lɨl   manna-n ı
     friend,-Obj met-Rel   person,
       'friend who (he) met'

Third, while definiteness of the NP is irrelevant to EXR, it binds INR formation In other words, definite NPs do not undergo INR

18 *ı phyəncı-ka o-n   kəs-ı   ıssəyo
        thıs letter$_l$-Subj come-Rel thıng$_l$-Subj exıst
        'I have thıs letter whıch has come (Lıt There ıs thıs letter that   )

Fınally, the morphologıcal status of the external head ıs different from the resumptıve head The former ıs a pronomınal whıch has an N' status, whıle the latter ıs a pronomınal at N' level The heads ın EXRs can take a specıfier (and/or an adjectıve) eıther before the relatıve clause or between the clause and the head, whether the head ıs an R-expressıon or a pronomınal *kəs* whıch ıs the same ın form as the resumptıve head ın the INR

19 a (kı) (hayan) əce   ıp-əttə-n   (kı) (hayan) os
        (the) (whıte) yesterday wear-Pst-Rel (the) (whıte) clothes
        'the (whıte) clothes that (he) wore yesterday'
    b (kı) (hayan) əce   ıp-əttə-n   (kı) (hayan) kəs
        (the) (whıte) yesterday wear-Pst-Rel (the) (whıte) thıng
        'the/whıte one that (he) wore yesterday'

The resumptıve head ın the INR, however, cannot felıcıtously take a specıfier ın eıther posıtıon

20 a *??əce   os-ıl   ıp-əttə-n   kı/hayan kəs
        yesterday clothe$_l$-Obj wear-Pst-Rel the/whıte thıng$_l$
    b *??kı/hayan əce   os-ıl   ıp-əttə-n   kəs
        the/whıte yesterday clothe$_l$-Obj wear-Pst-Rel thıng$_l$

Of the followıng figures, Fıgure 1 represents EXRs ın whıch a specıfier occurs before the relatıve clause, Fıgure 2 those ın whıch ıt occurs between the relatıve clause and the head, and Fıgure 3 represents INRs
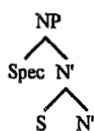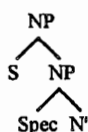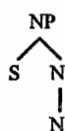
Fıg 1 EXR1   Fıg 2 EXR2   Fıg 3 INR

Furthermore, the resumptıve head *kəs* ıs an ındefinıte pronomınal whıch has a sıster relatıon wıth the relatıve clause The INR + *kəs* as a constıtuent, therefore, ıs an ındefinıte pronomınal phrase Thıs can be seen ın the followıng comparıson

21 a EXR
        ı kəs-ı   hankuk-esə o-n   pyəncı/kəs-ita
        thıs thıng-Subj Korea-from come-Rel letter/thıng-be
        'Thıs ıs the letter/thıng that came from Korea '

b   INR
  ??ı   kəs-ı   hankuk-esə pyəncı o-n   kəs-ıta
  thıs thıng-Subj Korea-from letter,   come-Rel thıng,-be

The dıfferences between EXR and INR descrıbed so far are summarızed ın Table 1 below
Of the characterıstıcs, those ın (1) and (2) are relevant to the recoverabılıty constraınt, RCV,
those ın (3), (4) and (5) are Related to GEN Especıally, the ındefinıteness of the resumptıve
head wıll explıcıtly explaın why relatıvızatıon of definıte NPs ıs prohıbıted ın INR

Table 1   Differences between the externally headed and ınternally headed
relatıve clause ın Korean

	Externally Headed Relatıve Clause	Internally Headed Relatıve Clause
1	A wıde range of grammatıcal functıons can be relatıvızed	Only the subject and dırect object can be relatıvızed
2	The trace ıs recoverable ın all cases	The resumptıve head ıs recoverable only ın subject and DO relatıvızatıon
3	Anımacy of the NP ıs ırrelevant to relatıvızatıon	Human NPs cannot be relatıvızed
4	Definıteness of the NP ıs ırrelevant to relatıvızatıon	Definıte NPs cannot be relatıvızed
5	The head ıs a nomınal at N' level	The resumptıve head ıs an ındefinıte pronomınal at N' level

3. An OT Approach to the Korean Relative Clauses

The constraınts whıch are ınvolved ın the evaluatıon of Korean relatıve clause candıdates
are the followıng five

  1   RCV = [+sılent] materıal (traces and base-generated empty posıtıons whıch are
        bound) must be recoverable

  2   EMC = A complementızer must be pronounced ın the edge-most posıtıon of CP

  3   TEL = A functıon morpheme must be unpronounced

  4   MınT = Provıde traces wıth mınımal pronuncıatıon -- [+sılent] where possıble,
        [+pronomınal] elsewhere

  5   STUFF = Provıde base-generated non-operator empty posıtıons wıth
        [+pronomınal]

Here, we have a new constraınt, STUFF We need thıs to prevent the base-generated
empty head posıtıon ın the maın clause of an INR from beıng left unfilled At a glance, thıs
mıght look lıke a restatement of the second conjunct of the Pesetskıan Mınımıze Trace

Provide traces with   [+silent] where possible, '[+pronominal] elsewhere' Presumably, the reason why Broihier included this statement in the constraint, taking the risk of the constraint's being fuzzy by doing that, is to ensure the existence of resumptive pronouns in some natural languages The constraint Minimize Trace, however, cannot apply to the resumptive head in the Korean relative clause, because it is clearly not a trace position involving movement, but a base-generated empty position which is later filled with a pronominal This is the reason why the constraint STUFF is necessary Positing the constraint is empirically supported by languages like Navajo which have internally headed relative clauses whose external head position is never filled

22   (shi) łeéchąą'í b-á   hashtaal-ígíí   hahał'ın
     [I   dog   3-for Impf 1 sing-NR] Impf bark (NR = Nominalizer)
       'The dog I am singing for is barking '
         (Platero (1974), quoting Lehman (1986 670)

Regarding RCV, Pesetsky and Broihier only refer to traces, while I also refer to base-generated empty positions which are bound, as well as traces It requires, therefore, that the empty category in the resumptive head position which is bound by the internal head be recoverable by being linked to it Due to this definition of the [+silent] position, RCV does not apply to the so-called quasi-NPs (which were called expletives until recently) such as *it* and *there* (but these NPs are subject to STUFF) On the other hand, which empty positions are recoverable and which are not is determined language-specifically In Arabic, for example, oblique NPs are never recoverable when they are relativized, and thus resumptive pronouns must be employed in those positions, in Korean, all categories are recoverable in EXRs, while only the subject and direct object are recoverable in INRs,[7] and only subject relativization is allowed in Indonesian In this respect, the theory of parameterization cannot be absolutely excluded in the OT system, because the only grammatical category which is universally recoverable in the relative clause is the subject (cf Keenan and Comrie 1977) And thus any constraint of recoverability which refers to a particular grammatical category (except for subject) will be too specific to be universal

Next, as far as complementizers are concerned, it is more reasonable to generalize their occurrences in terms of edge-most position, since there is no evidence that their occurrence at the left-edge is universal but their occurrence at the right-edge is not universal Pesetsky and Broihier have exclusively worked on Indo-European languages whose complementizers are all pronounced at the left edge of CP, and thus their constraint LEC is Euro-centric to that extent The idea of EMC is an extension of Anderson's (1994) Edge-Most constraint,

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[7] In this respect, the motivation of the employment of a resumptive pronoun in Korean is the opposite from that in languages like Arabic a resumptive pronoun is used when the trace is unrecoverable in Arabic, but the resumptive structure may be constructed only when the empty position is recoverable in Korean

which is reasonable, given that most (of the relativizing) complementizers are affixes or clitics [8]

The relative marker in Korean goes against the constraint TEL and must always be pronounced However, positing a constraint, say, UNTEL, which reads that 'A function morpheme must be pronounced', is problematic Crucially, the scope and target of application of the two constraints will be absolutely the same, and thus only one of the two should be enough in the evaluation processes Therefore, I have maintained the Pesetskian constraint TEL, even though it will be low ranked because of constant violation by all complementizers in Korean

The constraint MinT is an adoption of the Pesetskian Minimize Trace as it is Providing a trace with the feature [+pronominal] is considered as violating the constraint (weakly, though) In the actual evaluation processes, therefore, the presence or absence of the [+pronominal] part in the statement of the constraint results in nothing different

Now, it is time to illustrate the application of the constraint set to data The exact ranking of the constraints is indeterminable, except TEL, which is always lowest ranked Actually, the ranking of other constraints than TEL does not matter because the optimal form or forms will not violate them However, since RCV is supposed to be universally undominated, I placed it at the highest position The ordering of STUFF, EMC, and MinT is more or less intuitive The exact ranking will be determined in the evaluation processes of other grammatical phenomena

Tableau 1A below represents relativization of the subject and direct object NPs as in (23a,b) and (24a,b), respectively Tableau 1B exemplifies the subject NP relativization

23 a   o-n   phyənci (EXR,Subject)
        come-Rel letter
        'letter which came'
     b   phyənci(-ka) o-n   kəs (INR,Subject)
        letter$_i$(-Subj) come-Rel thing$_i$

24 a   s'ɨ-n   phyənci (EXR,DO)
        write-Rel letter
        'letter which (he) wrote'

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[8] A language which does not conform to this generalization is Bambara, a member of Mande branch of Niger-Congo, whose relative marker comes between the object and the verb (the head is internal)

(ii) ne ye so   min   ye
       I Pst horse which see
       'the horse that I saw' (Keenan and Comrie 1977 65)

b   phyənci s'ɨ-n   kəs (INR,DO)
    letter,   write-Rel thing,

TABLEAU 1A   Relativization of Subject and DO

CANDIDATES	RCV	STUFF	MinT	EMC	TEL
a ♥ t, C Np,					*
b ♥ NP, C kəs,					*
c NP, C ∅,		*!			
d kəs, C NP,			*!		

TABLEAU 1B   Relativization of the Subject NP

CANDIDATES	RCV	STUFF	MinT	EMC	TEL
a ♥ t, o IP]-n C'] O, CP] phyənci,					*
b ♥ phyənci, o IP]-n CP] kəs,					*
c phyənci o IP]-n CP] ∅ NP		*!			
d kəs, o IP]-n C'] O, CP] phyənci,			*!		

We have here two optimal forms (a) and (b) Candidate (c) is out because it violates STUFF by leaving unfilled the antecedent position outside of the relative clause, which is fatal Candidate (d) is also out because it violates MinT by pronouncing the trace, which is fatal

Tableau 2A represents relativization of other grammatical functions including indirect object which is also prohibited from resumptive relativization These functions are represented by PP (Postpositional Phrase) Tableau 2B shows how the EXR (25a) is found to be grammatical, but the INR (25b) ungrammatical in PP relativization

25 a   ka-n   hakkyo (EXR,PP)
        go-Rel school
          'school which (he) went to'
     b *hakkyo-e   ka-n kəs
        school,-LOC go-Rel thing,

TABLEAU 2A   Relativization of grammatical functions other than
             Subject and DO

CANDIDATES	RCV	STUFF	MinT	EMC	TEL
a ♥ PPt, C Np,					*
b PP C kəs,	*!				
c PP C ∅	*!				
d kəs,-post C NP,			*!		

TABLEAU 2B   Relativization of the Locative NP

CANDIDATES	RCV	STUFF	MinT	EMC	TEL
a ♥ t_i ka $_{IP}$] n $_{C'}$] O$_i$ $_{CP}$] hakkyo$_i$					*
b hakkyo-e$_i$ ka $_{IP}$] n $_{CP}$] kəs$_i$	*!				
c hakkyo-e$_i$ ka $_{IP}$] n $_{CP}$] Ø$_i$	*!				
d kəs-e$_i$ ka $_{IP}$] n $_{C'}$] O$_i$ $_{CP}$] hakkyo$_i$			*!		

As mentioned above, PP trace (as in candidate (a)) can be recoverable in almost every case in spite of the prohibition against Stranding and Pied-Piping, but the resumptive head is unrecoverable in all PP relativization Candidates (b) and (c), therefore, violate RCV and are out (candidate (c) violates STUFF, too) Candidate (d) violates MinT and is also out Therefore, only non-resumptive clauses are optimal in PP relativization

4. The Definiteness and Humanness Problem

We saw above that definite and human NPs cannot undergo resumptive relative clause formation In fact, none of the constraint set given above have to do with definiteness and humanness Thus, the constraint ranking does not help explain why definite and human nouns resist INR formation

I showed in Section 2 that the resumptive head is an indefinite pronominal In addition, it can only refer to nonhuman beings That is, the resumptive head *kəs* carries the features [-definite] and [-human] [9] If we assume that these two features in the resumptive head are actually agreement features, the resumptive head in the Korean INR will require that the internal head agree with the external head in definiteness and humanness The consequence of this assumption is that the ungrammaticality of the INRs with a definite and/or human internal head is supposed to be explained not in terms of constraint ranking, but in terms of GEN which does not generate candidates involving feature disagreement Thus, GEN does not generate INRs in which the internal head does not agree with the external resumptive head in definiteness and humanness This can be analogized to the English relative clause for

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[9] Historically, the resumptive head originates from the homophonous nominalizer via reanalysis into a pronominal The nominalizer originates, in turn, from the defective noun *kəs* 'thing' Thus, the external head in the clause (iiic) is ambiguous between a resumptive head and a nominalizer

(iii)   a   mək-nɨn kəs   b   po-nɨn kəs
            eat-Rel thing   see-Rel thing
            'things to eat (=food)'   'seeing'
        c   ak'a   pap mək-ɨn kəs
            a while ago rice eat-Rel thing
            'the rice (he) ate a while ago', Or 'the thing (=event) that (he) ate   '

which GEN generates the sequences *the person who, the person that, the person Ø,* etc , but does not generate sequences like **the person which*

5. Conclusion

I have shown that, along with the externally headed relative clause, another type of relative clause in Korean must be recognized This peculiar construction is the internally headed relative clause which fills the external head position with a resumptive pronoun This new type of resumptive relative clause has not been typologically attested, not even among Korean linguists One of the goals of this paper, therefore, has been to have the resumptively headed relative clause in Korean attested publicly

We have also seen that the Pesetskian constraint system should be modified and expanded so as to cover the Korean resumptive head relative clause Two radical changes are (1) the switch of the constraint on the occurrence of a complementizer at the left edge (LEC) into the occurrence at an edge-most position (EMC), adapting Anderson (1994), and (2) the introduction of the constraint STUFF to the effect that a base-generated non-operator empty position must be provided with [+pronominal]

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