This paper aims to evaluate Cinque’s (2010) universal theory of adjectival noun modification by applying it to Korean. Along the way, I identify the syntactic positions of various adjectival expressions in the language, a topic that has received little attention in the literature. The central claim is that, on the whole, Korean fits in with some of the typological generalizations made on adjectival categories, but morpho-syntactically complex adjectival expressions display greater syntactic and semantic versatilities than what Cinque’s theory allows for, and hence a more flexible analysis such as Larson’s (1998, 2000) would be more suitable for the Korean case.

Key words: direct vs. indirect noun modifiers, adjectives, relative clauses, adjective ordering restrictions

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