

## Non-morphological Determination of Nominal Particle Ordering in Korean<sup>\*</sup>

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In this paper, we argue that syntactic principles are better-suited to accounting for the complexities of morpheme ordering of nominal inflectional particles in Korean. We address the arguments made in Sells (1995, 1997) and Cho and Sells (1995) that syntactic principles are incapable of providing a principled account of morpheme order in Korean inflectional morphology and show that syntactic approaches are superior conceptually and empirically to the lexicalist analyses proposed in the papers.

### 1. Introduction -- Morphosyntactic Status of Nominal Particles

Investigation of the morphosyntactic status of the nominal particles in the agglutinative East Asian languages such as Japanese and Korean has been a matter of on-going debate for some time now (Cho & Sells 1995; Sells 1995, 1997; Yoon 1994, 1995; Nishiyama 1996; Koopman 2003; *inter alia*). The debate has revolved around the question of whether the nominal particles such as those highlighted in (1) below are affixes added to the nominal root in the morphology, as sketched in (2a), or whether some or all of the nominal particles should be treated as heads of functional (adpositional) projections in the syntax, as illustrated in (2b).<sup>1</sup>

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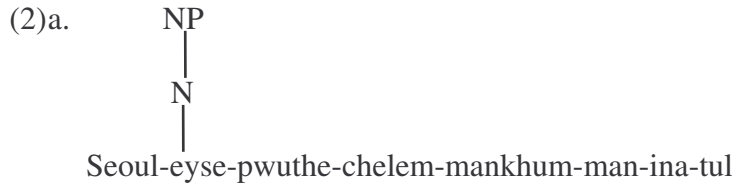
\* The ideas reported in this paper were presented in different incarnations as class lectures at the LSA Summer Institute, Cornell University (1997), at the Workshop on the Syntax of East Asian Languages at the University of Southern California (1998), as an invited lecture at the Fall meeting of the Linguistic Association of Korea in Jeonju, Korea (1998), a departmental colloquium at the University of California, Davis (1998), and at the Conference on Perspectives on Clitic and Affix Order, held during the LSA Summer Institute, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (1999).

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<sup>1</sup> The Korean data in this paper are transcribed using the Yale romanization system (Martin 1992). The following is the list of common abbreviations used in morpheme glosses throughout the paper:

NOM=(plain) nominative; GEN=genitive; ACC=accusative; DAT=(plain) dative; ABL=ablative; LOC=locative; INST=instrumental; COMIT=comitative; TOP=topic; HON=honorific; CON.PL=concordial plural; PART=locativizing noun meaning 'on the part of'; PL=plural; MOD=modal; DECL=declarative; IMPER=imperative; INTER=interrogative; PRS=present; PST=past; FUT=future; COMP=complementizer; CONJ=conjunction; NEG=negative; COP=copula; NML=nominalizer; ADN=adnominal; HUM=human; CL=classifier; PASS=passive; ANIM=animate; INANIM=inanimate.

- (1) Seoul-eyse-pwuthe-chelem-mankhum-man-ina-tul    hay-la (H-B Lim 1996)  
 Seoul-LOC-ABL-LIKE-AS.MUCH-ONLY-LIKE-CON.PL    do-IMPER  
 ‘(You all) behave at least in much the same way you have been since you were in Seoul.’



- (2)b. [#####<sub>[NP/DP Seoul]-eyse<sub>P</sub>]-pwuthe<sub>P</sub>]-chelem<sub>P</sub>]-mankhum<sub>P</sub>]-man<sub>Del</sub>]-ina<sub>Del</sub>]-tul<sub>Del</sub>]</sub>

The analysis sketched in (2a) conforms broadly to the assumptions of lexicalism, while that sketched in (2b) represents the position that the particles and their hosts form separate constituents in the syntax and are only put together in the phonology.

That there are two contrasting positions on the proper analysis of nominal particles owes in large measure to the fact that particles such as those shown in (1) above do not lend themselves to an easy morphological classification. Specifically, the particles behave neither as prototypical, lexical, affixes nor as simple, bound word, clitics.

Clitics and particles are two types of dependent, or prosodically weak, elements whose distinctness is recognized in both traditional and generative research. In the generative tradition, a widely cited articulation of the differences between clitics and affixes can be found in Zwicky and Pullum (1983). The criteria they propose to distinguish affixes from clitics deal mostly with morphological (ir)regularity and properties that can be attributed to the different loci where the host-affix (and host-clitic) cluster is formed.<sup>2</sup> While these criteria are widely accepted, especially in lexicalist circles, it is not without problems. For example, Heggie and Ordonez (this volume) show that the criteria yield indeterminate results in many cases.

In a similar vein, Lapointe (1996) observed that elements that are called phrasal affixes (Nevis 1985; Poser 1985; Zwicky 1987; Yoon 1987, 1995; Lapointe 1990; Miller 1991; Halpern 1995, etc.) are problematic for the attempt to shoehorn dependent elements into the clitic vs. affix dichotomy. Phrasal affixes (also called edge affixes or lexical clitics) possess properties of both lexical affixes and simple clitics. These properties are exemplified by the English possessive, which is an example of a phrasal affix (Lapointe 1996:76):<sup>3</sup>

- a. They attach to an item on a phrase’s margin rather than to the head:

- (3)a. The woman in the front seat’s hat

<sup>2</sup> For example, they propose that while the host-affix cluster (e.g., *haven’t*) can undergo syntactic rules, the host-clitic cluster (*you’ve*) does not. Under the assumption that cliticization follows syntactic rules and affixation precedes syntax, the differential behavior of the two clusters can be accounted for.

Another difference states that clitics follow particles, but not vice versa. Again, the ordering of components where affixation and cliticization take place can account for the generalization.

<sup>3</sup> There is another use of the term phrasal affix. In Anderson (1982), clitics are analyzed as phrasal affixes. Since we are distinguishing simple clitics from phrasal affixes, we are excluding this interpretation.

- b. \*The woman's in the front seat heat
- b. They show morphological (e.g., haplology) and phonological alternation properties (e.g., allomorphy) that is typical of lexical affixes, rather than clitics:
  - (4) toy-'s[z] vs. map-'s[s] vs. moss-'s[lz]
  - (5) Chris's book vs. \*Macdonalds's hamburgers
- c. They appear outside lexical affixes:
  - (6) Childr-en-'s books vs. \*Childr-'s-en books
- d. They cannot be attached outside the phrase that they have scope over, unlike clitics:
  - (7) a. The woman in the front seat's hat
  - b. \*The woman in the front seat hat's
- e. They can appear separately in each conjunct of a coordinate structure:
  - (8) Rocky's Bullwinkle's, and Boris's plans
- f. They can appear in a single conjunct, with their syntactic-semantic force distributing over the entire coordinate structure:
  - (9) [Rocky, Bullwinkle, and Boris]'s plans

Properties (b), (d) and (e) are expected if the possessive is a lexical affix. However, properties (a), (c), and (f) are those expected if the possessive were a clitic. As readers can verify for themselves, a true lexical affix, such as the nominal plural affix in English, does not exhibit the latter three properties.

The nominal particles in Korean behave as phrasal affixes, rather than as lexical affixes or simple clitics. This behavior is exemplified below. (10) shows that when the right edge of a phrase is not its Head (as in a DP containing a post-head appositive modifier), the particle attaches to the right edge rather than to the Head. (11a-b) and (12) show that the Nominative particle displays allomorphy and in turn causes stem allomorphy with certain stems. (13) shows that it attaches after lexical affixes. (14) shows that it must attach within the phrase it is associated with syntactically and semantically, unlike certain clitics. Finally, (15) shows that the particle can appear in each conjunct separately or once in a coordinate structure, with its interpretive force distributing over the entire coordinate structure.

- (10)a. Chomsky, ku enehakca-ka o-ass-ta  
 C dem linguist-nom come-pst-decl
- b. \*Chomsky-ka ku enehakca o-ass-ta  
 C-nom dem linguist come-pst-decl  
 'Chomsky, the linguist, came.'

- (11)a. Chomsky-ka/\*-i o-ass-ta  
 C-nom come-pst-decl  
 'Chomsky came'
- b. Postal-\*ka/-i o-ass-ta  
 P-nom come-pst-decl  
 'Postal came.'
- (12) na vs. \*na-ka vs. nay-ka  
 I I-nom I-nom
- (13) kyoswu-tul-i vs. \*kyoswu-ka-tul  
 professor-pl-nom professor-nom-pl
- (14)a. Chomsky, ku enhakca-ka onul o-ass-ta  
 C dem linguist-nom today come-pst-decl
- b. \*Chomsky, ku enhakca onul-i o-ass-ta  
 C dem linguist today-nom come-pst-decl  
 'Chomsky, the linguist, came today.'
- (15)a. Chomsky-ka kuliko Postal-i o-ass-ta  
 C-nom and P-nom come-pst-decl
- b. Chomsky-wa Postal-i o-ass-ta  
 C-and P-nom come-pst-decl  
 'Chomsky and Postal came.'

Now, the existence of a class of dependent elements that is intermediate between typical affixes and clitics is interesting in and of itself. However, it may not be immediately obvious how this fact bears on the proper analysis of nominal particles in Korean. As we shall see, it does, when certain other assumptions are brought into the picture.

The argument in Sells (1995) and Cho and Sells (1995) is based on the supposition that there are only two types of dependent elements in natural languages (see Lapointe 1996:78ff for discussion). That is, they deny the existence of phrasal affixes. If there are no phrasal affixes, then the nominal particles in Korean must be clitics or affixes. And since the particles do not have the phonological and morphological properties of simple clitics, they conclude that the particles must be affixes.

Now, in lexicalist approaches to morphosyntax, the classification of a weak element as affix or clitic has important repercussions. Strict adherence to the Lexical Integrity Hypothesis (Lapointe 1980, Di Sciullo and Williams 1987, Bresnan and Mchombo 1995, etc.) dictates that an affix cannot be a formative in the syntax, while a clitic, though prosodically dependent on its host, is an independent syntactic formative. Thus, the decision to treat the nominal particles as affixes automatically rules out a syntactic analysis of the particles.

By contrast, in approaches to morphosyntax where syntax is implicated in the formation of certain types of words (for example, Baker 1988, Pollock 1989), the exact morphological status of a dependent element does not prejudice the domain where it combines with its host. Clitics, of course, are analyzed as syntactically autonomous from their hosts in this research tradition, but so are certain dependent elements that have the undisputable status of affixes – for example, rightly or wrongly, the affixes found in English verbal inflection have long been held to be syntactically autonomous from their hosts (Chomsky 1957, Pollock 1989). Given that nominal particles in Korean do not always behave like lexical affixes, it is not surprising that syntactic approaches to Korean morphosyntax have adopted the view that the nominal particles are syntactically autonomous from their hosts.

The larger issue framing the debate then is whether lexicalist methodology as pursued in Sells (1995, 1996, 1997) and Cho and Sells (1995) that pays due attention to the morphosyntactic status of a dependent element is correct, or whether the syntactically informed approach that downplays it can be sustained. The particular argument in favor of the lexicalist position launched in the papers cited above is that the decision to treat the nominal particles as affixes, hence invisible to syntactic rules, is justified not only on morphophonological grounds, but also on morphosyntactic and theoretical grounds. In particular, the charge is that syntactic analyses fail to provide a principled account of the fixed, template-like ordering of nominal particles. Syntactic principles, it is held, are too coarse-grained to account for the actual intricacies of particle ordering. And once the relevant morphological constraints are developed, they suffice to explain the ordering of particles, rendering superfluous the positing of syntactic functional heads and the accompanying technology of syntactic head movement that brings the particles and the root together to form a word.<sup>4</sup>

My goal in this paper is to demonstrate that syntactic principles, once carefully articulated, are capable of providing a principled account of nominal particle ordering in Korean that is superior both conceptually and empirically to lexicalist analyses. In this, I am delivering on a promissory note made earlier (Yoon 1995) where the conjecture was put forth that there may be fewer restrictions of a purely morphological nature on the attachment and sequencing of particles than envisaged in the lexicalist analyses of Sells (1995) and Cho and Sells (1995), but where no concrete analysis was given.

I will not address the arguments showing that the particles have the phonological and morphological properties of affixes, for reasons given a few paragraphs earlier. Instead, my focus will be on the morphosyntactic arguments advanced against syntactic analyses. In fact, the focus will be even narrower, since I will propose detailed reanalyses of the arguments against the syntactic position that have been made on the basis of nominal particles in Korean, leaving aside similar arguments based on verbal inflection or those based on Japanese.

These restrictions notwithstanding, I believe the present exercise is worth the effort. A facile and shallow reanalysis is always possible, but rarely withstands the test of changing theoretical climates or the discovery of related generalizations in the language under investigation. In the same vein, I believe that even though the central papers that I am reacting to appear dated, they

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<sup>4</sup> For verbal affixes in Korean, there have been a number of proposals showing that the template-like ordering of affixes can be explained through an independently motivated hierarchy of verbal functional projections (J-M Yoon 1990; Yoon 1994; J-M Jo 2000, 2003, for example). However, there has been no comparable work on nominal particles in the Principles-and-Parameters tradition. This discrepancy is interesting, since traditional and descriptive grammars of Korean have always analyzed nominal particles as syntactically autonomous from their hosts, in contrast to verbal affixes for which a lexical treatment is assumed.

are still worth addressing since to date, there is no definitive response to the arguments put forth in the papers that syntactic approaches to Korean/Japanese morphosyntax (and more generally) are fundamentally flawed.<sup>5</sup>

The organization of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I present three arguments from Sells (1995) against the syntactic analysis of nominal particles. Section 3 evaluates the adequacy of morphological templates as the theoretical explanation of the particle ordering for Korean. Section 4 offers a syntactic reanalysis of the second and third arguments introduced in section 2. Section 5 concludes the paper.

## 2. Lexicalist Critique of Syntactic Analyses

In this section, I present three arguments from Sells (1995) based on Korean nominal particles designed to show empirical and theoretical difficulties with syntactically oriented analyses. A reanalysis of the first argument is given, while the rebuttal of the second and third arguments is reserved for section 4.

### 2.1. Non-local C-selection

The first argument against the syntactic analysis of Korean nominal particles is based on assumptions about the locality of c-selection (or subcategorization -- see also K-Y Choi 1991). Under the assumption that nominal particles are functional heads, the verb *cwu-* ('give') in (29) below must c-select its Dative-marked complement across two layers of functional projections headed respectively by *-man* (X-Delimiter) and *-(n)un* (Z-Delimiter). This violates the standard assumption in the literature that c-selection is local, thereby weakening the syntactic position that takes these particles to be heads in the syntax. On the other hand, if the particles are attached in the lexicon to the nominal and the nominal is projected as a single syntactic atom, selection can remain local.

- (16) Swuni-**hanthey**-man-un cwu-ess-ta<sup>6</sup>  
 S-DAT-ONLY-TOP give-PST-DECL  
 '(I gave it) to only Swuni.'

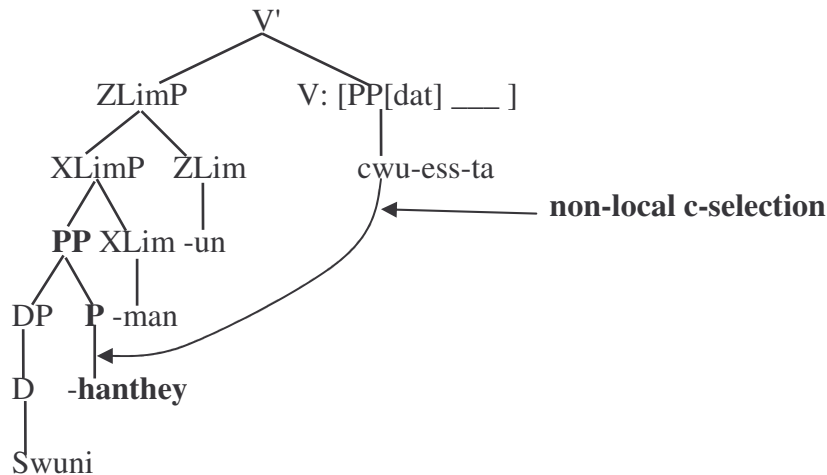
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<sup>5</sup> A recent response that comes close to being comprehensive is Koopman (2003). However, it is couched in a highly flexible syntactic framework (antisymmetry theory with massive remnant movement) that has excessive descriptive power. I doubt that lexicalists will be swayed by the counterarguments offered there since the descriptive power of the framework is virtually unlimited. Besides, the thrust of the paper is that syntactic counterarguments can be developed, rather than showing that the arguments in favor of a lexicalist treatment are flawed. The responses and counterarguments offered here go much beyond, as we shall see.

<sup>6</sup> I have labeled the projections headed by *-man* and *-un* as XLimP and ZLimP respectively, since what is at issue is not the exact identity of the projections, but the fact that they project additional levels of structure if they are treated as syntactic heads. Even if the particles are not heads but adjuncts syntactically adjoined to PP (Chae & No 1998), the problem of non-local c-selection remains.

X-Lim and Z-Lim are terms introduced in I-S Yang (1972) as descriptive classifications of non-case-marking particles with semantic-pragmatic functions. The variables X and Z designate the templatic position of the delimiting particles. See table (23) for a representative list of nominal particles.





However, as already pointed out in Yoon (1991) in response to an earlier version of Sells (1995), this argument is weak at best. It is not the case that any nominal affix can intervene between Dative morpheme and the verb that c-selects it. The nominal affix *-se*, which combines with the Dative morpheme to form the Ablative, is prohibited from intervening between *-hanthey* and verbs like *cwu-* that c-select a Dative. This is shown in (17a) below.

- (17)a. \*Swuni-hanthey-se      cwu-ess-ta  
           S-DAT-ABL              give-PST-DECL  
           ‘gave from Swuni’
- b. Swuni-hanthey-se      pat-ass-ta  
           S-DAT-ABL              receive-PST-DECL  
           ‘received from Swuni’

The morpheme sequence *N-hanthey-se* is acceptable when the verb is one that c-selects an Ablative, as shown in (17b).

What then is the difference between morphemes like *-man*, *-un* and those like *-se* such that the former but not the latter can intervene between the verb and the c-selected morpheme? Yoon (1991) argues that the relevant difference between the two types of morphemes is that the former are category-neutral (see Chae & No 1998; Nishiyama 1996 for similar conclusions), while the latter are Postpositions with their own categorial specifications.

It is clear that any theory must allow selectional requirements to be met in an apparently non-local manner when what intervenes between the c-selected constituent and the selecting head are category-neutral elements. This is seen in the following examples from English.

- (18)a. John emerged [**from** [behind the curtain]]      *emerge*: [ \_\_ PP[from]]  
       b. \*John hid [from [**behind** the curtain]]      *hid*: [ \_\_ PP[behind]]  
       c. John hid [even [**behind** the curtain]]

In (18) above, *emerge* selects a PP headed by *from*, while *hide* selects a PP headed by *behind*. Under the assumption that c-selection must be local and that both *from* and *behind* are categorially specified Prepositions, we predict that (18b) will be ill-formed. The PP headed by

*behind* is separated by another PP headed by *from*. In contrast, the presence of additional structure introduced by the category-neutral particle *even* does not interfere with selectional locality, as we can see from the well-formed (18c). The difference between *even* and *from* is that while the former is category-neutral, the latter is not.

In the same way, we can account for the difference between (17a) and (17b) above. In the syntactic approach, *-hanthey* and *-se* both head PPs. In (17a), the verb *cwu-* requires a Dative-marked complement, but the Dative Postposition is embedded inside another PP headed by the Postposition *-se*, leading to a violation of local c-selection. In contrast, since the morphemes that intervene between the verb and the c-selected morpheme in (16) are category-neutral, the locality of c-selection will not be violated, just as it is not in (18). I conclude therefore that the first argument that Sells presents against syntactic analyses is without force.<sup>7</sup>

The next two arguments against syntactic analyses focus on the inability of the particles-as-syntactic heads hypothesis to account for the actual complexities of particle ordering. There are two cases exemplifying this sort of problem.

## 2.2. Problem of Underlying Structure

Sells (1995) argues that the assumption that all the nominal particles in (19) below are syntactic functional heads gives rise to a number of problems.

- (19) *sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse-man-i*                                  o-si-ess-ta  
 teacher-HON-PLU-HON.NOM-ONLY-PLAIN. NOM      come-HON-PST-DECL  
 ‘Only the teachers(honorific) came(honorific).’

The affix *-kkeyse*, which Sells analyzes as an honorific Nominative case-marker, is in the morphological slot where Postpositional particles occur (cf. 23). Therefore, it would have to be the Head of a PP in the syntactic account. However, while other Postpositions mark semantic or inherent case, *-kkeyse* marks structural Nominative case. Other than the fact that it occurs in a slot where Postpositional particles occur, the particle *-kkeyse* appears to have no Postpositional properties. In the syntactic account where each slot in the particle template corresponds to a particular type of functional head, we expect each class of syntactic head to be associated with a coherent syntactic function. However, this does not seem to be the case in (19).

A related problem for the particles-as-heads approach is that in (19), Nominative case seems to be marked twice, once by *-kkeyse*, and again by *-i*, despite the fact that there is no reason to

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<sup>7</sup> In this counterargument, I have assumed that *-se* is a morpheme that is independent from *-hanthey*. Cho and Sells (1995) assume on the other hand (see table 23) that *-hantheyse* is a single morpheme. If they are correct, then the argument based on the contrast shown in (17) loses force, since under this view, locality of c-selection is not at issue in (17), only the choice of the right Postposition.

However, I believe that there are reasons to isolate *-se* as a separate morpheme, and hence to treat *hantheyse* as a morphologically (and syntactically) complex Postposition. *-se* (and also the Directive *-lo*) can combine with a range of different Postpositions and adds a predictable component of meaning. For example, it is found in the following combinations – *ey-se*(inanim.loc/dat-*se*), *kkey-se*(hon.dat-*se*), *eykey-se* (plain.anim.dat-*se*), *hantheyse*(plain.anim.colloq.dat-*se*). If *-se* were an idiosyncratic, unanalyzable, part of certain morphemes, we do not expect it to be attached with predictable regularity to the entire class of locative/dative morphemes. As readers can verify, the morpheme *-lo* behaves in a similar way.



suppose that the NP is assigned nominative case twice. Such extended exponence is typical of morphology, and not syntax.

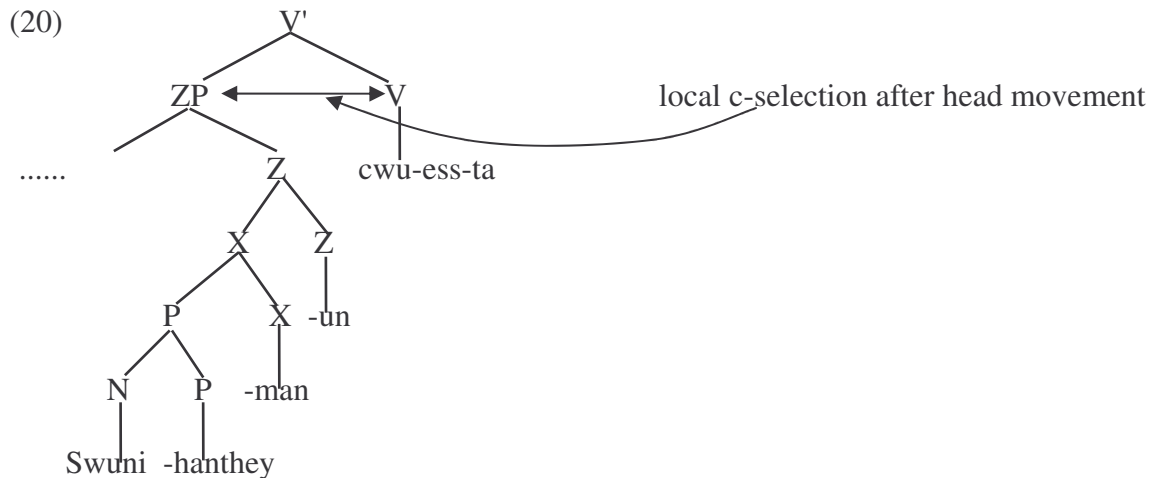
A similar argument that slot assignments are syntactically arbitrary can be made for other slots. The final slot where the Nominative case-marker *-i* occurs is occupied by structural case-markers like *-ka/-i* (Nominative), *-(l)ul* (Accusative), and *-uy* (Genitive). But along with case-marking particles, those that mark semantic or pragmatic functions such as *-(n)un* (Topic) and *-to* (Inclusive Scalar Focus) are also found. All five particles are mutually exclusive in this slot. Therefore, in the syntactic analysis, they would have to be assigned to a single functional category. However, it is difficult to find properties that are shared between structural case-markers and the latter two particles.

### 2.3. Paradox of Movement and Selection

The third argument that Sells offers is also directed towards highlighting the inability of syntactic approaches to account for combinatorial restrictions on particles. With regard to the problem of non-local c-selection, Sells (1995) suggests a possible way out. He then argues that the solution in turn leads to another analytic paradox.

While the solution that Sells argues against is a strawman in that no one has championed this particular analysis, and while we have already proposed an alternative analysis, let us evaluate the import of Sells' argument nonetheless.

Sells suggests that the problem of non-local c-selection may be overcome in the following manner under the syntactic approach. Assume that c-selection is checked not in the underlying structure shown in (16), but in the surface structure after Head Movement collects the particles and the nominal root into a single constituent and positions the moved complex in the Head position of the constituent that is sister to the c-selecting head. Selection in this configuration is local, as shown below.



Sells (1995) argues that while making such an assumption might work for the case at hand, the supposition that c-selection is checked after Head Movement fails to provide an adequate account of the following contrast (the judgments are those reported in Sells 1995).

(21)a. Swuni-hanthey-**man**-i-ta

S-DAT-ONLY-COP-DECL  
'(it is) only to Swuni'

b. \*Swuni-hanthey-**man-un**-i-ta  
S-DAT-ONLY-TOP-COP-DECL  
'(it is) only to Swuni'

c. Swuni-hanthey-**man-un**      ani-ta  
S-DAT-ONLY-ALSO              NEG.COP-DECL  
'(it isn't) only to Swuni'

The argument based on (21a-c) is as follows. In the syntactic approach, the Copula *-i(ta)*, which has particle-like properties, would presumably be analyzed as a Head which attaches to the predicate nominal DP/NP. The attachment of particles like *-man* or *-to* to the predicate DP/NP, projecting additional layers of syntactic structure and creating potential problems of non-local c-selection at D-structure, can be circumvented under the assumption just given that selection is checked after movement, since after movement, the entire complex will be a position locally selectable by the Copula. The alternative account then predicts that any type of nominal particle should be able to come between the predicate nominal and the Copula.

However, this is not the case. (21b) shows that while the *-man* series particles (X-Lims) can indeed come between the noun root and the affixal Copula, the *-un* series particles (Z-Lims) cannot. In contrast, no such restriction surfaces with the analytic negative Copula *ani-ta* in (21c). Now, one cannot account for (21c) by ordering selection before movement, given that the facts in (16) (and the analysis that Sells suggests for them in 20) demand that selection be checked after movement. Consequently, syntactic analyses face a paradox regarding the timing of c-selection satisfaction.

### 3. Lexicalist Solution of the Problems - An Evaluation

Let us now set aside the first argument, since it has been shown to be without force, and concentrate on evaluating the second and third arguments that Sells presents against analyzing nominal particles as syntactically autonomous functional heads. The second and third arguments center respectively on the inability of syntactic analyses to account for certain idiosyncracies of particle ordering and to distinguish different 'sizes' of morphological constituents. Now, to the best of my knowledge, no one has championed the particular syntactic analysis that Sells criticizes in his third argument as an account of the contrast between (21a) and (21b), so that one may charge that Sells is guilty of attacking a straw man. However, it is equally clear that the facts would pose problems for analyses where syntax alone is deemed primarily responsible for the positioning of particles. Syntactic analyses need to show how the facts could receive a principled account.

Before turning to how a syntactic account can cope with the facts, let us take a look at how the facts introduced above that were deemed problematic for syntactic approaches are accounted for under lexicalist assumptions.

#### 3.1. Lexicalist Solution Using Morphological Templates

How does a lexicalist analysis cope with the problems identified above for a syntactic account? Recall that the second argument centered on the surprising (from the point of view of syntactic analyses) position of the honorific Nominative marker *-kkeyse*, while the third of Sells's arguments was based on the unexpected restriction against attaching Z-delimiters to the predicate nominal when the affirmative Copula is attached to the nominal root.

In the lexicalist analysis defended by Sells (1995) and Cho and Sells (1995), the account of these facts relies on morphological templates. Specifically, Cho and Sells (1995) propose the following templates for the affixation of nominal, verbal, and cross-categorical/delimiting inflectional particles/affixes in Korean.

(22)a. Nominal Affixation Template: (Cho and Sells 1995: 119)

$N_{\text{root}} - \text{Post} - \text{Conj}^*$  \* = recursion allowed

b. Cross-categorical/delimiter Affixation Template:

$\langle \text{[TYPE:V-SIS]} \rangle - \text{X-Lim} - \text{Z-Lim}$

c. Verbal Affixation Template: (Cho and Sells 1995: 127)

$V^{\text{root}} - V1 - V2 - V3 - V4$  (if the host is ~TYPE, V1-V3 particles may be attached)

We need not be concerned with the verbal template here. Nor should we be concerned with the specification  $\langle \text{TYPE:V-SIS} \rangle$ , which is designed to account for cross-categorical particles (Cho and Sells 1995, Yoon 1995), as our focus here is on nominal particles.

The juxtaposition of the first two templates yields the following slot assignments for nominal inflectional particles in Korean, where left-to-right order reflects the distance from the noun root.

(23) Slot Assignments of Nominal particles: (Cho and Sells 1995:118)<sup>8</sup>

Postpositions	Conjunctives*	X-Lim	Z-Lim
<i>eykey(se)</i> 'dative'	<i>hako, (k)wa</i> 'conjunctor'	<i>man</i> 'only'	<i>(n)un</i> 'topic/focus'
<i>hanthey(se)</i> 'dative'	<i>pota</i> 'comparator'	<i>kkaci</i> 'even'	<i>to</i> 'also'
<i>ey(se)</i> 'locative'	<i>(i)na</i> 'disjunctor'	<i>mace</i> 'even'	<i>(i)lato</i> 'even'
<i>ey, (u)lo</i> 'directive'	'something like'	<i>cocha</i> 'even'	<i>i/ka</i> 'nominative'
<i>kkaci</i> 'goal'	<i>pwuthe</i> 'from'	<i>pakkey</i> 'only'	<i>(l)ul</i> 'accusative'
<i>hako, (k)wa</i> 'comit'	<i>chelem</i> 'like'		<i>uy</i> 'genitive'
<i>(u)lo</i> 'instrumental'			<i>i-</i> 'copula'
<i>kkey</i> 'hon.dative'			
<i>kkeyse</i> 'hon.nom'			

The templatic analysis of inflection particles rests on two crucial claims. One is the claim that particles belong morphologically to designated position classes, so that when they occur within a word, they come in a fixed order as demanded by the positions in the template. The second claim is that the position classes are purely morphological, with no direct correspondence to

<sup>8</sup> I have added the Copula to the Z-Lim slot, in accordance with the suggestion in Sells (1995). The Conjunctive slot is recursive, as indicated by the '\*' operator.

syntactically motivated distinctions.<sup>9</sup> It is predicted therefore that there need not be any syntactic coherence to, say, the particles belonging to the Postposition slot in the nominal template.

According to the templatic account, the reason the honorific Nominative affix *-kkeyse* appears in the Postposition slot is because it is morphologically categorized as a Postposition, and not because it shares any syntactic or semantic properties with the other particles in that slot. This provides the solution to the problem noted in (19). Even though both are Nominative case-markers, one is categorized morphologically as a Postposition while the other is a Z-Lim. Therefore, nothing in the morphology prohibits their co-occurrence. Syntactically, the honorific Nominative case-marker *-kkeyse* and the plain Nominative *-i* can co-occur in a word because at the level of functional structure, they supply the same, non-conflicting, value (=Nominative) for the CASE attribute of the nominal to which they are attached.

The same type of explanation extends to the problems surrounding the Copula we saw in (21). Under the templatic approach, the Copula, despite its significant syntactic and semantic differences from other nominal particles occupying the final slot, is categorized morphologically as a Z-Lim. Since the slot is not recursive, the presence of the Copula rules out other Z-Lim particles. In contrast, the negative Copula, being a free form, allows the predicate nominal to carry the full range of nominal particles, including the final slot particles. This is how the problem in (21) is answered in the lexicalist approach.

### 3.2. *Is Korean Nominal Morphology Templatic?*

Despite the fact that resorting to the template succeeds in providing a descriptive account of the problems raised by (19) and (21), there are several respects in which the lexicalist solution that conceives of Korean morphology as templatic is inadequate.

The first problem is that resorting to the template does not constitute an explanation of the morpheme ordering facts. The template simply recapitulates the facts to be explained, as Yoon (1995) points out. It may turn out that a reductionist explanation of the template will be unsuccessful in the end. But to stop prematurely without pursuing a possible reduction of the template to something more explanatory is to stop asking questions that may yield interesting answers. For this reason, Sells (1996, 1997) tries to explicate certain aspects of morpheme ordering described above by utilizing the principles of Optimality Theory.<sup>10</sup>

The second problem is that Korean morphology, especially the morphology of nominal particles, does not behave in a way that other templatic systems do.<sup>11</sup> These reasons were discussed in detail in earlier work (Yoon 1995). A recapitulation of some of the earlier argument is given below.

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<sup>9</sup> The choice of 'Postposition' and 'Conjunctive' as labels for the first two classes is unfortunate in this respect, since they suggest that the slots have a syntactic basis.

<sup>10</sup> An anonymous reviewer reminds me that Alsina (1999) rejects the use of templates while adopting lexicalist assumptions. The fact that even lexicalists are weary of adopting templates shows that templates, while they may be needed to account for some morphological systems, should be employed as a last resort.

<sup>11</sup> Rice (2000) summarizes many descriptive characteristics of templatic morphological systems. The goal of Rice (2000), however, is not to endorse templates as theoretical entities, but to attempt to derive templatic aspects of the Athapaskan verb from other (syntactic) principles, a goal that is similar to that pursued in this paper. An anonymous reviewer is to be thanked for bringing the reference to my attention.

As pointed out in Yoon (1995), in templatic morphology, the absence of marking in a given templatic slot can be just as significant as its presence. That is, templatic systems are characterized by what Stump (2001) aptly dubs *significant absence*. Significant absence obtains when there is a complementarity of information marking between the absent element (the ‘zero’ affix) and other overt elements competing for a given slot. The situation can be exemplified with Korean verbal inflectional affixation.

The null affix in the V1 slot (cf. the verbal template in 22c above) is always interpreted as the absence of Subject Honorification, while the null affix in the V2 slot is always interpreted as Present Tense.

(24)a. John-i      pap-ul      cis-Ø-ess-ta  
 J-NOM      meal-ACC      cook-NON.HON<sub>V1</sub>-PST-DECL  
 ‘John (plain) cooked the meal.’

a’. Emeni-ka      pap-ul      cis-**usi**-ess-ta  
 Mother-NOM      meal-ACC      cook-HON<sub>V1</sub>-PST-DECL  
 ‘Mother (honorific) cooked the meal.’

b. John-i      ttokttokha-Ø-ta  
 J-NOM      smart-PRS<sub>V2</sub>-DECL  
 ‘John is smart.’

b’. John-i      ttokttokhay-ss-ta  
 J-NOM      smart-PST<sub>V2</sub>-DECL  
 ‘John was smart.’

For the null affixes in verbal inflection, it is possible to identify the exact slot that the affix occupies, because the interpretation of the null affixes is always constant, and independent of the syntactic context in which the verb is employed. The information supplied by the null affixes is recovered through *paradigmatic opposition* in a given slot - e.g., among overt forms of V2 affixes, there is none which expresses Present Tense for stative verbs. Therefore, the absence of an affix in this slot is construed as Present Tense. In other words, the absence of an overt affix in this slot is *significant*. This situation is typical for templatic morphological systems.<sup>12</sup>

Compared to the affixes in the verbal inflectional paradigm, the particles in the nominal paradigm are quite different. First, Cho and Sells (1995) assumes that in the nominal inflectional template (cf. 22a), *every* slot is optional. This assumption is necessary since a bare noun root can stand alone without any inflectional particle. This is the first respect in which nominal inflection in Korean is unlike typical templatic systems. Most morphologists would find it odd that a system without obligatory slots could be templatic.

Secondly, even if one assumes that a bare form nominal is not bare but surfaces with at least one obligatory null particle (an assumption that Cho and Sells 1995 actually make), what we notice is that the interpretation of the null particle is context-dependent. That is, its interpretation

<sup>12</sup> Does this mean that I am endorsing the template as an account of verbal inflectional affixes? The answer is ‘no’, since there are ways to derive the apparent template-like ordering found in verbal inflectional affixes in syntactic terms (Yoon 1994, for example).

is determined *syntagmatically*, rather than *paradigmatically*. It is the syntactic context in which the bare root occurs that determines the content of the null particle. This stands in contrast to the null affixes in verbal inflection whose construal cannot be context-dependent.

For example, the presence of the honorific Nominative *-kkeyse* does nothing to alleviate the inappropriateness of the assertion in (25a) as the null V1 affix is always interpreted as Non-Honorific. Neither can the presence of a temporal adverb with past reference shift the interpretation of the null V2 affix (Present) to Past in (25b).

(25)a. \*Apenim-kkeyse chayk-ul ilk- $\emptyset_{V1}$ -ess-ta  
 Father-HON.NOM book-ACC read-NON.HON-PST-DECL  
 ‘Father (honorific) read (non-honorific) a book.’

b. \*John-i ecey-nun ttoktokha- $\emptyset_{V2}$ -ta  
 J-NOM yesterday-TOP smart-PRS-DECL  
 ‘John is smart yesterday.’

A null particle/affix whose position is difficult to determine and whose interpretation is not fixed by paradigmatic opposition in morphology but by the syntagmatic context is unlikely to receive serious endorsement from morphologists. In all likelihood, it means that such entities do not exist.<sup>13</sup>

The context-dependency of putative null nominal particles posited by Cho and Sells (1995) is exemplified in the following data, where in answers to questions, most nominal particles can be omitted. Since the missing information would have to be represented by a null particle in the system proposed in Cho and Sells (1995), we are forced to posit a wide range of null particles whose content is determined syntagmatically.

(26)a.Q: John-i mwues-**ulo** cong’i-lul callu-ess-ni?  
 J-NOM hat-INST paper-ACC cut-PST-INTER  
 ‘What did John cut the paper with?’

A: Khal-lo/Khal- $\emptyset$   
 Knife-INST/Knife-INST  
 ‘(With) a knife’

b. Q: John-i nwukwu-**hako** nol-ass-ni?  
 J-NOM who-COMIT play-PST-INTER  
 ‘Who did John play with?’

A: Mary-hako/Mary- $\emptyset$   
 M-COMIT/M-COMIT  
 ‘(With) Mary.’

<sup>13</sup> The argument presented above against the templatic analysis of Korean nominal particles does not depend crucially on representing ‘significant absence’ with a zero affix, which some find lacks theoretical motivation (Stump 2001). The point of the argument is that the properties of nominal particles do not resemble those of typical templatic systems. Namely, that there is no ‘significant absence’ at all, since the ‘meaning’ of absence of marking in a given slot is determined syntagmatically rather than paradigmatically.



- c. Q: John-i        nwukwu-**eykey**    iyakihay-ss-ni?  
       J-NOM        who-DAT        talk-PST-INTER  
       ‘Who did John talk to?’  
 A: Mary-eykey/Mary-∅  
       M-DAT/M-DAT  
       ‘(To) Mary.’

Thirdly, the fact that there are no discontinuous dependencies holding among the slots of the template in Korean nominal morphology is another respect in which it differs from typical templatic systems, as discontinuous dependencies are a hallmark of templatic systems (Rice 2000).

Finally, a serious problem for analyses that view Korean nominal inflectional morphology as templatic is that the ordering of nominal inflectional particles is not completely fixed, a fact which is quite damaging to the view that takes the system to be templatic, since templates are characterized by fixed ordering.

The first clue that ordering of nominal particles may not be completely fixed comes from the assignment of certain particles to more than one slot in Cho and Sells (1995), as we can see in table (23) introduced earlier. For example, *-kkaci* (Post and X-Lim), *-hako/-(k)wa* (Post and Conj) are assigned to more than one slot in (23). To be sure, the particles are categorized differently when they occupy different slots. *-hako* in the Post slot is claimed to function as a Comitative marker, while when it occupies the Conj slot, it is claimed to function as a Conjunction. Similarly, *-kkaci* as Post is categorized as Goal marker, while as *-kkaci* in the X-Lim slot is a Delimiter meaning ‘even’.

The claim here seems to be that these are instances of homophonous particles. However, the particles with dual categorization have too much in common to be accidentally homophonous. Take *-(k)wa*, for example. It is categorized as either a Conjunction or a Comitative case-marker. As is well-known, there is cross-linguistic similarity between co-ordinate structures and comitatives, suggesting that it may not be an accident that the morpheme is associated with these two interpretations. Similar remarks apply to *-kkaci*. As a Post, it marks the endpoint of a physical scale or location. As an X-Lim, it means ‘even’, again marking the endpoint of a scale, though not necessarily a physical one. The meanings are too similar to be an accident. If we do not accept the dual characterization of certain particles, we are led to the conclusion that the order of these particles is not fixed and that the particles may occupy more than one slot. This type of behavior is not found in true templatic systems.

In fact, the demonstration that certain nominal particles occur in more than one position can be made even if we accept the dual categorization approach. For example, *-hako* does not have a fixed morphological position even in contexts where it can only be interpreted one way -- as a Comitative case-marker. The relevant examples are found in Martin (1992:198), who notes that both *N-man-hako* and *N-hako-man* are possible for many speakers.

- |        |                                   |             |                        |            |              |
|--------|-----------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|------------|--------------|
| (27)a. | ?nehi-nun                         | icey-pwuthe | Cheli- <b>man-hako</b> | nola-la    | X-Lim > Post |
|        | you-TOP                           | now-FROM    | C-ONLY-COMIT           | play-IMPER |              |
|        | 'From now, play with only Cheli.' |             |                        |            |              |
| b.     | nehi-nun                          | icey-pwuthe | Cheli- <b>hako-man</b> | nola-la    | Post > X-Lim |
|        | you-TOP                           | now-FROM    | C-COMIT-ONLY           | play-IMPER |              |

'From now on, play only with Cheli.'

According to the system in Cho and Sells (1995), the former should not be possible since *-hako*, which occupies the Post slot, follows *-man*, an X-Lim, in violation of the ordering constraints imposed by the template in (23).

The dual categorization of *-kkaci* is also problematic. Consider the following:

- (28)a. Ne-nun    kkuth-**kkaci**<sub>POST</sub>    nama    iss-eya    ha-n-ta  
 You-TOP    end-KKACI    remain    be-COMP    do-PRS-IMPER  
 → You should remain to the end. (Post reading)
- b. Ne-nun    cip-ey-**kkaci**<sub>XLIM, \*POST</sub>    keleka-ya    ha-n-ta  
 You-TOP    home-LOC-KKACI    walk.go-COMP    do-PRS-DECL  
 → You should walk (until you reach) home. (Post-Post)  
 → You should even walk home (as well as to other places). (Post-XLim)

*-kkaci* in (28a) should admit an interpretation as Post but not X-Lim since the verb *nama iss-eya ha-n-ta* requires a locative-marked PP. In contrast, in (28b), only the delimiting interpretation ('even') is predicted to be possible since the morpheme follows a Post affix (*-ey*). This prediction is not borne out. It is possible to get a non-delimiting, locative interpretation of *-kkaci* in (28b). This reading can be clearly distinguished from the delimiting reading, as shown in the translations below the sentence. I take this to indicate that the dual categorization of *-kkaci* as a Post and X-Lim is on the wrong track, since the particle allows an interpretation associated with its Post categorization even when it is clearly positioned in the 'wrong' slot.

Other nominal particles exhibiting variable positioning can be readily found. Sometimes the alternation in morpheme order yields a contrast in meaning, as indicated in the translations below. The delimiting (X-Lim) particle *-man* is especially flexible in its positioning possibilities, as has already been illustrated above and as we see below.

- (29)a. Sokum-**man-ulo**    kimchi-lul    hay-la    XLim > Post  
 Salt-ONLY-INST    kimchi-ACC    make-IMPER  
 'Make kimchi using only salt (and no other materials).'
- a'. Sokum-**ulo-man**    kimchi-lul    hay-la    Post > XLim  
 salt-INST-ONLY    kimchi-ACC    make-IMPER  
 'Make kimchi only with salt (and not with soy sauce).'
- b. ?Cheli-**man-poko**    ola-ko    hay-la    Xlim > Post  
 C-ONLY-DAT    come-COMP    do-IMPER  
 'Tell only Cheli to come.'
- b'. Cheli-**poko-man**    ola-ko    hay-la    Post > XLim  
 C-DAT-ONLY    come-COMP    do-IMPER  
 'Tell only Cheli to come.'

- c. Cheli-**chelem-man** hay-la Conj > XLim  
 C-LIKE-ONLY do-IMPER  
 ‘Behave only/at least like Cheli.’
- c’. ?Cheli-**man-chelem** hay-la XLim > Conj  
 C-ONLY-LIKE do-IMPER  
 ‘Behave like only Cheli.’
- d. Ikes-**pakkey-man** cwu-l swu eps-eyo? Xlim > XLim  
 this-EXCEPT-ONLY give-ADN can not-DECL  
 ‘Is this all that you can give?’
- d’. ?Ikes-**man-pakkey** cwu-l swu eps-eyo? Xlim > XLim  
 this-ONLY-EXCEPT give-ADN can not-DECL  
 ‘Can you give me only this?’

However, *-man* is not alone in allowing flexible positioning. Flexible positioning is also found in combinations of other particles.

- (30)a. Kukes-**chelem-pakkey** mos hay?  
 That-LIKE-EXCEPT not do  
 ‘Is that the best you can do?’
- a’. Kukes-**pakkey-chelem** mos hay?  
 That-EXCEPT-LIKE not do  
 ‘Is that the best you can do?’
- b. Pap-**un-khenyeng** mwul-to mos masi-ess-ta  
 meal-TOP-NOT.TO.SPEAK.OF water-EVEN not drink-PST-DECL  
 ‘I couldn’t even drink water, let alone have a meal.’
- b’. Pap-**khenyeng-un** mwul-to mos masi-ess-ta  
 meal-NOT.TO.SPEAK.OF-TOP water-EVEN not drink-PST-DECL  
 ‘I couldn’t even drink water, let alone have a meal.’
- c. Kukes-**cocha-to** molu-ni?  
 that-EVEN-ALSO/EVEN not.know-INTER  
 ‘Don’t you even know that?’
- c’. ?Kukes-**to-cocha** molu-ni?  
 that-ALSO/EVEN-EVEN not.know-INTER  
 ‘Don’t you even know that?’
- d. Pap-**cocha-lul** an mek-e?  
 meal-EVEN-ACC not eat-INTER  
 ‘He doesn’t even eat his meal?’

- d'. ?Pap-**ul-cocha** an mek-e?  
meal-ACC-EVEN not eat-INTER  
'He doesn't even eat his meal?'
- e. ?Ne-**to-poko** kulay-ss-ni?  
You-ALSO-DAT say.so-PST-INTER  
'Did (s/he) say that to you too?'
- e'. Ne-**poko-to** kulay-ss-ni?  
You-DAT-ALSO say.so-PST-INTER  
'Did (s/he) say that to you too?'
- f. New York-**ccum-ey** ka-ss-keyss-ci?  
NY-ABOUT-LOC go-PST-MOD-INTER  
'(They) must now be somewhere near NY, don't you think?'
- f'. New York-**ey-ccum** ka-ss-keyss-ci?  
NY-LOC-ABOUT go-PST-MOD-INTER  
'(They) must now be somewhere near NY, don't you think?'
- g. Yeki-**eyse-pwuthe-ccum** chwulpalhay-ss-keyss-ci?  
Here-LOC-FROM-ABOUT depart-PST-MOD-INTER  
'They must have left from around here, don't you think?'
- g'. Yeki-**eyse-ccum-pwuthe** chwulpalhay-ss-keyss-ci?  
Here-LOC-ABOUT-FROM depart-PST-MOD-INTER  
'They must have left from around here, don't you think?'
- g'". Yeki-**ccum-(ey)se-pwuthe** chwulpalhay-ss-keyss-ci?  
Here-ABOUT-LOC-FROM depart-PST-MOD-INTER  
'They must have left from around here, don't you think?'

Now, it is true that not all nominal particles can be reordered, and speakers differ in their acceptance of variable particle sequences. However, the very existence of alternative orders for so many particles indicates that the view that takes Korean nominal morphology to be templatic is untenable. I take the fact that certain particles can be reordered, sometimes leading to predictable differences in meaning, to imply that what is responsible for ordering the particles is not an idiosyncratic morphological template, but something else.

Fixed order is not the prerogative of morphology. It is also found with multiple Prepositional sequences in syntax, where we have no choice but to appeal to syntax and semantics to explain the fixed ordering (Koopman 2000). For example, few would be inclined to posit a template as a theoretical account of the ordering generalizations seen in (31) (repeated from 18 above).

- (31)a. From out of the darkness  
b. \*Out from of the darkness

- c. \*Of from out the darkness
- d. \*From of out the darkness

I do not claim to understand all the factors involved in the complexities of nominal particle ordering in Korean, but I take the above considerations to constitute sufficient grounds to make us seek alternatives to the non-explanatory device of the morphological template. In the next section, I will attempt to show, through a reanalysis of the second and third arguments presented in Sells (1995), how such an alternative might work.

#### 4. Non-morphological Accounts of Nominal Particle Ordering

##### 4.1. *-kkeyse* is a Postposition

Recall that Sells's second argument centered on the observation that the honorific Nominative marker *-kkeyse*, though marking structural Nominative case, occurs in the slot where Postpositions occur (cf. 23). In contrast, all other structural case-markers occupy the Z-Lim slot. This is a prime example of morphological positions/categories being insensitive to syntactically motivated distinctions. Such discrepancy is expected if what arranges the nominal particles is a morphological template, so the argument goes.<sup>14</sup>

While most grammarians treat *-kkeyse* as an honorific Nominative (structural) case-marker, Martin (1992) considers it to be an honorific Ablative Postposition attached to a subject denoting socially superior individuals. As in so many other cases, Martin's intuition seems to be on the right track here. I will argue that we should categorize the morpheme *-kkeyse* as a Postposition that marks subjects, rather than as a structural Nominative case-marker. If so, there is no discrepancy between its morphological position and its syntactic categorization. It is in the slot for Postpositions because it is morphologically and syntactically a Postposition. It can be doubled by the structural Nominative case-marker because Postpositions can be doubled by case-markers, leading to Case Stacking (Yoon 1996).

There are numerous facts that suggest that *-kkeyse* cannot be taken as the honorific version of the structural Nominative case *-ka/-i*.

First, as Sells (1995) himself notes, *-kkeyse* has a restricted distribution. For example, it cannot appear on Nominative objects. This is surprising if it is a marker of structural Nominative case. In the examples below, *-kkeyse* will be glossed as KKEYSE, since I do not want to prejudge the identity of the morpheme before the argument is complete.

- (32)a. Kim-kyoswunim-i/kkeyse    chongcangnim-i    toy-si-ess-ta  
       K-professor-NOM/KKEYSE    president-NOM    become-HON-PST-DECL  
       'Professor Kim became the (university) president.'
- b. \*Kim-kyoswunim-i/kkeyse    chongcangnim-**kkeyse**    toy-si-ess-ta  
       K-professor-NOM/KKEYSE    president-KKEYSE        become-HON-PST-DECL

<sup>14</sup> As we will see shortly, Sells (1996, 1997) gives up the templatic approach, at least with regard to the position of X-Lim and Z-Lim elements. Thus, I may be charged guilty of attacking an outdated analysis. However, since he has not reanalyzed the problematic case of *-kkeyse*, I assume that his earlier analysis based on templates still stands.

‘Professor Kim became the president.’

c. Kim-kyoswunim-i/kkeyse chongcangnim-i ani-si-ta  
 K-professor-NOM/KKEYSE president-NOM NEG.COP-HON-DECL  
 ‘Professor Kim is not the president.’

d. \*Kim-kyoswunim-i/kkeyse chongcangnim-**kkeyse** ani-si-ta  
 K-professor-NOM/KKEYSE president-KKEYSE NEG.COP-HON-DECL  
 ‘Professor Kim is not the president.’

Sells (1995) attempts to explain away the limited distribution of *-kkeyse* by claiming that unlike the plain Nominative case-marker *-ka/-i*, *-kkeyse* is a ‘pure’ Nominative marker, appearing only on Nominative subjects. The idea of a ‘pure’ Nominative marker is somewhat of a theoretical novelty, especially if *-kkeyse* is a structural Nominative case-marker as Sells (1995) assumes. Structural cases are assigned blindly to constituents within the case assignment domain irrespective of the grammatical relation of the nominal bearing it. This is certainly true of the markers *-ka/-i* in Korean as they can mark Nominative objects as well as subjects. Therefore, there is a rather simple explanation for why *-kkeyse* cannot occur on Nominative objects – it is not a structural Nominative case-marker. If so, the complements in (32) are not sanctioned because they carry the wrong case-marker.

This view, though it contradicts long-standing tradition, begins to take on an air of plausibility once we investigate additional contexts where *-kkeyse* cannot replace the plain Nominative marker. For example, *-kkeyse* is marginal for many people when it marks Floated Quantifiers (FQs) that agree in case with Nominative subjects, as shown below.

(33) Kyoswunimtul-i/kkeyse twu-pwun-i/??-kkeyse o-si-ess-ta  
 Professors-NOM/KKEYSE two-HON.HUM.CL-NOM/KKEYSE come-HON-PST-DECL  
 ‘Two professors came.’

The marginality of *-kkeyse* on FQs suggests that it behaves more like Postpositions/Inherent case-markers than structural case-markers, since many people find FQs marked with Postpositions/Inherent case-markers marginal.

(34) ??Haksayngtul-eykey twu-myeng-eykey ton-i manh-ta  
 Students-DAT two-HUM.CL-DAT money-NOM a.lot-DECL  
 ‘Two (of the) students are rich.’

Thirdly, *-kkeyse* is marginal when it occurs on more than one nominal in Multiple Nominative Constructions, unlike *-ka/-i*, which is not subject to such constraints.

(35)a. ??Kim-sensayngnim-kkeyse twulccay atunim-kkeyse chencay-i-si-ta  
 K-professor-KKEYSE second son.hon-KKEYSE genius-COP-HON-DECL  
 ‘Professor Kim’s second son is a genius.’

b. Kim-sensayngnim-un/i twulccay atunim-kkeyse chencay-i-si-ta  
 K-professor-TOP/NOM second son.hon-KKEYSE genius-COP-HON-DECL



‘It is Professor Kim whose second son is a genius.’

- c. Kim-sensayngnim-kkeyse twulccay atunim-i chencay-i-si-ta  
 K-professor-KKEYSE second son.hon-NOM genius-COP-HON-DECL  
 ‘Professor Kim’s second son is a genius.’
- c. Kim-sensayngnim-un/i twulccay atunim-i chencay-i-si-ta  
 K-professor-TOP/NOM second son.hon-NOM genius-COP-HON-DECL  
 ‘Professor Kim’s second son is a genius.’

Another construction where *-ka/i* is possible but *-kkeyse* is not is the Tough Construction. As is well known, a non-subject constituent of an embedded clause (henceforth referred to as the Tough nominal) can appear as a Nominative-marked dependent of the Tough predicate in Tough Constructions. Interestingly, however, the Tough nominal cannot be marked with *-kkeyse* even when it is an honorific noun.

- (36)a. hakpwusayng-eykey-nun [PRO Kim-kyoswunim-ul manna-ki]-ka swip-ci  
 undergraduates-DAT-TOP K-professor-ACC meet-NML-NOM easy-COMP  
 anh-ta  
 NEG-DECL  
 ‘It is not easy for undergraduates to meet Professor Kim.’
- b. Kim-kyoswunim<sub>i</sub>-i (hakpwusayng-eykey-nun) [PRO e<sub>i</sub> manna-ki]-ka swip-ci  
 K-professor-NOM undergraduates-DAT-TOP meet-NML-NOM easy-COMP  
 anh-ta  
 NEG-DECL  
 ‘Professor Kim is not easy for undergraduates to meet.’
- c. \*?Kim-kyoswunim<sub>i</sub>-kkeyse (hakpwusayng-eykey-nun) [PRO e<sub>i</sub> manna-ki]-ka  
 K-professor-NOM undergraduates-DAT-TOP meet-NML-NOM  
 swip-ci anh-(usi)-ta  
 easy-COMP NEG-HON-DECL  
 ‘Professor Kim is not easy for undergraduates to meet.’

Yet another context in which *-kkeyse* cannot mark constituents that are assigned structural Nominative case is the subject of what I will call the ‘Ablative Subject Construction’. As shown below, there are constructions in Korean where what appears to be the subject is marked with the Ablative Postposition *-eyse*, while the object is marked Accusative.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> . This construction has several interesting properties we cannot do justice to here. For example, when the subject denotes humans, a locativizing nominal particle such as *-ccok*, *-chuk*, or *-phyen* (all meaning roughly, ‘on the part of X’, ‘in X’s vicinity’) becomes necessary, while non-human subjects that admit a Source interpretation independently (such as “school”, “government”) do not need these locativizing nominals.

Some other properties of the Ablative Subject Construction that are not fully understood include, for example, the restriction on the Postposition attached to the subject. The Postposition must be the inanimate Ablative *-eyse* rather than the animate forms *-eykeyse* or *-hantheyse*. This is shown below.

- (i)a. \*na-eykeyse/hantheyse ceyuy-lul mence hay-ss-ta

(37)a. *nay-ccok-eyse ceyuy-lul mence hay-ss-ta*  
 I-PART-ABL offer-ACC first do-PST-DECL  
 'I made the offer first.'

a'. *nay-ccok-i ceyuy-lul mence hay-ss-ta*  
 I-PART-NOM offer-ACC first do-PST-DECL  
 'I made the offer first.'

b. *hakkyo-eyse thongcise-lul ponay-ss-ta*  
 school-ABL notice-ACC send-PST-DECL  
 'The school sent a notice.'

b'. *hakkyo-ka thongcise-lul ponay-ss-ta*  
 school-NOM notice-ACC send-PST-DECL  
 'The school (not the government) sent a notice.'

The subject in the Ablative Subject Construction displays a case alternation between *-eyse* and the structural Nominative case-marker *-ka/-i*. However, *-kkeyse* cannot alternate with *-eyse*, as shown below. This is not predicted if it is a structural Nominative case-marker.<sup>16</sup>

---

	I-ANIM.ABL/ANIM.ABL	offer-ACC	first	do-PST-DECL
b. * <i>nay-ccok-eykeyse/hanthey-se</i>		<i>ceyuy-lul</i>	<i>mence</i>	<i>hay-ss-ta</i>
	I-PART-ANIM.ABL/ANIM.ABL	offer-ACC	first	do-PST-DECL

The prohibition seems to be construction-specific. I have no further insights as to why this is the case.

<sup>16</sup> One might think that (38a) is ruled out because *-kkeyse* is attached to an inanimate (and hence non-honorific) noun *ccok*. However, the phrase *apenim-ccok* is not inanimate, since it can figure as a controller in contexts where animate, human controllers are required.

(i) *apenim-ccok-eyse [PRO ka-si-lye-ko] sitoha-si-ess-ta*  
 father-PART-ABL go-HON-MOD-COMP attempt-HON-PST-DECL  
 'Father attempted to go.'

The example also shows that the phrase can be the target of honorific agreement on the predicate, which is again restricted to animate, human-denoting subjects.

Still, some might take (i) not to be decisive since there is an alternative analysis of (i) where what controls PRO is a null Nom-marked pronoun in the matrix clause, as shown below.

(ii) *apenim<sub>i</sub>-ccok-eyse pro<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> ka-si-lye-ko] sitoha-si-ess-ta*  
 father-PART-ABL he.nom go-HON-MOD-COMP try-HON-PST-DECL

This alternative posits a null (Nominative) pronoun, rather than the Ablative, as the true subject of the Ablative Subject Construction. While space limitations prevent a fuller rebuttal of this alternative, what makes it unworkable is that when the putative pronoun surfaces overtly, it tends to be strongly disjoint from the Ablative phrase, while for (ii) to work as the alternative analysis of the Ablative Subject Construction, the null pronoun and the Ablative must be coreferential.

(iii) *apenim<sub>i</sub>-ccok-eyse kupwun<sub>\*i,k</sub>-i mence o-si-ess-ta*  
 father-PART-ABL him(hon)-NOM first come-HON-PST-DECL

(38)a. \*Apenim-ccok-**kkeyse** mence ceyuy-lul ha-si-ess-ta  
 Father-PART-KKEYSE first suggestion-ACC do-HON-PST-DECL  
 ‘Father (honorific) first made the suggestion.’

b. Apenim-ccok-**i** mence ceyuy-lul ha-si-ess-ta  
 Father-PART-KKEYSE first suggestion-ACC do-HON-PST-DECL  
 ‘Father first made the suggestion.’

c. Apenim-ccok-**eyse** mence ceyuy-lul ha-si-ess-ta  
 Father-PART-ABL first suggestion-ACC do-HON-PST-DECL  
 ‘Father first made the suggestion.’

Finally, as Sells (1995) also points out, *-kkeyse*-marked subjects allow Case Stacking. In his analysis of Case Stacking constructions, Yoon (1996) shows that structural case-markers cannot stack on top of another structural case-marker but only on a Postpositional, inherent case-marker. If *-kkeyse* marks structural Nominative, it alone would constitute an exception to this generalization, whereas if it is a Postposition, it falls in line with other Postpositions.

(39) Kyoswunimtul-kkeyse-man-i ilen il-ul ha-si-l.swu iss-ta  
 professors-KKEYSE-ONLY-NOM this.kind work-ACC do-HON-MOD be-DECL  
 ‘Only professors can do this kind of work.’

While the above evidence suggests that *-kkeyse* has a much more restricted distribution than the plain Nominative particles *-ka/-i*, there are also respects in which *-kkeyse* behaves like typical structural Nominative case-markers. For one, *-kkeyse* can be used on honorific subjects bearing a variety of theta roles, a behavior suggesting that it may be a structural case-marker. For another, subjects of Passive and Subject-to-Subject Raising (SSR) constructions can be marked with *-kkeyse*, as shown below. If the constructions in question contain derived subjects, *-kkeyse* must be a structural case-marker, since inherent case cannot be assigned to a derived position.

(40)a. Kim-kyoswunim<sub>i</sub>-kkeyse e<sub>i</sub> cap-hi-si-ess-ta  
 K-professor-KKEYSE catch-PASS-HON-PST-DECL  
 ‘Professor Kim was captured.’

b. Kim-kyoswunim<sub>i</sub>-kkeyse [e<sub>i</sub> tachi-si-nkes] kat-(?usi)-ta  
 K-professor-KKEYSE hurt-HON-COMP seem-DECL  
 ‘Professor Kim seems to be hurt.’

c. Kim-kyoswunim<sub>i</sub>-kkeyse [e<sub>i</sub> cichi-si-e] poi-(?si)-n-ta  
 K-professor-KKEYSE tired-HON-COMP appear-(?HON)-PRS-DECL  
 ‘Professor Kim appears to be tired.’

d. Kim-kyoswunim<sub>i</sub>-kkeyse [e<sub>i</sub> cichi-si-nkes] katt-a poi-(?si)-n-ta

---

For reasons such as this, I take the Ablative Subject Construction to be different from structures like (iii). There is no null pronominal functioning as subject in the Ablative Subject Construction. Instead, the Ablative is the subject.

K-professor-KKEYSE                      tired-HON-COMP   seem-COMP appear-(?HON)-PRS-DECL  
 ‘Professor Kim appears to be tired.’

I do not have much to say about the first observation other than to say that since being honorific presupposes being human, the theta roles of subjects marked with *-kkeyse* are much more restricted than those marked with the plain Nominative. And given that being marked with inherent case does not entail that the nominal so marked must have a single theta role, the fact that *-kkeyse*-marked subjects can have a number of distinct theta roles does not argue against it being a marker of inherent case (a Postposition).<sup>17</sup>

I will now address the question of *-kkeyse*-marking on putative derived subjects. The Passive subject, if it were indeed derived, would constitute unambiguous evidence that *-kkeyse* can be assigned to a derived position, since the object position from which Passive displaces the subject is not a position where *-kkeyse* is licensed. However, we have reasons to doubt that the Passive subject is a derived subject in Korean. For example, the classical diagnostics of a derived subject position, such as passivized idiom chunks and expletives, do not work in Korean passives.

Korean doesn’t possess expletives, so that we cannot use the expletive test. Verb-object idioms do not retain their idiomatic reading under passive. The idiomatic reading of *cwuk-ul sswu-ta* (literally, ‘make rice porridge’) is lost under passivization, as we see in (41b) below.<sup>18</sup>

- (41)a. Swuhak-sihem-eyse    Cheli-ka    cwuk-ul                      sswu-ess-ta  
       math-exam-LOC        C-NOM    rice.porridge-ACC    make-PST-DECL  
       → ‘During math exam, Cheli made rice porridge.’  
       → ‘Cheli messed up his math exam.’
- b. Swuhak-sihem-eyse    cwuk-i                      (Cheli-eyuyhay)    sswu-eci-ess-ta  
       math-exam-LOC        rice.porridge-NOM    C-by                      make-PASS-PST-DECL  
       → ‘Rice porridge was made by Cheli during math exam.’  
       ≠ ‘Cheli messed up his math exam.’

Other verb-object idioms behave similarly, as native speaker readers can verify for themselves.

What about raised subjects of SSR constructions? *-kkeyse* can certainly mark such raised subjects, but as the pattern of honorific marking on the predicate (i.e., *-(u)si*) shows, *-kkeyse* can also mark the subject in the un-raised, base, position.<sup>19</sup> Since there are good reasons to take raising in Korean not to be motivated by (lack of) Case (Yoon 1996; Sigurðsson 2001), nothing

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Sigurðsson (2001), who makes this point very clearly. In Icelandic, Dative is an inherent case, but the thematic roles that a Dative-marked nominal possesses can vary.

<sup>18</sup> This idiom is not so opaque as to resist all types of movement. Scrambling/topicalization of the object is permissible under the right discourse context with the idiomatic reading retained.

- (i) sihem-eyse    cwuk-un                      Cheli-ka    sswu-ess-ta,    Tongswu-ka    anila  
       exam-LOC    rice.porridge-TOP    C-NOM    make-PST-DECL    T-NOM    NEG  
       ‘As for messing up in the exam, Cheli did, not Tongswu.’

<sup>19</sup> I am assuming that the presence of honorific marking on the predicate diagnoses raising in SSR. While speakers vary widely in their acceptance of honorific marking in SSR, it seems reasonable to assume that when honorific marking shows up on the matrix, raising, predicate, SSR has taken place, while when it shows up only on the embedded predicate, SSR does not take place. SSR in Korean is optional, as Yoon (1996) argues.

prevents *-kkeyse* from being assigned in the unraised position. If we assume that *-kkeyse* that is assigned in the base position is an inherent case, we expect it to be preserved under NP/A-movement.

Therefore, there is no conclusive evidence that *-kkeyse* must be assigned in a derived position. Thus, we have no reason to believe that it is a structural case-marker, but many reasons to believe that it is a Postposition marking inherent case. It is in the slot for Postpositions because it is a Postposition.

Before we move on to the next section, I would like to address the question of why, if *-kkeyse* is a Postposition marking inherent case (an honorific Ablative, according to Martin 1992), it cannot be used in non-subject positions where other Ablative Postpositions are allowed. Resolving this issue is important, since while taking *-kkeyse* to be an Ablative Postposition correctly explains why its distribution diverges from that of structural Nominative case-markers, the analysis in turn predicts that *-kkeyse* should be used instead of, or along with, the animate, non-honorific Ablative markers *-eykeyse* and *-hantheyse* in non-subject positions where Ablatives occur. As we see below, this does not seem to be the case.

- (42)a. Phyenci-ka    apenim-eykeyse/hantheyse    o-ass-ta  
 letter-NOM    father-PLAIN.ABL/PLAIN.ABL    come-PST-DECL  
 ‘The letter came from father.’
- b. Phyenci-ka    apenim-kkeylopwuthe/??kkeyse    o-ass-ta  
 letter-NOM    father-HON.ABL/KKEYSE    come-PST-DECL

The sentence in (42a), while grammatical, has an air of impoliteness, because plain Ablative forms are used where honorific forms should be employed. In (42b), on the other hand, the honorific forms are used. What is surprising is that while the honorific Ablative Postposition *-kkeylopwuthe* (or *-kkeylose*, *-kkeysepwuthe*) is acceptable, *-kkeyse*, which Martin took to be an honorific Ablative, is marginal (or completely unacceptable for some people).

What this suggests, together with the data introduced earlier, is that, as Sells (1995) surmised, *-kkeyse* marking seems to be restricted to honorific, human-denoting subjects. What could the reason be? Is it because it is a marker of ‘pure’ subjects?

We know that there is a historical reason, though it may not constitute a synchronic explanation of the restricted distribution of *-kkeyse*. The historical reason is that *-kkeyse* evolved from a structure similar to that found in the subject of the Ablative Subject Construction (Martin 1992; Jieyang Lee, p.c.). As the grammaticalization of the marking of a subject, it is still restricted to subjects.<sup>20</sup>

A way to account for the restricted distribution of *-kkeyse* without invoking diachrony or assuming that it is a marker of ‘pure’ subjects may be to capitalize on the fact that *-kkeyse-*

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<sup>20</sup> Diachronically, *-kkeyse* is assumed to have developed from subjects of the form in (i) or (ii):

- (i)    N + *s*[genitive] + *kung*[vicinity] + *ey*[locative] + *se*[ablative]  
 (ii)    N + *s* + *kung* + *eyse*

The noun *kung*, is the analogue of the locativizing nominal *ccok*, *chuk*, *phyen*, etc. in the Ablative Subject Construction in modern Korean.

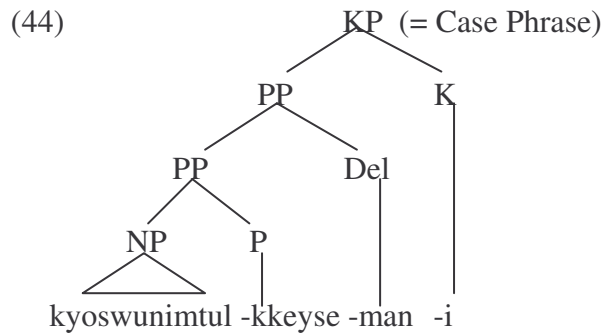
marked constituents trigger obligatory Honorific Agreement on the predicate. That is, while Honorific Agreement on the predicate can be found without *-kkeyse* marking on the subject, the converse is not true.

(43)a. Apenim-kkeyse mence ka-\*(si)-ess-ta  
 father-KKEYSE first leave-HON-PST-DECL  
 ‘Father left first.’

b. Apenim-i mence ka-si-ess-ta  
 father-PLAIN.NOM first leave-HON-PST-DECL

Now, since in contemporary Korean, the only constituents that trigger Honorific Agreement are (grammatical) subjects, *-kkeyse*, because of its obligatory agreement requirement, may be restricted to marking such constituents.<sup>21</sup>

The analysis of the subject nominal in (39) above, then, is as follows:



Though I have not provided a definite solution to its restricted distribution, on balance, we have many reasons to believe that it is a Postposition marking inherent case, and no definitive reason to take it to be a marker of structural Nominative case like *-ka/-i*. I therefore conclude that *-kkeyse* is not a problem for syntactic approaches, because it behaves in a way consistent with its categorization as a Postposition marking inherent (Ablative) case. It is in the slot for Postpositions because it is a Postposition. It can be doubled by a structural Nominative case-marker because other Postpositions also admit such doubling.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The claim that *kkeyse*-marked subjects require an agreeing honorific predicate is confirmed by the fact that non-subject Nominative NPs (=Major Subjects) in Multiple Nominative Constructions cannot be marked with *-kkeyse*:

(i)a. Cheli-ka apenim-kkeyse pwuca-i-si-ta  
 C-nom father-KKEYSE rich-COP-HON-DECL  
 ‘As for Cheli/it is Cheli (his/whose) father is rich.’

b. #Apenim-kkeyse caknyen [kyengyengha-si-n hoysa-ka] mangha-si-ess-ta  
 Father-KKEYSE last.year run-HON-ADHOM company-NOM go.bankrupt-HON-PST-DECL  
 ‘As for my father, last year, the company he was running went bankrupt.’

The Major Subject, while it takes on many subject properties (such as binding anaphors and undergoing SOR), cannot control Honorific Agreement. This is the reason why a Major Subject cannot be marked with *kkeyse*.

<sup>22</sup> However, *-kkeyse* cannot be doubled by Accusative, as we see below:



#### 4.2. The Copula is not a Z-Lim

Sells's final argument is based on the supposed ban on final slot (Z-Lim) particles in front of the affirmative Copula. The relevant contrasts are reproduced below.

- (45)a. \*Swuni-hanthey-**man-un**-i-ta  
 S-DAT-TOP-COP-DECL  
 '(It is) to Swuni.'
- b. Swuni-hanthey-**man**-i-ta  
 S-DAT-ONLY-COP-DECL  
 '(It is) to Swuni only.'
- c. Swuni-hanthey-**man-un** ani-ta  
 S-DAT-ONLY-TOP NEG.COP-DECL  
 '(It is) not just to Swuni.'

The argument is that the minimal contrast between the analytic, negative Copula and the particle-like, affirmative Copula is not due to differences in syntax or semantics, but solely due to the fact

- 
- (i) John-un [Kim-sensayngnim-kkeyse-man-i solcikhasita-ko] sayngkakhanta  
 J-top K-professor-KKEYSE-only-nom honest-comp think  
 'John thinks that only Professor Kim is honest.'
- (ii) \*John-un Kim-sensayngnim-kkeyse-man-ul solcikhasita-ko sayngkakhanta  
 J-top K-professor-KKEYSE-only-acc honest-comp thinks

This is unexpected if *-kkeyse* is a Postposition marking inherent case, as claimed in the paper.

However, there is a reason for the ungrammaticality of (ii), which turns out to support the argument in the paper that *-kkeyse* is an Ablative Postposition. Ablatives cannot be doubled with Accusative, as we see below.

- (iii)a. John-un Mary-eykey senmwul-ul ponay-ss-ta  
 J-top M-dat present-acc send-pst-decl
- b. John-un Mary-eykey-man-ul senmwul-ul ponay-ss-ta  
 J-top M-dat-only-acc present-acc send-pst-decl
- 'John sent a present (only) to Mary.'
- (iv)a. John-un Mary-eykey(se) senmwul-ul patassta  
 J-top M-abl present-acc received
- b. \*John-un Mary-eykey(se)-man-ul senmwul-ul patassta  
 J-top M-abl-only-acc present-acc received
- 'John received a present (only) from Mary.'

What the above facts show is that for reasons we do not completely understand, Acc-stacking is not possible on phrases denoting Source. The fact that *-kkeyse* is subject to the same restriction is striking, and would be unexplainable unless it marked a Source.

that the latter is a particle occurring in the final, Z-Lim slot, while the former is an independent word imposing no restrictions on the morphological ‘size’ of its complement.

Since this argument was originally aired, it has come under attack from two fronts. On the one hand, Yoon (1995) pointed out that resorting to the template is not a true explanation. In the case of the Copula, the templatic account looks especially ill-suited, as Sells (1997) himself acknowledges. This is so since we have to assume that the Copula, although it is a verb, is in the same slot as nominal particles marking topic, focus, and structural cases.<sup>23</sup>

The second line of attack against this argument has come from observations (H-S Han 1996, acknowledged in Sells 1997) that there are in fact structures where Z-Lim elements are found before the Copula. This implies that the Copula cannot be occupying the same (non-recursive) slot as the other Z-Lim particles.

- (46)a. *yeki-eyse-to-i-nya?*  
 here-LOC-ALSO-COP-INTER  
 ‘(Is it) in here also?’
- b. *ikes-to-i-nka?*  
 this-ALSO-COP-INTER  
 ‘(Is it) this one too?’
- c. *Pusan-eyse-nun-i-l-kka?*  
 Pusan-LOC-TOP-COP-FUT-INTER  
 ‘(Is it) perhaps in Pusan?’

#### 4.2.1. A Revised Lexical Analysis

Sells (1997) responds to the two objections. The central idea of this work is that morphologically, the Copula and the other Z-Lim particles are mutually incompatible. However, when semantics requires it, Z-Lim particles may exceptionally be allowed to come before the Copula. The analysis is couched within the overall assumptions of Optimality Theory. Among the constraints is a morphological constraint that encodes (aspects of) the templates in (22).

- (47) POSITION: morphemes obey their intrinsic positional constraints.
- X-Lim attaches to X (X=any category).
  - Z-Lim attaches to X and is last in its word.
  - Copula attaches to N.
  - Genitive attaches to N.

The other constraints that make up the OT fragment are those that require faithfulness to the semantics of the input (FAITH-SEM) and the case-marking in the input (FAITH-CASE), and those that penalize words with affixes (\*AFFIX) or the periphrastic expression of a given input (\*X<sup>0</sup>). The constraint ranking is shown on the top row of (48). The marked structures in (46)

<sup>23</sup> In the template-based account, this may actually be a welcome result, since particles/affixes belonging to a given slot need not have any syntactic coherence. One way to bring the Copula in line with other particles putatively occupying the same slot is to consider it to mark a type of case. In traditional grammars of Korean, just such a position was advanced, with some researchers claiming that the Copula is a Predicative case-marker, and others taking it to be the Nominative case-marker.

arise when a higher-ranking constraint, FAITH-SEM, overrides POSITION. Sells assumes that the semantics of the input for the expressions in (46) requires the copula to take scope over the Z-Lim particles. The second candidate which violates POSITION is the only one that satisfies this requirement.

(48)

[[ <i>here</i> LOC ALSO] COP Q]	FAITH-SEM	POSITION	FAITH-CASE	*AFFIX	*X <sup>0</sup>
Yeki-eyse-i-to-nya	*!	*		***	*
☞yeki-eyse-to-i-nya		*		***	*
yeki-eyse-i-ki-to ha-nya	*!			****	**

#### 4.2.2. An Evaluation

A problem with the analysis proposed in (48) is that, the way I see it, it contradicts the claim that there is no non-morphological motivation for the ordering and placement of particles. Neither does the analysis seem consistent with the view that syntax submits to morphology. This is so for the following reasons. Of the constraints in (47), POSITION is the only constraint that is purely morphological. However, the winning candidate in (48) is the one that actually *violates* this constraint. It seems then that we must allow non-morphological factors to determine the ordering of particles in the winning output in (48).

Now, according to the analysis in (48), even though what determines the particle ordering in the winning candidate may not be morphology, it isn't syntax either, because the higher ranked constraint which overrides the morphological constraint is a semantic constraint named FAITH-SEM. However, when one examines what the 'semantics' in question is, it seems that the factor overriding morphology could just as well be syntax, rather than semantics. This is because the semantics that is being preserved in the winning candidate has to do with constituency, shown by the brackets in the input. Constituency is a syntactic notion *par excellence*, albeit one with semantic consequences.

In light of considerations such as these, in Yoon (2002), a syntactic account of the constraints on intervening particles in the Copula construction is proposed. For reasons of space, only a brief summary of the analysis is given below.

The central claim in Yoon (2002) is that there are different types of Copula constructions in Korean, associated with different structures and derivations. It is the difference in the syntactic structures of the Copula constructions that explain when particles may intervene between the predicate nominal and the Copula. Specifically, in the Canonical Copula Construction, the Copula is attached to a predicate nominal carrying *at most* the Honorific *-nim* and the Plural *-tul* particles. This is shown in (49).

(49) Canonical Copula Construction:

- a. \*John-un uysa-**man**-i-ta  
 J-TOP doctor-ONLY-COP-DECL  
 Intended: 'John is just/only a doctor.'

- b. John-un uysa-i-ki-**man** ha-ta  
 J-TOP doctor-COP-NML-ONLY do-DECL  
 ‘John is only a doctor.’
- c. I pwun-tul-un kyoswu-**nim-tul-i-si-ta**  
 These person-PL-TOP professor-HON-CON.PL-COP-HON-DECL  
 ‘These people are professors.’

All structures where the Copula is preceded by any other nominal particle - even Postpositional particles - are obligatorily interpreted as focused, as shown in (50). There are different kinds of Copula constructions that convey constructional focus. One such construction is the Inverse Copula Construction (Moro 1997; S-J Woo 1999) in (50) where the order of the predicate nominal and the subject are reversed. Interestingly, unlike the Canonical Copula construction in (49a), Delimiters can intervene between the Copula and the nominal in the Inverse (see 50a).

(50) Inverse Copula Construction:

- a. (Cheli, Tongswu, Yenghi cwung-ey)  
 C T Y among-LOC  
 Pwuca-nun Cheli-**man-i-ta** (Inverse Copula Construction)  
 Rich.person-TOP C-ONLY-COP-DECL  
 ‘Among Cheli, Tongswu, and Yenghi, only Cheli is rich.’
- b. Cheli-**man-i** pwuca-i-ta (Canonical Copula Construction)  
 C-ONLY-NOM rich-COP-DECL  
 ‘same as 50a.’

Postpositions and Delimiters can also come between the Copula and the nominal in the Cleft Construction, which is another type of Copula construction. This is shown below.

(51) Cleft Construction:

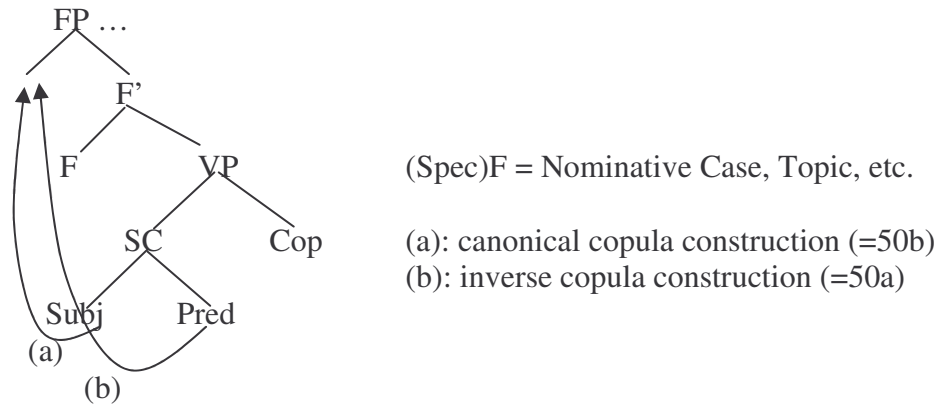
- a. Ilen il-ul ha-l swu iss-nun kes-un  
 This work-ACC do can be-ADN thing-TOP  
 uysa-**tul-man-i-ta**  
 doctor-PL-ONLY-COP-DECL  
 ‘It is only doctors who can do this kind of work.’
- b. Nay-ka senmwul-ulponay-n kes-un Yenghi-**eykey-to-i-ess-ta**  
 I-NOM present-ACC send-ADN NML-TOPY-DAT-ALSO-COP-PST-DECL  
 ‘It was also to Yenghi that I sent the present.’

In Yoon (2002), the intuition in Sells (1997) that something like scope is involved in the relevant data is fleshed out in strongly syntactic terms as an account of these observations. However, unlike Sells (1997), the input/underlying structure of both Canonical and Inverse

Copula Constructions is constructed in accordance with the syntactic scope of particles. The analysis is summarized below.

Following earlier research (Heggie 1988, Moro 1997), Yoon (2002) adopts a structure for Copula constructions where the subject and the predicate nominal are contained in a Small Clause (SC) complement selected by the Copula. From this structure, either the subject (yielding the Canonical Copula Construction, shown in arrow (a) below) or the predicate nominal (yielding the Inverse Copula Construction, shown in arrow (b) below) raises to the Specifier of a higher functional head projected on top of the SC.<sup>24</sup> The final surface forms of the two constructions are derived when the Copula attaches to the nominal that is left adjacent to it within the SC after the movement of the phrases. That is, it attaches to the right edge of the predicate nominal in the Canonical Copula Construction and to that of the subject in the Inverse. The relevant aspects of the structure and derivation are shown in (52).

(52) Structure and Derivation of Copula constructions: (Yoon 2002)



Assuming this analysis of the Canonical and Inverse Copula Constructions, Yoon (2002) provides an account of nominal particles that can come between the Copula and the nominal to its left in the two types of Copula constructions.

Let us begin with the Canonical Copula Construction. The generalization here is that while particles like *-nim* and *-tul* are possible before the Copula, the Delimiters (and Postpositions) are not. This generalization can be accounted for using syntax, in the following way.

It is reasonable to assume that *-nim* and *-tul* are inflectional particles that have DP-level scope.<sup>25</sup> If we assume that their syntactic position reflects their scope, they must be attached to

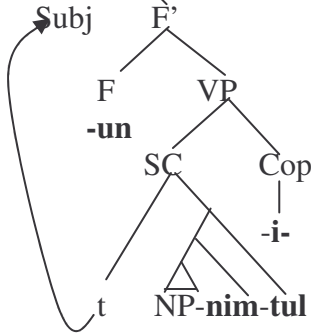
<sup>24</sup> The higher functional head is responsible for assigning Nominative Case, among others. In Yoon (1998, 2002), it is proposed that the Nominative case-marker is actually in F, and attaches to the phrase that moves to its Spec as a suffix/enclitic. This particular assumption is not critical. What we need is only the assumption that Case-marking takes place outside the SC, a standard assumption made in theoretical approaches similar to that adopted in this paper.

<sup>25</sup> I take these particles to be inflectional, as they trigger agreement (Yoon 1998). By contrast, Chae & No (1998) take them to be derivational (suffixes) since, as H-R Chae (p.c.) informs me, the attachment of *-nim* is restricted, giving rise to irregular allomorphy, and as such, it makes a poor candidate for an inflectional morpheme.

- (i) *halape-nim*/\**halapeci-nim* (grandfather)
- eme-nim*/\**emeni-nim* (mother)
- \**elun-nim* (adult), \**chengnyen-nim* (youth)

the predicate nominal within the SC. Since Korean is a head-final language, they are right-adjoined to the predicate nominal phrase. From this underlying structure, the subject raises to SpecF, while the Copula attaches phonologically to the predicate nominal, as illustrated below. This gives the order “Subject nominal + F + Pred nominal + *nim* + *tul* + Copula + ...”.

(53) FP ... (= Topic Phrase)



I            pwun-tul-un            kyoswu-**nim-tul**-i-(si-ta)  
 These    person-PL-TOP    professor-HON-CON.PL-COP-(HON-DECL)  
 'These people are professors (honorific).'

If this analysis is correct, the reason for the ill-formedness of (49a) must be that Delimiters are prohibited from attaching to the projection headed by the predicate nominal which then combines with the Copula. In this the Delimiters are unlike the Honorific and Plural particles. Why should this be so?

As the order of relevant morphemes in the well-formed structure in (49b) shows, the Delimiter takes scope higher than the predicate nominal. In fact, (49b) shows that the Delimiter *-man* takes scope even higher than the Copula.<sup>26</sup>

As to how a derivational affix contributes a [+honorific] feature that figures in agreement, Chae suggests that roots/stems may be inherently [+honorific], or that the affix may carry the feature.

The alternative possibility suggested by Chae does not affect the essentials of our analysis. What's crucial for the account in Yoon (2002) is that *-nim* and *-tul* are attached within the DP. If they are derivational suffixes, then, of course, they will be attached to the Head N within the DP.

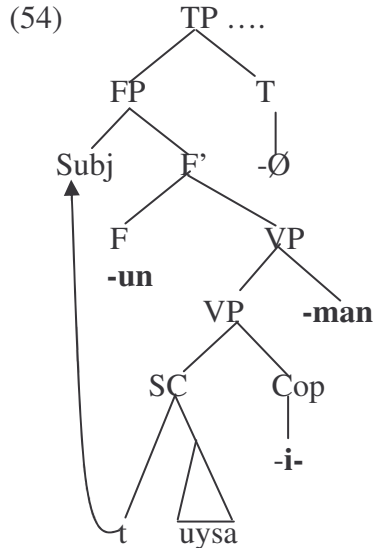
We have not addressed the question of why Postpositions cannot come before the Copula in Canonical Copula constructions. The reason seems to be unrelated to morphology. A different, existential Copula *iss-ta* is used in such constructions.

- (ii) \*Chayk-i      chayksang-wuy-ey-i-ta  
 Book-NOM    table-top-LOC-COP-DECL  
 vs.  
 Chayk-i      chayksang-wuy-ey    iss-ta  
 Book-NOM    table-top-LOC      be/exist-DECL  
 'The book is on the table.'

<sup>26</sup> Yoon (2002) gives a semantico-pragmatic reason for why this is so. Yoon (2002) actually argues that since the reasons are not structural, under the right contexts, (49a) can become acceptable. We abstract away from this complication here.



Let us assume that Delimiters are adjoined to the constituents they have in their scope, and that the order of morphemes transparently reflects their syntactic and semantic scopes. If so, the structure underlying the sentences in (49) is (54) (where I have added TP, headed by the null Present Tense morpheme):



Ungrammatical output: (=49a)

\*John-un uysa-**man**-i-ta  
 J-TOP doctor-ONLY-COP-DECL

Grammatical output: (=49b)

John-un uysa-i-ki-**man** ha-ta  
 J-top doctor-COP-NML-ONLY DO-DECL

Under the stated assumptions, we can see why (49a), repeated above, cannot be derived. The order of the Delimiter and the Copula are reversed. On the other hand, in (49b), the relative order of the Delimiter and Copula is preserved.

However, we see that additional operations are needed to get from (54) to the grammatical output (49b). This role is fulfilled by morphology—in the form of insertions of dummy morphemes (Halle and Marantz 1993). One reason (54) cannot surface without modifications is that the Delimiter *-man* requires its host to be a free form, but the Copula is a bound form verb root. This calls for the insertion of the dummy nominalizer *-ki* after the Copula root so that a suitable host for the Delimiter can be provided. Assuming additionally that FP in (54) occurs as a structural complement of Tense (along the lines sketched in Yoon 1994 and J-M Jo 2000, 2003, as shown above), another insertion, this time of a dummy verb *ha-*, will be required in order to provide a verbal host for the tense affix to attach to. This yields the order Subj + Pred nominal + Copula + *ki* + *man* + *ha* + Tense + ... as the output.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Notice that according to the text analysis, the Copula is a contentful verb present at D-structure while *ha-* is a dummy verb inserted in the derivation. This assumption accords well with the fact that unlike Japanese, the Korean Copula is not used as a dummy verbalizer with stative Sino-Korean verbal nouns (*COYONG-hata* ‘silence-do’ vs.

Recall that we suggested that the Inverse is derived from the structure in (52) by the raising of the predicate nominal to SpecF. We also suggested that the ill-formedness of (49a) is due to the fact that the Delimiter *-man* cannot combine directly with the predicate nominal. The conjunction of these two assumptions predicts that the Inverse Copula Construction where the Delimiter is directly attached to the raised predicate nominal should be ill-formed as well. This prediction is confirmed, as we see below.

- (55) \*Uysa-**man**-un      John-i-ta  
 Doctor-ONLY-TOP      J-COP-DECL  
 Intended : ‘the one who is only a doctor (and not a doctor and a rich man, for example) is John.’

What is interesting about (55) is that the predicate nominal occurs in subject position, separated from the Copula, and even though there is no morphological reason why the Delimiter *-man* cannot be followed by the Topic particle, the structure is ill-formed. Why should this be? The reason is that the input structure is interpretively ill-formed. Thus, (55) provides independent confirmation of the reason we gave for the ill-formedness of (49a). Morphology is not implicated at all, since the input structure remains ill-formed even when the particle does not intervene between the predicate nominal and the Copula.

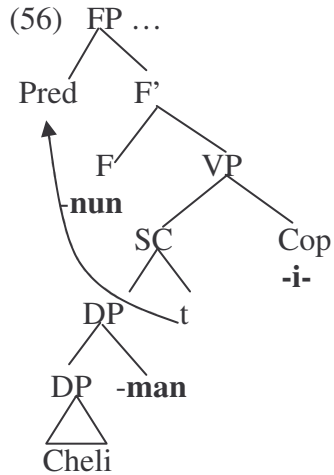
As argued in S-J Woo (1999) and Yoon (2002) for Korean and Matsuda (2000) for Japanese, there is good evidence that an Inverse Copula Construction exists in these languages, unlike languages like English where the existence of an Inverse Copula construction is a matter of some controversy (Heycock and Kroch 1999). We can in fact take facts such as (55) to constitute evidence that the Canonical and Inverse Copula constructions derive from a common source.

Let us return to the interaction of the Copula and other particles in the Inverse Copula Construction in more detail. In particular, let us investigate why Delimiters can intervene between the nominal (subject nominal) and the Copula in the Inverse.

As Sells (1997) observes, in the Inverse (as well as in the Cleft, which is an Inverse construction), the scope of the Delimiting particles extends only over the pre-Copula constituent, namely, the subject of the SC. Let us assume again that Delimiters are adjoined as right sisters to constituents over which they have scope. If so, the structure and derivation of the Inverse construction in (50) must be as follows:

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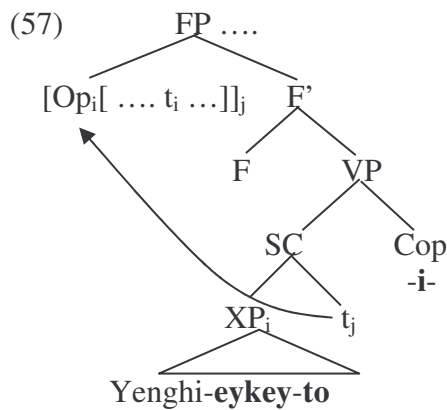
\**COYONG-ita* ‘silence-be’). The assumption that *-ki* is/can be a dummy nominalizer inserted during the derivation is defended in detail in J-M Jo (2000, 2003).



Pwuca-nun          Cheli-man-i-ta  
 Rich.person-TOP C-ONLY-COP-DECL  
 'The only rich person is Cheli.'

As shown above, the predicate nominal raises to the Specifier of the functional head while the subject nominal, with the Delimiter adjoined, stays inside the SC. The Copula attaches to the nominal that is left-adjacent to it in the string, which is the subject nominal. This yields the order “Pred nominal + F + Subject + Delimiter + Copula + ...”, which is what we get.

A similar analysis can be provided for the Cleft construction (cf. 51b above). All we need to assume is that the initial constituent (a nominalized clause with a null Operator binding a gap) in the Cleft is a fronted predicate while the pre-Copula constituent is the subject that binds the gap within the fronted predicate. That is, the Cleft is another type of Inverse Copula Construction. The analysis is illustrated schematically below:



Nay-ka          senmwul-ulponay-n kes-un          Yenghi-eykey-to-i-ess-ta  
 I-NOM          present-ACC          send-ADN          NML-TOPY-DAT-ALSO-COP-PST-DECL  
 'It was to Yenghi too that I sent the present.'

In summary, the intricate details of nominal particles intervening before the Copula can be accounted for once we recognize that there are different types of Copula constructions. What is

notable about the reanalysis is that the details of the syntactic analysis of the Copula constructions, from which the particle intervention generalizations follow, are justified independently. We did not need to adopt a syntactic analysis tailored to the details of particle intervention. Thus the claim that independently needed principles of syntax suffice to account for apparent quirks of morphology in the case at hand is robustly supported.

## 5. Conclusion

Despite appearance to the contrary, the attachment of nominal inflectional particles in Korean does not require any special operations in morphology aside from simple merger under adjacency. The reanalysis in this paper of several facts posed as problematic for the syntactic approach in Cho and Sells (1995) and Sells (1995, 1996, 1997) has demonstrated that the intuition that the majority of linguists – traditional and generative – working on Korean have had about nominal particles being syntactically separable from their morphological hosts can be sustained. However, Sells deserves credit in that he was the first to unearth potential problem areas in the otherwise regular and simple agglutinative nominal morphology of Korean. It is also a testament to his analytic skills that he was able to fashion theoretical challenges to the dominant syntactic view out of these problem areas. This is the reason I have taken up the challenge. I hope to have convinced the reader that the challenges have been successfully fended off.

In conjunction with work demonstrating the syntactic independence of verbal inflectional affixes in Korean (J-M Yoon 1990, Yoon 1994, J-M Jo 2000, 2003), the results of this paper suggest strongly that in a strict agglutinative language like Korean, there is very little ‘pure’ morphology in the realm of morphosyntax. Syntax and phonology go a long way toward accounting for the behavior of morphosyntactically relevant bound elements.

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