

References

The Breton data and judgements in this paper, unless otherwise indicated are from my work with Gildas Hamel, a speaker of Bro-Dreger Breton. I have also benefited from discussion with Jim McCloskey, Marco Haverkort, Cathal Doherty, Philip Spaelti and members of the audience at the MIT Morphology-Syntax Connection Workshop.

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Korean Verbal Inflection and Checking Theory\*

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1. Introduction

Chomsky (1992) entertains two options regarding the manner in which a verb and its inflection are combined. On one account, verbs are inserted in the syntax in their bare uninflected form, while verbal inflectional morphemes such as Tense and Agr affixes are projected as heads of functional categories dominating the VP projection. Syntactic head movement builds the inflected form of the word. We may call such a theory the "building theory" of verbal inflection. In the second alternative, verbs are inserted in the syntax fully inflected. However, the inflectional features borne by affixes on the verb must be licensed in the syntax. This is achieved when the verb raises and adjoins, overtly or at LF, to various functional heads above the VP, "checking off" its inflectional features until none remains. In this alternative, the functional preterminals such as Tns and Agr in syntax do not dominate actual bits of affixes, but complexes of features (Chomsky 1965, Anderson 1992, Halle & Marantz 1993). The feature complex on a preterminal must match the inflectional features of the verb when it adjoins to it. If the feature complex on the preterminal and those specified by verbal affixes should fail to match, the complex cannot be rewritten as lexical material, and the derivation "crashes", since there will now be a preterminal which fails to receive proper interpretation at PF. This alternative is the "checking theory" of inflection.

Chomsky adopts the second alternative, thus turning the tide against much current GB work in functional categories which has assumed some form of the "building theory" of inflection. However, the reason that guides him to the choice has to do primarily with the fact that the latter alternative enables him to provide an account of the French vs. English contrast in verb-raising (Pollock 1987) without the need to invoke S-structure as the crucial locus of parametric variation. His choice is understandable given that the elimination of S-structure is one of the stated goals of the minimalist program. What is notably lacking are morphosyntactic arguments for or against the alternatives.

treating inflectional affixes-clitics as independent atoms in the syntax. We shall see that coordination data provides positive arguments for the conclusion that verbal affixes are syntactically independent in Korean.

### 2.1. The Distribution of Tense in Coordinate Structures

As argued in Yoon (1993), following Cho&Morgan (1987) who first pointed out the relevance of this fact to the analysis of Korean inflection<sup>3</sup>, verbal coordination in Korean is governed by the generalization that when tense is overtly specified on all verbs in a conjoined structure, the structures obligatorily instantiate clausal conjunction (in this paper, 'clausal' means IP or CP), while in sub-clausal conjunction (VPSC or smaller constituents), only the final conjunct verb is specified for tense (and mood).

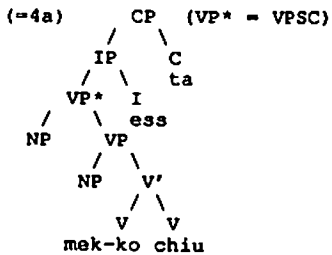
The verbs in initial conjuncts in (4) uniformly lack tense inflection, and the conjunctive suffix, *-ko*, is attached directly to the verbal root. In (5), *-ko* is attached to verbs inflected for tense. *-ko* cannot be suffixed to a verb inflected down to mood, so that in (6), a word conjunction, *-kuliko*, is used.

- (4) a. John-i pap-ul mek-ko chiu-ess-ta  
 J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Conj clean-Past-Decl  
 'John ate and cleaned the meal'
- b. John-i pap-ul mek-ko kulus-ul chiu-ess-ta  
 J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Conj dishes-ACC clean-Past-Decl  
 'John ate the meal and cleaned the dishes'
- c. John-i pap-ul mek-ko Mary-ka kulus-ul chiu-ess-ta  
 J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Conj M-NOM dishes-ACC clean-Pst-Decl  
 'John ate the meal and Mary cleaned the dishes'
- (5) a. John-i pap-ul mek-ess-ko chiu-ess-ta  
 J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Pst-Conj clean-Past-Decl  
 'John ate and cleaned the meal'
- b. John-i pap-ul mek-ess-ko kulus-ul chiu-ess-ta  
 J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Pst-Conj dishes-ACC clean-Past-Decl  
 'John ate the meal and cleaned the dishes'
- c. John-i pap-ul mek-ess-ko Mary-ka kulus-ul chiu-ess-ta  
 J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Pst-Conj M-NOM dishes-ACC clean-Pst-Decl  
 'John ate the meal and Mary cleaned the dishes'
- (6) John-i pap-ul mek-ess-ta kuliko Mary-ka kulus-ul chiu-ess-ta  
 J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Pst-Dcl Cnj M-NOM dishes-ACC clean-Pst-Dcl  
 'John ate the meal and Mary cleaned the dishes'

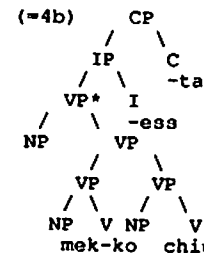
<sup>3</sup> This generalization remained a puzzle for them, since they were attempting to defend a lexicalist account of verbal coordination in Korean.

Yoon (1993) analyzes (4a) as V'-conjunction; (4b) as VP-conjunction; and (4c) as VPSC-conjunction. In contrast, ALL of (5) are taken to instantiate conjoined IPs, while (6) is taken to represent an example of conjoined CPs. Assume that subjects in Korean are generated internal to the VPSC and that they do not need to raise out of the VPSC, since Case is available to the subject independently. The lexical head of the VPSC is the verbal root. Tense and mood affixes project as independent syntactic formatives. Sentences in (4) - (6) on this analysis are analyzed as follows.

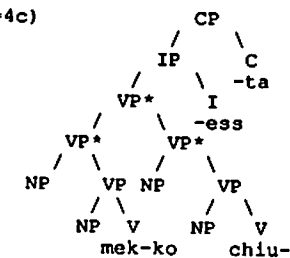
(7) a. (=4a)

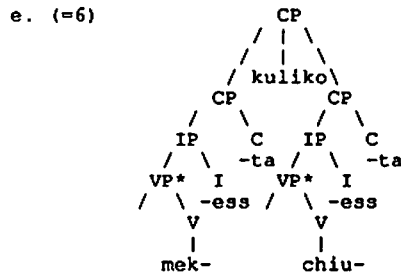
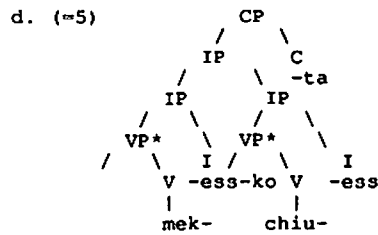


b. (=4b)



c. (=4c)





Tense and mood affixes are positioned syntactically, and simply suffix/cliticize to phrases which they subcategorize for (VPSC and IP, respectively). Therefore, on the surface, they will appear as suffixes on the verbal root. However, their affixation is not due to a requirement to fill in positions in some morphological template. Instead, it is the syntax which calls for the affixes and places them where they are. Tense is required as the head of an independent IP, and mood as the head of a CP. When syntax does not require them, these affixes do not appear, as in the case of tenseless initial conjuncts, which are clause-like in the sense of being a minimal domain with a subject - i.e., a CFC, but do not carry specifications for tense and mood.

Following earlier work, I analyze verbal affixes in Korean as phrasal affixes<sup>4</sup>. Phrasal affixes, like clitics, combine syntactically with phrases, while appearing as an affix on the periphery/head of the constituents they subcategorize syntactically. However, unlike most clitics, they exhibit

<sup>4</sup> Anderson (1992) uses this term to describe clitics. In this sense the two usages are similar. However, Anderson crucially assumes that affixes are not 'things', but 'processes'. The lack of allomorphy and the paucity of violations from the one-to-one pattern for Korean does not necessitate treating affixes as a spell-out of some feature complex (cf. also, Halle & Marantz 1993). A morpheme-as-thing approach like Lieber (1992) is well-suited for the facts of Korean inflection.

"lexical" phonology, as we have seen. The proposed analysis makes it easy to see why the one tensed V per clause restriction should hold - whenever tense is specified, we have an IP (or CP). When it is not, we have VPSC or smaller constituents. Therefore, it is never the case that the head of a sub-IP level constituent has a tensed verb.

Of course, the assumption that what heads the VPSC is the verb root, not the fully inflected form of the verb, goes against the checking theory. True, tense may be specified on initial conjunct verbs, but tense specification on initial conjuncts is not simply an option. A variety of syntactic processes treat initial conjuncts with and without tense in systematically different ways, as we shall see.

This pattern of coordination is problematic for the assumption that head-to-head movement is responsible for "building" the inflected form of the verb in syntax (cf. Whitman 1990, among many others). If head movement is involved, it must take place only in the final conjunct, systematically violating the restriction that movement out of coordinate structures be Across-the-Board<sup>5</sup>. Supposing that it is the affix which lowers onto the verb is no better. Lowering must still violate the ATB restriction.

### 3. Arguments for the Proposed Analysis

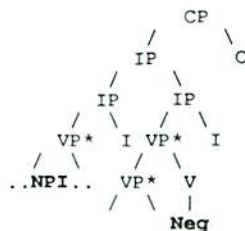
The strongest arguments supporting the proposed analysis come from various clause-bounded processes which invariably treat structures with two conjoined inflected verbs as constituting two separate clauses (i.e., IPs or CPs), regardless of whether or not the verbs are accompanied by overt nominal arguments. It is to these that we turn next.

#### 3.1. Negative Polarity Licensing

Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) in Korean are possible in both subject and object positions and must be licensed by a clause-mate negation. NPI distribution is clause-bounded in the sense that a tensed clause boundary or an intervening c-commanding subject blocks the licensing of NPI by a negative

<sup>5</sup> We shall see later that NP scrambling may violate the ATB restriction in certain instances. However, the situation here is different. Head-raising analysis must assume that ATB is violated systematically in all coordinate structures, even when NP scrambling must observe ATB.



Tensed 1st conjunct:

## 3.2. Scrambling and Tense Specification

The interaction of Scrambling with Tense specification constitutes another argument for the syntactic independence of inflectional morphemes in Korean. Movement from coordinate structures must be ATB. However, scrambling out of coordinate structures can violate the ATB restriction under the following conditions; (i) non-final conjuncts lack tense specification, and; (ii) the conjuncts are interpreted sequentially. As we shall see, conjuncts are non-sequential either when each conjunct is independently specified for tense, or when they described non-temporally ordered events.

The data to be examined below involve scrambling the object NP of the second conjunct, either to a position immediately preceding the object of the first conjunct, or to the front of the entire coordinate structure. Sequential, as well as non-sequential coordinate structures are exemplified.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> In addition to allowing selective violations of ATB, only sequential, untensed coordination allows *-se* ('then') to be suffixed to *-ko*. Non-sequential conjunction may arise as in (b) (both conjuncts tensed) or (c) (contrastive, non-temporally ordered events).

- a. John-i pap-ul mek-ko-se chiu-ess-ta  
J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Conj-then clean-Pst-Decl
- b. \*John-i pap-ul mek-ess-ko-se chiu-ess-ta  
J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Pst-Conj-then cleaned
- c. \*John-i ppang-ul silhehay-ko-se pap-ul coahay-ss-ta  
J-NOM bread-ACC hate-Conj-then rice-ACC like-Pst-Decl

Importantly, (c) shows that while ATB must be observed in non-sequential

(10) Sequential/Untensed:

- a. pap-ul, John-i chayk-ul ilk-ko t<sub>i</sub> mek-ess-ta  
meal-ACC J-NOM book-ACC read-Conj eat-Pst-Decl  
'John read the book and ate the meal'
- b. John-i pap-ul, chayk-ul ilk-ko t<sub>i</sub> mek-ess-ta  
J-NOM meal-ACC book-ACC read-Conj eat-Pst-Decl  
'John read the book and ate the meal'
- c. ?pap-ul, John-i chayk-ul ilk-ko Mary-ka t<sub>i</sub> mek-ess-ta  
meal-ACC J-NOM book-ACC read-Conj M-NOM eat-Pst-Decl  
'John read the book and ate the meal'
- e. \*John-i pap-ul, chayk-ul ilk-ko Mary-ka t<sub>i</sub> mek-ess-ta  
J-NOM meal-ACC book-ACC read-Conj M-NOM eat-Pst-Conj  
'John read the book and ate the meal'

(11) Sequential/Tensed:

- a. \*pap-ul, John-i chayk-ul ilk-ess-ko t<sub>i</sub> mek-ess-ta  
meal-ACC J-NOM book-ACC read-Pst-Conj eat-Pst-Decl
- b. \*John-i pap-ul, chayk-ul ilk-ess-ko t<sub>i</sub> mek-ess-ta  
J-NOM meal-ACC book-ACC read-Pst-Conj eat-Pst-Decl
- c. \*pap-ul, John-i chayk-ul ilk-ess-ko Mary-ka t<sub>i</sub> mek-ess-ta  
meal-ACC J-NOM book-ACC read-Pst-Conj M-NOM eat-Pst-Decl
- d. \*John-i pap-ul, chayk-ul ilk-ess-ko Mary-ka t<sub>i</sub> mek-ess-ta  
J-NOM meal-ACC book-ACC read-Pst-Conj M-NOM eat-Pst-Decl

(12) Non-sequential/Tensed-Untensed:

- a. \*pap-ul, John-i ppang-ul silhehay-(ss)-ko/una t<sub>i</sub> coahay-ss-ta  
meal-ACC J-NOM bread-ACC hate-(Pst)-and/but like-Pst-Decl  
'John hated bread and/but liked steamed rice'
- b. \*John-i pap-ul, ppang-ul silhehay-(ss)-ko/una t<sub>i</sub> coahay-ss-ta  
J-NOM meal-ACC bread-ACC hate-(Pst)-and/but like-Pst-Decl  
'John hated bread and/but liked steamed rice'

The structures proposed for various types of verbal coordination, together with the assumption that scrambling observes the Proper Binding Condition (Saito 1985), provide a simple account of the above data.

In (10b), the object has scrambled and adjoined to a conjoined VP. In this position, it binds its trace. I take (10a,c) to exemplify adjunction to a conjoined VPSC. The trace is bound in either case. In (10d), on the other hand, the object has scrambled *into* the VP of the first conjunct VPSC, failing to c-command its trace, explaining its ill-formedness.

conjunction, tense and mood elements may still take scope over initial conjuncts when they are lacking in the initial conjunct. The relevance of this fact will become clear when we discuss alternative analyses of Korean coordination.



does not determine that on the second conjunct, as shown by (17) below, which is ill-formed due to the lack of tense specification on the final conjunct despite the fact that the first conjunct has a specified tense.

- (17) \*John-i pap-ul mek-ess-ko Mary-ka ppang-ul mek-ta  
 J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Pst-Conj M-NOM bread-ACC eat-Decl  
 'John ate the meal and Mary ate the bread'

Therefore, this account must be buttressed with additional assumptions. For instance, one might entertain that coordinate structures where non-final conjuncts are unmarked for tense is asymmetric, in that the final conjunct asymmetrically c-commands non-final conjuncts (cf. Cho & Morgan 1987).

Unfortunately, we cannot find independent evidence for the proposed asymmetry. We cannot test for this directly with nominal binding, since even if the final conjunct is higher than non-final conjuncts, NPs inside the final conjunct will not c-command out of the conjunct boundary.

ATB behavior is sometimes made contingent on the assumption that coordinate structures are multiply headed, i.e., that they are symmetric (GKPS 1985). Based on this reasoning, one might point to violations of ATB as evidence for the asymmetric nature of coordinate structures. However, ATB violations, while they are attested, are highly circumscribed. Crucially, the data allowing ATB violation are not co-extensive with data showing tense distributing into non-final conjuncts. Tense and Mood distribute from final to non-final conjuncts even in sequential conjunction (note 7). It seems that we are left with no other option but to stipulate that tense/mood-binding is always backward, even though such behavior is not found elsewhere.

When it comes to the blocking effect of specified tense in non-final conjuncts, more serious problems arise. Take the interaction of NPI and tense specification, as an example. To explain the fact that an NPI in a tenseless initial conjunct is licensed by negation on the final conjunct, one might propose the following - NPI is licensed by a null Neg head which is in turn coindexed with the overt Neg in the final conjunct. However, in order to explain the blocking effect of tense, one would have to stipulate that a null negation in non-final conjuncts cannot be controlled by negation on the final conjunct when an overt tense is present in the first. Needless to say, this is a strange stipulation which does not follow from anything.

#### 4.2. Tense and Mood as Edge Features

Edge Feature theories represent the extreme in lexicalist analyses of inflection-cliticization. In these theories, most clitic-host combinations are taken to constitute a single formative in syntax. The phrase-level scope of

clitics/affixes are accounted for by having such features distribute along the EDGE (first or last) of a constituent, just as some features distribute along the head path (HEAD features), or along just about any path (FOOT features).

An Edge Feature analysis of coordinate structures in Korean might run as follows. Assume that verbs in Korean need not be specified obligatorily for tense and mood<sup>4</sup>. When tense, mood and other verbal suffixes which distribute from final to non-final conjuncts are present in a coordinate structure, the information they introduce behave as EDGE features, specifically, as LAST features. LAST features are constrained to appear on the right edge of constituents they occur in, by the Edge Feature Principle (EFP, Miller & Halpern 1992). In (18), T is a triggering feature, presumably introduced via meta-rules on basic ID-rules. E is the morphosyntactic feature that 'matches' the relevant triggering feature. Clauses (ii) & (iii) govern the upward and downward percolation of Edge features, respectively.

#### (18) Edge Feature Principle:

- (i) If a node has T, then one of its daughters has E;
- (ii) If a node has E, then its mother has T or E;
- (iii) If a node has E, then one of its daughters has E.

There are some initially attractive consequences of this type of analysis. If Tense in Korean is an Edge feature, it is predicted to occur either on the right edge of the entire conjoined structure (19a), or on the right edge of all of the conjuncts (19b), but not on the initial conjunct to the exclusion of the final conjunct (19c), because Tns could not be LAST in such a configuration.

- (19) a. S[TNS] -> S Conj S[Tns]  
 b. S[TNS] -> S[Tns] Conj S[Tns]  
 c. \*S[TNS] -> S[Tns] Conj S

An Edge Feature account can rule out sentences like (17), which proved problematic for the previous account we considered. However, it should not be too difficult to see that the blocking effect of specified tense on non-final conjuncts remains as problematic for this account as it was for the previous account. There is no principled way to derive the blocking effect of

<sup>4</sup>. Specifically, in keeping with lexicalist assumptions, one would have to assume that as long as the verb form is a free form, it may be inserted in the syntax. Conjunctive *-ko*, like other COMP endings, takes a bound root to a free-standing form so that *V-ko* is a legitimate formative in the syntax.

tense that would follow from the assumption that tense is an EDGE feature<sup>9</sup>.

In the remainder of the paper, I turn to the question of why, despite the phonological cohesion, verbal affixes in Korean and similar languages act as independent syntactic formatives. I propose a tentative answer to this question by borrowing some ideas from Kayne's recent work - namely, the claim that while leftward head-to-head raising is possible, its mirror-image, rightward head-to-head movement, is not. Coupled with assumptions about what may underlie agglutinative vs. fusional inflectional systems, we can begin to understand why Korean inflection behaves the way it does.

### 5. Toward a Parametric Account

Kayne (1993) conjectures that there might be a fundamental difference in the way verbs associate with INFL and COMP in syntactically head-initial as opposed to head-final languages. In particular, he claims that while the morphological complex V-I-C may be formed by successive leftward head-movement in the former, the surface V-I-C complex in strictly head-final languages cannot be formed by successive rightward head-movement. This conjecture is radical and rules out most recent analyses of inflection in languages like Korean which are predicated on the premise that rightward head-movement derives the inflected form of verbs (cf. Whitman 1990). While Kayne mentions some potentially "favorable consequences" of his conjecture, he provides no morphosyntactic arguments in support of his conjecture<sup>10</sup>. It should be easy to see that the Korean data we have examined constitute such evidence. As we have seen, while there is a surface V-I-C complex, it is not formed by head-movement, but by phrasal affixation/cliticization.

What remains to be done is to derive this difference in a systematic way.

<sup>9</sup> Sam Bayer and Steve Lapointe (p.c.) have suggested to me that an Edge Feature account buttressed with checking theoretic assumptions might be able to predict the blocking effect. However, such an account requires positing null headed structure, which is deemed theoretically undesirable in theories countenancing feature propagation.

<sup>10</sup> Specifically, he mentions the lack of overt WH-movement, the lack of that-trace effects, and nominative anaphors in subject position. These facts become favorable consequences of his conjecture only with much theorizing. Kayne also seems to be assuming that the morphology associated with head-final languages is predominantly agglutinating, while that in head-initial languages (possessing head-movement) may be fusional, although nothing in his paper seems to predict this clustering. I shall attempt to give content to this intuition shortly.

Kayne predicts it as a consequence of antisymmetry. In what follows, I will develop a loosely categorial account of the distinction between head-initial and head-final languages based on the intuition that LR incremental parse is systematically related to hierarchical structure. This account, like Kayne's, predicts the absence of head-movement in head-final languages. It goes further than Kayne in providing an explanation for the systematic differences.

#### 5.1. Head Initial vs. Final; Head-Movement vs. Phrasal Affixation

The key difference between head-initial vs. head-final languages can be rendered in categorial terms as follows: Syntactically head-initial C, I, V can be composed left-to-right to form a single lexical functor, V-I-C, while head-final V, I, C cannot be so composed. Instead, if there is to be composition of heads, it must proceed right-to-left. If a given syntactic string must be parsed LR only, there can be no composition of heads in the latter type of language. Assume that the combinatorial types for C, I, and V are as follows.

(20) COMP = CPIP; INFL = IPIVP; V<sub>i</sub> = VPINP

In head-initial languages, the heads V<sub>i</sub>, I, C can compose to form a single lexical functor by successive L-R Function Composition, yielding a single functor CP/NP, which combines with NP object of the transitive verb. This is shown in (21).

(21) [COMP ... [INFL ... [V<sub>i</sub> NP  
 CP/IP IP/VP VP/NP  
 -----  
 CP/NP NP L-R FC (twice)  
 -----  
 CP L-R FA

In a strict head-final language, the analogous derivation must be R-L.

(22) NP V<sub>i</sub>] ... INFL] ... COMP]  
 VP\NP IP\VP CP\IP  
 -----  
 CP\NP R-L FC (twice)  
 -----  
 CP R-L FA

Now, if we assume with Kayne (and various versions of Categorial Grammar) that constituent structure (dominance relations) should be calculated on the basis of L-R incremental parse (precedence) of terminal strings, R-L FC is ruled out. In head-final languages, then, the composition of the heads V, I, and C cannot yield a L-R parse.





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**Resultative V-V Compounds in Chinese\***

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**1. Introduction**

The resultative V-V compound has drawn a great deal of attention in recent Chinese linguistic studies (e.g. Cheng 1992, Gu 1992, Huang 1988 & 1992, Li 1990, 1991 & 1993). The fact that the resultative V-V compound is so interesting is partly due to the complex thematic relation

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