Pluralizer as a *n*P modifier: Evidence from Korean –*tul*

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The claim has often been made that numeral classifiers (CL) and plural morphemes are in complementary distribution, within or across languages (Chierchia 1998, Borer 2005). This claim makes a prediction that a pluralizer and CL would compete for same functional head in the nominal extended projection such as Num, which has been pursued in Borer (2005). In this paper, however, we show that this prediction is incorrect in some classifier languages, by providing evidence from Korean where CL and pluralizer (-*tul*) co-occur (1) as in other classifier languages, e.g., Mandarin (Li 1999), or Japanese (Nakanishi and Tomioka 2004). We propose a structural analysis of -*tul* that accounts for this co-occurrence (2): -*tul* is a modifier of *n*P, unlike a CL that can occupy the Num head (e.g., Borer 2005).

(1)   ku   salam(**-tul**) ney myeng(-***tul**)

        this human(-PL) four CL-(*PL)

        'these four people'

(2) [$_{DemP}$ Dem *ku* [$_{NumP}$ [$_{CardP}$ [$_{nP}$ [$_{nP}$ *salam n*] **-tul**] Card *ney*] Num *myeng*]

$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ PL $\qquad\qquad\qquad$ CL

Wiltschko (2008) argues that a pluralizer can be either a head or a modifier. As a head, it is realized as Num, while as a modifier, it can adjoin to a phrase in the nominal projection. For instance, the pluralizer in Halkomelem is a modifier and adjoins to a root phrase. We argue that Korean -*tul* is not a head, but a modifier. Unlike in Halkomelem, however, we propose that -*tul* is a *n*P modifier. The pluralizer -*tul* fits Wiltschko's criteria as a modifier: (i) it is optional (i.e., nouns can be interpreted as plural without -*tul*), (ii) non-inflectional (it doesn't trigger agreement; *ku* 'this' is singular in (1)), and (iii) not a grammatical category (thus, no form-meaning mismatches, i.e., no pluralia tantum). As a *n*P is the site of semantic idiosyncrasy and lexical gaps (Marantz 2001, Kramer 2009), Korean -*tul* as a *n*P modifier is predicted to show some idiosyncratic behavior. This is borne out by the data: -*tul* shows apparently arbitrary restrictions on animacy of nouns (i.e., *n*P in our analysis) that it can attach to: it can occur with (almost) any noun that denotes a human (1), and certain inanimate nouns (*chayk-tul* 'book-PL'), but (almost) never with animals (??*kilin-tul* 'giraffe-PL'). Thus, there is no clear correlation between the animacy of the noun and the availability of -*tul*, which is captured by the proposed *n*P account (2) but left unaccounted in the previous approaches of -*tul* (e.g., Kim 2005). Structure (2) also explains why -*tul* can co-occur with a CL, but cannot attach to the classifier (as in (1)), since it merges lower in the structure than the Num head where CL appears, namely as a *n*P modifier. We also show that the properties of -*tul* suggest that it cannot be a modifier at the root, QP or DP level; for instance, unlike a root plural modifier in Halkomelem, -*tul* cannot appear inside a derivational morphology which is often assumed to occupy a categorizing head *n* (e.g., Arad 2003); e.g., a suffix -*kkun* 'doer' can derive a noun such as *namwu-kkun* Lit. 'tree doer' ('lumberjack'), and as predicted by the proposed account of *n*P, -*tul* cannot appear inside the morpheme **namwu-**tul**-kkun*.

The proposed account in this paper (2) suggests that a modifying pluralizer can adjoin to various categories in nominal projections including *n*P, as predicted by Wiltschko's (2008) typography of plurals. Moreover, it indicates that not all types of pluralizers are dividing heads in the sense of Borer (2005); if division is accomplished by another category, e.g., by CL, then pluralizers will not be required to be present to serve that purpose elsewhere in the noun phrase.

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