

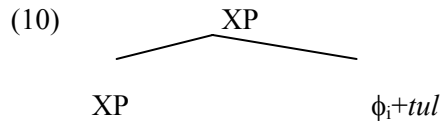
Formal/Semantics-Syntax
Extrinsic Plurality in Korean

The Korean plural marker *tul* usually attaches to a nominal predicate to pluralize it, as in (1). Surprisingly, however, *tul* can also appear outside a nominal domain. It can not only follow case markers in (2a/b), but also appear on non-pluralizable categories in (3). Following the standard assumption, we assume that the *tul*'s are different and call *tul* in (2/3) *Extrinsic tul*. This paper examines extrinsic *tul*.

PUZZLES (I) *Distributivity*: Kim (1994) analyzes *tul* as a global distributor in (4) that distributes a whole VP over a plural NP. Song (1997) observes, however, that *tul* does not distribute a VP, but the phrases it combines with (local distribution). The global distributivity faces another problem with collective predicates. In (5), *tul* does not eliminate the collective reading. The unambiguously collective predicate in (6) is also compatible with *tul*. (4) wrongly makes (6) equivalent to the ungrammatical (7). Song's notion of local distributivity seems intuitively correct, but its truth-conditional impact remains unclear as evidenced by its compatibility with collective predicates. (II) *Compositionality*: The *tul-phrase* and its plural antecedent need not be adjacent. We nonetheless must find a way to connect the two elements if the notion of local distributivity is to be captured. Furthermore, *tul* can combine with phrases of different semantic types and appear multiple times. This type-flexible and ubiquitous nature of *tul* presents a challenge to compositional semantics. (III) *C-command and Locality*: A plural argument must be in a c-commanding relationship with *tul*, (See (8)) and, furthermore, they must be clausemates (See (9/10)).

PROPOSAL Our proposal has three main components. (I) *tul* comes with a silent anaphor ϕ_i and they are adjoined to a phrasal category XP (See (10)). As an anaphor, ϕ_i obeys Binding Condition A. (II) The assertive meaning of the complex ϕ_i+tul is a type-flexible identity function. (III) *Tul* introduces two presuppositions: First, $[\phi_i]$ must be plural. Second, there is some relation between every individual member of $[\phi_i]$ and $[XP]$ (See (11)). (I) captures the locality and c-command conditions. The presence of ϕ_i explains why the plural antecedent and *tul-phrase* need not be adjacent. (II) leads to the category neutral nature of *tul*. *Tul* can combine with any categories since it is a type-flexible identity function. The second presupposition in (III) is responsible for the local distributivity. The distributive relation is restricted to the plural NP (via ϕ_i) and the XP that *tul* attaches to. It also explain why a sentence with *tul* is often (but not always) interpreted as distributive. In (2b), for instance, it is presupposed that there is some relation between each of those students and the children. Under the distributive reading, the *sending-a-letter-to* relation satisfies the presupposition. In general, a distributive reading would be the easiest source of the presupposition. However, even under the collective reading of (5), the presupposition can be satisfied with the *participating-in-carrying* relation. Hence, our analysis correctly predicts the distributive tendency with *tul* but is flexible enough to allow collective readings to survive.

- (1) Ni-tul-i ku haksayng-tul-ul ttayly-ess-ta.
You-Pl-Nom that student-Pl-Acc hit-Pst-Dc
'You (pl.) hit those students.'
- (2) a. Ku haksayng-tul-un mwul-(ul)-(**tul**) masy-ess-ni?
That student-Pl-Top water-Acc-TUL drink-Pst-Q
'Did those students drink water?'
- b. Ku haksayng-tul-i ku ai-tul-eykey-(**tul**) phyenci-lul ponay-ess-ta.
That student-Pl-Nom that child-Pl-Dat-TUL letter-Acc send-Pst-Dc
'Those students sent a letter/letters to those children.'
- (3) Ku haksayng-tul-un tosekwan-eyse-(**tul**) yelshimhi-(**tul**) kongpwu-hay-ss-ta-(?**tul**)
that student-Pl-Top library-Loc-TUL hard-TUL study-do-Pst-Dc-TUL
'Those students studied hard at the library.'
- (4) ${}^DVP = \lambda x \forall y [atomic-i-part-of(y,x) \rightarrow VP(y)]$ (tul = D)
- (5) Ku haksayng-tul-i ku piano-lul-**tul** nalla-ss-ta.
That student-Pl-Nom that piano-Acc-TUL carry-Pst-Dc
'Those students carried the piano.' (Both distributive and collective readings possible)
- (6) Chelswu-wa Younghee-nun ecey tosekwan-eyse-**tul** manna-ss-ta.
Chelswu-and Younghee-Top yesterday library-Loc-TUL meet-Pst-Dc
'Chelswu and Younghee met in the library yesterday.'
- (7) #Chelswu-ka ecey tosekwan-eyse mann-ass-ko Younhee-to ecey tosekwan-eyse mann-ass-ta.
C.-Nom yesterday library-Loc meet-Pst-and Y.-even yesterday library-Loc meet-Pst-Dc
'#Chelswu met in the library yesterday and Younghee met in the library yesterday.'
- (8) Wuli tamimsensayngnim-kkeyse cip-ey(***tul**) ka-si-ess-ta.
Our teacher-Nom(Hon) home-to(TUL) go-Hon-Pst-Dc
'Our teacher (sg.) went home.'
- (9) a. ***?**Sensayngnim-tul-kkeyse [nay-ka pan-eyse ceil-**tul** hyenmyenghata-ko] malhayssta.
Teacher-Pl-Nom I-Nom claa-Loc most-TUL wise-Comp said
'The teachers said that I am the wisest student in the class.'
- b. ***?**Na-nun [ku haksayng-tul-i yepputa-ko] ecey-**tul** malhayssta.
I-Top that student-Pl-Nom pretty-Comp yesterday-TUL said
'I said yesterday that those students are pretty.'



- (11) $[[\phi_i+tul]] = \lambda f \in D_\tau; \exists R_{\langle \tau, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle}. \forall z. [z \leq \phi \rightarrow R(f)(z)]. [f]. f \text{ for any type } \tau \text{ if } |\phi| > 1.$
Otherwise, undefined.

References:

- Kim, Yookyung. 1994. A non-spurious account of 'spurious' Korean plurals. In *Theoretical Issues in Korean Linguistics*, ed. Young-Key Kim-Renand, 303-323.
- Song, Jae Jung. 1997. The so-called Plural Copy in Korean as a marker of distribution and focus. *Journal of Pragmatics* 27, 203-224.