

Two classes of ‘anyone’: A contrastive analysis of *amwu* and *nwukwu* in Korean

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THE 47TH ANNUAL PENN LINGUISTICS CONFERENCE
MARCH 18, 2023



Introduction

- I. Basic distribution of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*
- II. A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*
- III. The status of a particle *-to*
- IV. Existential quantifiers and “absolute non-existential quantifiers”

Basic distribution of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*:

Neither of these are ‘typical’ NPIs

- (1) a. John-un {amwu/nwukwu}-to an cohahanta. [Negation]
John-TOP amwu/nwukwu-TO NOT likes
‘John does not like anyone.’
- b. *{amwu/nwukwu}-to o-myen, na-hantey ally-ela. [Conditional]
amwu/nwukwu-TO come-if, I-DAT inform-IMP
‘If anyone comes, let me know.’

Basic distribution of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: *Amwu* being restricted to negated context

- (2) a. {nwukwu/*amwu}-to wasse.
 nwukwu/amwu-TO came
 ‘Someone else came.’
- b. {nwukwu/*amwu}-to wass-ni?
 nwukwu/amwu-TO come-QUE?
 ‘Did someone else come?’

Basic distribution of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*:

Amwu being required to co-occur with *-to* in negated context

- (3) John-un {nwukwu/*amwu}-lul an cohahanta. [cf. (1a)]
John-TOP nwukwu/amwu-ACC NOT likes
'John does not like anyone.' / 'There is someone who J. does not like.'

Basic distribution of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*:

More contrasting examples with *amwu/nwukwu*

- (4) a. John-un {nwukwu/*amwu}-lul cohahanta.
John-TOP nwukwu/amwu-ACC likes
'John likes someone.' / 'There is someone (specific) who John likes.'
- b. John-un {nwukwu/*amwu}-lul cohaha-ni? [Question]
John-TOP nwukwu/amwu-ACC like-QUE?
'Who does John like?' / 'Does J. like anyone?' / 'Is there someone who J. likes?'
- c. {nwukwu/*amwu}-ka o-myen, na-hantey ally-ela [Conditional]
nwukwu/amwu-NOM come-if, I-DAT inform-IMP
'If someone (particular) comes, let me know.' / 'If anyone comes, let me know.'

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: *Amwu-(Noun)-to*

(5) a. John-un amwu-to mot po-ass.ta
John-TOP amwu-TO NOT see-PAST.DECL
'John didn't see anyone.'

b. John-un amwu-{salam/kes}-to mot po-ass.ta
John-TOP amwu-person/thing-TO NOT see-PAST.DECL
'John didn't see any person/anything.'

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: Postposition –*eykey/ey* ‘to’

- (6) a. John-un {Bill/***hakkyo**}-**eykey**-to phyenci-lul an ponay-ss.ta. [+ human]
John-TOP Bill/school-to-TO letter-ACC NOT send-PAST.DECL
‘John didn’t send a letter to Bill/school.’
- b. John-un {***Bill**/hakkyo}-**ey**-to phyenci-lul an ponay-ss.ta. [- human]
John-TOP Bill/school-to-TO letter-ACC NOT send-PAST.DECL
‘John didn’t send a letter to Bill/school.’

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: *Amwu-to* [+ human]

- (7) John-un amwu-{**eykey**/***ey**}-to phyenci-lul an ponay-ss.ta.
John-TOP amwu-to-TO letter-ACC NOT send-PAST.DECL
'John didn't send a letter to anyone.'

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: *Amwu* and existential quantifier (1/2)

- (8) a. John-un {etten/enu}-salam-to mot po-ass.ta.
John-TOP some-person-TO NOT see-PAST.DECL
'John didn't see some person.'

[There is some person such that J didn't see them]

[It is not the case that there is some person such that J saw them]

- b. John-un amwu-salam-to mot po-ass.ta.
John-TOP amwu-person-TO NOT see-PAST.DECL
'John didn't see any person.'

[It is not the case that there is any person such that J saw them]

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: *Amwu* and existential quantifier (2/2)

- (9) a. John-un (*amwu) {etten/enu} salam-to mot po-ass.ta.
John-TOP amwu some person-TO NOT see-PAST.DECL
'John didn't see any person.'
- b. John-un {*etten/*enu} amwu salam-to mot po-ass.ta.
John-TOP some amwu person-TO NOT see-PAST.DECL
'John didn't see any person.'
- c. John-un {*etten/*enu} amwu-to mot po-ass.ta.
John-TOP some/some amwu-TO NOT see-PAST.DECL
'John didn't see any person.'

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: The structure of *amwu*

- (10) a. [_{QP} amwu [_{NP} salam]] to
b. [_{QP} amwu [_{NP} ∅]] to

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: Indeterminate *nwukwu*

- (11) a. **nwukwu-ka** **wass-ni?**
 who/someone-NOM **come-QUE**
 ‘Who came?’/‘Did someone come?’
- b. **nwukwu-ka** **wass-ta.**
 someone-NOM **came-DECL**
 ‘Someone came.’

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: *Nwukwu-to* and negation

- (12) a. **nwukwu-to** wass-ta.
nwukwu-TO came-DECL
'Someone came.'
- b. ***amwu-to** wass-ta.
amwu-TO came-DECL
'Someone came.'

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: *Nwukwu* and existential quantifier

- (13) *John-un **nwukwu**-{salam/kes}-to mot po-ass.ta.
John-TOP nwukwu-person/thing-TO NOT see-DECL
'John didn't see any person/anything.'
- (14) a. John-un {etten/enu} nwukwu-to mot po-ass.ta.
John-TOP which/which who-TO NOT see-DECL
'John didn't see any person.'
- b. John-un (*nwukwu) {etten/enu}-to mot po-ass.ta.
John-TOP someone which/which-TO NOT see-DECL
'John didn't see any person.'

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: The structure of *nwukwu*

- (15) a. [_{QP} \emptyset [_{NP} nwukwu]] to
b. [_{QP} etten [_{NP} nwukwu]] to

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: Relative clauses and adjectival modifier

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- (16) a. **nay-ka** **senthaykha-n** **nwukwu-to** na-lul cohahaci anh-ass.ta.
I-NOM choose-REL nwukwu-TO I-ACC like NOT-DECL
'No one who I choose likes me.'
- b. ***nay-ka** **senthaykha-n** **amwu-to** na-lul cohahaci anh-ass.ta.
I-NOM choose-REL amwu-TO I-ACC like NOT-DECL
'No one who I choose likes me.'
- (17) a. **sesang-ui** **nwukwu-to** na-lul daecheha-ci mot han.ta.
world-GEN nwukwu-TO I-ACC replace NOT do.DECL
'No one in the world can replace me.'
- b. ***sesang-ui** **amwu-to** na-lul daecheha-ci mot han.ta.
world-GEN amwu-TO I-ACC replace NOT do.DECL
'No one in the world can replace me.'

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: The structure of *nwukwu/amwu*

- (18) a. [_{NP} sesang-ui [_{NP} nwukwu]] to
b. * [_{QP} sesang-ui [_{QP} amwu [_{NP} ∅]] to

A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: *Amwu* and “absolute non-existentiality”

- (19) *_[QP] amwu _[NP] [nay-ka senthaykha-n] salam]-to na-lul cohahaci anh-ass.ta.
amwu I-NOM choose-REL person-TO I-ACC like NOT-DECL
'It is not the case that even any who I choose person likes me.'

The status of a particle *-to*:

Amwu's dependency on *-to*

- (20) a. **nwukwu-{to/ka}** John-ul **an** cohaha-n.ta.
nwukwu-TO/NOM John-ACC NOT like-DECL
'There is (even) someone who doesn't like John.'
'It is not the case that (even) someone likes John.'
- b. **amwu-{to/*ka}** John-ul **an** cohaha-n.ta.
amwu-TO/NOM John-ACC NOT like-DECL
'It is not the case that even any person likes John.'

The status of a particle *-to*:

Discourse particle *-to*

- (21) a. Harry-**lul**-(***nun**) senmwul-ul an-cwu-ess-ta.
Harry-ACC-TOP gift-ACC NOT-give-PST-DECL
'(I) didn't give Harry a gift.'
- b. Harry-(***lul**)-**nun** senmwul-ul an-cwu-ess-ta.
Harry-ACC-TOP gift-ACC NOT-give-PST-DECL
'Speaking of Harry, (I) didn't give him a gift.'
- c. Harry-**eykey**-(***lul**) senmwul-ul an-cwu-ess-ta.
Harry-GOAL-ACC gift-ACC NOT-give-PST-DECL
'(I) didn't give a gift to Harry.'
- d. Harry-(***eykey**)-**lul** senmwul-ul an-cwu-ess-ta.
Harry-GOAL-ACC gift-ACC NOT-give-PST-DECL
'(I) didn't give Harry a gift.'
- e. Harry-**eykey**-**nun** senmwul-ul an-cwu-ess-ta.
Harry-GOAL-TOP gift-ACC NOT-give-PST-DECL
'Speaking of Harry, (I) didn't give a gift to him.'

The status of a particle –*to*:

Semantic-postposition, case-marker, discourse particle

- (22) a. [[[[N] semantic-postposition]_{POS-1} case-marker]_{POS-2} discourse-particle]_{POS-3}
b.* [[[[Harry] _____]_{POS-1} *lul*]_{POS-2} *nun*]_{POS-3}
c.* [[[[Harry] *eykey*]_{POS-1} *lul*]_{POS-2} _____]_{POS-3}
d. [[[[Harry] *eykey*]_{POS-1} _____]_{POS-2} *nun*]_{POS-3}

The status of a particle *-to*:

Discourse particle *-to* and *-nun*

(23) a. *Amwu-**lul-to** senmwul-ul an-cwu-ess-ta.
amwu-ACC-TO

○ Structure: *[amwu [[[\emptyset] _____]_{POS-1} **lul**]_{POS-2} **to**]_{POS-3}

b. Amwu-**eykey-to** senmwul-ul an-cwu-ess-ta.
amwu-GOAL-TO

○ Structure: [amwu [[[\emptyset] eykey]_{POS-1} _____]_{POS-2} to]_{POS-3}

c. *Amwu-**eykey-to-nun** senmwul-ul an-cwu-ess-ta.
amwu-GOAL-TO-TOP

○ Structure: *[amwu [[[\emptyset] eykey]_{POS-1} _____]_{POS-2} **to-nun**]_{POS-3}

d. *Amwu-**eykey-nun-to** senmwul-ul an-cwu-ess-ta.
amwu-GOAL-TOP-TO

○ Structure: *[amwu [[[\emptyset] eykey]_{POS-1} _____]_{POS-2} **nun-to**]_{POS-3}

Existential quantifiers and “absolute non-existential quantifiers”:

Scope relation between negation and *amwu/nwukwu*

- (24) a. John-un **amwu**-to an cohaha-n.ta.
John-TOP amwu-TO NOT like-DECL
'It is not the case that there is even any person John likes.' (Neg>∃)
*‘There is even any person who John does not like.’ *(∃>Neg)
- b. John-un **nwukwu**-to an cohaha-n.ta.
John-TOP nwukwu-TO NOT like-DECL
'It is not the case that there is someone John likes.' (Neg>∃)
'There is someone who John does not like.' (∃>Neg)

Existential quantifiers and “absolute non-existential quantifiers”:

Existential quantifier *nwukwu* and absolute non-existential quantifier *amwu*

(25) A: (iwuscip) {*nwukwu*_i/**amwu*_i}-to *cakiuy*_i atul-i khukey ton-ul pelisse.
neighbor who/amwu-TO his son-NOM big money-ACC earned
'Speaking of indefinite/specific person_i in our neighbor, his_i son made a killing.'

B: *pil accessiyo?*

Bill uncle?

'Uncle Bill?'

A: *Ung.*

Yes

'Yes.'

Conclusion

We conclude from these facts that

(i) *amwu* is a determiner which can take a null noun head referring to a person (parallel to Choi 2011), while *nwkwu* is a noun referring to a person *per se*,

(ii) the particle *-to* has the same distribution as the topic or focus postposition *-(n)un*, rather than as a case marker (as opposed to Kim 2016's classification),

(iii) *amwu* is “absolute non-existential quantifier” which is only licit in NSI/NCI contexts (in contrast with Giannakidou's 2008 “dependent existential quantifier”), whereas *nwukwu* is “existential quantifier” which can induce indefinite/specific readings.

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