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

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Introduction

I. Basic distribution of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*

II. A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*

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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?

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)

    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]

    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)

   John-TOP amwu some person-TO NOT see-PAST.DECL
   ‘John didn’t see any person.’

      John-TOP some amwu person-TO NOT see-PAST.DECL
      ‘John didn’t see any person.’

      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 \[NP \text{salam} \] to
b. \[QP\] amwu \[NP \emptyset \] to
A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: Indeterminate *nwukwu*

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

b. **nwukwu-ka**
    **someone-NOM**
    *wass-ta.*
    ‘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.’

    John-TOP which/which who-TO NOT see-DECL
    ‘John didn’t see any person.’

    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. \([QP \emptyset [NP \text{nwukwu}]] \text{to}\)
b. \([QP \text{etten} [NP \text{nwukwu}]] \text{to}\)
A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu*-to and *nwukwu*-to: Relative clauses and adjectival modifier

   I-NOM choose-REL nwukwu-TO I-ACC like NOT-DECL
   ‘No one who I choose likes me.’

   b. *\textit{nay-ka} senthaykha-n \textit{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.’

    world-GEN nwukwu-TO I-ACC replace NOT do.DECL
    ‘No one in the world can replace me.’

   b. *\textit{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)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & [\text{NP} \text{ sesang-ui} \quad [\text{NP} \text{ nwukwu }]] \quad \text{to} \\
\text{b. } & *[\text{QP} \text{ sesang-ui} \quad [\text{QP} \text{ amwu } [\text{NP} \emptyset ]]] \quad \text{to}
\end{align*}
\]
A deeper morpho-syntactic examination of *amwu-to* and *nwukwu-to*: *Amwu* and “absolute non-existentiality”


*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

Harry-ACC-TOP gift-ACC NOT-give-PST-DECL
‘(I) didn’t give Harry a gift.’

Harry-ACC-TOP gift-ACC NOT-give-PST-DECL
‘Speaking of Harry, (I) didn’t give him a gift.’

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.’

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 –\textit{to}:
Semantic-postposition, case-marker, discourse particle

(22) a. [[[ N ]] semantic-postposition \textsubscript{POS-1} case-marker \textsubscript{POS-2} discourse-particle \textsubscript{POS-3}

b.*[[[[ Harry ]]

c.*[[[[ Harry ]]

d. [[[ Harry ]]

\[ eykey \] \textsubscript{POS-1} \textit{lul} \textsubscript{POS-2} \textit{nun} \textsubscript{POS-3}

\[ eykey \] \textsubscript{POS-1} \textit{lul} \textsubscript{POS-2} \textsubscript{POS-3}

\[ eykey \] \textsubscript{POS-1} \textit{nun} \textsubscript{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


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

   amwu-GOAL-TO


   amwu-GOAL-TO-TOP


d. *Amwu-**eykey**-nun-to* senmwul-ul an-cwu-ess-ta.

   amwu-GOAL-TOP-TO


   to]*)POS-3

   to-nun]*)POS-3

   nun-to]*)POS-3
Existential quantifiers and “absolute non-existential quantifiers”: Scope relation between negation and *amwu*/nwukwu*

   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 *nuwkwu* 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.
References (1/2)


