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Anaphoric Definiteness Marking in Korean and the Role of Point of View

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Setting the stage

- A central question in recent linguistics literature:
How human language encodes different types of definiteness
- What we know due to Schwarz (2009, 2013) and much subsequent work (e.g., Jenks 2015, 2018):
 - Definites are at least of **two** kinds:
 - **Unique** definites
 - **Anaphoric** definites
 - Languages mark unique definites **differently** than anaphoric definites: e.g.,
 - So-called **weak** vs. **strong** article distinction in German and Fering
 - **Bare** vs. **demonstrative (DEM)** marking in Thai and Mandarin Chinese

Where does Korean fit in this picture?

- In the existing literature, it is already well known that:
 - Korean uses **bare nominals (BNs)** to mark **unique definites**, as well as **bridging** cases (e.g., Kang 2021).
 - It uses **both BNs** and **DEM-marked forms** to encode **anaphoric definites** (see, e.g., Ahn 2019; Park and Kang 2020; Kang 2021).
- But **exactly when** a BN is chosen over a DEM-marked nominal in encoding **anaphoric definiteness** or vice versa is still **poorly** understood (**our focus today**).

Illustration

- Unique definites in Korean: BNs
 - (1) a. 문 열어. (Immediate situation in the sense of Hawkins 1978)
 - b. 달이 떴다. (Larger situation)
 - c. 대통령이 오늘 기자 회견을 한다. (Larger situation)
- Bridging cases in Korean: BNs
 - (2) a. 나는 오늘 소설을 한권 샀다. 저자가 프랑스인이다. (Product-producer)
 - b. 미나가 집을 새로 샀다. 부엌이 아주 크다. (Whole-part)
- Anaphoric definites in Korean: BNs or DEM-marked nominals
 - (3) a. 가게 안으로 **어떤 소녀**가 들어 왔다. 소녀는 가방을 들고 있었다.
 - b. 어제 **학생 한 명**이 나를 찾아왔다. 그 학생은 지금 언어학을 전공하고 있다.
 - c. 어제 엄마가 **과자**를 구워 주셨다. 과자가 참 맛있었다.
 - d. **간식**을 가지고 온 모든 아이는 그 간식을 먹었다.

Goal of this paper

- Identify **factors** governing the **choice** between a BN and a DEM-marked form in encoding anaphoric definiteness in Korean, based on both fieldwork and naturally occurring data.
- Provide a **possible explanation** for the facts by resorting to the notion of **point of view (POV)** and by utilizing an **output filter** within a cartographic framework (compare Jenks 2018; Ahn 2019).

Key claims

- The **surface form** of an anaphoric definite is determined by **several factors** such as:
 - POV
 - Tense/aspect
 - Sentential predicate type
 - Information structure
 - Discourse coherence
 - A BN's ability to function as a text-internally licensed unique definite (compare, a.o., Simpson et al. 2011; Jenks 2018; Ahn 2019; Moroney 2021)
- **DEM-marking** on anaphoric definites in Korean is **not** really about encoding definiteness; rather, it's about encoding what I call *situation-external reference*.
 - That is, it indicates that **reference** is being made from a **POV** that is **external** to the situation that is described by the sentence at hand (compare Kang 2021).

Roadmap

- Need to treat anaphoric topics **differently** from non-topic anaphoric definites in Korean
- Anaphoric definiteness marking on **continuing topics** in Korean
- Anaphoric definiteness marking on **non-topic nominals** in Korean
- A possible **formal analysis** building on **Syntax of Sentience** and **Optimality Theory**
- Summary and conclusion

Why treat topics differently from non-topics

- **Topic-marked** semantic subjects behave differently than **nominative case (NOM) marked** semantic subjects or versa.

(5) a. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. 학생이 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다.
그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다. (NOM-marked)

b. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. ?그 학생이 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다.
그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다.

(6) a. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. *학생은 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다.
그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다. (Topic-marked)

b. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. (?)그 학생은 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다.
그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다.

Why treat continuing topics differently from contrastive topics

- In Korean, what Jenks (2018) calls *continuing topics* tend to **require** a DEM-marking, contra his claim, whereas (purely) *contrastive topics* do not; in fact, the latter may **resist DEM-marking**.

- (7) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자가 들어 왔다. ?/??(그) 남자는 가방을 들고 있었다.
(continuing topic; DEM-needed)
- (8) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자와 어떤 여자가 들어 왔다. (?/??그) 남자는 가방을 들고 있었고 (?/??그) 여자는 우산을 들고 있었다.
(contrastive topic; BN needed)
- (9) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자와 어떤 여자가 들어 왔다. ??(그) 남자와 ??(그) 여자는 가방을 들고 있었다.
(continuing topic; DEM-needed)

Variability in grammaticality judgments

- **Grammaticality judgments** on data involving anaphoric definites in Korean are **not** categorical.

- Illustration:

(10) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자가 들어 왔다. 그 남자는 가방을 들고 있었다.

(11) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자가 들어 왔다. 남자는 가방을 들고 있었다.

- I consulted seven Korean speakers.
- They all judged **(10)** to be **perfectly grammatical**.
- About **(11)**, their ratings were quite **varied**: on the scale of 5, where 5 means ‘perfectly grammatical or acceptable’ and 1 means ‘absolutely ungrammatical or unacceptable’, **one** speaker rated it as a **2**; **two** as a **3**; **two** as a **4**; and **two** as a **5** (**mean = 3.88**).

Some corpus data findings

- Given the variable grammaticality judgments among Korean speakers, I conducted Google searches using the **template** in (12) and created a **small corpus**.

(12) [Text [S₁ ... [**indefinite NP**]_i ...] [S₂ [**NP-nun/un**]_i] [S₃ [**NP**]_i ...]]

- The anaphoric definites I looked at all involved **non-defective Ns** such as 구두, 강아지, 개, 고양이, 환자, 학생, 목사, 보호자, 집, 마을, and 문제, which can occur as **BNs on their own**, unlike the case with defective Ns such as 것, 곳, and 때 (e.g., *(그)것/곳).
- The data were drawn from newspaper articles, encyclopedia entries, tourism Ads, fables, children's books, (translated) fictions, sermons, blogs, and personal letters, so some of them were in **formal/written** style or register, but many were in **informal/spoken** style or register.

Corpus data search findings cont'd

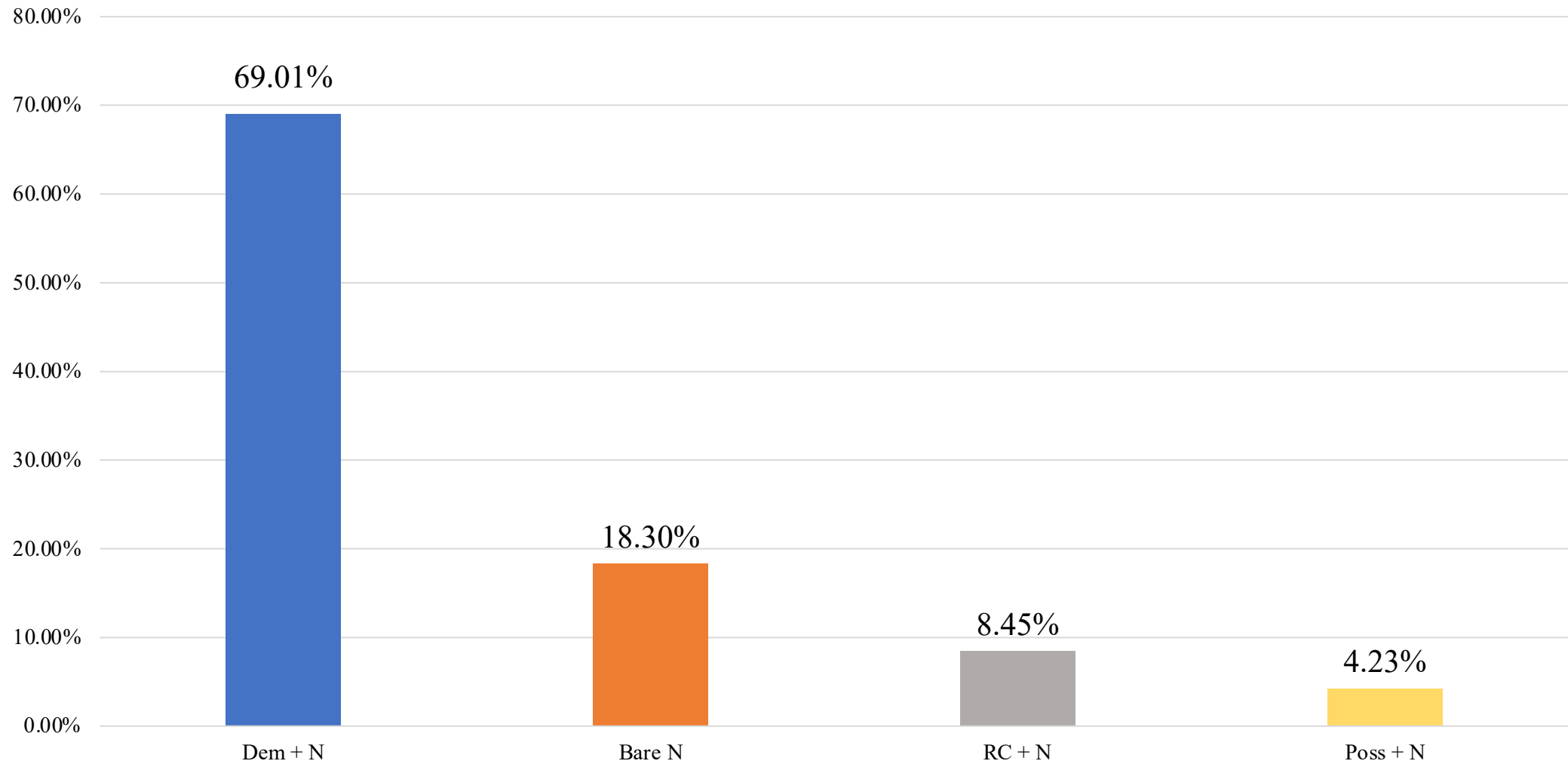
- In total, **71** tokens of **phonologically overt** continuing topics were obtained.
- Of these:
 - **49** were modified by a **DEM** (e.g., 그 브랜드는)
 - **six** were only modified by a (reduced) **relative clause (RC)** (e.g., 물량에 대한 걱정은)
 - **three** were only modified by a **possessive (Poss)** (e.g., (그) 학생의 말은)
 - **13** were in the form of **purely bare** nominals (e.g., 고양이는).

Corpus data search findings cont'd

Table 1. Anaphoric definiteness marking on continuing topics

	Dem + N	Bare N	RC + N	Possessive + N
# of tokens (n = 71)	49	13	6	3

Figure 1. Percentage of each type of continuing topic form



Factors playing a role in licensing purely BN continuing topics

- **Factor 1:** The BN's **inherent** ability to function as **a quasi-name**.

(13) a. 가게 안으로 어떤 소녀가 들어 왔다. 소녀는 가방을 들고 있었다.

b. 가게 안으로 어떤 소녀가 들어 왔다. 그 소녀는 가방을 들고 있었다.

(14) a. 가게 안으로 어떤 여자애가 들어 왔다. */?/?여자애는 가방을 들고 있었다.

b. 가게 안으로 어떤 여자애가 들어 왔다. 그 여자애는 가방을 들고 있었다.

Factors playing a role in licensing purely BN continuing topics cont'd

- **Factor 2: Genre or text type.**

(15) 옛날 어느 숲 속에 토끼 한 마리가 살고 있었어요. (?그) 토끼는 머리가 아주 좋았어요. (Fable context)

(16) 옛날 우리 옆집에 토끼 한 마리가 살았다. (*/??그) 토끼는 머리가 아주 좋았다.
(Non-fable context)

Factors playing a role in licensing purely BN continuing topics cont'd

- **Factor 3:** How **sufficiently** both the **familiarity** and **uniqueness** of the discourse referent at hand has been established in the **local** discourse context.

- (17) 백만 년이나 죽지 않은 고양이가 있었습니다. (S1)
- 그 고양이는 백만 번이나 죽고 백만 번이나 살았습니다. (S2)
- 백만 명의 사람의 고양이였으며, 백만 명의 사람이 귀여워했습니다. (S3)
- 백만 명의 사람이 그 고양이가 죽을 때 울었습니다. (S4)
- 하지만 그 고양이는 단 한 번도 울지 않았습니다. (S5)
- 그러던 한때 고양이는 누구의 고양이도 아닌 자기만의 고양이가 되었습니다. (S6)

(<https://market.bookshopmap.com/100만-번-산-고양이/>, accessed May 24, 2021)

Factors playing a role in licensing purely BN continuing topics cont'd

- **Factor 4: Spatiotemporal overlap** and **no POV shift** between the sentences involved.

(18) 어제 학생 한명이 나를 찾아왔다. */??(그) 학생은 언어학을 전공하고 있다.

(19) 어제 학생 한명이 나를 찾아왔다. (그) 학생은 언어학을 전공하고 있다고 했다.

Interim summary

- Factors playing a role in licensing purely **BN continuing topics**:
 - Whether the BN topic at hand can **inherently** function as a **quasi-name** or not
 - Whether the discourse context is **fable-** or **fairy-tale-type** or not
 - Whether **both** the **familiarity** and the **uniqueness** of the intended referent of the BN have been **sufficiently** established in the local discourse context or not
 - Whether the sentences in which the BN topic and its antecedent occur have the **same tense** and whether there is **no change of POV** between them or not.

Anaphoric definiteness marking on non-topics

- In looking at anaphoric definiteness marking on non-topic nominals in Korean, I focused on **three** types of syntactic positions:
 - (i) **Direct object** position inside a verb phrase (VP), where the anaphoric nominal occurs bearing an **accusative case (ACC)** marker
 - (ii) **Indirect object** position, where the anaphoric nominal occurs bearing the **dative case (DAT)** marker **-에게**
 - (iii) **Subject position**, where the anaphoric nominal occurs bearing a **NOM** marker.
 - **Caveat:** A NOM marker in Korean also functions as an **identificational focus** marker (Sohn 1999) in ways comparable to its Japanese counterpart *ga* (Kuno 1973).
- **Findings:** Again, **variable grammaticality judgments** obtained.

Anaphoric definite marking on direct objects

- Anaphoric definite **direct objects** in Korean typically require a **DEM-marking** but both **inter-speaker** and **intra-speaker** variations in grammaticality obtained.

- (20) a. 나는 작년어 어떤 파티에서 어떤 청년 한 명을 만났다. 그리고 지난 주에 나는 */??(그) 청년을 세 번 더 만났다.
- b. 나는 공원에서 집 없는 고양이 한 마리를 보았다. 그리고 나는 (그) 고양이를 집으로 데리고 왔다.
- c. 엄마가 어제 내게 사과 한 개를 주셨다. 나는 */??(그) 사과를 오늘 점심으로 먹었다.
- d. 당나귀가 있는 모든 농부는 */??/?(그) 당나귀를 때린다.
- e. 간식을 가지고 온 모든 아이는 */??(그) 간식을 먹었다.

Anaphoric definite marking on indirect objects

- Anaphoric definite **indirect objects** in Korean exhibit similar behavior, but possibly because only [+animate] nominals can bear the **DAT** marker -**에게** in Korean, **BNs** are shown to be **more readily** licensed.

- (21) a. 나는 작년어 어떤 파티에서 어떤 청년 한 명을 만났다. 그리고 지난 주에 나는 ??(그) 청년에게 전화를 걸었다.
- b. 나는 공원에서 집 없는 고양이 한 마리를 보았다. 그리고 나는 (그) 고양이에게 가지고 있던 과자를 조금 주었다.
- c. 친구가 있는 모든 어린이는 ??/?(그) 친구에게 전화를 걸었다.

Anaphoric definite marking on Subjects

- Anaphoric definite **subjects** also exhibit similar variability in grammaticality, but in **some** cases, they are seen to **resist DEM-marking** (e.g., (22c, d)).

(22) a. 나는 작년어 어떤 파티에서 어떤 청년 한 명을 만났다. 그리고 지난 주에
*/??(그) 청년이 나를 찾아 왔다.

b. 가게 안으로 어떤 강아지 한 마리가 들어 왔다. 그리고 (그) 강아지가 나에게 달려 왔다.

c. 엄마가 어제 과자를 구워 주셨다. (??/?그) 과자가 정말 맛있었다.

d. 어제 학생 한 명과 상담을 했다. (??/?그) 학생이 참 똑똑했다.

e. 어떤 작가나 재미있는 소설을 쓰면 */??(그) 소설이 부자로 만들어 줄 것이다.

Corpus data search findings

- Given the somewhat **mixed** grammaticality judgment patterns and **variable** grammaticality judgments, I looked at the **same corpus data** that I used to examine anaphoric definiteness marking on continuing topics in Korean.
- **Findings:**
 - When it comes to non-topic positions, **DEM-marked** anaphoric definites are attested **60.52%** of the time and **purely bare nominal** ones are attested **27.63%** of the time.
 - But the **distribution** between DEM-marked forms and BNs **varies** depending on the **grammatical function** of the anaphoric definite nominal at hand.
 - There is evidence for a **correlation** between **DEM-marking** and **focus-marking**.

Corpus data search findings cont'd

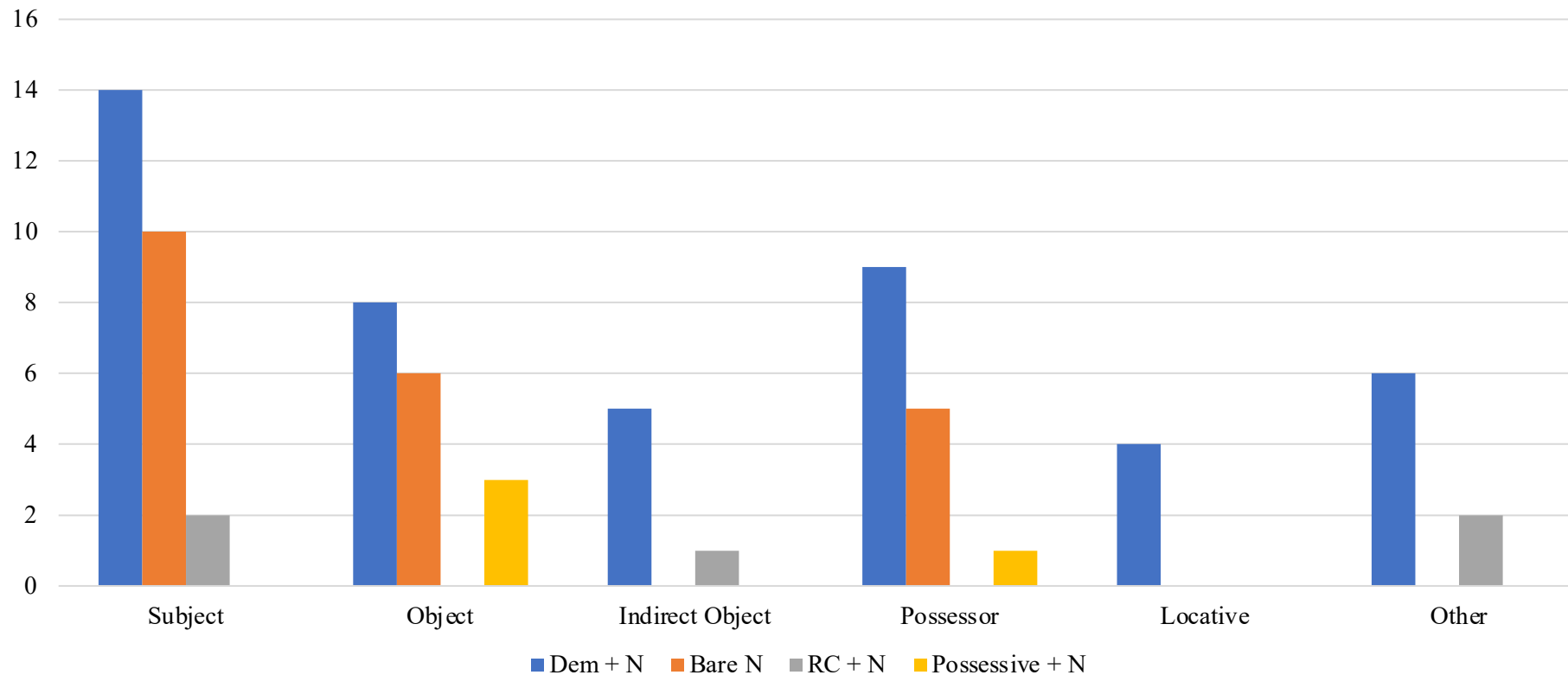
Table 2. Anaphoric definiteness marking in non-topic positions

	Dem + N	Bare N	RC + N	Possessive + N
Subject (n = 26)	14	10	2	0
Direct Object (n = 17)	8	6	0	3
Indirect Object (n = 6)	5	0	1	0
Possessor (n = 15)	9	5	0	1
Locative (n = 4)	4	0	0	0
Other (e.g., Instrumental, Comitative) (n = 8)	6	0	2	0
Total # of tokens (n = 76)	46 (60.52%)	21 (27.63%)	5 (6.57%)	4 (5.26%)

Corpus data search findings cont'd

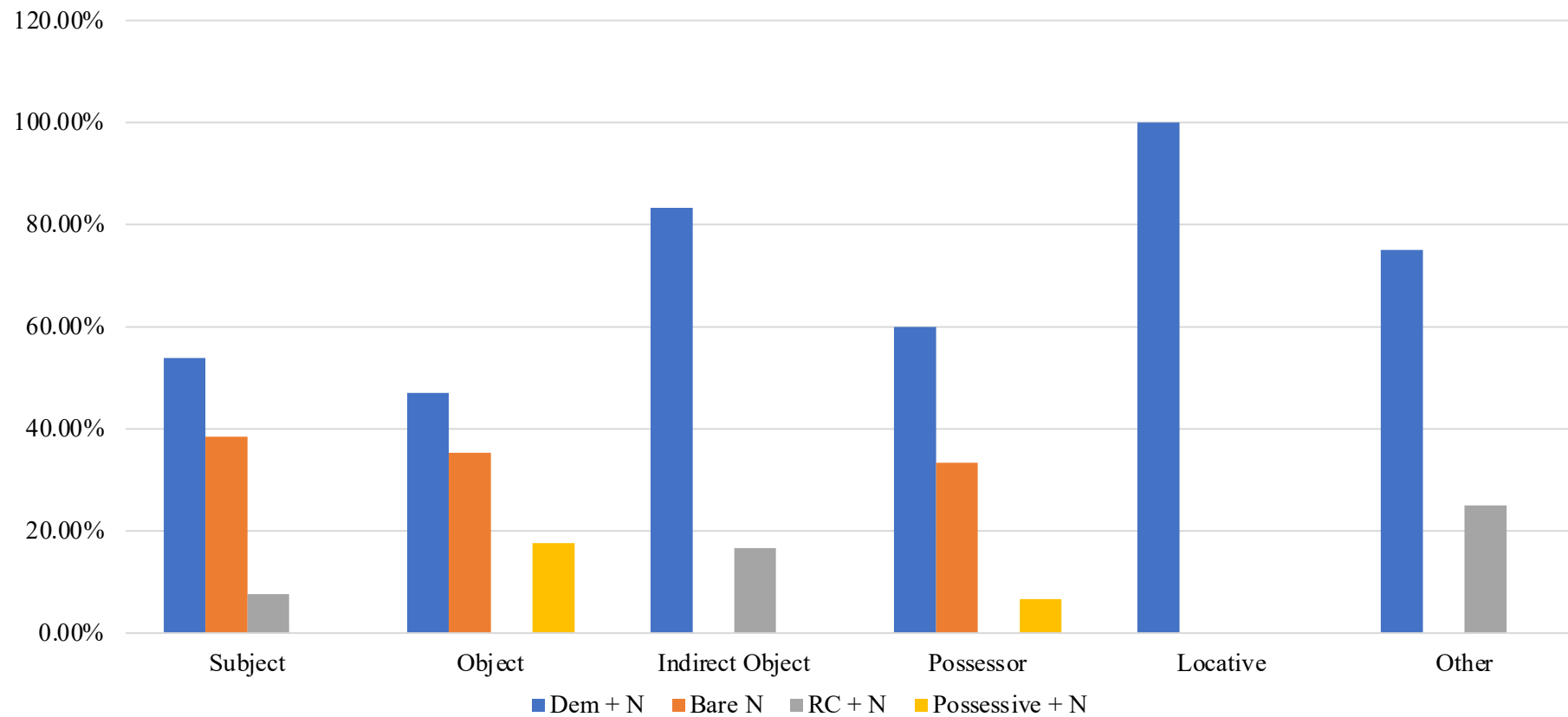
Figure 2-A. Distribution of each type of anaphoric non-topic nominal form

n = 76



Corpus data search findings cont'd

Figure 2-B. Distribution of each type of anaphoric non-topic nominal form



Corpus data search findings cont'd

- Of the 76 tokens, **eight** contained **focus particles** (e.g., **-만** 'only', **-도** 'also') and of these, **six** were **DEM-marked**, one was a complete bare nominal, and one was modified by a possessive.

Table 3. Anaphoric non-topic nominals bearing a focus particle

	Dem + N	Bare N	RC + N	Possessive + N
# of tokens (n = 8)	6	1	0	1

Factors playing a role in licensing purely BN anaphoric definite arguments

- **Factor 1:** **Spatiotemporal overlap** and **no POV shift** between the sentences involved.

(20) b. 나는 공원에서 집 없는 고양이 한 마리를 보았다. 그리고 나는 (그) 고양이를
집으로 데리고 왔다. (spatiotemporal overlap; BN)

(20) a. 나는 작년에 어떤 파티에서 어떤 청년 한 명을 만났다. 그리고 지난 주에 나는
*/??(그) 청년을 세 번 더 만났다. (no spatiotemporal overlap; DEM-marking needed)

(23) Variant of (20a)

나는 작년에 어떤 파티에서 어떤 청년 한 명을 만났다. 그리고 **그 자리에서 바로**
(그) 청년을 남편에게 소개했다. (spatiotemporal overlap; BN)

Factor 1 cont'd

(20) c. 엄마가 어제 내게 사과 한 개를 주셨다. 나는 */??(그) 사과를 오늘 점심으로 먹었다. (no spatiotemporal overlap; DEM-marking needed)

(24) Variant of (20c)

엄마가 어제 내게 사과 한 개를 주셨다. 나는 (그) 사과를 **그 자리에서 바로** 먹었다. (spatiotemporal overlap; BN)

Factors playing a role in licensing purely BN anaphoric definite arguments cont'd

- **Factor 2:** Whether the BN at hand **names** the **social relation** its referent bears to the attitude holder from the **viewpoint of the attitude holder**, and the attitude holder can use it as a **vocative** to address an individual or not.

(24) 오늘 우리 동네에서 어떤 학생 한 명이 길을 잃고 헤매고 있었다.
그래서 나는 (그) 학생을 경찰서에 데려다 주었다.

(25) 오늘 우리 동네에서 어떤 할머니 한 분이 길을 잃고 헤매고 계셨다.
그래서 나는 (그) 할머니를 경찰서에 모셔다 드렸다.

(26) a. 학생, 여기 앉아.
b. 할머니, 여기 앉으세요.

Cont'd

- Nominals like **군인** and **의사** cannot occur as **anaphoric BNs** as readily as nominals like **학생** and **할머니** can, and they cannot occur as **vocatives** which reflect the **social relation** between the speaker and the addressee.

(27) 오늘 우리 동네에서 어떤 군인 한 명이 길을 잃고 헤매고 있었다.
그래서 나는 ??(그) 군인을 경찰서에 데려다 주었다.

(28) 오늘 우리 동네에서 어떤 의사 한 명이 길을 잃고 헤매고 있었다.
그래서 나는 *(그) 의사를 경찰서에 데려다 주었다/드렸다.

- (29) a. */??/#군인, 여기 앉아/앉으세요.
b. */#의사, 여기 앉아/앉으세요.

Cont'd

- With appropriate **honorific** marking (e.g., **아저씨**, **선생님**), nominals like **군인** and **의사** can occur as anaphoric BNs.

(30) 오늘 우리 동네에서 어떤 **군인 아저씨** 한 명이 길을 잃고 헤매고 있었다.
그래서 나는 (그) 군인 아저씨를 경찰서에 데려다 주었다/드렸다.

(31) 오늘 우리 동네에서 어떤 **의사 선생님** 한 명이 길을 잃고 헤매고 있었다.
그래서 나는 (그) 의사 선생님을 경찰서에 데려다 주었다/드렸다.

(32) a. 군인 아저씨, 여기 앉으세요/여기 앉아.
b. 의사 선생님, 여기 앉으세요/#여기 앉아.

Factors playing a role in licensing purely BN anaphoric definite arguments cont'd

- **Factor 3:** How **sufficiently** the **familiarity** of the discourse referent at hand has been established in the **local** discourse context.
 - Typically, anaphoric definite **BNs** occur **after DEM-marked** nominals with the **same index** have already occurred in the same discourse.

(33) 말 그대로입니다. (S1)

강아지를 집에 혼자 몇날 몇일 방치하는 친구가 있어요. (S2)

그 강아지는 예전에 어느 누군가가 파양해서 임시 보호하다가... (S3)

...

이박 삼일 동안 강아지가 혼자 있는 경우도 많아요. (S8)

(<https://pann.nate.com/talk/346167386>, accessed May 24, 2021)

Interim summary

- Factors playing a role in licensing purely BN anaphoric definite **arguments**:
 - There is **spatiotemporal overlap** between **two consecutive** sentences in which one nominal bearing **index i** and another nominal **with i** respectively occur.
 - The anaphoric BN at issue **names** the **social relation** its referent bears to the attitude holder from the **viewpoint** of the **attitude holder**, and the attitude holder can use it as a **vocative** to address an individual.
 - The **familiarity** of the discourse referent denoted by the anaphoric BN at issue has been **sufficiently** established in the discourse in which it occurs.

How to explain the facts?

- **My strategy to account for the phenomena:**

- Build on previous work on the **Syntax of Sentience** which makes use of a cartographic framework (e.g., Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999; Speas and Tenny 2003; Speas 2004; Tenny 2006; Chou 2012)
- Resort to an **output filter** which is comprised of violable constraints, whose relative ranking may **vary** from language to language or even from speaker to speaker.

Central claims

- **Claim 1:** The choice between a BN and a DEM-marked form has to do with whether a **situation-internal** or a **situation-external POV** is taken in referring to a discourse referent.
 - When a **situation-internal POV** is taken, a **BN** form is chosen.
 - When a **situation-external POV** is taken, a **DEM-marked** form is chosen.
 - **Note:** DEM-marking also indicates an **activated** or **familiar status** of the discourse referent at hand in the sense of Gundel et al. (1993).
- **Claim 2: Continuing topics** in Korean are more frequently **DEM-marked** than anaphoric arguments are because an **output filter**, which consists of several **violable** constraints, ensures that, all else being equal, continuing topics in Korean carry **phonologically overt indices** (compare Jenks 2018).

My analysis at a glance

(34) Position of **POV-operators (POV-ops)** in clausal structure of Korean:

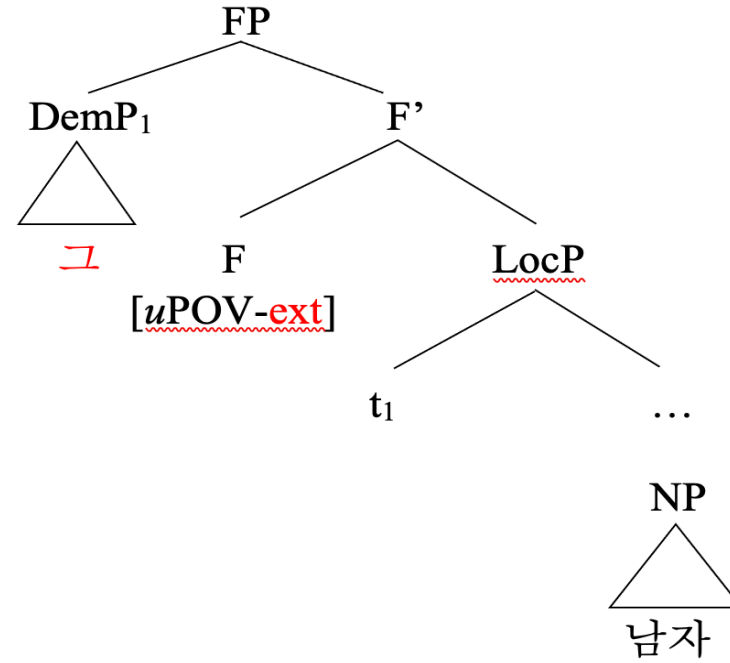
[SAP [SentenceP [attitude holder] [TopP POV-op [TopP [FocP POV-op [FocP [TP POV-op [TP]]]]]]]]]]

- Here, *sap* and **SentenceP** respectively represent the **Speech Act Phrase** and **Sentence Phrase** in the sense of Speas and Tenny (2003):
 - *sap* governs illocutionary force.
 - SentenceP (comparable to Cinque's (1999) EvalP) determines from whose POV the propositional content of the utterance at hand will be evaluated.
- **TopP** here is comparable, but may **not** be identical, to the higher TopP* in Rizzian structure (Rizzi 1997: 297, (41)).
 - I do not equate the two because, unlike Rizzi's (1997) TopP*, what I call TopP does not host contrastive topics.

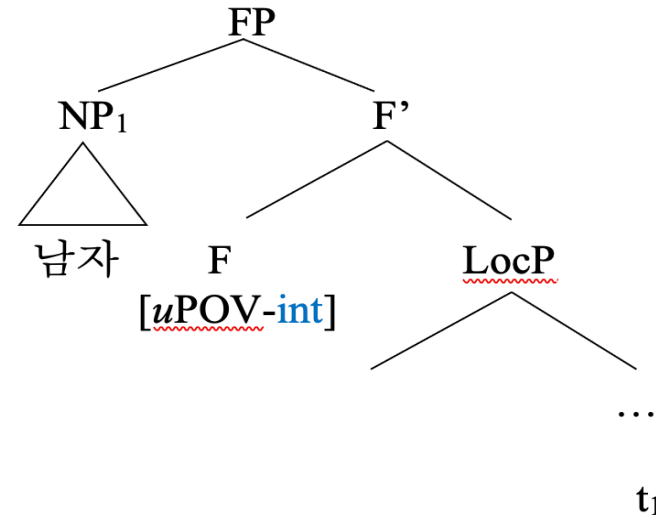
How the POV features are licensed inside a nominal

Note: **LocP** stands for **Locative Phrase** in the sense of Kim (2019).

(35) a.



b.



Violable constraints comprising the output filter: The proposal

(i) *Index!*

Represent and bind all possible indices.

(Jenks 2018: 524, (50))

(ii) *Don't Overdetermine!*

Block β if $\exists \alpha: \alpha \in \text{ALT}(\beta) \wedge \forall P_{\langle e,t \rangle} \lambda \text{WP}_w([\beta]^{D,g}) \subseteq \lambda \text{WP}_w([\alpha]^{D,g})$

(Ahn 2019: 73, (90))

(iii) *Index Continuing Topics! (INDEXCNTTOP)*

Represent and bind all possible indices on a continuing topic.

Violable constraints comprising the output filter cont'd

(iv) Use External Point of View! (USEEXTPOV)

Use a situation-external POV if applicable and morpho-syntactically realize it on a nominal.

(v) Use Bare Nouns as Text-Internally Licensed Unique Definites! (USETXTINTUNQDFTS)

Use bare nouns as text-internally licensed unique definites.

(vi) Use Internal Point of View! (USEINTPOV)

Use a situation-internal POV if applicable and morpho-syntactically realize it on a nominal.

Ranking among the violable constraints for Korean

- **Grammar I**

{INDEXCNTTOP, USETXTINTUNQDFTS, USEEXTPOV, USEINTPOV}

>> INDEX! >> DON'T OVERDETERMINE!

- **Grammar II**

{INDEXCNTTOP, USETXTINTUNQDFTS, USEEXTPOV, USEINTPOV}

>> DON'T OVERDETERMINE! >> INDEX!

Explaining the facts

- Contrast between (22c, d) and (36):

(22) **No DEM**-marking on anaphoric definites: **Situation-internal** reference

c. 엄마가 어제 과자를 구워 주셨다. (??/?그) 과자가 정말 맛있었다.

d. 어제 학생 한 명과 상담을 했다. (??/?그) 학생이 참 똑똑했다.

(36) **Obligatory DEM**-marking on anaphoric definites: **Situation-external** reference

티비 축구 중계에서 손호민 선수를 보았다. *(그) 선수가 몸놀림이 가장 빨랐다.

- In (22c, d), the speaker is commenting on a discourse-familiar individual **without comparing** it with another individual with respect to (w.r.t.) the property denoted by an adjective phrase (AP).
- In (36), the speaker is **comparing** a discourse-familiar individual with another individual w.r.t. an AP meaning.

Explaining the facts cont'd

- Contrast between (7) and (8):

(7) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자가 들어 왔다. ?/??(그) 남자는 가방을 들고 있었다.

(continuing topic)

(8) 가게 안으로 어떤 남자와 어떤 여자가 들어 왔다. (?/??그) 남자는 가방을 들고 있었고

(?/??그) 여자는 우산을 들고 있었다.

(contrastive topic)

- In (7), the anaphoric definite is a **continuing topic**, so, given the output filter, all else being equal, it needs to have a **phonologically overt index**, i.e., a **DEM-marking**.
- In (8), two discourse-familiar referents that are part of the **same situation** are being compared with each other from a **situation-internal POV**, so **BN forms** are chosen.

Explaining the facts cont'd

- Contrast between (5) and (6):

(5) a. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. 학생이 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다. 그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다.

b. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. ?그 학생이 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다. 그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다.

(6) a. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. *학생은 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다. 그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다.

b. 나는 오늘 어떤 학생 한 명과 미팅을 했다. (?)그 학생은 미팅 준비를 잘 해 왔다. 그래서 나에게 칭찬을 많이 받았다.

- In (5)-(6), discourse structure calls for **situation-internal reference**, so the **BN form** is used.
- Discourse structure also explains why the **Topic-marking** in (6b) is **not so felicitous**.

Prediction about (5): Grammar I vs. Grammar II

Grammar I

{INDEXCNTTOP, USETXTINTUNQDFTS, USEEXTPOV,
USEINTPOV} >> **INDEX!** >> **DON'T OVERDETERMINE!**

- Predicts that the subject of the 2nd sentence of (5) will have a **different** anaphoric marking **depending on** whether situation-**external** or situation-**internal** POV is taken.

Grammar II

{INDEXCNTTOP, USETXTINTUNQDFTS, USEEXTPOV,
USEINTPOV} >> **DON'T OVERDETERMINE!** >> **INDEX!**

- Predicts that the subject of the 2nd sentence of (5) will **not** have a **DEM-marking** even if situation-**external** POV is taken.

Grammar I

Input POV: situation-external	<u>INDEXCNT</u> <u>TOP</u>	<u>USETXT</u> <u>INTUNQ</u> <u>DFTS</u>	<u>USE</u> <u>EXT</u> <u>POV</u>	<u>USE</u> <u>INT</u> <u>POV</u>	INDEX!	<u>DON'T</u> <u>OVERDETER</u> <u>MINATE!</u>
☞ a. <i>ku haksayng</i> ' <u>that</u> student'	N/A	*		N/A		*
b. <i>haksayng</i> 'student'	N/A		*	N/A	*!	

Input POV: situation-internal	<u>INDEXCNT</u> <u>TOP</u>	<u>USETXT</u> <u>INTUNQ</u> <u>DFTS</u>	<u>USE</u> <u>EXT</u> <u>POV</u>	<u>USE</u> <u>INT</u> <u>POV</u>	INDEX!	<u>DON'T</u> <u>OVERDETER</u> <u>MINATE!</u>
a. <i>ku haksayng</i> ' <u>that</u> student'	N/A	*!	N/A	*		*
☞ b. <i>haksayng</i> 'student'	N/A		N/A		*	

Grammar II

Input POV: situation-external	<u>INDEXCNT</u> <u>TOP</u>	<u>USETXT</u> <u>INTUNQ</u> <u>DFTS</u>	<u>USE</u> <u>EXT</u> <u>POV</u>	<u>USE</u> <u>INT</u> <u>POV</u>	<u>DON'T</u> <u>OVERDETER</u> <u>MINATE!</u>	INDEX!
a. <u>ku haksayng</u> ' <u>that student</u> '	N/A	*		N/A	*!	
☞ b. <u>haksayng</u> 'student'	N/A		*	N/A		*

Input POV: situation-internal	<u>INDEXCNT</u> <u>TOP</u>	<u>USETXT</u> <u>INTUNQ</u> <u>DFTS</u>	<u>USE</u> <u>EXT</u> <u>POV</u>	<u>USE</u> <u>INT</u> <u>POV</u>	<u>DON'T</u> <u>OVERDETER</u> <u>MINATE!</u>	INDEX!
a. <u>ku haksayng</u> ' <u>that student</u> '	N/A	*	N/A	*!	*	
☞ b. <u>haksayng</u> 'student'	N/A		N/A			*

Conclusion

- Korean uses both BNs and DEM-marked forms to encode anaphoric definiteness, but the choice between the two is **not** randomly made, and DEM-marking is **not** always “**optional**”, contra the prevailing view (e.g., Ahn 2019; Park and Kang 2020; Kang 2021):
 - Anaphoric **BNs** encode what I call *situation-internal reference*.
 - **DEM-marked** nominals encode what I call *situation-external reference*.
 - **Continuing topics** in Korean are more often **DEM-marked** than not, unlike what Jenks (2018) would predict, because of the workings of an **output filter**.
 - For a similar reason, all else being equal, even **non-topic anaphoric definites** in Korean are **more frequently DEM-marked** than not.
- There is significant **variability** in **grammaticality judgments**.
 - When it comes to anaphoric definiteness marking, Korean may have **more than one grammar**.

Thank you!

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Appendix: Types of definites based on Hawkins 1978 and Schwarz 2009

Types of definite use	Examples from English
Immediate situation use	Open <u>the door</u> !
Larger situation use	<u>The moon</u> has risen.
Anaphoric use	John bought a book and a magazine today. <u>The book</u> was expensive.
Bridging: Product-producer	John bought a book today. <u>The author</u> is French.
Bridging: Part-whole	John bought a new house. <u>The ceiling</u> is very tall.
Donkey anaphora	Every farmer who owns a donkey beats <u>the donkey</u> .

Appendix: Some recent typological findings

Type of Definite Use		German (Schwarz 2009)	Thai (Jenks 2015)	Mandarin (Jenks 2018)	Shan (Moroney 2019a)
Immediate situation	U	weak	bare	bare	bare
Larger situation	U	weak	bare	bare	bare
Anaphoric	A	strong	dem.	dem.	bare /dem.
Bridging: Producer-product	A	strong	dem.	dem.	bare /dem.
Bridging: Part-whole	A	weak	bare	bare	bare
Donkey anaphora	A	strong	dem.	dem.	bare /dem.

(Moroney 2021: Table 4)

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